

WORKERS VANGUARD

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2 February 1979

**Down With the
Shah's Generals!**

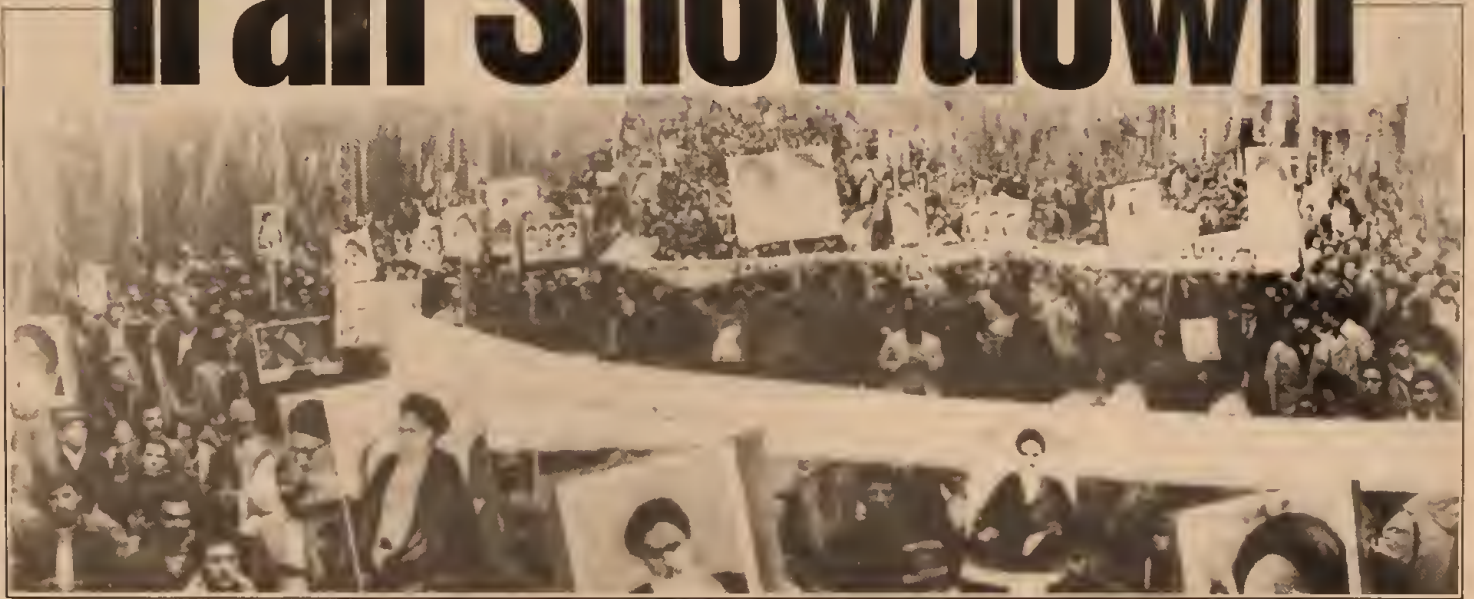
**Down With
the Mullahs!**

**Not Holy War
But Class War!**

**Workers
Must Rule Iran!**



Iran Showdown



JANUARY 29—Bloody massacres continued on the streets of Teheran and other cities of Iran as the ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, exiled leader of the Islamic movement, and Shahpur Bakhtiar, stand-in for the shah, jockeyed for position in a long-distance showdown for state power. Today, Teheran was ablaze as the followers of Khomeini—enraged over yesterday's butchery by the army and frustrated by the on-again, off-again vacillations of their leader—picked up the torch and went after breweries, liquor stores and other symbols of "Western decadence." They marched through the square of the Sunday massacre chanting, "Praise Khomeini, we have come to die for you." And to the chant "Death to the Shah," they have added, "Death to

Shahpur." Angry crowds spotted a general. They surrounded his car, set it on fire, pulled the general out, and according to CBS News, slit his throat.

In the last weeks, as the cheers have died down over the departure of the hated torture-chiefs, and after a brief flurry of attacks on members of his secret police, the SAVAK, it has become brutally clear that the monarch's murderous rule has not yet come to an end. Even though the shah himself is "on vacation," yesterday in the Iranian capital the Pahlavis' U.S.-equipped troops stationed themselves on rooftops and rained death down on the squares and avenues below, indiscriminately spraying the unarmed crowds for five hours with machine guns.

When it was all over the demonstra-

tors began to count their dead and wounded. The *Washington Post* was correct to say that the estimate of 35 dead and hundreds wounded was "conservative." Most of those taken to Pahlavi Hospital will die from their injuries. The counting of the dead will go on for some time. As one mourning protester said, remembering the jubilant fraternization with the troops that took place when the shah was driven out: "We gave them flowers and they gave us back bullets. Now we are going to give them bullets" (*Washington Post*, 29 January). But the demonstrators are unarmed, waiting—waiting for the arrival of the ayatollah.

The Mountain and Muhammad

When the shah left it seemed at first that the ancient fundamentalist whose portrait dominated every demonstration would ride into power on the crest of a wave of mass hatred for the autocrat. Millions were prepared to welcome Khomeini from his 14-year exile so that he and he alone could "direct the Islamic Republic." That, after all, is the stated goal of the opposition movement. On the same day the Iranian people were to replace one kind of king with another, or so it was foretold. But the shah got out and the revered ayatollah did not come in. Instead he remained in a suburb of Paris where he made oracular statements to the press about a *jihad*.

Iran has been brought to a standstill by religious-led mass protests as well as by economic strikes. Daily life is now organized by the priest caste of 180,000

mullahs who direct everything from the collection of garbage to the assembly of mass demonstrations. The only instruments they do not control are the army, the SAVAK and the trade unions. And the army too was fragmenting as the shah fled. Some sections of the army responded with desperate, brutal attacks on the demonstrators while others fraternized with the opposition; some soldiers deserted to make common cause with the followers of Khomeini.

Bakhtiar, said *Newsweek*, was "standing on a banana peel." Nonetheless he moved to close the Teheran airport. Questions were immediately posed: would Khomeini have his followers storm the airport, split the army, take over from the pitifully weak and isolated Bakhtiar? No. Khomeini postponed his planned triumphal pilgrimage to state power, and then postponed again. News of a possible deal between Bakhtiar and Khomeini was reported in the international press as the mullahs protested the closing of the airport.

Khomeini said he had a "revolutionary council" all planned, but refused to say who was on it. But his apparent choice for prime minister seemed to indicate a desire to satisfy his more secular supporters. Mehdi Bazargan had credibility with bourgeois liberals of the National Front because he served as part of the bourgeois-nationalist government of Muhammad Mossadeq in the early 1950's. And his religious piety is beyond reproach: a recent *New York Times* (23 January) article explained

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For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba! / 6



SWP's Joseph Hansen Dies

Joseph Hansen, in recent years the main international spokesman and polemicist for the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), died in New York on January 18.

Hansen was born in 1910 in a small Mormon Utah town. He attended college in Salt Lake City, where in 1934 he was recruited to Trotskyism, the SWP and the Abern clique by Earle Birney, a Burnhamite and later a well-known Canadian poet. Hansen's sojourn among the Abernites later became the subject of his finest polemic, when in March 1940 he disposed once and for all of the claim that there was no "Abern clique" by the simple expedient of publishing excerpts from some 40 confidential Abernite letters written to him in 1936-37. (This document was republished as part of an SWP *Education for Socialists* pamphlet in September 1972.)

Despite his adherence to Marxism, Hansen exhibited traces of the puritanical social values of the Mormon milieu. In 1954 he precipitated a heated and silly internal debate (see SWP *Internal Bulletin* No. A-23, October 1954) over the "cosmetics controversy" by authoring, under the pseudonym Jack Bustelo, a *Militant* article which came out against the use of cosmetics in favor of "moral beauty" and the well-scrubbed pioneer-woman look. His pamphlet entitled "Too Many Babies?" (undated [1960?]) defended fertility against "population explosion" theorists with a smugness which must make the present-day SWP, oh-so-sensitive to questions of ecology, squirm:

"What can be done to stop babies from making any further inroads on mankind? Some of the best minds in the capitalist world are working around the clock on this fateful problem...."

But the nadir of Hansen's journalism was doubtless his sob-sister account—which drew a barrage of literary criticism not only from the Shachtmanites but also from SWP then-sympathizer James T. Farrell—of the trip to jail by the "Minneapolis 18":

"The sun fell on his [Cannon's] hair as the train leaned around a curve and the iron gray waves lighted up luminously. Jim's lips moved, 'The Palisades are beautiful....'"

"Behind him strode Farrell Dobbs, outstanding union organizer who rose out of the great 1943 Minneapolis strikes like a flame seeking its way toward the final destruction of this whole dying archaic capitalist system of hunger, misery and bloodshed. Next Felix Morrow, editor of *Fourth Inter-*



Joseph Hansen
Stanton/Pathfinder Press

national, whose writings burn the bourgeoisie like a lash...."

—"How the Trotskyists Went to Jail," by Joseph Hansen, in *Why We Are in Prison*, March 1944

The obituary by George Novack (*Intercontinental Press*, 29 January) particularly salutes Hansen for being "among the first" in the SWP to recognize that the Red Army had overturned capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe following World War II. This is true. And it was no abstract "theoretical" question. When the American Trotskyists were made to confront the issue of post-war Stalinism, they began to get a division (later to become the Cochran-Clarke split, which solidified with Michel Pablo in Europe) in the top leadership. On the one side were the native revisionists—Clarke, Bartell, Novack, Breitman, Hansen—intrigued by the idea that workers states could be created without a proletarian Trotskyist party. On the other side were Cannon and John G. Wright, who had no counter-theory except stand-pat, sterile "orthodoxy." Farrell Dobbs, chief party administrator, took an above-the-hat, apolitical posture.

After the Third World Congress (where some solid links to Pablo were established) in 1951, the American revisionist current underwent internal division. Cannon effected a bloc on organizational grounds with the Dobbs forces and managed to hold the line. Later, at the May 1953 SWP Plenum, Cannon noted:

"During the course of the past year, I had serious doubts of the ability of the

SWP to survive. At one time—I will frankly admit to you here for the first time—I thought that our twenty-five-year effort, compounded on all the previous experience and work of ourselves and others, had ended in catastrophic failure; and that, once again, a small handful would have to pick up the pieces, and start all over again to build the new cadre of another party on the old foundations."

—*Speeches to the Party*

Joseph Hansen was one of those who caused Cannon to wonder if it was all over.

It was not over quite yet. The SWP clung to orthodoxy. It was not until the period 1961-63—when the same question of seeking substitutes for the proletarian vanguard was posed over Cuba—that it became clear that a "small handful" (the Spartacist tendency) would have to build "another party on the old foundations." By patching together an SWP majority and retreating from the international fight, Cannon opened the road to the SWP's decisive capitulation to Pabloism over Cuba.

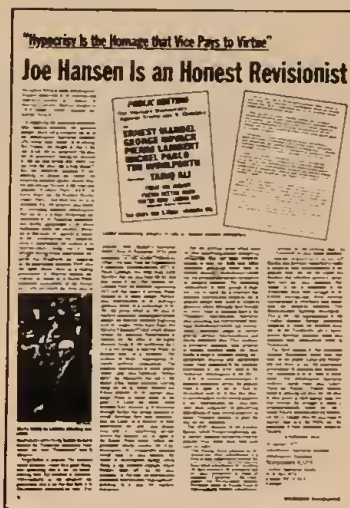
Here again, Hansen the literary technician took the lead. His real talent—manifestly useful for a party of mounting revisionism—was the ability to propound a new line in fragments strewn through many paragraphs, punctuated with saving clauses and orthodox disclaimers. And Hansen knew just where to find justifications for the SWP's infatuation with the Castro regime: he went straight to the Communist International's 4th Congress (1922) discussion on the "workers and farmers government" slogan. The confused formulations and speculations there about a "workers and farmers government" not being equivalent to the dictatorship of the proletariat have been seized upon by numerous latter-day opportunists (Hal Draper, among others). Add to this Trotsky's famous phrase about the petty-bourgeois parties possibly going "further than they themselves wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie" and you have Hansen's July 1960 document, "The Character of the New Cuban Government."

Through most of the 1960's, Hansen was an enthusiastic bystander applauding and theorizing for guerrillaism—a tactic which, divorced from a situation of civil war, is an anti-proletarian strategy appropriate to the petty bourgeoisie and to the remote, fully rural peasantry. Only when empiricism—to which Hansen was wedded—showed

guerrillaism to be disastrous did Hansen move into his most important role, as principal theoretician for the increasingly legalistic SWP and its international cointinkers in the right wing of the United Secretariat (USec).

The USec was formed by the 1963 reunification of the SWP with the European Pabloists. By smashing opposition to the merger in Latin America, Western Europe and Asia and finally by building a USec section in England itself, Hansen earned the undying (and ultimately psychotic) enmity of Gerry Healy, spokesman for the ostensibly anti-Pabloist International Committee. Hence the full flowering of Healyite paranoia locked onto Hansen as the main target of a campaign to smear SWP leaders as tools of the Stalinist and capitalist secret police.

In 1937 Hansen had gone to Mexico to serve as Trotsky's leading secretary.



Spartacist tendency defended Hansen against slanderous Healy charges of "accomplice of GPU."

His highly confidential work in this period, and his role as a main contact with the bourgeois authorities in the investigation of Trotsky's assassination by a Stalinist agent in 1940—testimony to the position of trust Hansen had won in the Trotskyist movement—became the excuse for a loathsome Healyite campaign to slander Hansen as an "accomplice" to the assassination and an agent of the Stalinist GPU, FBI, etc.

The Spartacist tendency actively
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RCP Berserkers Attack Chinese Embassy

As Washington nervously awaited the arrival of China's deputy premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, around noon on January 23 five men drove up to the Chinese liaison office in Washington, D.C. As the staff looked on, four men, one wildly waving a gun, leapt from the car, threw fishing weights at the windows, splashed white paint on the walls, scattered some leaflets, dumped an effigy of Teng in front of the door and drove off—only to be arrested a few minutes later.

Who would pull such a silly adventurist stunt? Agents of the Kuomintang, fanatical Goldwaterites, the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom? No. The spokesman for the group turned out to be none other than Bob Avakian, and this "gang of five" who charged the Chinese offices were members of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

Ever since the RCP lost the China

"franchise" to their arch-rivals in Mike Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the Avakianites have been stewing in their own juices. They took a year before finally deciding to back the "gang of four" in the intrabureaucratic clique struggle that shook China after Mao's death. That caused a split which took out a third of the RCP membership. The Avakianites have tried one gimmick after another to keep their membership busy and intact. But the "Mao Memorials" and the "Mao Enrollment" flopped. Now these Stalinists without a country are hell-bent on giving a "fitting welcome" to their former comrade-in-arms.

The RCP's verbiage is as bizarre as its activities. In RCP leaflets Teng Hsiao-p'ing is variously described as a "half-pint pimp" and a "sawed-off revisionist," or, alternatively, as a "half-pint Napoleon" and a "sawed-off pimp."



Bob Avakian off the deep end.

Perhaps the RCP still smarts from the insults hurled at their megalomaniacal leader by their former members in an "Open Letter to Pipsqueak Avakian," which was subtitled, "This short per-

son's got no right to live."

It should be no surprise that what's left of the RCP should be plunging off into a world of their own. After all, not everyone can turn black into white overnight and still maintain their sanity. The December issue of the RCP's paper, *Revolution*, for example, blithely notes that "we obviously have to repudiate the position we took on Chou En-lai in 1976. Instead of being 'a communist all his life' Chou was in fact a bourgeois democrat all his life...." All with the stroke of a pen!

Just after the RCP split *Workers Vanguard* wrote:

"An unstable, New Left, demagogic tendency, the Avakian faction is capable of both extreme adventurism and slavish capitulation to the worst backwardness of the working class. The post-split RCP will likely be simply a personality cult, crassly opportunist, violently sectarian and programmatically extremely unstable. It could go anywhere—from trying to seize Solidarity House [headquarters of the UAW] to hocking with the Ku Klux Klan."

WP No. 190, 27 January 1978

The RCP, once the largest of the U.S. Maoist groups, is rapidly heading down the road to crazed seethood. ■

Dirty Tricks and Sour Grapes

ILWU Militants Answer Stalinist Redbait

As we reported in WV No. 221, 15 December 1978, the attempt to overturn the re-election of Militant Caucus leader Bob Mandel to the ILWU Local 6 executive board was overwhelmingly turned back by an outraged membership. Obviously driven to a frenzy by the failure of this attempted political purge, both the Communist Party (CP) West Coast weekly, *People's World*, and its supporters in the ILWU responded with a torrent of abuse directed at the Militant Caucus.

In the past, the CP has sought to minimize its public references to this class-struggle group. Why then the sudden interest displayed in the Militant Caucus? The recent elections in the ILWU have only underscored to the CP gang the serious threat to it posed by these militant fighters. The slanders contained in a December 30 "Open Letter" from the CP are among the time-honored methods of "political struggle" employed by Stalinism throughout the world.

We reprint below excerpts from a leaflet of the Militant Caucus responding to the Stalinist lies and exposing the subservience to the bourgeoisie and trade-union bureaucracy that lies behind them.

The outcome of the General Executive Board (GEB) recount on December 7 which confirmed that Militant Caucus spokesman Bob Mandel was re-elected to a third term was a big victory for the union membership. What turned the tide was the decisive action of hundreds of aroused union members and stewards who recognized that the recount was a political purge attempt aimed at stifling any opposition to the leadership's pro-company policies. We want to thank all these members for their support and urge them to attend Stewards' Councils and union meetings to strengthen the

union to meet the employer attacks we know are coming....

Members from more than 20 houses protested to the leadership once they heard of the recount plans. Many workers at MJB, who some time ago removed Louise Dalton as Chief Steward for failing to defend union standards, told her she should withdraw. On the day of the recount, [Sec.-Tres.] King complained to Mandel: "My phone didn't stop ringing all Wednesday afternoon." Waving a sheaf of anti-recount petitions in the air, he said: "This petition crap has to stop. This union doesn't run on petitions. It runs on what the officers say and the GEB votes." Apparently Brother King forgets that he's paid to carry out membership policy—not to dictate it.

Membership Support For Caucus Policies

The center of support came from houses where the Caucus has played a significant role in helping the membership make gains. Fourteen members from KNC including the Chief Steward led off the fight with a telegram to the officers flatly rejecting the recount. Right behind them came a petition of support from roughly 30 members at Owens, circulated by Chief Steward Pereda and committee member R. Garcia, who were the top two vote getters in the GEB election in the East Bay. Owens was the site of the critical fight in October 1977 where the membership in collaboration with the Militant Caucus successfully defended Local 6's historic tradition of never crossing another union's picket lines—despite the leadership's order to scab.

Support also came from the Chief Stewards at Safeway Preserves and at Rathjen (also newly elected to the GEB), who had worked with the Caucus to reverse ILWU policy allowing ship-

ments of struck cargo during the recent grocery strike. This impressive show of support represented more than anger at the leadership's dirty tricks. Many of those who responded are members who have seen that the Caucus' class-struggle program can defend the union and win victories and demanded that these policies be represented on the GEB during the critical contract fight.

Who's Who In The "Open Letter"

The officers and their supporters—furious at having failed to keep Mandel off the GEB and worried about their ability to control the membership and the new GEB—have resorted to yet another "dirty trick." They have begun to quietly circulate a vicious "Open Letter to the East Bay Membership" signed by Joe Lindsay, Joe Blasquez, Mary Alice Benjamin, Joe Reeves, Tony Wilkinson and Terry Greene. It is a crude attempt to isolate Mandel and the Militant Caucus and to warn off those who would dare to support the Caucus. It includes statements that: "Mandel's gang believes in free speech—but only for themselves..." and "If slander doesn't work, Mandel threatens violence." It even goes so far as to imply that Mandel "condone[s] murder!"

The authors try to pawn themselves off as just plain "rank and file members of the GEB." Who are they trying to kid? They are some of the very same people who engineered and administered the '76 Master Contract disaster—and who have been appointed to run the strike apparatus again this year!

Mary Alice Benjamin is a supporter of the ILWU International, particularly Curtis McClain. Joe Blasquez is the former long-time Business Agent who the membership finally dumped in disgust in '76. Lindsay, Wilkinson and Greene are part of the Figueroa/Ramos/Alexander group which kept a

stranglehold on the strike apparatus last time to prevent any outbursts of militancy.

Lindsay and his friends advertise themselves in the pages of the reformist *People's World* (PW) newspaper as supporters of its policies. The PW's December 30 story on the recount was a vicious sex-and-race-baiting attack on the Caucus which accused us of being company agents. Of course the "Open Letter" didn't dare raise these slanders in the union since by their logic the hundreds of union members of every color, nationality and sex who protested the recount are company agents too!

"People's World": Reformism and Class Collaboration

The PW supporters have practiced class collaboration with the companies and their government for over 40 years. Their union policy is to construct what they call "left-center" coalitions with "progressive" union bureaucrats like McClain. This means that they provide the "leftist" double-talk to cover for McClain & Co. who are tied lock, stock and barrel to the Democratic Party and through it to the corporations which own it.

Thus, they have helped McClain engineer defeat after defeat:

1. On the eve of the '76 Master Contract strike, Ramos ordered Thrifty workers to handle Nestlé goods which were being struck by Local 6 in Salinas—an action later repudiated by the GEB on Mandel's motion.

2. After a sharp battle with the police at Golden Grain during the first days of the strike in which four union members were busted trying to keep out scabbing supervisors, office workers and hired scabs, Lindsay and Ramos negotiated an agreement to allow virtually all these people to cross our lines.

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He Died with His Boots Off

Nelson Rockefeller died late last Friday night of a sudden heart attack. According to the *New York Times* "the members of the paramedic team ... found Mr. Rockefeller lying on the floor, clad in dark trousers and socks but no shoes." By the time the police arrived they say they found Rockefeller dressed in suit and striped tie. The family press secretary, Hugh Morrow, who announced the death changed the story of the circumstances and time of death several times, attributing a discrepancy of one hour to a mistaken report from Rockefeller's 25-year-old staff assistant—who arrived at the private brownstone, he added, "wearing a long black evening gown." The official version will be that he was working on a book on his vast art collection.

The next day the newspapers were full of stories praising the butcher of Attica as a socially enlightened capitalist New Dealer and philanthropist, a man of high aesthetic sensibilities. Unlike the Stalinists with their "military/industrial complex" and the new leftists who saw everything that happened in the world as part of a plot by Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, we do not view capitalism as simply the conspiracy of a few evil men. But the Rockefellers are not just America's No. 1 plutocrats—from generation to generation they have been unusually dedicated to personally ordering bloody massacres of workers and the poor.

In 1971, Nelson Rockefeller, then New York governor, led the bloodiest police assault in modern U.S. history, ordering his state troopers to open fire on prisoners at New York's Attica prison. When it was over he justified the slaughter with the remark that, "There was more at stake even than saving lives. There was the whole rule of law.... The whole fabric of society, in fact." So, to preserve the rule of law he personally ordered the murder in cold blood of 43 prison inmates and hostages.

But then he was only following the family tradition. In 1914 when the Wobblies struck his grandfather's mine, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in Ludlow, militiamen surrounded the miners' encampment, rained bullets upon them for days from machine guns, poured oil on their families' tents and set them ablaze.

When John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was subsequently called before a Congressional investigation into the Ludlow Massacre and asked if he could not stop the killings, he replied: "... our interest in the laboring man... is so deep, so profound that we stand ready to lose every cent.... It was upon a similar principle that the War of Revolution was carried on." Twenty-one men, women and children died on that day, 20 April 1914, and 30 more in the following weeks before the strike was finally broken.



The bourgeoisie will miss the butcher of Attica.

And then the Rockefellers were also responsible for unleashing one of the bloodiest conflicts in South American history, the "Chaco War" which pitted Rockefeller's Standard Oil on one side, and Royal Dutch Shell on the other. This war over oil concessions saw the populations of Bolivia and Paraguay respectively mobilized to fight for control of the desert border region. By

the time it was over in 1939 the economies of both countries had been decimated. The death rate was so high in Paraguay that the government was forced to begin a concerted drive to repopulate the country with immigrants.

But at least the Rockefellers can't be accused of discriminating in their war on the oppressed, mowing down blacks, whites, Slavs, Mexicans, men, women and children indiscriminately to maintain their privileges and power. When the catalogue of Nelson's global art hoard is inevitably published, socialists will not forget that every painting was paid for with the blood of the oppressed the world over. ■

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Iran...

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that "his devotion to his religion is evident in a hump on his forehead from the numberless times he has touched his prayer stone."

Bazargan was most anxious for Khomeini to stay out of Iran as he was trying to cook up a deal with the army. But the deal fell through. Bakhtiar, who was supposed to go to the ayatollah to "resign" and he reappointed to a "legal," i.e., Khomeini-approved provisional government, was told he had to resign before the sage of Pontchartrain would see him. So now Bakhtiar says Khomeini can come to Teheran "any time" he thinks it's safe, and the ayatollah prophesizes that he will appear in Iran any day now.

Behind this elaborate game of "the mountain and Mohammad" are some important facts of political life. Both reactionary forces squaring off for state power need the army to rule. And neither wants a prolonged civil war which could allow openings for the left to gain mass influence, particularly with a powerful proletariat in the wings. Khomeini's intended Islamic "Republic" rests not on mass support but on the sword of the military, just as every other Islamic "republic" has in the past and present. In turn, the generals who run Bakhtiar are loyal to the shah who watches over it all from his Moroccan exile/vacation.

The open and decisive question for both these reactionaries is: What will the army do? Will it harden up around the generals, the shah and Shahpur? Or will it crumble in the face of mounting mass protests, a decisive section going over to the mullahs to be the repressive sword of an Islamic "republic?"

Holy War Is No Place For Leftists

The exit of the shah, the brittleness and isolation of Bakhtiar, the indiscipline in the army and the failure of Khomeini to immediately establish his Islamic "republic" has created an unstable interregnum. The mullahs have the allegiance of the masses, but do not have state power. Bakhtiar and the generals have state power but are too despised and weak to control the country. But instead of fighting to present an independent political force directed against both reactionary camps, the fake lefts support Khomeini and the mullahs because they are popular.

In the last two weeks these opportunists have been given a foretaste of the mullahs' idea of how an Islamic "republic" would handle leftists. During the huge march on January 19, *Newsweek* (29 January) reported that when five "Communist groups" tried to join the march they were stopped by pro-Khomeini marshalls with yellow armbands. They were forced to "roll up their banners and carry pictures of the religious leader. All along the route, Khomeini partisans ripped Communist posters from the walls."

On January 21, the *Washington Post* reports, a group of 5,000 "ranging from socialists to Marxists to a small group of orthodox Communist Party members" marched in Teheran shouting, "Honor to Khomeini" and "Unity." But the Khomeini followers were not impressed

with their loyalty: "You are leftists. You are traitors. You are trying to sabotage the revolution."

At Teheran University some left-wing students who had been preaching the gospel that Khomeini would usher in the "democratic stage" of the two-stage revolution, got more than words when they made some criticisms of the Islamic "republic." Religious gangs doing a pretty good imitation of clerical fascists dispensed rough Koranic justice on the

the proletariat in the running for state power.

It is exasperating that none of the leftist groups in Iran are presenting this fundamental truth and absolutely vital program to the students, the oil workers and others who have been caught up in the religious-led opposition in the hope of escaping from the unrelieved terror of the shah's rule. Not since Portugal has there been a more agonizing example of the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

Interview with Khomeini Aide

The following is an excerpt from an interview with Ibrahim Yazdi, a secretary to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, broadcast on the program "One Man, One Voice" by BBC Radio 4 (London) on January 7:

BBC: "How do you see your relationship with the Communists? They have been in the past formidably strong, and they have spoken out about the desirability of forming an alliance with you. What is the relationship you foresee between you, ultimately?"

Yazdi: "Number one, as the ayatollah has said, even for the overthrow of the shah we will not cooperate with the Communists. We don't need that. The majority of our people are Muslims and this Islamic movement is very strong. We don't need to go to a lawyer for them or to any but Muslims to overthrow the shah."

BBC: "But do you welcome the support of the Communists?"

Yazdi: "We don't need that..."

BBC: "But they give you their support—orally, in their newspapers they call for a united front..."

Yazdi: "Well, they call for it, but they never did anything. They call, 'Down with the mullahs, down with the shah.' That's not supporting the Islamic movement."

students who stupidly said that Iranians might expect democracy from these apostles of medieval fundamentalism. (See accompanying translated excerpts from *Le Monde* on the Islamic "shock brigades.")

The left has responded to these perfectly consistent attacks by the fundamentalists by calling upon the ayatollah himself to control them. They call upon the number one zealot, the "reflection of Allah," to reflect the interests of their own illusions.

What's in a Slogan?

The fissure in the opposition caused by the attacks on the left, the wearing away of army discipline and the increasing militancy of the striking workers, particularly the oil workers, combines to create a situation of enormous opportunity and desperate need for a revolutionary party. The absolute requirement of such a party is a program of proletarian independence. And that means independence from the mullahs, for the *ulema* (Muslim clergy) are organizing to take over state power and set up a theocracy no less reactionary than the shah's monarchy.

The mullahs understand that they are in a struggle for power. The shah and the generals understand it. And so has the international Spartacist tendency which has raised as a condensed expression of proletarian independence in a struggle for power the slogan, "Down with the Shah—Down with the Mullahs!" We say "Workers Must Rule," not Islamic fundamentalists or jet-setting monarchs. It is an obvious slogan. So obvious that Khomeini's aide thinks it is, or ought to be, the slogan of the communists (see accompanying BBC interview). It is the slogan that he worries about, because he does not want

The extent of the capitulation of the left to Khomeini can be measured by one small and startling fact: At Teheran University women are starting to return to the veil (*chador*), the age-old mark of women's oppression which is being reimposed as part of the religious opposition's drive for an "Islamic republic."

In this vacuum of revolutionary leadership, even a small propaganda group might gain influence and grow rapidly if it could stand up to the pressure of the popular religious movement. But it would take some of the stuff of the 1914 Bolsheviks who were stoned by the Vyborg workers for their anti-war agitation. Three years later they had transformed this district into a revolutionary bastion because of their courage. It is downright criminal that none of the leftist groups will tell their own members or supporters the truth that is looming up ominously in front of their noses, namely that this movement is reactionary and a threat to anyone labeled a leftist or a communist. It is a question of life or death. We have been driving this message home for months—and now the Iranian masses are getting their first bitter taste of what life under the mullahs is going to be like.

Islamic Mass Movement

The fake lefts refuse to see the mullah-led movement as a bid for governmental power. Instead they see only the "mass movement" and label it as necessarily good. The more obvious it becomes that the Islamic "republic" of the ayatollahs is just as oppressive as the shah's monarchy, the more the fake-lefts try to paint the seventh-century obscurantism in "democratic colors," or become its "critical" supporters.

The demagogically contradictory statements of Khomeini make particularly good material for this enterprise. Hasn't he said he is for a constituent assembly? Forget that he has also said that he alone will name the "revolutionary council" and the *ulema* will maintain veto power over parliamentary decisions. Isn't he for the constitution? Of course—the constitution of 1906 which does not even allow women the right to vote. But he says everyone can vote, doesn't he? Sure, and he also says there is only one party—the party of Allah.

A recent sermon serves as a good example of how this ascetic handles the

democratic aspirations of the Iranians within the cryptic style of Islamic fundamentalism. Addressing more than 1,500 followers last week, Khomeini promised that the Islamic "republic" would provide "an honest system of justice." But he went on to note that "the Ali had set up such a fair system in the seventh century that even a Jew when he brought suit against the highest official in the land could make his case and win" (*Time*, 5 February). Why does anyone take comfort from such statements?

The mullah supporters on the left like to pretend that the movement is really open-ended, that it can be pressured as it is into becoming democratic. This idea of giving the mass movement a democratic content is a particular favorite among self-proclaimed Trotskyists of all sorts. The problem is that the nature of the movement is quite clear. Khomeini speaks in oracular riddles but has always been straightforward about what he has been aiming for: an Islamic "republic."

Recently the United Secretariat's Tariq Ali took on the task of making the obscurantist mullah movement even more obscure in purpose. Only because Ali argues that the "Islamic republic" has no program of its own, can he give the Khomeini-led movement a democratic content. In a letter to "Supporters of Islamic Revolution" (*Intercontinental Press*, 29 January), he explains that "the ayatollahs do not represent a coherent political alternative," and that "...no consistent political or theoretical positions... can be derived from Islam." He poses what he hopes will be taken as rhetorical questions: "What is an Islamic state? What would be its class character? Who would own the means of production and especially the oil wells?" Does Ali really believe these are unanswerable questions?

What is meant by an "Islamic state"? Ali might go to Saudi Arabia or Libya to find out. A woman who finds his questions unanswerable might try walking about in the sacred city of Qom without a veil. For an Iranian woman who is thought to have "dishonored" the male members of her family, the character of the Islamic state is painfully clear. It is a cruel irony for the "consistent feminists" of the USec to call on the Islamic "republic" of the mullahs to institute their democratic program of day care centers and legal abortions, when the veil and woman-beating is the order of the day.

For Permanent Revolution in Iran

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is transparent in its support for Khomeini and the mullahs. And its denunciation of those "sectarians" who "identify the movement with the leadership" is to be expected. But a similar argument is made by a centrist, state-capitalist group in Britain, the Workers Power Group (WPG) although in a slicker and more direct form. The current issue of its newspaper has a long polemic against our slogan "Down with the Shah—Down with the Mullahs!" They say "the Spartacists throw together in a hopeless jumble every aspect of the mass movement and label it reactionary" ("Rights and Wrongs of the Spartacists," *Workers Power*, January 1979). What we do is characterize the movement politically based on an all-sided judgment of who

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor
(near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court
3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

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Monday through
Friday: 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone: (212) 925-5665

Spartacist Iran Forum

**Down with the shah!
Down with the mullahs!
For workers revolution
in Iran!**

WBAI-FM 99.5

**Tuesday, February 6
8:30 p.m.**

New York City

calls the shots and where the movement is heading.

How about that movement in Italy in 1922? Didn't it appeal to oppressed and exploited workers with real grievances? Don't communists want to win these workers to its side? But we must say the truth—that the fascist movement is reactionary. The Workers Power Group wants to give critical support to the mullahs by pretending they are not fighting for state power. Thus WPG writes, "Whilst the proletariat can and should fight alongside the mullah-led forces it will be fatal for it to support a Khomeini-style government." But that is just the point. It is not possible to fight "alongside" the mullahs and not be fighting for a Khomeini-style government.

Like the SWP, Workers Power offers a program to give democratic content to the mass movement for an "Islamic republic." But the group demonstrates its utter confusion when it calls upon this movement to institute the "separation of Mosque and state." The driving force of that movement is to bring the state to the mosque. Revolutionaries do not march alongside this movement for theocracy, but show workers that *their* path derives from their independent struggle for power.

Each time WPG reaches for a political generalization it comes up with a red herring. Thus WPG writes, "The Spartacists' position would in practice rule out an anti-imperialist united front against the Shah in Iran." First of all, where is this struggle against imperialism in Iran? The implication is that Khomeini is some kind of bourgeois nationalist fighting against imperialist domination, a sort of Chiang Kai-shek in turban, or even Mossadeq. But all this talk from Khomeini about fighting U.S. imperialism is so much hot air. Iran is a sub-imperialist power in its own area as the guerrilla rebels of Dhofar know at the cost of their lives. To paint up Khomeini as the prophet of the "democratic stage" is a crime against the masses of Iranians who genuinely desire democratic rights.

But even if Khomeini were a bourgeois nationalist rather than a clerical obscurantist with a social program for an Islamic theocracy, the "anti-imperialist united front" of Workers Power is a strategy for defeat. Would the vanguard of the proletariat make a temporary bloc with Chiang Kai-shek when he engaged in battles against the imperialists or feudal war lords? Yes!

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and various propositions for a "democratic state" under the mullahs and the army. Struggle for a constituent assembly? Yes, but fight for one that is not a creature of a theocratic state. And that means a fight against the mullahs, a struggle for proletarian power! Fight for land reform? Yes, but not to redress the cosmetic reforms hated by the mullahs.

their factory committees must break from the leadership of the religious opposition. Unlike the bazaar merchants, the workers have a social organization that provides a ready basis to take up the struggle independently. When Bazargan went to the oil workers in the name of Khomeini and Allah to ask them to ease up on their strike, he said that he found the workers were "not



Der Spiegel

Left, anti-shah protesters topple statue of founder of Pahlavi dynasty. Now protesters face showdown with shah's military.



UPI

Would we make an "anti-imperialist united front" political bloc like the one Workers Power wants? No! This is the application of the Stalinist "two-stage revolution" for backward countries: first the bourgeois-democratic state, later socialist revolution. Against this formula for betrayal we champion the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution.

It should be obvious that the democratic tasks will not be solved in Iran either under the shah's "white revolution"—which can only be white terror—or the mullahs' Islamic "republic." This is the dividing line between

We call for land to the tiller in the context of a struggle against the shah and against the Islamic clergy, who are among the largest holders of land in Iran!

People's justice for the SAVAK! Teheran has many lampposts and even more victims of SAVAK torture. When the mullahs, in an effort to save the secret police for their own use, say that the tribunals of people's justice must give way to the Islamic court, we say not an Islamic republic but workers' rule!

Most important of all, the workers in

so religious." Here the ayatollahs and the generals find useful the Stalinist Tudeh Party, whose leader said recently that the "oil workers follow only Tudeh Party directives" (*Newsweek*, 29 January). And what are those directives? The Tudeh Party leader finds "no conflict between Communism and Khomeini's vision of an Islamic republic."

The Iranian revolution will begin when a Bazargan, or a Shahpur or some ayatollah is met by the oil workers with chants, not of "God is Great," but "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs, Workers Must Rule." ■

What the Militant Doesn't Tell You About Iran

WASHINGTON POST
18 JANUARY 1979

"At Teheran University, leftist and religious demonstrators fought for two hours and witnesses reported a number of broken limbs and bloodied heads. Street demonstrations in the capital caused massive traffic jams. Police looked the other way and troops did not intervene."

LE MONDE
19 JANUARY 1979

"Teheran University remains one of the 'hot points' of agitation against the regime. Open to the public for the last five days, it has become a sort of open forum, in the style of the Sorbonne in 1968, where all opposition groupings are admitted. While marches and processions wind through the campus and nearby streets without let-up, small groups talk about the 'revolution' all day long. Less conspicuously, Marxist and Muslim students sell their 'white literature,' so-called because of the color of the book covers.

"On the other hand, the political and religious discussions which have been going on incessantly since the opening of the university have created an unhealthy climate of tension inside the campus. The debate at first concerned the topic of the Islamic republic and the role and action of Khomeini. Now it is simply about whether or not such discussions can take place at all. The

religious groups maintain, in effect, that as long as the Islamic republic has not been installed, such discussions are useless and dangerous, because they fragment the opposition which should be united under the banner of Khomeini. The lay forces, representing a whole gamut of leftist and Marxist groups, object that by then [i.e., after the Islamic republic is installed] it will perhaps be too late to discuss, and that in any case it is impossible to prevent the clash of contradictory ideas in a society that has been muzzled for so long and suddenly plunged into an era of freedom.

"The discussions would probably have taken place peacefully if it were not for the action of religious groups from outside the university who, organized in small shock brigades, attempt to prevent them from taking place. On Wednesday we saw one of these groups race through, disrupting everything to cries of 'la hizb, illa hizb Allah!' ('No parties but the party of Allah!')

"The discussion groups got back together immediately after they [the Muslim shock brigades] had brutally passed through. One student who protested too energetically against these rather undemocratic procedures was beaten right under our eyes with fist blows and kicks and then tossed off the campus....

"Certain leftist students are less optimistic [than the professors] and denounce the intransigence of the religious groups, whose views, they claim, are not shared by the higher-ups, that is by the ayatollahs Taleghani and

Khomeini. At present the sale of leftist literature has not been disturbed. However, we were told of several cases in which religious militants ripped up leaflets distributed by the Marxist groups and tore down their wall newspapers.

"The religious groups, on their part, say they are upset about the reservations expressed by their non-religious allies on the subject of the 'Islamic republic.' A recent open letter by the leftist writer Zahimi to Khomeini, which appeared in *Ayandegan* under the title 'Why I Am Against the Islamic Republic,' has made a lot of waves even though it was written in very respectful terms. Although it has been accepted by the immense majority of the population, the 'Islamic republic' is not unanimously approved in intellectual circles, even though they are close to Khomeini.

"Thus some complained about the fact that in his appeal to the Iranian people calling on them to participate on Friday in the great march celebrating the 40th day of mourning of the death of Imam Hussein [eighth-century progenitor of the Shi'ite branch of Islam], Ayatollah Khomeini called on them to prove once again 'their support for an Islamic republic.' Previously the objective of the march had been to protest against the Pahlavi tyranny."

LE MONDE
23 JANUARY 1979

"On Saturday several thousand left-wing demonstrators were brutally at-

tacked and dispersed on Pahlavi Avenue by religious militants to the now-habitual cries of, 'The only party is the party of Allah' and 'Ruhollah [Khomeini] is our leader.' On Sunday almost 2,000 student and working-class youth marched from Ghazvine Square to the Technical University of Aryamer, repeatedly chanting 'Workers, peasants, intellectuals unite in the struggle against the shah and imperialism! Long live Khomeini!'

"The march, organized by Marxist-Leninist students close to the Fedayin, was called to protest 'the intolerance of certain religious leaders.' It was constantly harassed by groups of Muslim activists who ran ahead of the procession inciting the population with cries of 'Watch out, the communists are coming.' 'This march has not been authorized by the religious leaders,' and 'They do not have the right to shout the name of Khomeini.'

"Left-wing professors and students, for their part, hold that the principle of freedom of expression, for which the Iranian people have sacrificed so many martyrs, must not be compromised. Some of them are counting on the upcoming arrival of Khomeini, hoping that this will help put a stop to the action of 'religious elements who have run amok,' in the belief that the latter do not necessarily reflect the views of the ayatollah. On Sunday left-wing demonstrators carried signs bearing one of the statements of the Shi'ite religious leader: 'Marxists have the right to express their opinions!'" ■

Part one of this article
appeared in WV No. 223
19 January 1979

In celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution recently Socialist Workers Party leaders reminisced about the early 1960's, painting a rosy picture of a mutual admiration society between "Fidel" and the SWP. Castro had mentioned Farrell Dobbs' presidential candidacy at a giant rally in Havana, albeit only indirectly, while the SWP "printed more speeches by Castro and Che Guevara than any other English-language publication" (*Militant*, 22 December 1978). Actually, the relationship was rather more one-sided than this would suggest. And in recent years, as the luster of July 26th wore off, one of the SWP's main jobs as the unrequited (and unwanted) "best defender" of Castro has been to attack left critics of the Havana regime. And whether acknowledged or not, number one on their enemies list has always been the Spartacist League.

Like all apologists for bureaucratic anti-working-class regimes, the SWP finds distortion and downright lies more convenient than honest debate. Thus in a recent speech on "Cuba: Twenty Years of Revolution," SWP national secretary Jack Barnes disingenuously equates the SL with right-wing social democrats.

"There were quite a few people who considered themselves socialists but didn't recognize the Cuban revolution as a socialist revolution. They were known as the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL). They have modern day clones like the Spartacist League."

—*International Socialist Review*, February 1979

Of course, Barnes is well aware that "State Department socialists" of the YPSL stripe supported the Bay of Pigs invasion and were hypocritically "neutral" during the October 1962 missile crisis, whereas the SL and its predecessor, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP, never hesitated in defending the Cuban Revolution against imperialism.

In another instance an editorial introduction to a collection of writings by Joseph Hansen, *Dynamics of the*

marked the overthrow of Cuban capitalism.

Why does the SWP resort to such slander and falsification? This is not hard to fathom. It is a simple matter to demonstrate that the bourgeoisie no longer rules in Havana: it is far more difficult to reply to Spartacist arguments that the Castro regime is characterized by the Stalinist traits of bonapartist-bureaucratic rule at home and a nationalist foreign policy. Curiously, nowhere in Hansen's book does he even mention the definitive position of the RT (upheld ever since by the international Spartacist tendency), namely that Cuba had become a *deformed workers state*.

As early as December 1961, in a resolution submitted to the convention of the SWP youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the Revolutionary Tendency wrote:

"Taken as a whole, the process going on today in Cuba is that of the formation of a deformed workers state—that is, the creation of a society like that which exists in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China."

—Shane Mage, "The Cuban Revolution," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8 (Cuba and Marxist Theory)

A year and a half later, at the July 1963 SWP convention, the differences on Cuba were succinctly stated in counterposed international resolutions by the Dobbs-Hansen leadership and the RT. The majority wrote:

"9. The appearance of a workers state in Cuba—the exact form of which is yet to be settled—is of special interest since the revolution there was carried out under a leadership completely independent from the school of Stalinism. In its evolution toward revolutionary Marxism, the July 26 Movement set a pattern that now stands as an example for a number of other countries."

—"For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," reprinted in SWP Education for Socialists bulletin *Marxism vs. Ultraleftism*

While the SWP tops were enthusiastically whooping it up for Castro, always keeping one eye cocked toward their recruitment rate, the minority analyzing the Cuban Revolution from the standpoint of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, arrived at a very different conclusion:

"13. The Cuban Revolution has exposed the vast inroads of revisionism upon our movement. On the pretext of defense of the Cuban Revolution, in itself an obligation for our movement, full unconditional and uncritical support has been given to the Castro government and leadership, despite its petit-bourgeois nature and bureaucratic behavior. Yet the record of the regime's opposition to the democratic rights of the Cuban workers and peasants is clear: bureaucratic ouster of the democratically-elected leaders of the labor movement and their replacement by Stalinist hacks; suppression of the Trotskyist press; proclamation of the single-party system; and much else. This record stands side by side with enormous initial social and economic accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution. This Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and of the deformed workers' state which has issued therefrom. But Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers' democracy, even if our tactical approach is not as toward a hardened bureaucratic caste."

—"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9 (Basic Documents of the Spartacist League)

This still stands today, a decade and a half later, as a fundamental characterization of the Castro regime and the attitude of Trotskyists toward it.

The Cuban question, moreover, was no secondary issue for the SWP leadership or the Revolutionary Tendency. According to *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*, "A common position on the Cuban revolution was part of the growing area of political agreement that led to the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963, after a split

Spartacist Spectre Haunts USec Debate on Castroism

FOR WORKERS POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CUBA!



Kremlin receives their man from Havana in Moscow.

Specchio

lasting ten years." But while Dobbs and Hansen joined Ernest Mandel to found the United Secretariat (USec) on the basis of applauding Castroism, the RT was expelled from the SWP on frame-up charges of "disloyalty." Thus it was over the issue of Cuba that the SWP's break with Trotskyism took place, and the Spartacist tendency represents the continuity of those who fought against this betrayal from a Marxist perspective.

For years the SL was locked in national isolation in the U.S. while it was taboo in the USec to refer to Cuba as a deformed workers state. In 1973 a small Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency in the U.S. (with supporters in Australia and Canada) did so, and it too was summarily expelled (see *Spartacist* No. 23, Spring 1977). Nevertheless history marched on, and as Castro abandoned all support to guerrilla adventures abroad, clearly subordinating his foreign policy to the détente aims of the Kremlin while continuing bureaucratic repression domestically, many would-be Trotskyists found themselves pushed willy-nilly toward the conclusion that Stalinism held sway in Havana. This has led recently to a notable upsurge of interest in Spartacist literature on Cuba. And as the USec's 11th World Congress approaches, with the Cuban question actively under discussion, it will be impossible for intellectually honest militants to avoid confronting the uniquely consistent revolutionary program of the ISL.

The Formation of the Cuban Deformed Workers State

For a fuller exposition of this analysis we refer our readers to the SL's *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8 on "Cuba and Marxist Theory." Here we will only sketch some of the key elements, expose the SWP's cowardly slanders and point out the

general methodological significance of the Spartacist position on Cuba for the broader programmatic question of the deformed workers states that arose following World War II (Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam, etc.).

The most comprehensive exposition produced by the RT, "Cuba and the Deformed Workers States" by Tim Wohlforth, stressed the *qualitative* difference between workers states of the soviet or commune type and the deformed/degenerated workers states. In the former case the proletariat rules through its own democratic representative institutions (workers councils—soviets—or their equivalent) and revolutionary party. In the latter case, even though it requires the collectivist property relations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a bonapartist regime controls the state apparatus, excluding the working class from exercising power.

In the USSR it took a thermidorian political counterrevolution for the bureaucracy to achieve its domination, while in the deformed workers states this usurpation of power existed from birth, due to the absence of the working class as an active force in those revolutions. This absence was the result not of chance but of bloody repression: in China the proletariat was atomized by Chiang Kai-shek's police; in Cuba it was terrorized by Batista's torturers and disciplined by the gangster union leader Mijal. The RT stressed that a petty-bourgeois leadership based on a peasant guerrilla force could not have played such an independent role if the workers had been mobilized. Instead there would have been a clash, as in Vietnam where in 1945 the Stalinist-led guerrillas joined the imperialists in massacring the Trotskyist leadership of the Saigon workers uprising.

In contrast, for Hansen and the USec workers democracy is merely *norma-*

tive, an ideal which is approximated in differing quantitative degrees by all existing workers states: Lenin's Russia was very good, Stalin's Russia was very bad, Castro's Cuba is pretty good, Ho's Vietnam is not so good, etc. So in the first place if there are no "institutions of proletarian democracy" in Cuba, don't worry. Castro has popular support and perhaps soviets will turn up later. And if the Trotskyists of the POR are arrested and their newspaper suppressed, do not overrate its significance; after all, it could be worse (e.g., Stalin's Gulag), and with a little pressure and advice, perhaps Castro himself could be won over. The SWP ignores the decisive question of *power*, pretending that if there are no organs of proletarian democracy there is a vacuum; but if the workers don't rule directly, then someone else must. In Cuba that someone is Castro and his bonapartist clique.

One of the specific characteristics of the Cuban Revolution was the initial lack of a clearly defined bureaucratic caste. On the rare occasions when SWP spokesmen have polemicized against a deformed workers state characterization of the Castro regime, this is one of their main pieces of "evidence" as to its supposed "democratic tendency." Such arguments carry no weight, however, for rather than being embodied in a Stalinist "party," state power was clearly in the hands of Castro and those sections of the governmental apparatus headed by his closest associates (the agrarian reform agency INRA, directly administered by Fidel in the early years; the reorganized Revolutionary Armed Forces commanded by Raúl Guevara's Ministry of Industry). Nevertheless, the fact that a ruling bureaucracy was only in the process of formation made Cuba far more open to the intervention of Trotskyists than any other deformed workers state.

This fact was clearly recognized by

Red Mole



IN LATIN AMERICA BOTH TROTSKY AND CHE WERE MURDERED TODAY THEIR FOLLOWERS PAY THEM HOMAGE BY TAKING UP ARMS, DETERMINED TO LIBERATE THE ENTIRE CONTINENT

Special Latin America Dossier
BENGAL: THE EAST GETS REDDER
MANCHESTER: COUNCIL OF ACTION

The "good old days" of Mandelite guerrillism.

Cuban Revolution, pretends that the RT characterized Castro's Cuba as capitalist:

"A tendency in the IC [International Committee] led by Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League in Britain insisted that the lack of a mass Trotskyist party in Cuba meant that the state was capitalist. A minority of the SWP led by Shane Mage, Tim Wohlforth, and James Robertson held a similar view, as did the French section of the IC."

Again, it is no secret to the editors of Pathfinder Press that the Revolutionary Tendency rejected Healy's position and held that the 1960 nationalizations

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live, an ideal which is approximated in differing quantitative degrees by all existing workers states: Lenin's Russia was very good, Stalin's Russia was very bad, Castro's Cuba is pretty good, Ho's Vietnam is not so good, etc. So in the first place if there are no "institutions of proletarian democracy" in Cuba, don't worry, Castro has popular support and perhaps soviets will turn up later. And if the Trotskyists of the POR are arrested and their newspaper suppressed, do not overrate its significance; after all, it could be worse (e.g., Stalin's Gulag), and with a little pressure and advice, perhaps Castro himself could be won over. The SWP ignores the decisive question of power, pretending that if there are no organs of proletarian democracy there is a vacuum; but if the workers don't rule directly, then someone else must. In Cuba that someone is Castro and his bonapartist clique.

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the RT. The Wohlforth document called for "a considerably different strategy and tactics than that which we would apply in a more stable (relatively) deformed workers state such as China." And the document "Notes on the Cuban Discussion Within the Revolutionary Tendency" (April 1963) by James Robertson argues that:

"the program of political revolution for Cuba ought to be given a transitional formulation (e.g., 'Make the Government Ministers Responsible to and Removable by Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Organizations'). While this advantage for proletarian intervention is, or more likely was, transient, it should not just be written off but tested out in practical agitation as the Cuban BLAist Trotskyists [the supporters of J. Posadas' Latin American Bureau] were doing in their press up to the time it was closed down."

—Marxist Bulletin No. 8

Particularly from late 1959 through mid-1962, there were important opportunities for such intervention. K.S. Karol notes the appearance of a number of mass organizations during the early period of the Cuban Revolution:

"There was the Militia, the symbol of a whole nation under arms; the various Committees for the Defense of the Revolution [CDR]; the ANAP (National Association of Small Farmers); the revolutionary trade unions; and many others"

—Guerrillas in Power: The Course of the Cuban Revolution (1970)

The CDRs were set up in September 1959 to provide a system of collective vigilance against counterrevolution. The militia was a volunteer army of 150,000 workers organized after the October 1959 crisis in the Rebel Army provoked by the attempted uprising by Hubert Matos. In the unions, the *mujalista* top leadership had been purged and replaced by July 26 Movement supporters.

For a short time it would have been possible to call for a government responsible to these mass organizations while struggling for full workers democracy within them (right to tendency, democratic elections, delegates recallable at any time). However, by spring 1960 the old-line PSP Stalinists had already put a hammerlock on the labor federation, the CDRs were soon subordinated to the G.2 (army intelligence) and the militia was turned into a civil defense organization (with the rifles locked up) after some popular disturbances in the summer of 1962.

Who Defended the Cuban Revolution?

Of course, the SWP leadership did not argue that the minority was passing

up opportunities to mobilize the masses in struggle for workers democracy and an internationalist policy in Cuba. On the contrary, their "arguments" amounted to the charge of "slamming all doors" on Castro and the vile slander that the Trotskyist opponents of Castroism "didn't defend the Cuban Revolution."

So just how did the RT supposedly fail to defend Cuba against Yankee imperialism? First, it seems that it was guilty of the crime of calling on the SWP's *Militant* to "campaign for proletarian democracy in Cuba" during

Revolutionary militia in Cuba during early 1960's. 150,000 workers joined volunteer armed forces set up to replace Rebel Army after Hubert Matos mutiny. Two years later militia was dissolved following popular disturbances, guns locked up.



Guardian

early 1961, at a time when the Bay of Pigs invasion was being prepared and launched. Here is Hansen's indictment:

"Had the Militant opened a 'campaign' for proletarian democracy at that precise time it would not only have made it difficult to differentiate our position from that of the counterrevolution, it would have facilitated the slanderous charge that we were acting as a 'left cover' for the counterrevolution; and, as a matter of fact, in view of the need for centralism in facing the attack, the Cuban workers would have had good cause to consider such a campaign at that precise time as a 'criminal act of sabotage against this revolution.'"

—"What the Discussion on Cuba is About" (May 1961), reprinted in *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*

Is that so? In other words, since the POR was campaigning for proletarian democracy in Cuba in the spring of 1961

it was correct to shut down their paper? We recall that Stalin made the same charges against the Trotskyists at the time of the Moscow Purge Trials. Would the SWP care to argue that the Fourth International committed a "criminal act of sabotage against the Russian Revolution" because it continued to call for a political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy even at the time of Hitler's attack?

That brings us to the second item in the SWP's slanderous charge that the revolutionary minority in the party did not defend Cuba against imperialist

attack: the missile crisis of October 1962. In "Cuba—The Acid Test" (November 1962) Hansen mocks the insistence by the International Committee (IC—led by Healy's Socialist Labour League [SLL] after the departure of the SWP) that rockets were not the way to defend the revolution. But although his article is sprinkled with quotes from the SLL's *Newsletter*, Hansen does not even mention the IC statement on the crisis, "Defend the Cuban Revolution." That declaration clearly stated:

"The working class of the world must act to prevent the Cuban Revolution from being crushed. Such action must be independent of the policies of Khrushchev and the Soviet bureaucracy. Their line of peaceful co-existence designed only to preserve their own privileged rule by diplomatic deals, is opposed to the spread of the Cuban Revolution and to independent workers' action, which are the only guarantees of Cuba's defence. Installation of Soviet missile bases in Cuba is not for the defence of the Cuban Revolution, but part of the diplomatic game of Khrushchev."

—Newsletter, 3 November 1962

Furthermore, the Revolutionary Tendency, which was in general political solidarity with Healy although disagreeing with the SLL position that Cuba was still a capitalist state, sent its own declaration on the October crisis to the SWP leadership. In addition to requesting that the *Militant* publish the 3 November IC communiqué, and that the Political Committee adopt its political line as a "starting point of a campaign for international working-class solidarity with the Cuban revolution based on the establishment of workers' democracy in Cuba," the RT declaration stated:

"The Cuban revolution is now at its hour of greatest peril. The result of the round trip of the Soviet missiles has been to make a deal between Khrushchev and Kennedy at the expense of the Cuban people no longer merely a perspective but an immediate threat. In this situation the duty of the Trotskyists toward the Cuban revolution only begins with demonstrations of sympathy and support for Cuba."

"The decisive point in the political line in defense of the Cuban revolution

continued on page 8



Castro and Ben Bella in Cuba. Hansen labeled both regimes "workers and peasants government." But three years later Algerian leader was ousted in army coup. Too bad, says Hansen, "Ben Bella was no Castro."

Keystone

Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

against all its enemies is explicit denunciation of the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the concrete instance of Cuba. The Cuban revolution cannot be defended by arms under the control of Kremlin bureaucrats whose only interest is to turn the revolution to the service of Russian foreign policy, including selling it out entirely if the price is right... The false policy of the Castro leadership, its political bloc with the Stalinists, has gravely undermined this defense."

—"Declaration on the Cuban Crisis" (30 November 1962), in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 3, Part I (The Split in the Revolutionary Tendency)

And the SWP leadership—how did they defend the Cuban Revolution? In the *Militant* coverage at the time of the October crisis they criticize neither Castro (of course) nor Khrushchev (except for keeping the presence of the missiles secret!). Moreover, in a now-famous letter, from long-time SWP leader James P. Cannon to Farrell Dobbs, dated 31 October 1962, Cannon listed the conditions Khrushchev agreed to and then asked:

"What else could he have done under the given circumstances?"

"Those who judge otherwise should tell us what alternative course the Kremlin should have followed on the military and diplomatic fronts at that excruciating point of decision."

—reprinted in *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 16, July 1977

But we thought that Trotskyists were supposed to put forward a revolutionary program, not advise the Stalinist bureaucracy on how to protect its interests!

The actual course of the SWP at this point was not toward becoming "left" advisers of the Stalinists, but rather in the direction of pacifist capitulation to the U.S. bourgeoisie. This is made quite clear in Cannon's letter, which talks repeatedly of "Washington's evident determination to go the limit." But the dramatic evidence of which way these ex-Trotskyists were heading came a year later when John F. Kennedy was shot down in Dallas. The accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, had been a member of the SWP-led Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and the hysterical bourgeois press was portraying him as a Castro agent. So what did the SWP do? The answer is well-known: it fired off a telegram of condolences to the widow of the No. 1 imperialist, the man responsible for the Bay of Pigs invasion and the threat of nuclear war unleashed during the October missile crisis. Some defense of the Cuban Revolution!

IMT Guerrillaists Turn Against Castro

Interestingly, the current discussion on Cuba within the United Secretariat was raised not by the reformist SWP-led wing, the former Leninist Trotskyist



Spartacist Canada

USee theoreticians Ernest Mandel (above) and Livio Maitan. On the way back from the guerrilla road they bumped into Cuba.



NLB

Faction (I.T.F.), but by the centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) led by Ernest Mandel, who not so long ago was a vociferous cheerleader for Guevarism. From 1969 through 1977 these two groupings in the USee were at each other's throats over a series of issues, beginning with a supposed "turn" toward guerrillaism by the Mandelites in the late 1960's. The majority had taken the OLAS Conference in Havana (July 1967) as the tocsin for a new wave of Cuban-backed guerrilla struggles throughout Latin America. Instead, as one IMT'er wrote ruefully a decade later, "OLAS was the requiem of the Castroite current" (Pablo Rojas, "El centrismo de 'tipo castrista' en América Latina," *Combate* [Sweden], February 1977).

Consequently, the IMT guerrillaists never received the hoped-for material aid from Cuba, and every one of their guerrilla ventures turned into a disaster. In Bolivia a joint effort with remnants of Guevara's ELN to establish a *foco* not far from the capital of La Paz was nipped in the bud by the army, leading to many deaths; the survivors abandoned the USee to throw in their lot with the ELN. In Argentina the official section of the United Secretariat, Roberto Santucho's PRT, became so enthusiastically committed to the "guer-

rilla road" that it, too, left the USee in favor of mainstream Castroism. (However, on the military plane, despite some spectacular actions in the early 1970's, the PRT was impotent in the face of Videla's 1976 coup; and politically Castro was more interested in good relations with the Peronist government than in supporting a Trotskyoid guerrilla outfit.)

So with nothing but unmitigated defeats on the balance sheet of its "armed struggle" line, and in the more sedate mid-1970's atmosphere of the popular front (as contrasted to the heady Guevarist ambience following May '68), in late 1977 the IMT wrote a "self-criticism" arguing that the USee had missed the boat by taking up guerrillaism too late. But having been burned badly, they went on to question their own previous line on Cuba as well:

"The first source of these errors lies in the fact that at the time (and this is still partially true today) we lacked a complete and correct view of the real lessons of the Cuban revolution....

"...we did not clearly oppose the incorrect lessons drawn from the Cuban revolution by the great majority of the Latin American vanguard....

"Che's departure from Cuba in 1966 reflected a qualitative change in this relationship of forces within the Cuban leadership. We did not understand this. That was the second source of our errors of analysis during the Ninth World Congress."

—"Self-Criticism on Latin America," in [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 13, No. 8, December 1976

And in an off-hand, by-the-by remark, the IMT document casually refers to "the role of the bureaucratized workers states (especially China and Cuba at the beginning)"—thereby pointing to a major revision in the program of the USee ever since 1963. Moreover, in a recently issued draft resolution on Latin America for the upcoming 11th World Congress of the USee, the new "majority" of the United Secretariat—obviously under pressure from the ex-IMT—refuses to take a position on Cuba.

In arguing that the Cuban Revolution has degenerated, the Mandelites' biggest problem has been to fix the turning point. They are constrained both to find a major event and to explain why they

missed its significance at the time. So their solution has been to come up instead with a whole series of "bending points" (*points d'inflexion*)!

According to a "dossier" on "Cuba 20 Years Later" published by the French I CR, the first of these "bending points" was the "big turn of the 'economic debate'" of 1963-65. It will be recalled that Ernest Mandel participated in that debate supporting "Che" Guevara's utopian Stalinist economic model based on "moral incentives" against the pro-Moscow Stalinists' insistence on material incentives (see "'Radical Egalitarian' Stalinism: A Post Mortem," *Spartacist* No. 25, Summer 1978). It seems, according to the Mandelites, that there was also a second debate, "limited to small circles of the leadership," concerning socialist democracy and "internal" deepening of the revolutionary process" (*Rouge*, 29 December 1978-1 January 1979). Of course, the author concedes that the importance of this turn was hidden by certain factors, such as the fact that Castro implemented Guevara's program up until the disastrous 1970 sugar harvest.

The ICR places a second "bending point" in 1968, in the foreign policy of the Castro regime. Until that "right turn," the Mandelites see the Cubans as pursuing a revolutionary internationalist policy in Latin America; however, following the defeat of Guevara's adventure in Bolivia, Castro increasingly follows the straight Moscow line. The first evidence is, of course, his support for the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, later followed by political endorsement of the "anti-imperialist" generals in Peru, of Torrijos in Panama, of Allende's "peaceful road" to bloody counterrevolution in Chile, of Mengistu's "red terror" against Guevarists in Ethiopia.

The Mandelites leave unmentioned the support of both Castro and Guevara to the populist regime of João Goulart in Brazil prior to the 1974 coup and their discouragement of guerrilla struggle by peasants in the explosive Northeast during the Goulart period. The ICR "dossier" makes much of the 1975 meeting of Latin American Communist Parties, which did not mention any of Castro's erstwhile guerrillaist followers and endorsed Soviet-line détente. But they don't mention that the Cuban government all along sought an alliance with the pro-Moscow CPs, with disastrous results in the case of Che's Bolivian fiasco. The third "bending point" is the reappraisal of economic management following the failed Ten Million Ton sugar harvest. Suffice it to say that for the SWP's Harry Ring, this "turn" marked a new struggle against bureaucracy (see Part I of this article!)

One thing should be noted about the former International Majority Tendency's talk of a "bureaucratized" workers state in Cuba. This is part of a new trend on Mandel's part to try to replace standard Trotskyist categories with precise meaning by vaguer concepts having no necessary programmatic consequences. Thus after much haggling between IMT and LTF over electoral policy toward recent popular fronts in Europe, in which the Mandelites at first denied that the French Union of the Left was indeed a popular front (as they did with the Allende UP in Chile), now they talk vaguely of "class-collaborationist coalitions." Similarly with the "bureaucratized" workers states: this term does not imply, in current Pabloist usage, a call for political revolution. This subterfuge was first used by the IMT for China at the USee's Tenth World Congress.

The SWP, however, has resisted the attempt to revise the line on Cuba set down in the founding documents of the United Secretariat. They know, first of all, that this could shake the whole delicate house of cards by putting the foundation into question. Commenting on the IMT's "self-criticism," the SWP's Barnes reacted sharply on only one point.

"To my knowledge, at the time of the



Che Guevara: hunted down and assassinated by the CIA in Bolivia.

Camera Press

1963 reunification of the Fourth International, there was total agreement on this analysis of Cuba... So to revise our analysis of that sequence... is to revise a common position, codified in the reunification documents and never challenged in written form inside the international.

"... what I consider to be one of the biggest errors contained in the IMT Self-Criticism document that is, recasting the history of the Cuban revolution."

—The Meaning of the IMT Steering Committee's Self-Criticism on Latin America," *IIDB* Vol. 14, No. 5, May 1977

The other reason is that Barnes correctly senses the Spartacist spectre haunting any reopening of the Cuban question.

Anli-Keil

Recently, fake Trotskyists have attempted to come up with "new" explanations for the development of a deformed workers state in the "pearl of the Antilles." These "theories," however, are no gems and are motivated primarily by a horror of the consequences of recognizing the validity of the amply confirmed Spartacist analysis of Castroism.

The most bizarre of these treatises is an attempt by the ex-Healyite Workers Socialist League (WSL) to extend Tim Wohlforth's one-time theory of structural assimilation to Cuba. After authoring the most comprehensive exposition of the deformed workers state position in the Revolutionary Tendency, Wohlforth became a water-boy for Healy, split the RT, set up the RT leaders to get them expelled on phony "loyalty" charges—and discovered that Cuba was still capitalist. In the mid-1960's he penned a pompous essay, "The Theory of Structural Assimilation," trying to extend the Fourth International's explanation of how the East European satellite countries became deformed workers states to the very different cases of Yugoslavia and China. Apparently Healy was not too interested, for the pamphlet soon went out of print, and Wohlforth has not revived it after rejoining the SWP as a scribe for hire for Jack Barnes.

But the WSL has. Only they have added their own original contribution by Adam Westoby ("Communists" *Against Revolution* [1978]), who treads where even Wohlforth knew it was better to keep silent (he promised a separate document on Cuba which never materialized). Westoby agrees that Cuba is today a deformed workers state, but he sees it arising not through anything so crude as a revolution but rather by an infusion of Moscow's geostrategic might. Ignoring such mundane matters as the late 1960 nationalizations (they are not even mentioned), he places the transition point at November 1962:

"In the Cuban missile crisis, for example, matters were settled (including the class nature of the state in Cuba) direct on the telephone between Washington and Moscow with scarcely a reference back to Havana on Khrushchev's part."

—Op. Cit.

Cuba, it seems, was "structurally assimilated" by sending (and taking back!) two dozen rockets. Westoby does recognize certain problems posed by geographical distance but dismisses their importance in the Sputnik age:

"...Cuba is not adjacent to the Soviet Union. The post-war development of both nuclear fusion (hydrogen) bombs and long-range missiles made this, however, less and less of a crucial factor. Like the forces of production themselves the nature of state (and military) power, has taken on not just international, but world-wide contours."

—Ibid.

Just worldwide? Aren't you being too limited in your vision, comrade Westoby? What about the space age? We would like to know, for instance, if the USSR has also structurally assimilated part of the moon with their landings. And could the same go for the capitalist U.S.? For a fuller treatment of this transcendental essay, see "The Real Lessons of Cuba," *Spartacist*/Britain, Nos. 3 and 4, July-August and September 1978).

But the most diligent of the new Cuba theorists is one David Keil, whose

several contributions on the subject are to be found tucked away in SWP internal bulletins. Comrade Keil's particular angle is that he eclectically takes over bits and pieces of the RT/Spartacist analysis while simultaneously trying to conciliate the SWP leaders, particularly Hansen, and heap slander and abuse on the iST. What is most striking about his appeal for a change in the USec position on Cuba, however, is that it attacks the SWP from the right, arguing in effect for a consistently social-democratic position of opposing all Stalinist regimes. Yet playing the same game as the old SWP-led "Leninist Trotskyist Faction," Keil has appealed to some leftist elements who may take

So there we have Keil's "critique" of the only group which for a decade and a half has held the position he considers "formally correct." Nothing but a string of slanders, distortions, non-sequiturs and empty phrases. Hardly a serious job.

Starting from the top of the list, we have already taken apart Hansen's disgusting charge, borrowed by Keil, that a campaign for workers democracy in Cuba would have been "a stab in the back of the Cuban Revolution." No one holding this position would have been in the Trotskyist movement in the 1930's; rather they would have been with the Stalinists and capitulators, attacking the Fourth International as "agents of



Exporting class betrayal: Castro with Panama's General Torrijos.

his seemingly orthodox phraseology at face value.

First, it would be instructive to let Keil himself go on at some length spewing out his venom against the Spartacist League. In his initial statement calling for a characterization of Cuba as a bureaucratized workers state, he writes:

"In December, 1973, a discussion article by Comrade Upendranath Roy of India appeared... arguing that Castroism is Stalinism and that Cuba is a deformed workers state. This was a good development as a beginning of a discussion."

"Unfortunately, Comrade Roy praised a grouping which existed for a short time in the Socialist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Tendency. The RT later split and part of it became the Spartacist League, a sectarian group. The Spartacist League calls for a political revolution in Cuba based on its false theory that a workers state not under the leadership of a revolutionary party is automatically deformed, and not on Marxist theory or on the facts. Its formally correct position on the nature of the Cuban workers state is therefore based on unscientific theories which lead it to this position by accident."

"The RT, moreover, was an unprincipled bloc, factionally tied to the Healy leadership of the Socialist Labour League of England during the discussion of the Cuban Revolution in the early 1960s. James Robertson, the leader of the wing of the RT which was later to become the Spartacist League, believed that Cuba was a workers state—deformed—but supported the Healyite faction which said that Cuba was still capitalist. He and his associates thus emulated the unprincipled cliquish Abern of the 1939-40 SWP discussion... by making a factional bloc with those who wished to revise the Marxist theory of the state in practice by calling a workers state 'capitalist' simply because of its deformations (Wohlforth and Healy did this on Cuba, Burnham and Shachtman on the Soviet Union)...."

"Robertson and his group have never been concerned with defending in a Marxist way their formally correct position that Cuba is a deformed workers state. Nor could such a thing be expected of a group like the Spartacists. 'Moreover, contrary to the SWP, which unflinchingly stood up to the pressure of imperialism, the Robertsonites and Wohlforthites capitulated, advocating that the party go on a major public 'campaign' in the U.S. against the leadership in Cuba just as the revolution was under furious imperialist military attack. Such action at that time would have been a stab in the back of the Cuban Revolution."

"The Spartacists are still proud of their past unprincipled behavior, however, and have even made a Spanish translation of their miserable documents."

—"For a Change in Our Position on Cuba," in *IIDB* Vol. 12, No. 5, October 1975

imperialism" and a "Nazi fifth column" for its refusal to lower its banners of proletarian democracy. It is easy to see how they would confuse such counterposed conceptions as proletarian and bourgeois democracy, however, since with the SWP's latter-day Kautskyite theories of socialism equating "consistent democracy" they find no qualitative difference. As for the "unflinching" SWP, it would be more accurate to say it was cringing with its tail between its legs during the anti-Cuban red scare over the Kennedy assassination.

And what about that "rotten bloc" with Healy? To begin with, unlike the Abern-Burnham lash-up, there was agreement on concrete tasks regarding Cuba, as the SLL defended the Castro regime against imperialist attack, defended the nationalized property forms and called for the formation of soviets to replace the Bonapartist rule of Castro & Co. Burnham, on the other hand, was for a defeatist position in the event of an attack on the USSR by the imperialist "democracies." Second, the only real basis for the Abern-Burnham bloc was opposition to the "Cannon regime." In the case of the Revolutionary Tendency's solidarity with the SLL, it was based on common opposition to Hansen and Dobbs' capitulation to Pabloism, notably the opportunist reunification then under way with Mandel's I.S. But Keil is hardly in a position to complain: by his criteria he is in a rather more "rotten bloc" with Hansen, not only by membership in the SWP but also in the LTF, with which he disagreed not only over

the character of the Cuban state, but also over the attitude toward its leadership. (He calls for political revolution, they call for hurrahs.)

The SL claims that Cuba is a deformed workers state because of the absence of a Trotskyist leadership? Not so—our criteria are the absence of proletarian democracy and Castro's bonapartist rule, but it became a deformed workers state because of the absence of a proletarian vanguard, as Keil would find out if he read any of the RT and Spartacist documents. Our position is based not on Marxist theory, but accident? Well, that is his opinion, although we did do alright with our "unscientific" program for a good many years before Keil with his undivulged "Marxist" method discovered Cuba was "bureaucratized."

As to the supposed "split" of the RT from the SWP, this was not only an open expulsion, but a political one, not for any breach of discipline but because the Dobbs-Hansen leadership held that the characterization of the SWP as "centrist" proved "disloyalty." But that is just what Keil means by his bureaucratic euphemism, as we shall see.

So much for his dirty work against the SL. As to his "theory," it is made up of unacknowledged borrowings from RT and Spartacist documents, plus smatterings from Hansen to smooth out the hard, angular positions. Thus he believes Cuba became a deformed workers state with the nationalizations in late 1960, but that Castro did not turn Stalinist until fusing the July 26 Movement with the PSP in mid-1961; prior to that point he wants to play around with "Fidel," and even after that he wants to give him "critical support" on occasion. But there is one vital difference: the RT pointed out that the SWP position on Cuba represented a betrayal of the party's Trotskyist heritage, and that the formation of the USec was carried out on the basis of Pabloist liquidationism, principally over Cuba. Keil, however, sees it just as a "bad position" which should be rectified:

"The reunification of these forces in 1963 took place on the basis of a political program which was generally correct and of a Trotskyist character, but the documents of this Reunification Congress are incorrect on the question of Stalinism."

—"For a Change in Our Position on Cuba"

So what is Keil up to? It should be quite apparent that there is something amiss here, for although Keil claims to stand on a program that is "formally" akin to that of the Spartacist League on the subject dearest to his heart, he has nothing but invective for the SL, and does not approach our positions on any other issue. The answer is he represents the far right wing of the old LTF, those who were most eager to split with the Mandelite IMT in order to be rid of the "ultra-left danger." Not surprisingly his views closely parallel those of the French OCI (except on the Cuba issue, where the Lambertistes still believe that the Castro regime is a workers and peasants government 20 years later!).

Thus Keil emphasizes the need to change the SWP position on Cuba in order to more fully distance itself from the Mandelites' "ultra-leftism"... and to do it in a hurry, before the IMT "wrecks" the USec:

"The Socialist Workers Party must also change its position on Cuba. Our position has been the same as that of the IMT and the organizations under its political influence."

"Contrary to the IMT, however, the SWP has taken a correct stand on other questions of world importance, such as China, Vietnam, Portugal and Angola. In each of these cases, the IMT leaders have tailed behind petty-bourgeois leaderships."

"In my opinion, the IMT will wreck the Fourth International if its line is not rejected as a whole and in each of its centrist parts—including the Cuban part."

—"Cuba: Trotsky's Method Versus Mandel's Liquidationism"

Add up the SWP/LTF positions on

continued on page 10

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Cuba...

(continued from page 9)

China, Vietnam, Portugal and Angola and throw in a deformed workers state position on Cuba and what do you get? A fleshed-out program of Stalinophobia. While the iSt stands on the intransigent revolutionary program of Trotskyism, and thus our opposition to Stalinist rule in Cuba is from the left, for the reformist SWP its present pro-Castro policies are a hangover from an earlier centrist period. For Jack Barnes et al. to declare Cuba a deformed workers state would be a major step toward mainstream social democracy.

Furthermore, Keil's press for "reunification" with the OCI became particularly insistent right in the summer of 1975, over the issue of Portugal. In a document written at that time he repeatedly and provocatively calls for a split from the IMT, and for ITF unity with the OCI:

"Does democratic centralism prevent Leninist-Trotskyism from having a discussion with the OCI regardless of the IMT's objections?"

"When the program of the majority is centrist, as is the program imposed on the Fourth International by the IMT, then there is not even the basis for democratic centralism...."

"What in the world does 'unity,' what there is left of it, mean in this context?" Nothing.

"The situation has gone on too long already, in my opinion. 'Unity' on this basis can only lead to an unprincipled split.... If the IMT makes a total split in the Fourth International over the question of whether members and supporters have the right to discuss Portugal with the OCI on a principled basis, then the IMT will thereby prove once and for all that it is... a grouping outside the bounds of Trotskyism."

"The IMT position on Portugal... is diametrically opposed to the Trotskyist position. It is a centrist position which objectively aids the Stalinists...."

"The OCI position... is in my opinion generally correct, not just on one or two points but in its overall thrust, and certainly within the bounds of Trotskyism."

"For a Fraternal Discussion with the French OCI," SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 33, No. 15, August 1975

Thus, and not Cuba, is where the heart of Keil's politics are to be found. Portugal in the summer of 1975 was in the throes of a boiling pre-revolutionary situation. At the time the Socialist Party of Mário Soares, *bankrolled to the tune of millions of dollars per month by the CIA*, was heading up an anti-Communist offensive that extended all the way to fascist-led burnings of leftist offices. In this situation the OCI policy was for a *Soares government*, while the SWP had a slightly less blatant policy of tailing after Portuguese social democracy (see "SWP/OCI Tail Counterrevolution in Portugal," WV No. 75, 29 August 1975). Thus Keil's urgent call for a split with the IMT at this moment represented *an abrid thrust to enroll in the ranks of CIA social democracy!*

Fidelistas in Grey Flannel Suits

The SWP does not presently feel under pressure to abandon its Cuban left cover, either from the American bourgeoisie or

for its factional maneuverings in and around the United Secretariat. While Carter is still holding off on diplomatic recognition, the Cubans have long since abandoned any support to struggles against dictatorships in Latin America, and a wing of American liberals (Vance, Andy Young, the National Council of Churches) even consider Castro as a "stabilizing" factor in Africa. In the USec a "live and let live" truce has been arranged in which all controversial topics are simply avoided in their documents and each wing is soft on the Stalinists of its former colonial possession (the SWP on Cuba, the French ICR on Vietnam), as a reflection of a certain level of sympathy for them in liberal or moderate left circles respectively.

So the SWP will occasionally get carried away in its paeans to the tamed heroes of yesteryear, occasionally reaching grotesque proportions which openly deny their by-now purely verbal Trotskyist heritage. Thus in his speech on the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, Jack Barnes proclaimed:

"At the 1961 convention of the SWP, Morris Stein, one of the experienced veteran leaders of the party, explained to a minority grouping inside the SWP that was opposed to recognizing the realities of Cuba that the Castro leadership was superior to the Bolshevik leadership, once you leave aside Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, and people like that." ISR, February 1979

One wonders why, if this is so, Trotsky even bothered to build the Third International, not to mention the Fourth which began on a far narrower base of recognized and tested leaders. For that matter, why does the SWP call itself Trotskyist any more if the Castroites are so superior? Or there is the absurd counterpoint, such as another remark in the same speech:

"The Castro leadership began their struggle not by taking up arms, but by doing something we emulated twenty years later—they filed a suit against the government. When Batista made his coup in 1952, Fidel went to court."

So with that kind of "pick up the constitution" rhetoric we catch a revealing flashback to the SWP in the mid-1960's, *fidelistas* in grey flannel suits!

The critics of Castroism within the USec ranks do not have much to recommend them: former armchair guerrillas who tired of the "struggle" (the would-be Régis Debrays who never made it out of Paris) or the academic house critics of the SWP, kept in reserve for a future social-democratic realignment with the OCI. In contrast the international Spartacist tendency has one simple but very powerful weapon: an authentically Trotskyist program which has proved itself with the test of time. The iSt alone continues to stand on the lessons it drew from the Cuban Revolution more than a dozen years ago:

"Movements of this sort [peasant-based guerrilla warfare] can under certain conditions, i.e., the extreme disorganization of the capitalist class in the colonial country and the absence of the working class contending in its own right for social power, smash capitalist property relations; however, they cannot bring the working class to political power. Rather, they create bureaucratic anti-working class regimes which suppress any further development of these revolutions toward socialism. Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of Permanent Revolution which declares that in the modern world the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry."

"Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League" (1966), Marxist Bulletin No. 9

Thus the Spartacist analysis of Cuba overcomes the central problem that has confronted Trotskyism with the rise of the deformed workers states since World War II. Recognizing that under highly exceptional circumstances petty-bourgeois forces—even those not originating in Stalinism—can be forced to overthrow capitalism, nevertheless we point out that the bonapartist regimes they throw up remain roadblocks to extending and deepening the revolu-

tion. Only through workers political revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, can this roadblock be removed. ■

Hansen...

(continued from page 2)

defended Hansen against the slander campaign, which mimicked the discredited Stalinist chorus that Trotsky had been murdered by one of his own people. In addition to signing the statements prepared by the SWP, we picketed Healyite "public" meetings, demanding, "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?" (see "Joe Hansen Is an Honest Revisionist," WV No. 141, 21 January 1977).

Hansen had no trouble defending himself against Healy's ludicrous charges. In the process, he showed why he had a reputation as a painstaking man. Years ago, Spartacist spokesman James Robertson told Healy that in the Shachtmanite organization (of which Robertson was once a member) there was a standard jibe about Hansen: any member of the SWP Political Committee can do a hatchet job on an opponent, but when a particularly dirty job is required, all eyes turn as one to Joe Hansen. It was not until Hansen published his reply to Healy's slander campaign (see SWP Education for Socialists pamphlet, "Healy's Big Lie," December 1976) that we learned of a written version of the jibe: Hansen found it in an article which appeared in the Shachtmanite press in 1953.

Hansen was an able polemicist against the SWP's international competitors, both within and outside the USec. A particular specialty of his was seeking to defuse the Spartacist tendency's political attacks while carefully choosing as foils the Healyites, whose sectarianism, organizational atrocities and laughable theoretical bankruptcy made them the SWP's spokesman of choice for ostensible anti-Pabloism. Hansen's recent book, *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* (1978) is a sterling example of a polemic directed covertly against the Spartacist tendency. Yet he also knew how to acknowledge the existence of the Spartacist League when it suited him, as in the introduction to the SWP's 1966 pamphlet, "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International."

Considering his wretched political line and the general sliminess of Jack Barnes' SWP, Hansen was a half-decent opponent. Because we had never known him to falsify a quotation, we assumed he probably was not responsible when *Intercontinental Press* (13 January 1975) falsified the translation of a key phrase in a statement by the SWP's Argentine cothinkers which had come under attack by the USec majority.

And Hansen was smart. He accepted the press of the Spartacist League as an unimpeachable source of accurate information about the "sectarian" far left. It was probably no accident that when Tim Wohlforth told the inside story of his dominion over and purge from the American Healyite organization, Hansen waited for us to authenticate the document (see "Wohlforth Terminated," WV No. 61, 31 January 1975) before serializing it in *Intercontinental Press*.

Even before our tendency was in programmatic opposition in the SWP,

the cadres who were to become the founders of the Spartacist League found themselves counterposed to Hansen over their formation of an independent youth organization. But Comrade Robertson remembers Hansen as "personally a good guy to work with"—fair, reasonable, not a confrontationist, always willing to try and coopt you.

Joseph Hansen was a philistine, a hard-working political guy and an authentic revisionist. ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

3. Greene ran the East Bay strike committee—which didn't answer the phones half the time and never once supplied the mass reinforcements requested by dozens of houses to keep scabs out; strike bulletins were published in English only, leaving the third of our membership which is Spanish-speaking in the dark.

4. After the Handyman murder, Figueroa ordered workers at Nusbaum-Levy and Crown Zellerbach to continue to ship Handyman goods despite the so-called "hoycott."

5. In the case of the convicted scabherder Villegas, Lindsay and friends played both sides. They supported the charges and recall only when it became useful to deflect membership criticism from the other East Bay Business Agents, all of whom—including Ramos—had formal charges filed by members pending against them.

6. Last summer Figueroa helped break a wildcat at Best Foods, enabling the company to uphold its firing of the Chief Steward and shortly thereafter impose a speed-up program.

Yes—We Hate The Democrats!

The "Open Letter" is an attempt to defend the same rotten strategy which led to the '76 defeat, i.e. that labor has "friends" in the government, in order to justify the leadership's refusal to mobilize the membership. The central political "charge" in the letter against Mandel is that he and the Caucus oppose the Democrats. TRUE!! The Democrats and Republicans are *bosses' parties*.

• At the Chile Conference we *did* object to Rep. Ryan speaking because his Democratic Congress had voted the funds for the CIA/Chilean capitalists' military coup which murdered 25,000 workers. We called for labor strikes to win freedom for labor-left prisoners of the junta. When Mandel demanded a vote on whether the class-enemy Ryan should speak, the Figueroa crowd, led by Communist Party spokesman Archie Brown, jumped him. They were forced to back off when many of the roughly 100 trade unionists present rushed to his defense—at which point Ryan scurried out the door!

• During the miners' strike, GEB member Mandel *did* speak to the press in an effort to publicize the ILWU International Executive Board's motion for a 24-hour solidarity strike against Carter's Taft-Hartley. This infuriated Herman/McClain & Co. because they never had any intention of carrying it out. Figueroa/Alexander proved their loyalty by abstaining on a motion to support the solidarity strike call at a Miners Solidarity Coalition meeting attended by over 200 unionists from dozens of San Francisco unions. If the solidarity strike had been implemented, it would have dealt a body blow to the strikebreaking Carter administration which the ILWU and AFL-CIO bureaucrats helped put in office.

• At the November 29 GEB, Mandel *did* object to a "moment of silence" for Moscone, stating: "We don't shed a tear for a strikebreaker and scabherder!" While McClain and Eickman remember Moscone as the patron who appointed them to prestigious city commissions, we remember that Moscone broke the city workers' strike in 1976, jailed its leaders, and had his cops escort pickets through our lines the same year.... ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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THE GREAT
COAL STRIKE
OF 1978

British Strikes...

(continued from page 12)

piled into Central Hall, Westminster, where their union leaders, including David Bassett of the General Municipal Workers and left-talking Alan Fisher of the National Union of Public Employees tried to address them.

Every single bureaucrat's speech was drowned out by catcalls and chants of "All out to strike!" In the end the bureaucrats abandoned the platform, taking the microphone with them. Following the march, many of the more militant sectors, especially the ambulance drivers and other health workers, stayed off work for another few days and sporadic stoppages are continuing in several areas of the country. Yet still Fisher, Bassett and their fellows are playing for time, refusing to call an all-out strike in the hopes that the militancy will burn itself out.

Bureaucrats Try to Dam the Flood

The lorry drivers and local government workers are by no means the only workers currently posing a head-on challenge to the Labour government. The number of unions demanding more than the 5 percent ceiling is impressive: one and a quarter million building workers, 200,000 postal employees, half a million teachers, 600,000 white collar civil servants and 280,000 railwaymen, and then there are the miners—230,000 of them—demanding 40 percent in the face of a 3.5 percent offer from the Coal Board. But the bureaucrats are keeping them at work while the cabinet and the TUC try desperately to isolate and dissipate the combativity of the sectors already out. Miners' leader Joe Gormley cites as his excuse for inaction the government's 12-month rule, saying that his union is legally prevented from striking until March. His "militant" on the executive, Communist Party supporter Arthur Scargill, put up a token bit of opposition to this, only to predictably fall into line. On January 25 Scargill told the press that he hopes that there will not be a strike and did not see the necessity for one.

The trade-union leaders are trying to stagger the pay struggles of each section of workers, happy to see one group after another face the government and bourgeois public opinion in isolation. Hence the limited protest tactics: the ASLEF [train engineers] one-day strikes and the public employees day of action on January 22. These are diversionary and ultimately futile gestures, which if they continue can only whittle away at the combativity of the workers involved and allow the bureaucrats to dodge the general strike action necessary to bury Phase Four once and for all.

The Left and the Crisis

Paralleling the division between trade-union economism and social-democratic parliamentarism, the British left's general response to the current crisis was either an apolitical, business-as-usual syndicalism or a wretched parliamentary cretinism—and in some cases a blend of both. Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is the prime example of the former. Typically, *Socialist Worker* (27 January) says that the way forward is by organizing flying pickets and rank-and-file strike committees—i.e., bypassing the bureaucratic leadership of the unions through simply being better organizers of each struggle. Even by calling for "all out now"—instead of a general strike—they take the heat off the TUC tops and Callaghan. It's not hard to find the reason why: the Cliffites are worried that the Tories would win a new election, and their only political demand

is to vote Labour once again.

In the face of the Labour government's vicious wage-slashing attacks on the working class, the Spartacist League has insisted that calling for a vote to Labour is just asking to get kicked in the teeth again. Our policy of conditional non-support has separated us sharply from all the fake-lefts. If the cretinist Militant Group of Ted Grant still insists that the workers must exert "enormous pressure to compel the government to change its course in the direction of socialist policies," this might be attributed to the doggy loyalty of a thoroughly organic part of the Labour Party. But one would think that a centrist or two might have woken up to the role of the Callaghan government in the present crisis.

Not so. Incredibly, the main worry of the International Marxist Group (IMG) if the massive strike wave continues is... preparing for "the coming general election." "Don't be caught napping,"

merely stupid but positively obscene. What is needed now is not a general election but a general strike.

Unlike the SWP, IMG, WSL, et al., the Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) is calling for a general strike, but principally to bring down the Labour government and force new elections. Aside from the fact that they raise the general strike slogan at all times, thus completely undercutting its effect, in the present context the Healyite slogan is a call for channeling the industrial upsurge into electoralism. Moreover, the WRP is all set to vote Labour in the next elections anyway.

For a General Strike!

For years every strike which has threatened government pay policy has been met with a barrage of warnings about the dire consequences of bringing the government down and the dangers



Der Spiegel

Railway workers join lorry drivers, government employees and miners to shut Britain down. While union bureaucrats scramble to defuse workers' combativity with staggered one-day strikes, militants must demand a general strike now to bury Callaghan's Phase Four.

they exhort. "Make sure your area is represented," urges the 25 January *Socialist Challenge*, referring to the Socialist Unity Conference planned for February 3. And where the IMG goes, there also goes the International Communist League (I-CL) and its pet, the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory. After a short winter hibernation to recover from its disappointment at Callaghan's refusal to call an election late last year, the SCLV is now "ready to spring into action." And, as always, Alan Thornett's Workers Socialist League (WSL) is ready with its call to vote Labour "unconditionally" and "make the Labour lefts fight."

But even more dramatically the present strike wave has revealed Thornett as a cowardly, conservative trade-union bureaucrat. Under the slogan of "workers control," the WSL is ballyhooing the major weakness of the lorry drivers' strike—allowing so-called essential goods to go through the lines:

"The emergence of local strike committees which should control the passage of only selected supplies through the picket lines points the way forward for other sections of workers in struggle."

—*Socialist Press*, 24 January

So according to Thornett, scabbing on one's own strike "points the way forward." The WSL even had the gall to condemn the London-area convenors of the government workers as "ultra-left" for not providing emergency service on January 22. Callaghan also looked askance at the ambulance drivers for going all-out, and called in the army to correct these "ultra-leftists."

Revolutionaries seek to split the mass base of the Labour Party from the reformist misleaders, both the Callaghans and the "lefts" such as Tony Benn and the Tribuneites. To be worrying about how to keep Labour in power in the next elections at a time when there is a mass strike wave against a wage-slashing Labour government is not

of a Tory election victory. Thatcher and her band of dinosaurs are certainly a reactionary lot. But the working class has no interest in saving a Labour government which seeks to prove to the capitalists that it can carry out a wage-slashing strikebreaking policy better than the Conservatives. If the Callaghan cabinet should fall as a result of workers surging forward, that would be far better than a triumphant Tory offensive riding to victory over the backs of a demoralized, defeated working class.

Historically the Labour bureaucracy bamboozles the workers through a hard cop/soft cop division of labour. The Parliamentary Labour Party, claiming to represent "the nation" as a whole, adopts right-wing policies which the majority of workers clearly are against. The union tops sometimes voice opposition to these unpopular measures but support the parliamentarians nonetheless, especially when Labour is in office. Thus TUC conferences have twice voted

against the wage limit, and last autumn the Labour Party annual conference also rejected the 5 percent ceiling. Yet every Labour MP, including all the so-called lefts, lined up behind Callaghan to vote for it. The discipline of the Parliamentary Labour Party is now a united front against the working class. The trade unions should not support any Labour MP unless he defies the party whip to vote against Callaghan's austerity measures.

At the time of Heath's attacks on the miners' strike in early 1974, we called for a general strike which "would have the limited, defensive aim of reversing the policies of the Tory government and bringing it down" (*WV* No. 38, 15 February 1974). But a general strike in today's conditions—Phase Four already in tatters and deep disillusion among the workers with Callaghan and his gang of parliamentary social democrats—could not be limited to rolling back an assault on the workers. It is necessary to put forward a program of *transitional demands* striking at the heart of the bourgeois offensive.

The strike must demand a huge wage claim to recoup the effects of four years of wage control and to raise the abysmal living standards of British workers, presently among the lowest in industrialized Europe. It must also protect them against future ravages of inflation by a sliding scale of wages (100 percent indexation) to compensate for every percentage-point fall in real wages caused by rising prices. Fight the mass unemployment policies of Callaghan/Healey/Benn by winning work-sharing at full pay—for an immediate 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. In case of mass layoffs or lockouts, seize the plants!

The TUC is the only body authoritative enough to launch a general strike today, but the Murrays and Evanses have absolutely no intention of doing so. Every union must immediately hold new elections for TUC delegates committed to a general strike; they should demand an immediate, specially convened TUC congress to launch the strike and elect a delegated national strike committee to run it. At the local level councils of action are necessary, growing out of the stewards councils and responsible to/recallable by frequent meetings of the striking workers. With the unions facing down the Labour cabinet in Westminster, the question of the government is directly posed. The only one which could fully meet the strikers' needs is a workers government based on such councils (soviets) as are thrown up by the general strike.

There are presently some 11 million union members in Britain. The TUC must call them all out in a general strike to win all the claims, crush the government's austerity policies and thwart the union-bashing attempts of the bosses! Give the government a state of emergency—on the workers' terms! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Pickets Shut It Down—Wage Freeze Blown to Hell

For a British General Strike!

LONDON—After three years of vicious wage control the Labour government's Phase Four looks like it's getting the death it deserves—hurling by landslide. Sector after sector of the trade-union movement has slapped down wage claims that dwarf the paltry 5 percent limit which the government has tried to stuff down the workers' throats. During the past few weeks hundreds of thousands of workers have demonstrated their willingness to hack up their claims with a powerful mass strike wave which has plunged Britain into a major crisis.

First Ford workers broke the 5 percent limit last November. Then came British Oxygen employees and in early January tanker drivers won a 15 percent pay claim after only a week on strike. Since then all hell has broken loose. Forty thousand private haulage lorry [truck] drivers have made the biggest impact, tying up road transport throughout the country and cutting off supplies to hundreds of industries through militant picketing. Train drivers have been shutting down British Rail twice a week in support of their demand for negotiations over a productivity bonus. Waterworks strikes have affected supplies in the northwest, and the one-day strike of one and a half million low-paid local government manual workers on January 22 threatened to spill over into an all-out national strike for a £60 weekly wage.

Meanwhile, Margaret Thatcher's union-bashing Tories and the Fleet Street papers have been screaming blue murder. They have demanded that Callaghan declare a state of emergency and call out the army to maintain "essential services." And while the cabinet has as yet declined to impose full-scale army strikebreaking, troops have been called out on two occasions: once against the tanker drivers in Northern Ireland, and again against ambulance drivers in London and Cardiff who refused to provide emergency cover during the January 22 one-day strike.

People are naturally comparing the present situation to the 1974 "winter crisis" when the coal miners struck against the Tories' wage control and Heath struck back with a nationwide lockout in the form of a three-day workweek. He then called a "Who Rules Britain?" election, which Labour won. But in one significant respect the present situation marks a higher level of class struggle than in 1974.

At that time direct industrial action was limited to the coal miners, traditionally one of the most militant sections of the British working class. The combativity of the rest of the working class was effectively channelled into electoral support to Labour. The present strike wave is in effect directed against the Labour government which came to power in 1974 and has up to now carried out a far more successful wage-slashing policy than did Heath's Conservatives in the early 1970's. Important in maintaining the "Social Contract" has been the argument that strike action against it would bring Margaret Thatcher's Tories to power. Now the British working class



Public service workers rally in London's Hyde Park, January 22. A million and a half trade unionists marched that day, as massive British strike wave burles Labour's "social contract."

is answering back: We won't starve for a Labour government!

Overall the Labour cabinet has been taken by surprise and is undecided about how to act. Callaghan has been trying to ride out the surge of industrial militancy with a mixture of tough talk and vague promises while looking desperately to his allies in the trade-union bureaucracy for help in defusing the situation. Both the cabinet and the Trades Union Congress want a new "concordat," a new Social Contract sellout. However, the union leaders are running as scared as the government, knowing that they may not be able to deliver anything at all.

With the working class in a highly combative mood the possibility exists of not just laying to rest the 5 percent limit but of decisively preventing the reimposition of wage controls and ensuring henceforth that wages keep pace with inflation through a sliding scale of wages. What is needed to turn this into reality is a working-class leadership ready to fight for these and related demands by all means necessary: generalising and centralising the existing strike wave and bringing the entire union movement out on a general strike to break the shackles of wage controls for good.

Lorry Drivers Show the Way

Terrified at the sudden explosion beneath them, the union bureaucrats have been trying desperately to bring things under control. Although every major strike from the Ford workers to the tanker and lorry drivers began as a massive unofficial walkout, the bureaucrats have rapidly made the strikes official in an explicit attempt to dampen militancy. In the lorry drivers' strike in

particular they have been hard at work in an attempt to take control out of the hands of mushrooming strike committees and hand it over to "responsible" regional and national officials.

What has particularly got under the bureaucrats' collar in the current lorry strike is the extent and militancy of the drivers' picketing. Using flying pickets and secondary picketing to powerful effect, the drivers have managed to tie up goods and supplies throughout the country with the result that many key industries have been counting the days until they are obliged to lay off their workforces. And although secondary picketing is allowed under the Trade Union Labour Relations Act (1974), Moss Evans, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU) issued a special "code of picketing" openly aimed at cutting back on secondary picketing.

This open blackleg [scabbing] charter, written at the expressed wish of the Confederation of British Industry and the Callaghan government, instructs drivers to allow so-called essential services through picket lines. Needless to say, these goods are essential only for the breaking of the strike. The response of all workers to this open encouragement of scabbing must be to say: *nothing* is moved until the claim is met in full. If even hospital patients die because of the lack of foodstuffs or drug supplies, the responsibility lies squarely with the bosses who can end the strike within minutes simply by coughing up the £60 [roughly \$120] a week being demanded as the standard weekly wage.

Not to be outdone in calls for strikebreaking, Labour Party chief James Callaghan has come out and said openly: "I would not hesitate myself to

cross a picket line if I believed it right to do so.... I assert very clearly that everyone has the right to work and that everyone has the right to cross a picket line." And, of course, everywhere that Callaghan goes the lamb Len Murray is sure to go as well. He concurred with Callaghan that "there is an equal right of others to do these things [cross picket lines] but they are not convinced." However, Alex Kitson, the leading T&GWU official responsible for coordinating the strike, has had to admit that the scabbing code has met with only limited success, and in certain areas the picketing has intensified. After years of seeing their leaders sell them out the rank and file are now out to win and are deeply distrustful of the bureaucrats' manoeuvres. "This is our strike, not Moss Evans'," said one striker, adding that "if we don't do what we have to do, we will be here for months."

Local Government Workers Demand "All Out!"

The bureaucrats in the local government unions have tried to fob their memberships off with ineffective work-to-rules [slowdowns], rotating strikes and the token one-day national work stoppage. The anger of these low-paid workers—hospital workers, ambulance drivers, dustmen, cleaners and many more, a large number of whom earn less than £40 [\$80] a week, exploded at the January 22 march and rally in London. A million and a half men and women went out in the biggest single work stoppage since the 1926 general strike, as 80,000 of them marched in freezing cold weather through the streets of central London. At the end of the march, thousands of angry workers

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