

Francoist Clerical-Fascists Gun Down Leftists

Spanish Workers Will Avenge Their Dead!

JANUARY 31—Last Monday night two right-wing gunmen burst in through the door of an apartment building office on Madrid's Antocha Street and opened fire. Those in the apartment were left-wing labor lawyers known for their defense of militants of the illegal Workers Commissions; only minutes before, a delegation of a hundred transport workers had left the office. The assassins ordered the occupants to lie on the floor and then blazed away with their machine guns. Five were killed instantly and four more lay seriously wounded on a floor that was bathed with blood.

As news of this cold-blooded murder spread through Madrid and reverberated throughout Spain it provoked an immediate and massive outpouring of anger. Every politician and public figure from conservative Christian Democrats to the extreme left saw that he could be next; many went into hiding. From around the world telegrams of condolence poured in as socialists, Communists and leftists of every persuasion denounced this vile act. They all understood: it could have been them.

In the capital the working class gave its response in the streets. Over 200,000 people marched in a funeral procession for three of the slain leftists, members of the Communist Party (PCE). Periodically there would be bitter cries of "assassins!" and the crowds would strike up the "Internationale," but PCE marshals would quickly enforce silence. Barcelona was paralyzed as 200,000 workers went on strike, including a sit-down strike that took over the giant SEAT auto plant.

In the Basque country, industry and shipyards at Bilbao were brought to a standstill and barricades were erected in Pamplona to defend the workers quarters from a police onslaught. Asturian miners struck, universities closed and even the new Ford Motor Co. plant near Valencia—built away from the militant industrial belts of Madrid and Barcelona precisely in order to avoid "labor troubles"—was shut down by its newly hired "select" workforce in protest over the murders.



Europa Press

200,000 people marched in funeral procession last Wednesday for three Communist lawyers assassinated by right-wing terrorists.

These massive strikes and angry demonstrations expressed the seething hatred of the Spanish proletariat for the fascist scum who had brutally assassinated their class brothers. From the remote mining regions to the industrial belts and the university campuses there was a clear realization that this had been an attack upon all the working people. Even backward and relatively apolitical regions participated in this somber outpouring of the workers' anguish and grim determination to avenge their martyred dead.

Fascist Provocations

The Antocha attack was universally understood as a provocation by Franco-

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LCR Begs State Crush Fascists

Fake-Trotskyists Embrace Francoist "Democracy"

FEBRUARY 1—The current crisis in Spain, growing out of a wave of rightist provocation, poses fundamental tests to all those who speak in the name of the working class. If the Antocha murders showed the mortal danger of fascist terrorists who would drown the left in a sea of blood, the angry response by hundreds of thousands of protesters demonstrates the tremendous combativity of the Spanish proletariat.

The Stalinists and social democrats join Francoist prime minister Suárez in calling on the working people to remain "serene"—i.e., to allow fascist butchers and their police protectors to command the streets. This is only the continuation of their treacherous popular-front policy during the civil war when the reformists paved the way to Franco's victory by tying the masses to "republi-

can [i.e., bourgeois] legality."

Who, then, will lead the proletariat to crush the blue-shirted Falangist thugs and fascist gunmen, by overthrowing the capitalist state which nurtures and protects them? The crisis of revolutionary leadership is posed point-blank in Spain today.

In the last few days the police have responded to the campaign of provocation by arresting upwards of 200 leftists in Madrid alone. The detentions have reportedly fallen heavily on Maoist and syndicalist groups. The response of authentic communists must be to mobilize the workers in militant action—especially in the factories, where their strength as a class is concentrated—to demand the rightist repression be halted and the left-wingers

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On the Class Nature of the USSR

Trotskyism vs. "State Capitalism": From Kautsky to Mao 6

Boycott "Ipi Tombi"?

"Happiness is an African musical called Ipi Tombi" beams the marquee of New York's Harkness Theatre. But there hasn't been much happiness at the theater since the South African production opened on Broadway last month. Instead there has been raging controversy surrounding the boycott organized by the Communist Party-led Patrice Lumumba Coalition, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and sundry cheerleaders for "Third Worldist" causes. The demonstrations, which began with the show's previews in late December, crested on opening night, January 12, when a thousand protesters congregated outside the theater.

Ticket-holders on their way in are barraged with pleas to boycott the production. On their way out they are handed a Lumumba Coalition leaflet filled with unalloyed moralistic outrage the likes of which have not been seen since New Leftists threatened to napalm puppies in order to force people to take a stand against the Vietnam War. The headline reads: "CONGRATULATIONS, YOU'VE JUST HELPED TO MURDER AFRICAN CHILDREN!!!!!!!" It goes on to assail the theater-goers for complicity with the racist terror of the apartheid regime: "While you were in the Harkness Theatre, enjoying yourself... you never thought that you'd be an accomplice to the next group of murders in South Africa did you? Think of that—you participating in genocide. How thrilling."

The show's producers have been worried by the flagging attendance, at least partly the result of boycott publicity, and in the lobby they distribute a handbill proclaiming, "What They're Saying About 'Ipi Tombi' is a Lie." The Madison Avenue ad writers who obviously composed it state that the South African government "has nothing whatever to do with this show," and assert that, while it is "an entertainment," it also deals with "menial work and lack of opportunity for the Blacks in South Africa." Plaintively, the flyer asks: "How did we become the victims of this attack when we share the same hopes for liberation."

The furor spread to the entertainment pages of NYC newspapers as well. The *New York Post* panned the show, likening it to a Yiddish folk troupe touring out of Nazi Germany; the *Wall Street Journal*, on the other hand, lauded "a rousing African musical" for its "beautifully conceived, well performed, downright invigorating representation of something that has been happening in much of black Africa in this century—that is, the acceptance of new ideas without the surrender of old ones." The *New York Times'* Clive Barnes found the controversy regarding the presentation "more interesting than the show itself," which he termed "a genial bore."

What is all the uproar about? Is "Ipi Tombi" an apolitical frolicking musical or a vehicle for soft-core apartheid propaganda from the murderous Vorster regime? Is the audience merely engaging in harmless entertainment, or are they really "accomplices in genocide"? Should the show be boycotted, protested or ignored? In answering these questions, both the *content* and *context* of the production must be considered, and above all the question of a generalized, permanent boycott of all things South African as advocated by various liberals and reformists.

Entertainment or Apartheid Propaganda?

The boycott literature calls "Ipi Tombi" the "latest propaganda project



WV Photo

Demonstrators call for a boycott of South African musical "Ipi Tombi."

to hit the U.S. from South Africa." The SWP's *Militant* (14 January) says the boycotters "blasted the show for its exploitation of Black African artists and culture as well as its false portrayal of what life for Black people is like under apartheid." In response the flyer put out by the producers says that two of the songs in the production are banned in South Africa, and supporters of the show cite lyrics about "starvation in the city of gold."

We do not know the political views of the musical's white South African creator, Bertha Egnos, and what, if any, message she intended to convey in "Ipi Tombi." The show's "happiness" theme certainly presents a false portrayal of the miserable conditions on the dirt-poor tribal "bantustans." In the opening scene the narrator recalls life in "my village," remarking "It was a busy time because we always seemed to be singing and dancing." Even the more somber scenes of life in the mines don't go beyond vague hints at the unrelieved brutalization and exploitation in the labor compounds. The song "Workday in the Mine" concludes with a lament: "A man can stand strong, but still things go wrong; tell me, who is to blame?" This question—the most political point in the entire production—never receives a direct answer, but the Zulu warrior beckoning from the horizon suggests one: the miner should never have left his village.

The boycotters say "Ipi Tombi" is racist and distorts African culture. But it should not be surprising that a show of this genre is filled with racist stereotypes; it is hard to think of a popular entertainment about blacks in America that is not, from "Superfly" films glorifying ghetto drug pushers to TV shows about "happy" middle-class

black families. As for cultural distortion, "South Pacific" with its "happy talking" islanders is probably a good deal worse than the up-beat renditions of Zulu and Xhosa folk acts in "Ipi Tombi," choreographed and arranged to appeal to popular Western taste.

"Ipi Tombi" is a musical, and like most musicals it sentimentalizes its subject matter. It is a collection of dances and songs around the theme of the uprooting of villagers, the corruption of urban life and longing to return to traditional tribal life. However, these motifs are common to folk culture in just about every area of the world that is undergoing industrialization. The supposed purity of village life is a favorite theme of African nationalists in particular, and most of the dances in "Ipi Tombi" could have been performed by any number of black African dance troupes. It appears, in fact, that the show played in Nigeria as well, under the auspices of the National Theatre, a point made by the defenders of "Ipi Tombi" which the boycotters never answer.

But South Africa is not Nigeria or Guinea. "Ipi Tombi" can be accused of support for apartheid, but mainly for what it omits rather than what it actually says. To portray life in the "tribal homelands" without once mentioning the word "bantustan" is a distortion of reality; to talk of returning to the village without even hinting at the fact that more than *six million* black South Africans have been forcibly returned to the "homelands" by police round-ups is to prettify the white supremacist terror. The implicit political content of "Ipi Tombi" particularly stands out now after the Soweto massacre when the heroic struggles of the black and "coloured" masses shook

the apartheid state to its foundations.

Any work of popular entertainment that portrays the inhabitants of Vorster's bantustans as living in a state of Garden of Eden innocence is at least tacit apologetics for the racist status quo. But even so, "Ipi Tombi" remains primarily a cultural event rather than pro-apartheid propaganda. It is significant that until the show opened in New York, although it had toured extensively outside South Africa it was not attacked for its *content*. There are plenty of better targets for anti-apartheid protest.

Protest or Boycott?

A work of art or popular entertainment can, of course, have reactionary political content and as such be a suitable focus for mass protest. John Wayne's "Green Berets" movie was as much an apology for U.S. imperialism's Vietnam war as a Lyndon Johnson press conference. A militant demonstration on the opening night of "Green Berets" would have been legitimate, effective and highly desirable. However, to organize a general boycott of the film, to demand that people not see it, would have been an act of stupid, liberal, totalitarian moralism. Those who went to see "Green Berets" were not by that act any more or less supporters of the Vietnam war than those who watched LBJ speeches on television or read the editorials in the *New York Daily News* or *Chicago Tribune*. They were not thereby "accomplices in genocide."

It would be wrong and unfair to equate "Ipi Tombi" with "Green Berets." John Wayne's film was produced deliberately and purely as chauvinist pro-war agitation, while this musical's tacit support for apartheid is primarily by omission. But even where the reactionary content is quite explicit and deliberate, the context is crucial in determining the appropriateness of protest action. Thus, for example, the American musical comedy "Pajama Game" is the most disgusting sentimentalization of labor struggles in the garment industry. In song, dance and dialogue it presents falling in love with the boss as the solution to a strike. When "Pajama Game" played on Broadway it was, of course, not primarily political propaganda for the garment bosses; but in the unlikely event that during a real-life strike it were played as a political demonstration against the strikers, then it might be a suitable target for protest.

Context is even important when dealing with a work of intentional political propaganda presented in a cultural medium. For example, Leni Reifenstahl's classic "Triumph of the Will" is both a piece of Nazi propaganda and an important film for its innovations in documentary technique. If it were shown at a campus film society there would be no reason to protest it, but if the same movie were shown at a meeting of the American Nazi Party it would not only be appropriate to demonstrate but even to bust up the event.

Labor Dispute in London

The boycott question has been clouded by a labor dispute in the London production of "Ipi Tombi." Last November on-stage demonstrations over wages and working conditions led to the suspension of four cast members. According to the 4 December *News Line* (the British Healyite newspaper), one of the suspended leaders of the protest, Trusty Ntuli, returned to South Africa where he was arrested. This sparked a December 3 demonstration in London outside South Africa House. And when the rest of the cast was

ordered to return to South Africa to "begin rehearsals" for the New York run, a number understandably refused to do so. They were then dropped from the cast and new performers were hired to replace them.

As a result of these anti-labor actions, some cast members wrote to the American black-oriented women's magazine *Essence*, suggesting a protest on the New York opening night. This would have been supportable, but it is not what happened. No signs at the demonstrations appeared demanding the rehiring of the London actors (who have since gone on to form their own separate company). Nor were any of the victimized cast members mentioned in signs or chants. The New Left *Guardian* coverage and support of the boycott failed to mention the labor question at all, and most telling, the Lumumba Coalition wrote in its leaflet that the group had plans to boycott the show for a month prior to learning about the London dispute, adding: "The issue we are raising here is not the wage scale or differential of the cast in this production."

This boycott has nothing to do with the London labor dispute. At most the boycotting groups use it as a cynical fallback argument to appeal to trade unionists.

Against a Cultural Boycott of South Africa!

The present action against "Ipi Tombi" is part of a general policy of boycotting everything South African, from diamonds to dance—a policy advocated by the Stalinists and certain left liberals. This is a completely utopian scheme reflecting, at bottom, liberal moralism. To the extent that it is successful, such an economic boycott would foster unemployment for the oppressed non-white working people and thereby indirectly strengthen the



WV Photo

Militant pickets jeer junta-supporters outside concert sponsored by the Chilean junta in New York last year.

apartheid system. We do not begrudge the 25 black South African actors and actresses of the "Ipi Tombi" company the opportunity to get out of the white supremacist hellhole, to earn several hundred dollars a week to take back with them or, if they choose, to refuse to go back. It is certainly anomalous for the left to tell them to go home.

South Africa's black masses need broad international contact, not cultural isolation. In this regard, it will help put the "Ipi Tombi" controversy in perspective to recall the Stalinists' response to the South African play "Sizwe Banzi Is Dead." The Stalinist-led African National Congress attacked the actors of "Sizwe," John Kani and Winston Ntshona, for failing to respect the ANC's call for a "complete, total economic, athletic, cultural boycott of South Africa."

What had the actors done to deserve this criticism? They performed a moving dramatic statement against apartheid and the bantustan system in the Transkei bantustan itself. Although they were arrested for their defiant performance, they earned the wrath of the ANC

because the Transkei was on their boycott list.

In an article in defense of Kani and Ntshona when they were jailed by Vorster's regime we wrote:

"It is not only a good thing that anti-apartheid plays be performed on Broadway.... They must also be performed before the victims of apartheid who are systematically deprived of cultural (or any other) means of expressing their outrage at their condition. For their courageous choice to perform their work under trying and dangerous conditions imposed by the vicious Vorster regime, Kani and Ntshona deserve the applause, not the criticism, of foes of apartheid."

—WV No. 130, 22 October 1976

The advocates of boycotting South Africa take the same line against the anti-apartheid work "Sizwe Banzi Is Dead" as they do against "Ipi Tombi." The difference is that it is easier to rally support for boycotting "Ipi Tombi" because of its implicit acceptance of the racist status quo. While it does prettify the bantustan system, "Ipi Tombi" is not a deliberate and important statement in favor of apartheid. This fact, combined with our opposition to a general boycott of South Africa and to political censorship of culture, is why we do not involve ourselves in the campaign against "Ipi Tombi."

A contrast to the "Ipi Tombi" boycott was provided by the principled and effective protest action last March by the Spartacist League and others (notably Communist Party-led Chile committees) against the Chilean singing group, Los Huasos Quincheros. These scum had gone on Chilean national television immediately after the bloody 1973 coup to swear allegiance to the reactionary Pinochet junta. They were officially sponsored in a propaganda effort to counteract the popularity of other Chilean folksinging groups, notably the Inti Ilumani, that had toured worldwide in benefits and concerts protesting the junta. Tickets were

distributed by the Chilean embassy and consulate, and it was reactionaries who came to express their support for Pinochet.

The *momios* (mummies), as they are called in Chile, were jeered by the demonstrators. We did not care that some of these reactionary junta backers could not get through the line of fist-waving demonstrators to see their "cultural event." This was no cultural event. It was not the musical content but the understood political purpose of the performance that made a one-time protest action, not a boycott, effective as a statement of outrage and an exposure of the terror policies of the Pinochet regime.

It is possible that another cultural event will serve as a demonstration of solidarity with the bloody Vorster regime in South Africa. In that case, we will again be in the front line of protesters against any celebration of apartheid terror. But "Ipi Tombi" is not that, and by attending it theater-goers do not become scabs or supporters of white supremacy. They just waste their money. ■

WL/SL Exchange on Workers Democracy

Look Who's Calling Us Comrade

New York, N.Y.
January 23, 1977

Dear Cde. Robertson:

I wish to call to your attention that in recent weeks members of your organization have sought to disrupt both the political work and public meetings of the Workers League and Young Socialists.

On Saturday, December 4, 1976, your organization staged a provocative demonstration outside the election headquarters of the Workers League in Los Angeles. One of our members was physically attacked and thrown through a pane-glass window. The actions of your organization resulted in bringing the police to the scene. As you know, the police raided these election headquarters over the summer, and your demonstration gave them still another opportunity to harass our members.

Less than a week later, in Toronto, two members of the Canadian Workers League were physically attacked by 12 Spartacist members—some of them Americans—as they attempted to distribute leaflets on the university campus to advertise a public meeting.

On Wednesday, January 19, 1977, 13 members of Spartacist physically threatened members of the Young Socialists and prevented them from holding a meeting at California State University in Los Angeles.

Such provocations and use of violence play into the hands of the police and the most reactionary class forces. They can only damage the socialist movement. I urge you to abandon this provocative policy and call your members to order.

Fraternally,
David North,
National Secretary, Workers League

New York, N.Y.
27 January 1977

D. North,
Workers League.

Dear Comrade,

We have received your letter of 23 January. It is evidently either (a) itself



WV Photo

In L.A., December 4, WL goon screams: "Get that camera!"

a provocation designed to facilitate frame-up attempts by you in connivance with bourgeois police authorities, and/or (b) a tacit announcement, possibly as a result of the current relationship of forces between us, that your organization is contemplating some change in your years-long standard practice against us (as well as other socialists). Both in the U.S. and abroad this has consisted of the eager use of your own violence, limitless slander, and where possible, the employment of the police to do your dirty work. These are facts which can, for example, be testified to first hand by sellers of any other socialist newspaper at your meetings over the years.

We have commented as appropriate in our public press on the motives and purposes behind your long and unbroken record of all-sided attempts to suppress and destroy the processes of workers democracy and we see no reason to pursue these matters here.

As for the particulars which you presently allege, our *Workers Vanguard* has already noted the very different reality of such incidents (and many others).

Especially significant is the fact that the last two major assaults by your people that we know of were centrally against cameramen in front of Healyite meetings. These comrades were attempting to deter or failing that docu-

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WV Photo

WL thug (holding club) threatens WV salesman and SL supporters in L.A.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Close to 200 Spartacist supporters and a scattering of opponents attended a New York City forum last Saturday to hear James Robertson, national chairman of the Spartacist League/U.S., speak on the topic, "Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International."

Evaluating the state of the class struggle in different regions of the world, the speaker began by noting a reported breaking down of traditional paternalistic relations which have bound the Japanese proletariat to its industrial masters. While noting the historic failure of Trotskyism to root itself in this nation, the economic pivot of Asia, he predicted the opening of a period of intensified class confrontation.

Comrade Robertson characterized the revolutionary turbulence in the Mediterranean region of Greece, Italy and Iberia "which are historically impoverished, undercapitalized... and unstable from the standpoint of a revolutionary proletarian assault. Therefore this is right now the region *par excellence* of the popular front. An old-fashioned stable coalition of social-democratic labourites and liberal bourgeoisie isn't good enough," he added. "You've got to have revolutionary slogans in order to deceive the masses, because the conditions of life are qualitatively less tolerable. So you find popular frontism: into the rest of the sellout broth you drop a hammer and sickle."

"In Italy, the great hope is that the Pope and the Communist Party will make a deal. It's called the Historic Compromise."

The speaker described the safety valve mechanisms which have tended to deflect the impact of the economic contradictions in Germany, France and the Scandinavian countries where powerful social-democratic and Stalinist parties have kept the organized workers under control while the problem of unemployment is solved by deporting immigrant workers back to the villages of the Mediterranean basin. Britain, however, hovers on the edge of economic collapse, with all the objective preconditions for a working-class upheaval.

The British left, historically accustomed to the political hegemony of the fossilized British Labour Party, cannot conceive of the possibility which we seek—the polarization and destruction of this reformist obstacle. The international bankers are more far-sighted: the speaker quoted a *New York Times* editorial page article of 6 December 1976 which envisaged just this possibility.

"The response of foreign lenders has to be finely calibrated: Massive austerity could produce a violent reaction that would be harmful to both major parties... A return of the Tories with mounting unemployment could well turn the hope of social peace to the certainty of social conflict. The Labor Party might finally split; a new socialist party, with a Trotskyist core and its class anger, would constitute the most radical party in Europe."

On the U.S., the speaker commented: "The very nakedness of this government's lying and hypocrisy, the greed of the bourgeoisie and the inability to do anything about it in any apparent way have created an enormous amount of explosive social material in America looking for an outlet." While this also leaves open the possibility for the growth of fascism, Robertson observed that, unlike its European counterparts, the American fascist movement is "happily one of the smallest and most

pitiful, rotten and disgusting fascist movements of any of the major imperialist countries."

Contrasting the American AFL-CIO with the French Stalinist labor bureaucracy—a sophisticated apparatus with roots going back to the Paris Commune and quite competent at rescuing the bourgeoisie from revolutionary crises such as that posed by the 1968 general strike—the speaker remarked on the brittleness and rigidity of the U.S. union bureaucracy. "Can you imagine the AFL-CIO dealing with general strikes?"

He added, "The principal grievance we have with organizations in this



WV Photo

Discussion period at Spartacist League public forum held January 29.

country such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party is that they're all geared up to play the role of rendering it less brittle, more elastic, more flexible." The SWP has used its Young Socialist Alliance to prepare "one thousand youth instantly to be hired as assistant educational directors and assistant editors of union newspapers" in its ambitions to serve as social-democratic handmaiden to the labor bureaucracy.

Comrade Robertson reported on the most recent developments in the faction-ridden "United" Secretariat (USec). He noted with particular interest the "Self-Criticism on Latin America" by the steering committee of the International Majority Tendency led by Ernest Mandel et al., whose vicarious guerrillism the speaker described as "catering to the impressionism of South American and European youth who thought that you go out and pick up the gun and a bit of plastique and preferably some stereotyped peasants, and away you go. Lenin and Trotsky were really old hat, if they weren't crypto-opportunist." In their self-critique, the IMT honchos renounce their previous tailing of Guevarist adventurers and proclaim that the SWP-led reformist minority had been right all along on Latin America. In response the minority has now proposed to dissolve its own faction!

Concerning this latter tendency the speaker remarked: "The Socialist Workers Party—write them off. Simply, unconditionally, totally; as an organization, write them off. They are reformists. They are locked hopelessly into bourgeois democracy, constitutional processes and a touching faith in all capitalist cops, courts and judges." He pointed out their actual motive for offering peace to the IMT: they lost all hope of acquiring a majority themselves when their bloc with the Argentine PST fell apart.

The PST has now gone on to found the "Bolshevik Tendency" with much of the Spanish-speaking component of the splintered USec. Because of the bloody repression which the Argentine left now faces, "the PST cannot swallow the pure legalism, constitutionalism, passivity, pacifism of the would-be social-democratic SWP. How can you believe in pure legality when agents of that legality are killing you?"

Observing that the Bolshevik Tendency has positions on Angola, Portugal and elsewhere which formally parallel those of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), the speaker recounted PST leader Nahuel Moreno's sordid

past: how he for several years put out a newspaper whose masthead proclaimed it was published "under the revolutionary discipline of General Perón"; how the PST pledged its support to the "continuity" and "institutionalization" of the second Peronist regime. It is the record of an inveterate reformist. The fact that the PST can sound like Marxists on Angola or Portugal (just like Moreno's earlier, very orthodox-sounding polemic against Guillermo Lora on the Bolivian Popular Assembly) shows not that they are misguided but rather the opposite: that they are fully *conscious* renegades from Trotskyism.

While excoriating all three wings of competing revisionism, Robertson pointed out that "the USec is the principal ostensible international repository of what claims to be Trotskyism. And therefore we have the not overly happy task of pointing out that this is not Trotskyism." If, he added, under the pressure of revolutionary events such as might have developed in Portugal, a wing of the USec were to polarize around genuine opposition to popular frontism and in favor of dual power and a Leninist party, our tendency would welcome the opportunity to join with such elements in common opposition to the reformist and centrist USec leadership.

As a model for the principled programmatic basis necessary for such a regroupment, the speaker outlined the key points of a draft declaration by Trotskyists expelled and driven out of the USec who now adhere to or support the iSt:

- No political or electoral support to popular fronts; for conditional opposition to workers parties in open or implicit class-collaborationist coalitions;
- Uphold the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution; for proletarian leadership of the national/social struggle;

- For military support to petty-bourgeois nationalist forces fighting imperialism, but absolutely no political support to such forces; for Trotskyist parties in every country;

- For unconditional defense of all the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism; for political revolution against the bureaucracies; no political support to competing Stalinist cliques and factions;

- Against violence within the workers movement;

- For communist fractions in the unions, based on the Transitional Program;

- For the communist tactic of the united front from above; for the tactic of regroupment to unite subjective revolutionists in the vanguard party; for intransigent exposure of centrism;

- Rejection of the claims of ostensibly Trotskyist Internationals to speak for the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloism in 1951-1953;

- For the reforging of a democratic-centralist Fourth International which will stop at nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Robertson noted the rich opportunities open to the iSt as a result of the decomposition of the USec and of the evident disorientation of much of the Maoist movement, but observed that most of these opportunities present themselves where our forces are qualitatively weaker, outside of North America. "In the U.S. we regrouped ourselves out of chances to have fusions with forces that are close to us."

Unlike the SL/U.S.'s opponents, which have undergone considerable fragmentation in the last, relatively unfruitful period, the Spartacist League has demonstrated its political and programmatic cohesion. "Mercifully, for a number of years we have had no significant forces in our organization that want to insurrect against either the party program or the party administration." The speaker cited the recent trade union Active Workers Conference as evidence that "It's clear that particularly over the last five years of intensive industrialization, proletarianization, that we have already acquired a significant, effective and strong cadre of communist trade-union militants who can act as a corrective in this organization."

In his presentation, Robertson had noted the replication within the ostensibly Trotskyist movement of all those revisions and mutilations of the revolutionary program which have plagued the workers movement for over a century. Today especially, "Trotskyism has become an 'in' word" among those who would adopt a radical posture free from the taint of Stalinist betrayals, but whose politics are in fact quite remote from those of Trotsky and his heirs. As if to illustrate this point, the discussion period was punctuated by an indignant hue and cry from two such groupings, who—despite diametrically opposed differences with the essential core of Trotskyism—united for the occasion to condemn the SL from the standpoint of cheerleaders for petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Unable to respond to the revolutionary proletarian program of the iSt, these charlatans charged the SL with "racism" because the speaker referred to anti-Semitic prejudices of many ghetto blacks and the prevalent tendency for lumpen blacks to identify Jewish shopkeepers as the class enemy. The League

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Bandaranaike Breaks Island-Wide Strikes in Sri Lanka

by Edmund Samarakkody

COLOMBO, January 16—The railway workers strike which paralysed the railway services for nearly 30 days, and the strikes in other government departments and workplaces—involving in all over 75,000 employees on the issues of loans, wage increases, etc.—ended in the face of severe repression by the SLFP/CP [Sri Lanka Freedom Party/Communist Party] coalition regime, facilitated by the treachery of the CP and SLFP trade-union leaders, and the failure of the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja Party] to sustain and develop the strike movement.

However, what was dramatically manifest in these strikes was that the ever-rising cost of living in conditions of virtual wage freeze had reached the breaking point for workers and wage earners, both in the government and private sectors, and that large sections of the workers in the trade unions had taken the first steps to bypass their reformist leaders, to take the road of struggle as the means of winning their pressing demands.

What commenced as agitation by a group of workers in the major railway workshops (Ratmalana) on the issue of

a loan of Rs. 500 to meet especially the high costs of school books for their children, and also the rising costs of food and other essential consumer goods, soon became a strike of all workers in the workshops at this factory on December 15, involving over 5,000 workers.

Within a week, this strike spread to the other railway workshops in Colombo and the out-lying stations; simultaneously, engine drivers, railway guards, station masters and other sections of railway workers—in all, over 26,000 workers—brought the railway services to a complete standstill on December 21.

The strike at this stage was sponsored by the United Front of the Railway Trade Unions, and the issue was not the single demand of a loan. Eight other demands, including wage demands, were raised by the striking unions.

That the issue of increased wages was a burning question for all government workers soon became manifest by the escalation of the strike movement to include workers of numerous government departments and workplaces: the port of Colombo, two government-owned machine tool factories, telecommunications and government clerical services—including such services in the local governments, the municipal councils, town councils, etc.—involving over 30,000 hands, and also a partial strike of 'bus' workers of the Ceylon Transport Board.

While workers and employees of other government workplaces were readying themselves for strike action, both in sympathy with railway workers and also on their own demands, wide sections of workers in the private sector were pressuring their respective leaderships to take strike decisions.

The significant feature of the railway strike as well as the other strikes that followed was that it was propelled by a rank and file movement. The several union leaderships which included the LSSP, CP, SLFP, and UNP moved to sponsor the railway strike only after the strike had taken place.

What was specially noteworthy was the high degree of militancy displayed by the strikers. Striking workers in all strikebound places defied the government's "essential service order," in terms of which they were to lose their jobs through participation in strikes declared illegal by this order. They were also exposed by the same order to court charges, imprisonment and confiscation of property.

Nor was there any doubt in regard to the strength of the strike movement and the impact of the strikes on the government-organised public services. Here is what Prime Minister Bandaranaike had to say in her message to the nation on December 29, even before the strikes spread to the government clerical services, etc.:

"The public have already suffered as a result of the railway strike. The crippling of the railway services does not only mean inconvenience to passengers, especially office workers, but it also seriously affects the movement of food, fuel and other vital commodities, such as fertiliser, which are all so essential to the life of the community. Already, shortages of rice and serious shortages of kerosene have been reported from various areas of the country as a result of the dislocation of the railway services. . . . Added to all this, the strike has affected refuelling at B.I.A. (Bandaranaike International Airport) and the provision of bunkers to ships resulting in loss of foreign exchange at this critical time. . . ."

In this context, there was a real possibility of the strikes being developed into a general strike against the government on economic as well as political issues, such as ending of the State of Emergency and the restoration of democratic rights, and the release of all political prisoners, which were the subject matter of previous agitation especially by the LSSP and other left parties and groups outside the coalition alliance.

The reaction of the Bandaranaike government to the strikes was not difficult to guess. Far from being ready to grant any wage concessions to the workers, the government was categorical in its denunciation of the strikes as unreasonable and unjustified, and that they were politically motivated. On the other hand, as the smashing of the trade unions and the left movement was the government's perspective, these strikes could well be an opportunity to take some meaningful steps in that regard.

For the government there were two possible ways of seeing an end to the strikes: one through the fizzling out of the strikes and the other through government repression.

Far from showing any signs of fizzling out, even after 15 days the strike movement was growing and widening, with newer sections joining it. It soon became obvious to the government that repression was the only means to end the strikes. However, the government understood that sometimes repressive measures could well escalate strikes, leading to real confrontations with the organised working-class movement.

But the government had sufficient knowledge in regard to the quality of the trade-union leaderships in this strike, not to entertain unnecessary fear concerning the resort to repression. The truth about these strikes was that they were leaderless. In such a context, government repression would very probably lead not to confrontation but to disintegration of the strike movement. And that was precisely what happened.

In regard to the SLFP trade-union leaderships, they were in the strikes only because their workers were participating in a real way in the strikes, but these leaderships were out to break these strikes both from within and from outside the unions. The SLFP trade-union bureaucrats did not hesitate to denounce the strikes and called upon their members not to remain in the strike which was "politically motivated." But it was by no means easy to get their workers out of the strikes.

The reaction of the SLFP workers to the directions from their trade-union bureaucrats to become black legs [scabs] was significant. They not only openly rejected this treacherous call, but they also brought home to these leaders graphically what they thought of their leaders. SLFP strikers put up posters in Colombo offering a reward to anyone who succeeded in arresting their leader, Alavi Moulana, who was the chief organiser of black legs for the government!

The CP adopted a more shameful but more treacherous tactic. After observing deliberate silence during the first few days of the railway strike, the CP paper *Attha* began to give screaming headlines indicating their support for the strikes. What is more, this paper sought to impress that it was the CP that was in the leadership in this strike movement!

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20 Years After Serving Sentence

"Tokyo Rose" Pardoned

As Gerald Ford left office he pardoned Iva Toguri d'Aquino. One among at least a dozen radio announcers broadcasting to U.S. servicemen from Japan during World War II who were known collectively as "Tokyo Rose," Iva d'Aquino was singled out for prosecution after the war when she



Iva Toguri d'Aquino

refused to renounce her U.S. citizenship. Though the Allied POW officers who ran the program she broadcast were not prosecuted, she was convicted of treason in 1949.

The racist U.S. imperialist war machine wasn't satisfied by dropping atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and herding the entire West Coast citizenry of Japanese descent into concentration camps; it couldn't resist the petty and vindictive prosecution of the one accessible Tokyo Rose to symbolize the defeat of Japanese imperialism. Caught in a trap, Iva Toguri d'Aquino found her life torn to shreds in the storm of racist and

chauvinist hysteria. She and her husband were permanently separated as he was banned from entering the country and she was banned from leaving; she was deprived of her U.S. citizenship and handed a ten-year prison sentence along with a \$10,000 fine (see "In Defense of Tokyo Rose," *WV* No. 139, 7 January).

Her trial was a farce. She was behind bars for two years before even coming to trial before an all-white jury; Japanese witnesses could be subpoenaed only by the prosecution. Among those who have recently spoken out in defense of d'Aquino is the jury foreman at her trial. He has admitted that the jury convicted her on the one count of treason out of the eight she was charged with only because of pressure from the judge and the pervasive climate of anti-Japanese sentiment, saying he wished he had "had a little more guts to stick with my vote for acquittal" (*New York Post*, 18 January).

So now everyone from the Japanese American Citizens League (which was afraid to defend her in 1948) to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to the Los Angeles city council (which has rescinded its 1948 resolution opposing her re-entry into the U.S.) thinks Tokyo Rose should be pardoned. This token gesture which will restore her citizenship is an insulting piece of liberal hypocrisy, coming as it does after she had already spent six-and-a-half years of her life behind bars until her release in 1956. Working as a clerk in an import firm, it took her until 1975 to pay off the fine—yet it is only now that she is pardoned.

The smug liberals feel they have washed their hands of an embarrassing affair and justice has been done. Iva Toguri d'Aquino says she bears no grudge. But if justice had really been done, those who framed her up would now be standing in the dock. Though it seems small compared to the imperialist war crimes, the 30-year persecution of this innocent victim of circumstances, like the vicious injustice done to the Scottsboro Boys (the last one of whom was pardoned in November), is one more proof that bourgeois "democracy" is but a mask for inhuman oppression. ■

On the Class Nature of the USSR

Trotskyism vs. "State Capitalism"

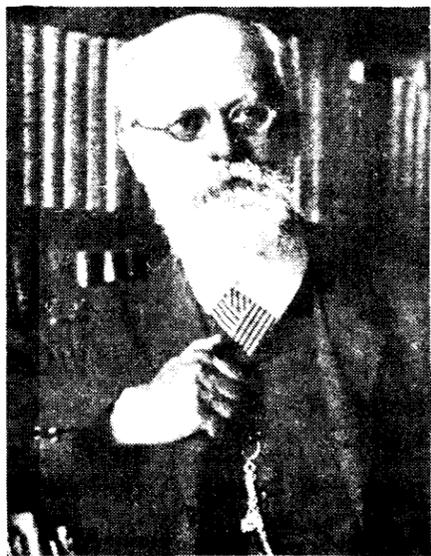
The following is the introduction of a forthcoming Spartacus Youth League pamphlet which brings together several recent articles from Workers Vanguard and Young Spartacus on Maoist economics, attempts by apologists for the Chinese bureaucracy to explain a supposed "restoration of capitalism" in the post-Stalin USSR and theories of "state capitalism" generally.

Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution, differences over the nature of the Soviet Union have been the single most important question underlying the principal divisions within the international workers movement. Almost

PART 1 OF 2

immediately after October the social democrats condemned Lenin's soviet government as a historic step *backwards* from bourgeois democracy. As early as 1919, Kautsky declared the USSR to be "state capitalist," ruled by a "new class" of bureaucrats.

A few years later disillusion set in among the anarchists, particularly over Kronstadt. They denounced Lenin's centralist regime as a "dictatorship of the party" and repeated the Bakuninist dictum that the state is the fundamental source of all social oppression. Then, after the institution of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921 and with the emerging Stalinist bureaucratization,



Karl Kautsky

Archiv

ultra-left tendencies in the Third International, notably Gorter/Pannekoek in Holland and the German KAPD, concluded that capitalism had been restored in Russia.

During the 1930's Leon Trotsky developed the position that the USSR was a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. The maintenance of a collectivized planned economy indicated the proletarian, anti-capitalist nature of the state. Stalin's totalitarian terror rested on a parasitic bureaucratic caste, which had to be ousted by the working class in order to open the road to socialism. Of all the opponents of Stalinism within the workers movement, only the Trotskyists regarded the Soviet Union as a continuing, albeit qualitatively deformed, expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

By the eve of World War II the basic political divisions over "the Russian question," each with its characteristic

theories, had attained a more-or-less stable alignment. Newly formed groups were inexorably drawn into one of the fundamental historic tendencies. For example, those factions which split to the right from the Trotskyist Fourth International over the Russian question (e.g., Max Shachtman and Tony Cliff) drifted into the camp of social democracy; others who split to the left (e.g., J.R. Johnson and Grandizo Munis) became anarcho-syndicalists in all but name.

The political/theoretical alignment on the Russian question which was established in the 1930's has now been disturbed by new fanatical converts to the doctrine that the USSR is "state capitalist"—the Maoists. China's post-1971 de facto alliance with U.S. imperialism against Brezhnev's Russia is justified by the contention that the latter has become a "social-imperialist superpower," which is "more dangerous" than the older capitalist states. Today the most aggressive, shrill campaigners for the view that the Soviet Union is an exploitative class society are no longer the social democrats or anarcho-syndicalists; rather, they are the Maoists, acting in the name of orthodox Stalinism.

The Maoist diatribes against Soviet "state capitalism" have their ironies. Those tendencies on the left which considered themselves the most implacable enemies of Stalinism, which accused the Trotskyists of being soft on Stalinism, now hear their arguments from the mouths of the most unregenerate, hard-line Stalin cultists. In turn, the Maoists could have lifted their denunciations of Brezhnev's Russia almost word-for-word from Kautskyan and libertarian polemics against Stalin's regime.

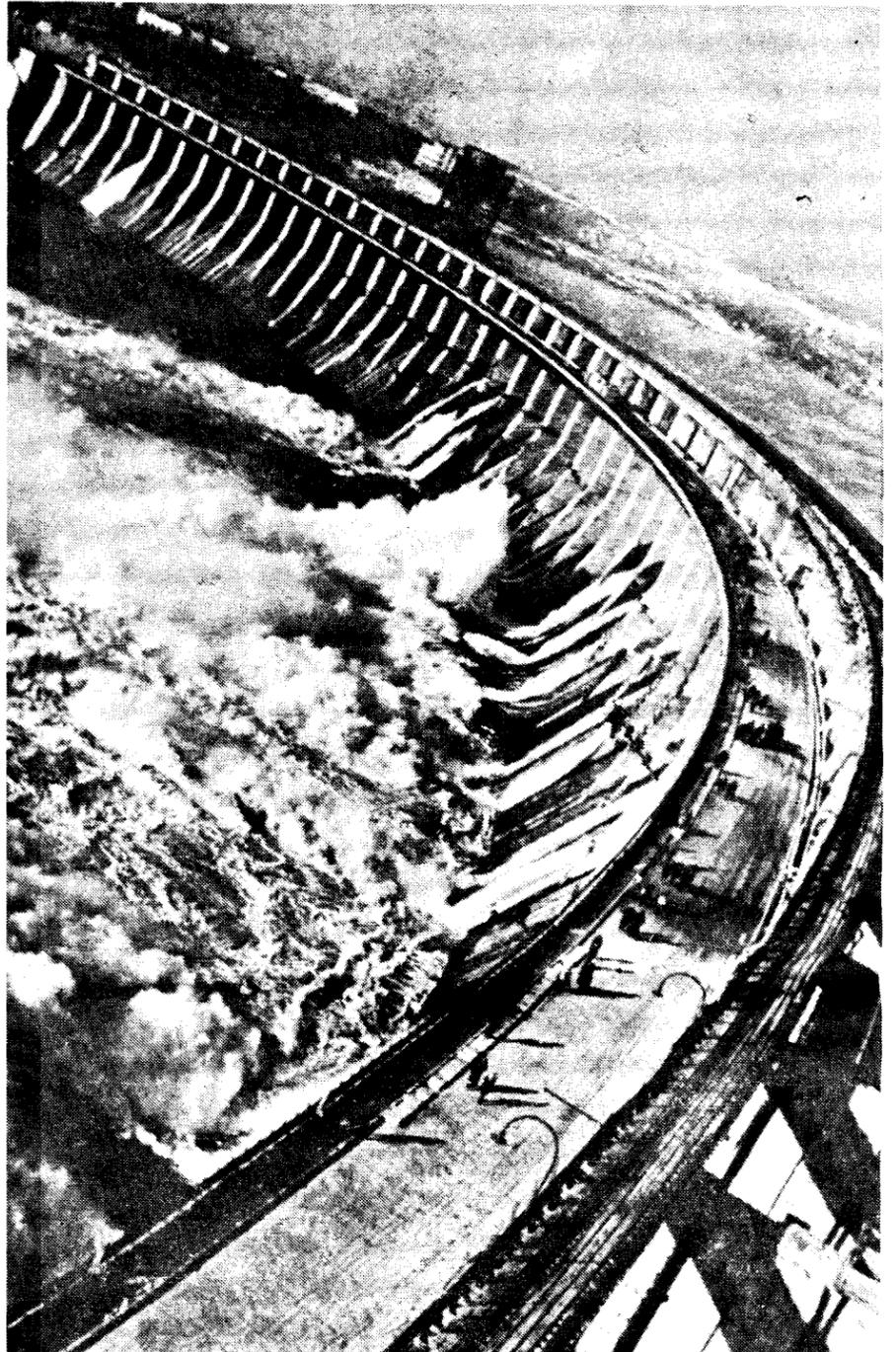
In fact, some of the more eclectic New Left Maoist intellectuals are even willing to turn to social-democratic revisionists to beef up their poor theoretical armory. An Italian sympathizer of the "Chinese road to socialism," Antonio Carlo, maintains that Russia under Stalin was "bureaucratic collectivist" ("The Socio-Economic Nature of the USSR," *Telos*, Fall 1974). One supporter of the academic mao-oid *Monthly Review* agrees with its editor Paul Sweezy that the Soviet bureaucracy is a ruling class, but finds the notion that the USSR is capitalist unconvincing. He suggests that the analyses of Shachtman and Rudolf Hilferding are more germane:

"The socially stratified, bureaucratically planned societies of the Soviet bloc are class systems, and if we could raise Marx from the grave he would say so. Marxists have defined these planned societies in various ways: bureaucratic collectivism (Shachtman), totalitarian states (Hilferding), state socialism (Naville). Whatever the correct name for these societies, one feature is clear—the bureaucracy is a class."

—Ross Gandy, "More on the Nature of Soviet Society," *Monthly Review*, March 1976

We will not comment on the scientific merit of an author who claims the Soviet Union is a class society but does not know what kind of class society it is.

The intellectual convergence between the traditional social-democratic and anarcho-syndicalist attitude toward the USSR and the Maoist-Stalinists comes as no surprise to Trotskyists. In his many polemics on the Russian question, Trotsky on numerous occasions pointed out the *methodological parallelism*



Novosti Press

The Dnieper hydroelectric station planned under the 1920 "Plan for the Electrification of Russia" and completed in 1932.

between Stalin and those who condemned him as the ruler of an exploitative class society. For example, in one of Trotsky's last polemics on the question he wrote:

"Shachtman revises not only the present policy of the Fourth International but also the past. Since we are against Stalin we must therefore be against the USSR too. Stalin has long held this opinion. Shachtman arrived at it only recently. From his rejection of the Kremlin's politics flows complete and indivisible defeatism."

—"From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene," 1940

Stalin and Shachtman shared a common identification of the *political* character of the ruling party or group with the *dominant social class* represented by the state.

Despite individual variation and overlapping argumentation, there remain three distinct ideological approaches to "state capitalism," each corresponding to the major political tendencies upholding this position: social democracy, anarcho-syndicalism and now Mao-Stalinism.

Social-Democratic Liberalism and Economism

Predictably, the first exponents of the view that Soviet Russia was "state

capitalist" were the social democrats. This followed logically from the Kautskyan/Menshevik dogma that Russia was too backward to support an economic system more advanced than capitalism. The assertion that Lenin's Russia was capitalist was a necessary component of the Second International's reformist worldview.

Karl Kautsky's 1919 polemic *Terrorism and Communism* lays out all the basic arguments which social democracy subsequently employed to denounce the USSR as more distant from socialism than bourgeois democracy. Kautsky identifies democracy with parliamentarianism and condemns the rule of workers councils (soviets) as itself a violation of socialist principle. He defines Lenin's Russia as "state capitalist," a condition which was worse for the workers than tsarist rule!

"In order to save industry, therefore, a new class of officials had to be formed and put in authority over the workers. This new class gradually appropriated to itself all actual and virtual control, and transformed the freedom of the workers into a mere illusory freedom...."

"The absolutism of the old bureaucracy has come again to life in a new but... by no means improved form; and alongside of this absolutism are being formed

From Kautsky to Mao

the seeds of a new capitalism ... which in reality stands on a much lower level than the industrial capitalism of former days. It is only the ancient feudal land estate which exists no more. For its abolition conditions in Russia were ripe. But they were not ripe for the abolition of capitalism. This latter system is now undergoing resuscitation, nevertheless in forms which, for the proletariat, are more oppressing and more harmful than those of yore... Industrial capitalism, from being a private system, has now become State capitalism. Formerly the bureaucrats of the State and those of private capital were often very critical, if not directly hostile, towards one another.... Today, however, both State and capitalist bureaucracy have merged into one system. That is the final result of the great Socialist upheaval which the Bolsheviks have introduced. It represents the *most oppressive* of all forms of despotism that Russia has ever had." [our emphasis]

All later theories of state capitalism are built on foundations anticipated by "the renegade Kautsky" less than two years after the Bolsheviks had come to power. This fact in itself points to the reformist ideological premises inherent in the notion of "state capitalism."

With the onset of Stalin's industrialization drive in 1929, social-democratic ideologues added another argument to their basic "parliamentary democracy is the road to socialism" position. Stalin's unbalanced concentration on producer goods and break-neck industrialization tempo led to a drastic fall in the living standards of the Russian masses. This enabled social-democratic spokesmen to declare Russia "capitalist" because it maximized

accumulation at the expense of workers' wages.

The most prominent—but by no means earliest—exponent of the "Stalinist industrialization equals capitalism" school is Tony Cliff, a renegade from Trotskyism who heads the British International Socialists group. For a comprehensive exposition of the fraudulent and economic Cliffite theory of state capitalism, see "The Anti-Marxist Theory of 'State Capitalism'—A Trotskyist Critique," in *Young Spartacus* Nos. 51 and 52, February and March 1977.

At bottom the "accumulation equals capitalism" argument is a workerist and/or demagogic identification of the physical means of production with capital (the means of production as privately owned commodities). Marx's classic exposition on the nature and organization of a workers state, the "Critique of the Gotha Program" (1875), contained a polemic against the Lasallean notion that "every worker must receive the 'undiminished proceeds of labour'." In it he clearly stated that part of the surplus over consumption would be devoted to accumulating additional means of production:

"Let us take first of all the words 'proceeds of labour' in the sense of the product of labour; then the co-operative proceeds of labour are the total social product.
"From this must now be deducted:
"First, cover for replacement of the means of production used up.
"Secondly, *additional portion for expansion of production.*" [our emphasis]

If accumulation of the means of production is the programmatic norm for a *model* workers state, how much more important and rapid must accumulation be in a *backward* workers state facing *imperialist encirclement*?

Stalin's purges in the late 1930's provoked a new class of theories which focused on the rise of the "totalitarian state," an ideological tradition culminating in the unrelieved historic pessimism of George Orwell's *1984*. Stalin's purges seemed to represent the existence of an omnipotent, arbitrary state power unconcerned with rational economic purpose; Russia was a giant Gulag.

Rudolf Hilferding, the most talented theorist of inter-war social democracy, argued that Stalin's Russia represented a new historical phenomenon, totally unanticipated by traditional Marxist theory and categories. In a 1940 essay he put forth a brilliant criticism of the concept of "state capitalism" as applied to the USSR. He also rejected the notion that the bureaucracy was a ruling class with a sound argument that the individuals comprising the bureaucracy had no institutional means for appropriating a definite share of the surplus product, or even maintaining their positions in the social hierarchy. He correctly observed that the Soviet bureaucracy, "is in fact subordinate to the government to the same extent as are the rest of the people" ("State Capitalism or Totalitarian State Economy," in Irving Howe, ed., *Essential Works of Socialism* [1970]).

Hilferding reverted to an essentially anarchist conception of the state as the dominant and autonomous institution in society, rejecting the Marxist position that the state power defends the property interests of a distinct group (i.e., class) central to economic life. He was

both knowledgeable enough and honest enough to make this revision of Marx explicit:

"The Marxist sectarian cannot grasp the idea that present-day state power, having achieved independence, is unfolding its enormous strength according to its own laws, subjecting social forces and compelling them to serve its ends for a short or long period of time.
"Therefore neither the Russian nor the totalitarian system in general is determined by the character of the economy. On the contrary, it is the economy that is determined by the policy of the ruling power and subjected to the aims and purposes of this power. The totalitarian power lives by the economy, but not for the economy or even for the class ruling the economy—as is the case of the bourgeois state...."
—*Ibid.*

The theory of "bureaucratic collectivism," which also arose at this time, is very close in spirit to Hilferding's "totalitarian state." The seminal expression was by Bruno Rizzi, an Italian ex-Trotskyist who in 1939 wrote *The Bureaucratization of the World*. Like Hilferding, Rizzi identified Stalin's regime with the rise of fascism and (unlike the social democrat Hilferding) with Roosevelt's New Deal. "Bureaucratic collectivism" was seen as a world-historic phenomenon, the rational solution to the anarchy of capitalist production.

The concept of "bureaucratic collectivism" was taken over and popularized by the American renegade from Trotskyism, Max Shachtman. With the defeat of the fascist powers in World War II, Shachtman drew the conclusions of his growing conviction that "bureaucratic collectivism" (i.e., Stalinism) was a greater threat to a socialist future than bourgeois democracy, and was therefore inexorably drawn into the fanatical anti-communism of official American social democracy.

The totalitarian state theories which burgeoned in the late 1930's all stand in the social-democratic tradition in that they imply (even when they don't explicitly assert) that Stalinist Russia, like Nazi Germany, is a historical retrogression from the most advanced capitalist democracy.

The Reactionary Utopias of Anarcho-Syndicalism

In discussing the anarcho-syndicalist attitude toward the USSR it is useful to distinguish between those claiming the classic Bakunite tradition and the ultra-left communists who supported Lenin's Third International and claim to be Marxists.

The traditional anarcho-syndicalists condemned the Bolsheviks for carrying out the Marxist policy of state ownership of the means of production and economic centralism. A recent effective restatement of the classic anarcho-syndicalist case against Lenin's Russia is Maurice Brinton's *The Bolsheviks and Workers Control. 1917 to 1921* (1970). In this well researched and fairly objective historical essay, Brinton correctly asserts that the Bolsheviks were always committed to centralized management and that their guarded acceptance of workers' self-management in 1917-18 had a conjunctural tactical purpose.

Brinton's essentially pre-Marxian outlook makes him indifferent to the

concrete, particular nature of Soviet society and its evolution from Lenin to Stalin, or from Stalin to Brezhnev. He and his fellow anarcho-syndicalists have a simple-minded definition of class as any distinct group of political or economic administrators. In other words, for them the basic division in society is between the order-givers and the order-takers:

"We also hold that the means of production may change hands (passing for instance from private hands into those of a bureaucracy, which collectively owns them) without this revolutionising the relations of production. Under such circumstances... the society is still a class society, for production is still managed by an agency other than the producers themselves."

For Brinton and his co-thinkers the ultimate goal is not liberating mankind from economic scarcity and arduous toil, but the relatively trivial one of eliminating hierarchical relations at the point of production:

"Workers' management of production—implying as it does the total domination of the producer over the productive process—is not for us a marginal matter. It is the core of our politics. It is the only means whereby authoritarian (order-giving, order-taking) relations in production can be transcended and a free, communist or anarchist, society introduced."

At bottom, this type of simplistic libertarianism is a utopian desire to return to the "free" artisan status of pre-industrial society. Brinton's polemic against Bolshevism was fully answered over a hundred years ago by Engels in his classic anti-anarchist tract *On Authority* (1873), where he pointed out:

"Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel."

We really have nothing new to add.

The Bolshevik Revolution gave rise to a current of ultra-left communists who shared many of the premises of the traditional anarcho-syndicalists. Partly in response to the capitalist features of NEP and partly reacting against the emerging Stalinist bureaucratization, these ultra-left tendencies split from the Third International, denouncing Russia as capitalist. The most important figures in this tendency were the Italian Amadeo Bordiga and the German Hugo Urbahns.

Bordiga mocked the demagogic workerist view that Stalin's Russia was capitalist because factory directors drove big cars. But his own theory is no less simplistic:

"It [the bureaucracy] obtains these commodities in exchange for rectangular pieces of paper which it folds up into wads that are held close to its heart in small leather purses called billfolds. These paper rectangles are money, rubles in Russian; therefore, this is a bureaucracy of a capitalist mode of production."

—"Le trotskysme," in *Programme Communiste*, October-December 1972

Bordiga demonstrates that socialism, the lower stage of communism, does not exist in the USSR: classes continue to exist, as do commodity production, money and wage labor. It is not a socialist mode of production, he concludes; therefore it is capitalist.

As the foremost opponent of ever participating in bourgeois parliaments,
continued on page 8



Max Shachtman

ISR



Tony Cliff

Socialist Worker

100 in U.S. Jails Face Tonton Macoute Torturers

No Deportations of Haitian Refugees!

A week of protest dramatizing the plight of Haitian refugees in the U.S. was held in Washington, D.C., last week under the auspices of the Haitian (Catholic) Fathers and the National Council of Churches. Over 1,500 refugees from the blood-drenched Caribbean dictatorship who arrived in Miami within the last three years have been denied political asylum by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The State Department has the gall to claim that Haiti is no longer a "totalitarian state" since the 1971 death of right-wing despot François ("Papa Doc") Duvalier and the succession of his son Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier. Thus Haitians arriving in the U.S. are refused classification as political refugees. Like the thousands of migrant Mexican workers who enter the U.S. each year, they are considered "illegal aliens."

At the January 28 rally concluding the week of protests, spokesmen for the refugees described how thousands have fled Haiti for their lives. Many bear the scars from blows of the Tontons Macoutes (the Duvaliers' private army) on their backs; others have seen their families dragged off before their eyes. Far from simple "job seekers," almost all of the Haitian refugees who have been denied asylum are either members of underground opposition groups, innocent victims of the Tontons' whims who protested too loudly, or friends and relatives of someone in the first two categories who are threatened because of that relationship.

The speakers described the odyssey of refugees who sail more than 800 miles to Miami, many in leaky fishing boats so primitive and poorly stocked that new arrivals often have to be immediately hospitalized. Once in Miami—usually unable to read, write or speak English—they are easy prey for the Immigration agents and a network of parasites who live off the plight of the "illegals" by providing small but crucial "favors." When interrogated by the INS the real facts of the refugees' situations are further concealed because, according to the speakers, the INS translator in Miami is notorious for his family's close connections to the Duvalier regime! The long arm of the Tontons Macoutes reaches into the sizeable Haitian community in the U.S., so that new arrivals would risk kidnapping and death (not to mention victimization of their friends and relatives at home) if they reveal to U.S. authorities their oppositionist activities against the Duvalierist dictatorship.

Over 95 Haitian refugees are presently being held in jails in Immokalee, Florida, and El Paso, Texas. Some spend up to 16 months in prison until bail is raised by the Council of Churches and release is arranged. On the outside without working papers, some get jobs as maids or field hands while others live on handouts from relief organizations. Many have deportation proceedings hanging over their heads.

Contrary to the smug insistence by the Haitian ambassador to the U.S. that those returning to Haiti will not be penalized, Amnesty International (AI) reports that Haitians who acted on reports in the American press that the Duvalier regime had liberalized are sometimes taken to prison minutes after they touch down at the Port-au-Prince airport (*Guardian* [London], 6 June



Haitian refugees escaping the terror and repression of the Duvalier dictatorship.



The hated "tontons macoutes," the national police force

1976). Moreover, in the past year AI has documented a wave of arrests of returned exiles whom the regime suspects of opposition activities. Exiles sometimes prefer death to returning to Haiti, as was horribly demonstrated by the 1974 suicide of Turenne De Ville in his Miami jail cell only hours before he was to be deported. Since then two other prison suicides have been reported.

Haiti under the Duvaliers is one of the world's most backward, corrupt and barbaric regimes. It is reported that "Papa Doc" once had the skull of a rival brought to his office where he interrogated it for several hours. Perhaps after the token cosmetic facelifting instituted by "Baby Doc" to please his American mentors, they no longer behead corpses in Haiti. But the population still lives in terror of the Tontons—now euphemistically called "Volunteers for National Security"—and the still more elite squad, the Leopards (formerly headed

by Jean-Claude himself). The most elementary signs of political opposition are still mercilessly wiped out through beatings, imprisonment and murder.

Since 1954 when the Duvaliers came to power, 40,000 people have been assassinated. Trade unions are still outlawed and immediate death is still the penalty for anyone found associated with any sort of "communist activity." Today the cycle of life in Haiti remains one of famine, corruption, theft, rape and traffic in blood, drugs and corpses. The poorest country in the Western hemisphere, it has an average per capita income of \$70 a year. Ninety percent of the population is illiterate, life expectancy is 35 years and half the children die before the age of four. Despite claims that industry is picking up under the new regime, sales of human blood (for which Haitians are paid \$4/liter as opposed to the going rate of \$20/pint in

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From Kautsky to Mao...

(continued from page 7)

Bordiga fancied himself the most ferocious defender of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But he denied any economic content to this class dictatorship; it was simply and exclusively a question of who held state power. *Economically* there was no transition period between capitalism and socialism in his view; the revolutionary party of the proletariat may rule but capitalism remains until money, wage labor and commodity production are eliminated. "In Russia," he wrote, "...capital was never destroyed, because it could not be: it was simply controlled for an instant [during the period of so-called 'war communism'] by the dictatorship of the Bolshevik party; then it destroyed this party" (our emphasis).

This thesis is a frontal assault on the Marxist theory of the state, by denying that it has any economic content, that state power is based on armed bodies of men defending certain property forms. The collectivist economy (abolition of private ownership of the means of production, planned production) count for nothing. It is not surprising, therefore, that Bordiga not only rejected Trotsky's theory of a degenerated workers state under Stalin, but expressed his distaste for the term *workers state*. Although his argumentation was complex, the reason was straightforward: he wanted to deny that there was anything for the workers to defend in the Soviet Union.

There are no significant anarcho-syndicalist or ultra-left communist groups in the English-speaking world. In marked contrast to Latin Europe and also Japan, in the U.S. the notion of Soviet "state capitalism" is generally associated with social-democratic and now Maoist reformism, and with support to American imperialism as the lesser evil as against the USSR.

One articulate exponent of the left version of "state capitalism" in the U.S. is Raya Dunayevskaya. Of Russian origin, Dunayevskaya entered the Trot-

Sadlowski...

(continued from page 12)

ENA but has already committed himself to enforcing it until it expires three years from now. He rants against the power of Big Steel but opposes its nationalization. He moans about unemployment but has not lifted a finger to fight sizable layoffs in his own district, while calling for reducing the steel workforce by three quarters. He says that the union must be controlled by the ranks yet gives the green light to the government to directly police USWA affairs.

On not one single issue does Sadlowski break from the class collaborationism of the mainstream labor bureaucracy. He is nothing but a 1970's version of the Reutherite liberal bureaucrats who have so firmly subordinated the once-militant UAW to the auto companies. Only by forging an independent opposition within the union that consistently defends working-class independence and fights for militant class-struggle policies—both on immediate trade-union questions and in the fundamental political questions which affect all workers—can steel workers take the struggle forward to victory.

Remember: in 1965 I.W. Abel campaigned against McDonald on the slogan of dumping "tuxedo unionism." It was tough talk, but there was no program to back it up. This year Sadlowski—another labor faker on the make—blasts Abel for sipping martinis with the bosses, but his *program* is no better than McBride's. Don't be fooled! ■

skyist movement in the 1930's. She split from the Fourth International in the late 1940's as part of an essentially syndicalist faction led by the West Indian J.R. Johnson and loosely tied to the Spaniard Grandizo Munis.

An early, brief and cogent statement of Dunayevskaya's position is "A New Revision of Marxian Economics" published in (of all places) the *American Economic Review* (September 1944). (She is polemicizing here against a Russian Stalinist economist who maintains that the law of value prevails under "socialism"—whence the title.) This is the heart of Dunayevskaya's position:

"There is incontrovertible evidence that there exists in Russia at present a sharp class differentiation based upon a division of function between the workers, on the one hand, and the managers of industry, millionaire *kolkhozniki* [collective farmers], political leaders and the intelligentsia in general, on the other... This distinction between the intelligentsia and the mass of the workers has found its economic expression in the formula: 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor.' This formula should be compared with the traditional Marxist formula: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.' 'Each according to his need' has always been considered a repudiation of the law of value. The document, however, states that 'distribution according to labor' is to be effected through the instrumentality of money. This money is not script notes or some bookkeeping

term but money as the price expression of value."

What Dunayevskaya neglected to mention is that "to each according to his need" is the capsule description of *full communism*. As Marx clearly stated in the "Critique of the Gotha Program," the transitional epoch is characterized by economic scarcity and therefore by differential wage labor. Wage labor in a workers state serves to allocate different types of labor, ration scarce consumables and ensure an external compulsion to work.

If the economy is based on wage labor, then the money cost of production must be the key *index* of economic accounting and calculation. The money cost of production is the only common denominator (though a highly imperfect one) which allows comparison of different kinds of resources expended on physically heterogeneous goods and services. Contrary to Dunayevskaya, economic calculation based on labor costs in terms of money outlay does not mean the predominance of the law of value in the economy.

What is the positive program implied by the anarcho-syndicalist and left communist contention that the USSR is state capitalist? For the former, it is producer cooperatives necessarily linked through market relations; for the latter, it is a purely administrative economy, an idealized version of the "war communism" of 1918-21. Both these programs are reactionary utopias. They *cannot* exist as stable economic systems, and attempts to implement such programs will lead to economic collapse.

A system of producer cooperatives would in short order degenerate into capitalist exploitation. In the absence of state restriction, the more profitable cooperatives would buy out bankrupt ones and exploit the former cooperative members as wage labor. The immanent tendency of workers management under market conditions to transform unprofitable enterprises into spheres of capitalist exploitation is generally recognized in Yugoslavia. The leading Titoist theoretician, Eduard Kardelj, explains that only strict government control prevents profitable enterprises from taking over financially weak ones and exploiting the latter's labor in a fully capitalist manner (see his "Toward Higher Forms of Integration," *Socialist Thought and Practice*, April-June 1967).

If producer cooperatives are a road to capitalist restoration, then the idea of a moneyless, marketless, totally administrative economy under conditions of scarcity is a reactionary utopia pure and simple. The Soviet masses, who suffered the militarization of labor under Stalin, who still wait in line hours every week for goods in short supply, will not take kindly to programs for allocating labor by administrative fiat and rationing consumables in physical units. While the ultra-left communist program will never be a serious contender for power against the Stalinist regime, such utopian fantasies may seduce idealistic radical youth, the potential cadre of a revolutionary Marxist vanguard.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 5)

However, while the CP leader and Housing Minister Keuneman gave full support to the Bandaranaike cabinet to smash the strike through severe repressive measures, CP leaders in the strike committees did everything possible to contain, weaken the strikes and discourage the workers from continuing the strikes. This treacherous role of the CP could not be concealed from the workers and several leading CPers in the strike committees suffered physical assaults at the hands of the strikers.

While the LSSP had a need to strengthen its trade-union base, especially since its sacking from the coalition alliance in September 1975, the leadership of this party (like that of the CP and other reformist parties and trade unions) was only ready to countenance limited strikes and not at all any strike movement that had potentialities of leading to anything like a confrontation with the bourgeois state. The real problem for the LSSP in this strike movement was to create the impression that it was in the leadership while doing nothing to sustain or widen it.

It was pressure from the ranks of the government clerical services that pushed the LSSP-led Government Clerical Services Union, jointly with other clerical unions, to launch strike action on January 6. It was in order to launch this strike that the LSSP-led trade union federations—the Ceylon Federation of Labour, the Government Clerical Services Union, and the Government Workers Trade Union Federation—held the only workers rally in support of the strikes.

Nor was it just sectarianism on its part that prevented the LSSP from taking steps to win the participation of other big trade unions and federations under different leaderships in this struggle. The truth is that the LSSP did not want to broaden this strike. It had no perspectives of a general strike although its paper *Janadina* frequently referred to the need for a general strike in the situation. The LSSP long ago lost all perspective of mass struggle against the capitalist class and the capitalist state. That is why the LSSP failed even to make a pretense of calling together the unions and federations of the JCTUO (Joint Council of Trade Union Organizations—the coalition trade-union centre) which was disrupted by Sirima Bandaranaike after the 20 February 1976 token general strike.

The government also took note that the unions and federations under other leaderships—Bala Tampoe, Thondaman, Shanmugasadan (CP-Peking) and others—would not go beyond giving lip-service to this strike movement.

Of course, the "revolutionary leader" of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (Tampoe), Thondaman and the rest did something in this regard. Through their coordinating committee, the TUCC (Trade Union Coordinating Committee) these leaders wrote a letter to the prime minister! In this letter, these leaders called upon the "government to settle the strike democratically!"

It was in this context, that the government decided to break the strike.

On January 4, the government clamped on the "essential services order" by which the strikes became illegal. It is true that the workers on strike defied this order. But the leaderships of the striking unions did nothing to mobilise the strikers and other sections of the workers not involved in

the strike to meet the government repression that had begun. While the CP was in the coalition alliance and was giving Sirima Bandaranaike full support to launch repression (thus making it part of the forces of repression), the LSSP which was reputed to be in "the opposition" totally failed to do anything to counter governmental measures to break the strike.

Taking account of the green light given by the trade-union leaders, by the LSSP and all other trade-union leaderships not in the strike, the government took the necessary follow-up actions. Thus on January 6 the government refused to allow the use of loudspeakers for the rally of the LSSP-led federations in support of the strikes. The LSSP leaders meekly conformed to police orders, and their workers rally was virtually disrupted without the use of loudspeakers.

Other repressive measures followed swiftly. Following cabinet directions the police drove out strikers when they gathered, even in small groups, in the vicinity of strikebound places. Police also arrested hundreds of strikers even in private premises if these places were close to the workplaces where strikes had occurred.

In order to expedite the disruption of the railway and "bus" workers strike, the police visited the homes of strikers who were dragged out and compelled at bayonet-point to resume work under the supervision of the armed forces personnel.

When the government said that its repression was being carried out according to plan, and that the trade-union leaders were not ready for any counter-measures through the mobilisation of the workers, it hastened to give the 'coup de grace' to the strike by finally clamping a press censorship of all news regarding the strike.

It was obvious to the strikers that under these conditions, their strike movement could not continue. About January 15 the strikers, who had shown great courage and determination in regard to their struggle, understood that the wisest course of action was to end the strike. The leaders of the trade unions who had played a treacherous role, including the leaders of the LSSP-led unions, were relieved that the strikers were ready to have the strikes called off. These leaders could well say that the strikers were not ready to continue their strikes, and that it was not they who called off the strikes, but the workers themselves!

Thus a powerful government workers strike movement which could well have been developed into a general strike against the capitalist SLFP-CP government and the capitalist class, was broken up without the workers winning any of their demands, by the unprecedented repression of the SLFP-CP regime, the treachery of the SLFP-CP trade union leaders and the virtual abandonment of the strikes by the LSSP.

If indeed even a section of the working class has understood that what basically led to the collapse of the strike movement was the treachery and the do-nothing policy of their reformist leaders, then it could well be said that the working class has made important gains in this strike. This would mean that the unpostponable task of driving out their reformist leaders and the forging of the new revolutionary leadership has already been sharply posed for the workers of Sri Lanka. ■

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a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

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Reforge the Fourth International!...

(continued from page 5)

for a Revolutionary Party, Sy Landy's latest clique spinoff from the Shachtmanite RSL, writhing with what Robertson termed its "vicarious closet black nationalism," was horrified by the SL's recognition of the need to fight lumpenism as an obstacle to the attainment of revolutionary consciousness by the black masses.

To its glorification of lumpen rage, the speaker responded: "This is a racist country. You've got to speak the truth about what it's like in this country. The blacks and whites don't trust each other. They don't like each other. The vanguard, if it refuses to face this, can never build an interracial Leninist party." Other SL speakers exposed the true appetites of these Shachtmanites' petty-bourgeois moralism in their refusal to defend busing (the defeat of which can only embolden forces of racist reaction), their support for "reform" trade-union bureaucrats like Arnold Miller and their consistent refusal to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution which, despite qualitative degeneration under Stalinist bureaucratic rule, have survived in the collectivized property forms.

Derisively a Communist Cadre spokesman remarked, "Your glorification of the SWP tradition really shows where you're at. You're the real Cannonites and the SWP has betrayed Cannonism. Well, Trotsky was stuck with Cannon..." On being accused of Cannonism, Spartacist supporters in the audience broke into applause.

The forum was concluded with a defense of Cannonism by the speaker. Tracing the development of the post-Leninist Comintern in various countries, where repression, splits, capitulations and revisionism destroyed or crippled those movements, he pointed out: "Only in the United States... was there a continuous Leninist-Trotskyist tradition embodied in an organization and a cadre. And however critically we look at the history of the American section, for 30 years before us we have had the privilege, if we use it well, of the only continuous revolutionary Marxist experience on the face of the planet. That's what Cannonism means." ■

Spanish Workers...

(continued from page 1)

ist ultras to force military intervention against what they perceive to be the government's drift into the arms of "godless Communism." It came only half a day after the kidnapping of General Emilio Villaescusa, the head of the Supreme Council of Military Justice and a reputed "Bunker" hardliner within the army. Credit for the kidnapping was claimed by an obscure terrorist group, the GRAPO ("First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Group"), which claims to be leftist. However, left groups disclaim any knowledge of the GRAPO and many insist that it is merely a cover for fascist provocateurs bent on carrying out a "strategy of tension."

Immediately following the killings there were comparisons to 1936 and widespread talk of an "Argentinization" of Spain. The clerical-fascist gunmen who carried out the Antocha massacre styled themselves the Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance (AAA—recalling the notorious Argentine death squads); they threatened to unleash a "night of the long knives" to wipe out the left should anything happen to Villaescusa or to Antonio María Oriol (the president of the state council and a close friend of King Juan Carlos), also kidnapped by the "GRAPO."

Meanwhile, the more familiar fascist groups were also running wild, as were the police. In addition to the five victims gunned down by the AAA, two students were also murdered last week. A 19-year-old was fatally shot in the back at Madrid University during a demonstration for amnesty of political prisoners and refugees; before pulling the trigger, the assailant cried out "Long live Christ the king," the battle cry of the Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey. A vicious police assault against the demonstrators followed, during which a woman student was hit in the face by a tear gas cannister; she died the next day.

WL/SL Exchange...

(continued from page 3)

ment your calculated violence against other socialists (see *WV* No. 130, 22 October 1976 and *WV* No. 137, 10 December 1976).

To the extent that your organization does not continue to try to deprive us of those rights necessary to the socialist and labor movements, you can assure yourselves that the concerns so hypocritically expressed in your letter will automatically disappear. And we note that in any case we will continue to defend your own legitimate rights should they be threatened from any quarter.

Corresponding to your violence against us has been your previous justification that we are "police agents," "finger-men of the world bourgeoisie," etc. (Just try physical assault on genuine police agents sometime!) We therefore find your closing paragraph, with its appeal to us as fellow socialists to stand against provocations and violence, particularly obnoxious and hypocritical. Truly your situation must be precarious for you to certify our "socialist" legitimacy. In any case, and in honor of our present elevation by you, we too are giving salutations to you as "comrade" and "fraternally," although since you also identify us as accomplices to the SWP leaders who are "GPU accomplices" according to your currently most active slander campaign, we do so with repugnance.

Fraternally,
J. Robertson

Since coming to office last July, the government of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez has sought to give the impression of gradual democratic reform of the encrusted Francoist state apparatus while maintaining political "stability" based on forcible repression of the left. Suárez' phony "constitutional" referendum in December was a qualified success, and early last month West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt, the first social-democratic head of state to visit Spain since the civil war, expressed the "confidence of democratic



Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo

Europe in the Madrid government" (*Le Monde*, 8 January 1977). As proof of this confidence and to buttress the shaky Suárez regime, he invited the Spanish bourgeoisie to join its imperialist brethren in NATO and the Common Market.

Internally the government has sought to balance between the Francoist Bunker and the center/left "democratic opposition." Having pushed through a reform of the Cortes (parliament) to break the hold of appointed notables of the Falangist National Movement, Suárez scheduled legislative elections for some time in the spring. There was talk that even Communists would be permitted to run "as individuals." But then in late December the police tried to force the regime's hand by arresting PCE leader Santiago Carrillo (instead of deporting him in accordance with their standing orders).

Suárez responded to this insubordination by abolishing the draconian Tribunal of Public Order, placing political cases under the jurisdiction of civilian courts and dismissing the head of the Guardia Civil. The armed forces command in early January published a statement affirming their allegiance to the constituted authorities. But the police were not cowed, and as 200,000 protesters marched in the streets of Madrid last Tuesday a one-month "emergency" was proclaimed and the repressive apparatus mobilized against the left. Militants of Maoist, "Trotskyist" and syndicalist organizations were rounded up, demonstrations were banned, stringent gun controls were enacted and the police were authorized to burst into any home and throw anyone in jail for up to ten days without charges.

As a token gesture of "even-handedness," the government deported several Latin American ultra-rightists and sought to portray the Antocha killings as the work of crazed Argentine fascists. But at the same time it released Mariano Sanchez Covisa, head of the fascist Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey (whose ties with the Guardia Civil are notorious), as well as the assassins of two Carlists shot during a public meeting of the populist-monarchist group last spring. Last summer's much heralded "Spanish road to democracy" appeared to be at a dead end.

From the Popular Front to Francoist "Reform"

Despite its transparent "democratic" pretensions, the Juan Carlos/Suárez

regime is the continuation of the bonapartist dictatorship of Francisco Franco; and like the Generalissimo's reign, its power rests on the narrow social base of the state apparatus. With sections of the repressive apparatus in more or less continual insubordination, the Suárez government's program of Francoist "reform" is stymied for lack of organized popular support. Politically the most important result of the Antocha murders has been that the government for the first time openly sought the support of the so-called "democratic opposition"—and got it, proving that this cabal of pusillanimous conservatives, liberals and reformists is neither democratic nor a real opposition.

For years the Spanish Communist Party has been seeking a "reconciliation" with the bourgeoisie and a "healing" of divisions wrought by the bloody civil war. In the early 1970's it gave organizational form to these class-collaborationist aspirations by signing a "Pact for Liberty" with several bourgeois "progressive" notables and forming the popular-front Assembly of Catalonia. In mid-1975 this was replicated on the national scale with the formation of the Junta Democrática; a year later this PCE-dominated coalition joined with a Socialist-led counterpart to form the Coordinación Democrática.

During the past year the PCE's firm commitment to popular frontism has been expressed in the streets as the Communist leadership has time after time refused to mobilize the key centers of proletarian militancy in a national general strike against the dictatorship. Likewise, on every key political question the PCE has endlessly demonstrated its "reasonableness." In November 1975, at the time of the Caudillo's death, *Mundo Obrero* (the party newspaper) headlines demanded "No to the Francoist Monarchy!" Now, in a recent *New York Times* (16 January 1977) interview, Carrillo says that if a majority of the Spanish people accepts a monarchy, "we will work inside the monarchy." In by now typical "Eurocommunist" style, the interview goes on to say, "I... accept American bases in Spain" and "If the Spanish Parliament votes entry into NATO, we obviously will accept it."

In the course of the last week's events, the PCE's popular frontism has systematically held back the popular outrage.



Adolfo Suárez

From the marshals who silenced chants and hymns to a "strike" call by the PCE-led labor coordinating committee that emphasized the need to stay at home and avoid confrontations with the fascists, these reformists have allowed the police and Francoist gunmen to control the streets. Communist spokesman Simón Sánchez Montero spoke of the murder of five party comrades only in terms of "convert[ing] these vile murders into a reconciliation of all

Spaniards" and echoed the traditional Falangist salute, "Viva España!" (*New York Times*, 27 January). Another PCE leader, Luis Lucio Lobato, went so far as to advocate that any granting of amnesty be extended to include the fascist assassins (*El País* [Madrid], 27 January).

The PCE reformists have seized upon the fragility of the regime in the hope of establishing themselves and their popular-front allies as the main bulwark of "Spanish democracy." This was made explicit when on the day after the assassinations a joint communiqué appealing for "serenity and civic responsibilities" was signed by Prime Minister Suárez and six representatives of the "democratic opposition." The statement expressed "identity of views in condemning political extremism which, because of its violence, threatens to halt the ongoing process of democratic normalization of Spain" (*Le Monde*, 26 January). With this treacherous declaration of support for the Juan Carlos Suárez government policies, all the PCE's blustering against "Francoist reformism" is revealed as empty talk. They will find out soon enough that this piece of paper will not protect them against the bullets of the police and fascist terrorists.

Memories of the civil war run deep in Spain. Major sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie are not prepared to allow governmental participation by the PCE or even its full legalization, because they fear that concessions would fuel a new working-class upheaval. From the hard-line Francoist Bunker to the capitalist financiers of the myriad fascist gangs, the Spanish bourgeoisie remains determined to defend its class rule through the use of naked terror. By fostering illusions in the capacity of the Francoist dictatorship—a barbarous regime built on the corpses of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants—to reform itself, the PCE and its "left" camp followers disarm the proletariat before the fascist death squads. It is by overthrowing these false leaders that the militant Spanish workers will prepare to avenge their fallen comrades! ■

Haitian Refugees...

(continued from page 8)

New York) remains a principal export. In 1974, 6,000 donors were being held one liter every seven days with six tons of blood being delivered monthly to the U.S. in Haitian government planes!

While many among the several hundred thousand Haitian immigrants living in the U.S. have left the impoverished island for essentially economic reasons, the vast majority of those who undergo tremendous hardships, risk of death and possible deportation to enter this country clandestinely are clearly political refugees from the Duvalierist torture regime. Yet while these victims of rightist terror are denied access to the U.S., political asylum is routinely granted to thousands upon thousands of reactionaries fleeing the deformed workers states of Vietnam and Cuba.

Using Gestapo-like police-state tactics, INS agents every year deport more than one million so-called "illegal aliens" from the U.S. Class-conscious workers must demand that all the deportations be stopped immediately! At the same time that we are the strongest fighters to win legal status for Haitian refugees, we have pointed out that the demand for "blanket amnesty" made by the Haitian Fathers and the National Council of Churches is inadequate. Even with the alien's "green card," such individuals face the threat of deportation at any moment for such acts as joining a trade union or participating in politics. The workers movement must fight for the extension of full citizenship rights to all foreign workers! ■

Fake-Trotskyists Embrace Francoist "Democracy"

(continued from page 1)

arrested in the police raids be immediately released.

However, in an act that is simultaneously a betrayal of the working class, lethal idiocy and an example of reformist cowardice, the Spanish "extreme left" has sought the "protection" of bourgeois liberals and of the Francoist state itself! While the dominant Stalinists and social democrats signed a joint appeal for calm with the head of government, their "left" camp followers yesterday issued a joint communiqué (see box) in Barcelona that totally embraces reformist illusions of Francoist "democracy" through self-reform of the bloody dictatorship.

The press statement—which was reprinted without comment in *Rouge*, the organ of the French section of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" (USec) led by Ernest Mandel—condemned the killing of three policemen in Madrid (claimed by the mysterious "GRAPO") as well as the arrests of numerous members of opposition groups, and demanded from the government "immediate action against ... the fascist and para-police organizations."

What fools! They are calling on the Guardia Civil to repress the clerical-fascist terrorists, many of whom are simply the same Guardia Civil out of uniform! And the state has "answered" their call, by declaring an emergency for the avowed purpose of suppressing the terrorists. Of course, under the cover of this decree what has occurred is a massive crackdown against the left. Here is the point where reformist illusions in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state become positively suicidal. Marxists call instead for the



L'Express

Guardia Civil

organization of workers militias to defend the workers movement and to crush the reactionary gunmen.

But there is more: the document affirms that the "reestablishment of all democratic and national rights, notably that of unrestricted amnesty, would allow advance in a climate of democratic tolerance"; and it ends with a call for "unity and responsibility of all people in the framework of this democratic statement." What we have here is the cornerstone of the Spanish Communist Party's call for a "negotiated

breakthrough"—a pact with the government to achieve a peaceful transition from bonapartist dictatorship to bourgeois democracy!

We find among the signatories to this popular-frontist declaration not only the Republican Esquerra, the Carlists and the Assembly of Catalonia—all bourgeois formations—but also most of the "extreme left," from the Maoist/syndicalists to the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—a Spanish sympathizing section of the USec). This is indeed a "chastening" of the once ferociously guerrillaist LCR. Gone are the days when it gave "total" support to the Basque nationalist bomb assassination of Prime Minister Carrero Blanco. Gone, too, are the days when the LCR's single crowning demand was the mythical "HGR"—the Revolutionary General Strike which would explode one day with the sole demand of overthrowing the Franco regime.

But the Spanish Mandelites did not stop at giving up their terrorist/spontaneist myths. They went on to adopt the most wretched aspects of the legalistic reformism of their opponents inside the USec. Who among those that have followed the interminable squabbling in the "United" Secretariat does not remember the vehemence and scorn with which the Mandel-led majority condemned the Argentine PST for pledging support to the "institutionalization" of the murderous Peronist regime?! Now the majority follows suit.

The Barcelona communiqué proves once again the complete inability of these revisionists and renegades from Trotskyism to withstand the tests of turbulent class struggles. The LCR's snivelling capitulation at the first provocation is a carbon copy of the PST's bowing and scraping before Perón. This pitiful declaration, like the Portuguese LCI's 1975 signature of the

The Infamous Barcelona Communiqué

The undersigned parties:

First, condemn the attacks which resulted in the deaths of three policemen [in Madrid on January 28].

Second, consider that the measures decreed by the Council of Ministers do not contribute to the regulation of the present situation.

Third, energetically condemn the arbitrary detentions of numerous members of democratic parties and the violent raids upon their homes. They reaffirm their democratic will and that they bear no responsibility for the Madrid attacks.

Fourth, as a result they demand:

a) the immediate freeing of democratic militants who have been detained and a halt to the utilization of arbitrary measures;

b) immediate action against the real culprits in the present situation, i.e., the fascist and para-police organizations.

Fifth, reaffirm that only the reestablishment of all democratic and national rights, notably that of unrestricted amnesty, would allow advance in a climate of democratic tolerance. With these goals in view, they demand the firmest unity and responsibility of all people in the framework of this democratic statement and condemnation of all the murders committed.

[Signed]

Partido del Trabajo (Comité de Cataluña), Esquerra Republicana de Cataluña, Frente Nacional de Cataluña, Asamblea de Cataluña, Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, Movimiento Comunista de Cataluña, Organización Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores, Partido Carlista, Partido Comunista de España (Marxista-Leninista), Organización Comunista de España (BR), Partido Comunista (Unitario)

—*Rouge*, 30 January 1977

popular-frontist "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR) statement supporting the Armed Forces Movement, proves once again the urgency of the struggle for the reforging of the Fourth International. Only through constructing sections of the international Spartacist tendency in Portugal and Spain can the banner of revolutionary Trotskyism be raised and the Iberian proletariat unite behind a Leninist leadership. ■

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CORRECTIONS

In our last issue (*WV* No. 142, 28 January) there were several transcription errors in the telephone transmission of articles. In the article "British Union Tops Knife Anti-Apartheid Protest," there is a reference to the role of the "lower lords." This should have read "Law Lords," referring to 11 members of the House of Lords who hear appeals of disputed cases from the courts. The same article refers to Lord Denning is the correct spelling. In the article on the frame-up conviction of Wendy Yoshimura, a quote from the 21 January *San Francisco Chronicle* refers to the "sullen look" of Yoshimura at the jurors instead of her "solemn" look.

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INTERNATIONAL RATES: 48 issues—\$20 airmail/\$5 seairmail; 16 introductory issues—\$5 airmail.

143

Le Bolchévik

publication de la
Ligue Trotskyste de France
No. 3—Novembre 1976 0,50F

pour toute correspondance: Pascal
Alessandri, B.P. 336, 75011 Paris, France

WORKERS VANGUARD

Steelworkers: Don't Be Fooled!

Neither Sadlowski Nor McBride!

As the February 8 voting date for the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) presidential elections approaches, the campaign temperature rises day by day. In mid-January aging AFL-CIO potentate George Meany entered the fray ranting against the "outside influence" of "limousine liberals" who back challenger Ed Sadlowski. Sadlowski countered by telling Meany to "go apply for a job at U.S. Steel" to find out what conditions are really like in the plants, and jabbed at USWA incumbent president I.W. Abel for "spend[ing] too damn much time drinking martinis" with steel company executives.

"Personally," said the "rebel" bureaucrat who is director of the USWA's Chicago-Gary District 31, "I'd rather drink a beer down here with the boys." But with a minimum of effort, the campaign staff for Abel-loyalist candidate Lloyd McBride was able to prove that Sadlowski spends plenty of campaign time raising funds on the cocktail party circuit.

A significant spectrum of liberal journalists, lawyers and academics along with ostensible socialists put Sadlowski forward as a fresh new breeze to blow out the sclerotic Abel/Meany school of conservative business unionism. But the Abel/McBride gang has managed to turn the question of "outside" financing into the sharpest election issue and put the challenger on the defensive. In his opening salvo against Sadlowski on Sunday's "Meet the Press" TV show, McBride waxed indignant: "Our membership are identified with the union and they support the union and I think that they reject the idea that people outside the union should interfere in our election process."

The hypocritical character of Meany/Abel/McBride charges of employer support to Sadlowski is obvious. Never have the AFL-CIO hacks shown any compunction about accepting CIA money to "fight communism" through the American Institute for Free Labor Development, or about mobilizing the unions' resources for political candidates of big business parties. Taking of employer kickbacks is notorious in Meanyite construction unions, and even "progressives" like the UAW's Woodcock join wage control boards and angle for more respectable payoffs like government posts.

02138

Nevertheless, the heavy dependence of the Sadlowski campaign on support from establishment liberal warhorses has proved embarrassing to "Oilcan Eddie" with his populist rhetoric and just-one-of-the-boys image. At campaign rallies before union members he has claimed that 85 percent of his contributions have come from "people such as yourselves," yet the financial data supplied under court order suggest that this accounting is less than accurate. According to a breakdown by McBride supporters, more than half the total of \$100,000 received by the Sadlowski campaign from named con-

tributors came from cities like Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts; New York; Washington, D.C.; Evanston, Illinois; and San Francisco, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 January).

These areas are hardly centers of USWA membership. The breakdown indicates, rather, that Sadlowski has been able to milk the liberal intellectual fundraising network. The computerized analysis of zip codes done by McBride's staff showed that Sadlowski received 54 contributions totaling \$1,346 from zone 02138, which comprises Harvard University and its environs. A total of \$8,400 was received from Manhattan, with a sizable portion originating in the posh Upper East Side. On the other hand, upstate New York steel centers like Buffalo and Lackawanna showed only 14 individual contributions worth \$129.

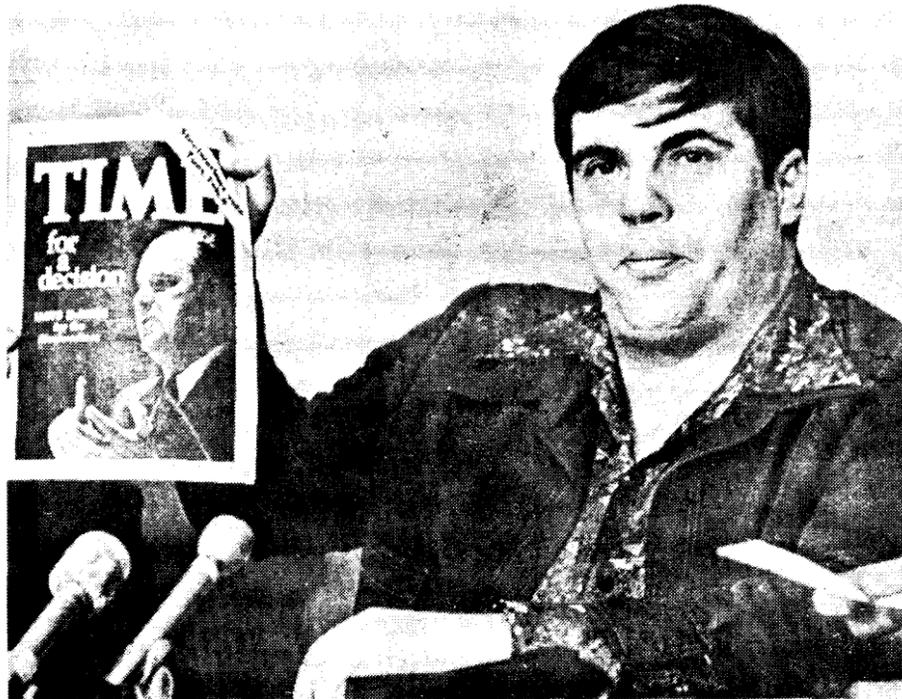
The Washington, D.C., area with a minuscule amount of industry produced \$7,500, the Bay Area yielded \$6,000 with Los Angeles accounting for almost \$10,000, mostly from fashionable addresses like Beverly Hills and Malibu. To the totals of direct contributions could be added such forms of assistance as the use of fundraising mailing lists from left-liberal periodicals like the *Nation*, *Progressive* and *New York Review of Books*; from past political campaigns of Democrats like Fred Harris and Ramsey Clark, and from organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union.

Rauh Defends Buying Union Elections

Sadlowski tries to deflect the "outside influence" charge with beerhall folksiness (he recently told one reporter that union members are saying, "If that Polack from the South Side of Chicago is smart enough to get that money from the rich on the North Side, that's the guy I'm looking for"). Meanwhile, the liberal backers of this touted "steel rebel" are brazenly asserting their supposed right to meddle in the unions. The clearest example to date is an article entitled "Outsiders' Assistance in Union Elections" by Joseph Rauh, Jr. in the 17 January *New York Times*.

Rauh, who serves as Sadlowski's legal counsel and was also lawyer for Arnold Miller when that "reform" bureaucrat ran for and won the presidency of the United Mine Workers, argues: "Without support from the public—financial contributors, volunteer workers, public-interest lawyers—the challenger to the union hierarchy would never have a chance." Since challengers are usually men "with no personal means," he concludes: "Building an outside counterforce to provide funds and assistance to the rank-and-file challengers is the only course that offers even the possibility of the reform group prevailing."

Rauh's most general premise is that "The trade-union movement is not an island unto itself, the only major force beyond public influence." Of course, it is precisely "defense of the public interest" that has time and again served bour-



Mark PoKempner

Tough talking, left-supported Sadlowski has failed to break from capitalism on any key issue facing steelworkers.

geois politicians as a smokescreen to justify rabid anti-labor laws like Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin. These union-busting laws, passed with the justification of "cleaning up the labor movement" from "Mafia influence" and "subversion," are used to smash strikes, purge militants and generally chain the unions to the profit needs of corporate monopolies by banning powerful strike tactics. The "public interest" in the mouths of liberals like Rauh is the interest of the capitalist exploiters.

Rauh doesn't even try to disguise the fact that he is claiming a right of capitalists to buy union elections. "Who or what is an 'employer'?" he asks disingenuously. Why, this could include as a forbidden contributor "anyone who employs a maid, laundress or babysitter." Far from seeing employer contributions to union election campaigns as a threat to the labor movement, he especially advocates such financing since "'employer,' so defined encompasses the entire public able to make a financial contribution"! Rauh's article is an unadorned bid to liberals to buy into the labor bureaucracy. Behind it stands a desire to undercut the conservative influence of Meany in the Democratic Party, and to install more "flexible" union leaders who because of their rhetoric of "social concern" would be better able to defuse potential eruptions of class struggle.

It is one thing to accept and solicit financial and other aid from outside the labor movement to support specific union struggles such as organizing drives, defense cases or hard-fought strikes. Even in this case it is necessary to vigilantly assure that union policies are not adapted to suit the tastes of donors. However, when liberal benefactors bankroll candidates for union office because of their political viewpoint, it is a direct attack on working-class independence. While in the present case, Sadlowski is no more or less an agent of the bourgeoisie within the labor move-

ment than McBride, questions of outside funding could become decisive.

It is not necessary to assert that a Sadlowski or a Miller are simply bought-and-paid-for tools of particular employers or sectors in the ruling class. Rather, there is a convergence between the personal ambitions and reformist views of these so-called "progressive" bureaucrats and the perceived interests of "enlightened" sections of the bourgeoisie. Long-time Socialist Party head Norman Thomas, a man of undoubted personal integrity, was once asked why it was that so many organizations with which he was involved were connected to the CIA. The questioner's implication was that Thomas himself was in the pay of the spy agency. Thomas' candid but revealing response was that the CIA just happened to support many of the same causes he did.

Sadlowski, with his court suits against the union, his pledge to enforce the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and support to bourgeois politicians (including Jimmy Carter for U.S. president last fall), would represent a brake on the class struggle even if he did not get a penny from Xerox and Stop and Shop executives, Pillsbury heiresses or bourgeois economists. But the campaign contributions, like his reliance on the government, signify a further undermining of the class independence of the trade unions.

In the upcoming USWA presidential campaign there is *no choice for steel workers* who wish to put their union on the road of class struggle. The McBride gang is the same bunch of pro-company sellouts who gave away the right to strike, do nothing about dangerous working conditions and whose "solution" to the workers' needs is divisive protectionism and buttering up capitalist politicians.

Sadlowski, for his part, criticizes the

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