



N.Y. Times
"Well, we did it!" Victors shake hands. Kissinger and Nguyen Phu Duc, special advisor to Thieu.

Nixon Reaction Wins in Vietnam, U.S. Elections

The Kennedy/Johnson policy of counter-insurgency depended on U.S. imperialist hegemony and ability to play world policeman, and on the Cold War bogey of a Communist plot emanating from Moscow or Peking, the excuse for crushing movements of "national liberation," unreliable regimes, etc. With the overturn of capitalism in Cuba and the prolonged revolutionary war in Vietnam seen as examples, the widespread Soviet and Chinese influence combined with numerous unreliable petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes throughout the "Third World" was presumed to be the chief threat to the capitalist world order. This dovetailed with Maoist and Guevarist theories of guerilla war and "encirclement" of the imperialist centers by the Third World "countryside," which lumped the workers of the imperialist countries in the same camp with the imperialist bourgeoisie and relied in fact not on "armed struggle" but on an alliance with petty-bourgeois nationalists, often to the exclusion of the working class. Thus the absurd image of a petty-bourgeois Third World guerilla army, floating in on sampans under the Golden Gate bridge to liberate U.S. wealth for the world's peoples, irrespective of the main motion of the class struggle in the U.S., was common to LBJ, naive Guevarists and much of the U.S. left.

The Cuban and Vietnamese developments, however, were historical exceptions consisting of petty-bourgeois-led, peasant-based armies confronting

peculiar historical circumstances in the absence of the working class as an active contender for power. The role of the Maoist mass party of Indonesia, the PKI, in leading the working class to slaughter in 1965 on the basis of reliance on the nationalist demagogue Sukarno, was the reality of Maoist Stalinism throughout the colonial world. One by one, the Sukarnos, Ben Bellas, Nkrumahs, and Nassers were toppled, undefended and unmourned, by more reliable military dictatorships which were more openly pro-imperialist and more unashamedly eager for U.S. capital penetration. Yet Vietnam remained a running sore.

By the time of the 1968 U.S. presidential elections, the U.S. ruling class had come to a decision that in order to avoid a clear defeat at the hands of the persistent revolutionary fighters of Vietnam, a settlement acceptable to imperialism would have to be brought about through the medium of another Stalinist betrayal, using the Russian and Chinese bureaucracies as levers to pressure the wretched, counter-revolutionary Hanoi and NLF leaderships to restrain the struggle. Nixon the right-wing anti-communist privately recognized, after Johnson was forced to abdicate by the unending war, "that there's no way to win the war" (Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*), and formulated this strategem as the main element in his so-called, "secret plan." With Kissinger writing his speeches for him, Nelson Rockefeller was clearly projecting the same strategy:

"The convergence of Rockefeller's views with Nixon's in 1968 can only reflect a new consensus in the American capitalist class. These matters are well chewed over in the bankers' clubs

Baton Rouge: Two Students Killed in Racist Cop Assault

NEW ORLEANS—Cold-blooded, racist butchery is the only possible description of the killing of two students at the all-black Southern University campus in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on 16 November. The far-fetched and lurid accusations against the students from police, Governor Edwards and the press are desperate lies to cover up the naked brutality and lack of pretext for a vicious cop assault which was planned in advance and unleashed by the ruling class to crush black student protests.

The Mayor of Baton Rouge, W.W. Dumas threatened, "Two have been shot and there may be more if necessary." This exposed all the ruling-class lies as to how the students died!

Thirty students, who were accused of having "taken over" the campus administration building, were actually invited into the building by Southern University President Netterville when they came to protest the 4 a.m. arrests of three students who had previously been granted amnesty in an earlier protest. A larger crowd gathered out-

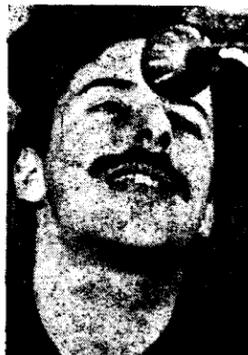


New Orleans States Item
Bodies of students removed from Baton Rouge campus after police assault.

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Pop Front Imperils Chilean Workers

Miguel Enriquez, secretary-general of the MIR: "Although we have differences with aspects of its policies, this does not mean that we come to a definitive break with the Popular Unity."

Leninist Faction Breaks from Bolshevik Course

Four More Choose Spartacist Politics

In the past three months, left-splits from the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance have reduced those organizations by some 30 members. Those who left, far from being a rag-tag collection of marginal members, included 5 past local organizers and 5-7 others who had been on local and regional executive committees.

The first wave of resignations came on 14 August 1972 when 5 members of the SWP/YSA resigned from the SWP and from the Leninist Faction (LF) of the SWP, stating that they were going to fuse with the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth. The resignations came immediately after the (of necessity) secret national convention of the LF. The 5 who split based their decision on the LF leadership's precipitous but definitive veering away from the positions of its basic factional statement (the LF's founding "Declaration of Faction" which was submitted to the SWP on 15 May). This political turn meant a decisive motion away from a perspective of fusion between the LF and the Spartacist League, which the 5 LF comrades had been advocating within the LF for several months. (The LF "Declaration of Faction" and the telegram of the 5 resigning from the SWP/YSA were printed in *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972; a full discussion of the counterposed currents within the LF could not be undertaken by us at that time since the core of the LF still remained within the SWP.)

On 26 October 1972 the LF as a faction left the SWP, but immediately underwent a split paralleling the one of 14 August which is explained in the letter below. Finally, Comrade Dave J. has also resigned from the SWP and applied for membership in the SL. Thus, of the 30 or so in or politically sympathetic to the LF, 10 have chosen the SL rather than continue in the LF with its nebulous perspectives and political back-sliding.

Two Years of Internal SWP History

The Pabloist revisionism which gained hegemony over the Fourth International in the early 1950's took its toll on the SWP, which decisively capitulated to revisionism in the early 1960's when the SWP adopted the position that Castro's Cuba was a fundamentally healthy workers state. Beginning first with the denial of the need for a Leninist vanguard party to lead the revolution, the SWP went on to jettison a large amount of its theoretical past which got in the way of its opportunism toward the "growing mass movements." Key to the new turn was the development of an absolutely homogeneous internal party situation. During the 1963-65 period, all opposition groups of both the right and left were expelled or driven out. This opened the road to the SWP's rapid consolidation around a fundamentally reformist thrust. The 1965-70 period was then marked by a high recruitment rate for the SWP/YSA and the lack of any oppositional tendencies to prevent the Barnes-Dobbs leadership from educating the recruits in the "new reality" rather than the "old Trotskyism."

In 1970, a series of SWP members met at the Oberlin Educational Conference and prepared an outline-study guide as the basis of an oppositional document to be presented at the 1971 SWP National Convention. The document—"For A Proletarian Orientation"—supported the SWP majority positions on the "mass movements," while calling for a break with the petty-bourgeois campus orientation, urging instead that forces be sent into the unions. The Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT), then, was a highly contradictory

force within the SWP, abjuring a struggle against the SWP's anti-Trotskyist positions on crucial international (e.g., Cuba) and domestic (e.g., Black Nationalism, anti-war pop frontism) questions while presenting a sharp and effective polemic on the issue of the need for an orientation toward the working class, counterposing the heritage of the SWP to its current policy.

Such contradictions cannot continue to exist indefinitely within organizations, but are usually resolved by splits. When the POT formally dissolved after the 1971 SWP convention, certain groupings within it, centered in Boston and Washington D.C., refused to sit back and wait two years for another convention before again taking up the fight. After several months of study and analysis, both groups independently reached the conclusion that the POT's earlier support for the SWP's "mass movements" line was incorrect and that a faction was necessary to fight the SWP leadership on all these questions. Two draft documents were circulated and at various national gatherings, these comrades (who were later to form the LF) met informally to discuss, reaching the conclusion that the SWP was no longer revolutionary, while the rest of the ex-POTers still maintained it was and termed the intent to continue a struggle "disloyal." On April 1-2 the "Declaration of the Leninist Faction" was drawn up as the basis upon which to sort out the left wing of the old POT along fundamental programmatic lines. Thus the fundamental contradiction within the old POT was resolved: on the one hand the revolutionary program of the LF, and on the other the declarations of loyalty to revisionism

by the rest of the POT's former supporters.

The Turn Away from the Revolutionary Program

The subsequent course of the LF can only be understood in the light of the lack of revolutionary continuity within the SWP. Those few in the SWP who themselves experienced the SWP's revolutionary past were not prepared to go into opposition: the attitude was at best, "Of course we stand for a proletarian orientation, but now is not the time to fight the leadership." The watch-word of the LF was "Back to Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky!" But for all these comrades it was a Marx, Lenin and Trotsky that existed only on paper. While a critique of the SWP's practice could be achieved on this basis, the LF's method was insufficient to establish a program of action for the future.

At this point the LF elements began to diverge. The D.C. group had discussed with the SL (which embodies revolutionary continuity in the U.S.) and, agreeing with the SL on all principled questions, fought for the SL program in the SWP/YSA and the LF. The Boston group, however, specifically shied away from discussing with the SL leadership. Pulled since the beginning between two poles—SL fusion or independent organizational existence—and without roots in the authentic traditions of Trotskyism, the LF leadership was driven deeper into a Talmudic-like study of Lenin's *Works* and evolved a series of positions based on this or that article but lacking an *understanding of the development* behind the works they quoted. They exhibited gross

instability and rapidly adopted a series of positions which constituted a clear retreat from the politics of the "Declaration of Faction"; they now called for: a Fifth International; the right of minorities to publically criticize the majority (and initially no right of proportional representation on higher bodies for minorities!); consideration of a fusion course with H. Turner's opportunist *Vanguard Newsletter*. Linking together all the elements was a fundamental misconception of the dialectical relations between the party and the class, an overall "workerist" bias which sees implantation within the class as the essential answer to all possible ills of the party.

Today the LF is beset by a series of internal differences based on the above mentioned development. The Minneapolis wing reflects the opportunist narrow trade union conception of *Vanguard Newsletter*. The Madison wing is developing the bureaucratic-collectivist position on the Russian question, and both Chicago and Cleveland have exhibited severe demoralization.

The course of the 9 members of the LF who have turned to the SL shows the only way forward. Either the LF will turn to the SL and thus establish continuity with the revolutionary Trotskyist world movement, or, without any real base, it will continue to disintegrate. Some of its members may for a time find a home in *Vanguard Newsletter*; some will undoubtedly gravitate toward the third-camp dilettantes of the International Socialists (*Vanguard Newsletter* writ large); some will leave politics altogether. The fraction of the LF which has, in two successive waves, found its way to fusion with the SL/RCY shows the principled way forward for any serious Trotskyist individuals and groupings which may yet emerge from the reformist SWP in years to come.

LETTER OF RESIGNATION FROM THE LF OF THE SWP

October 29, 1972

Central Committee
Leninist Faction
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Comrades:

The recent developments in the political direction of the LF are not encouraging and we are particularly concerned over the break in fusion discussions with the Spartacist League. As reported in Leninist Faction Report No. 17 the reasons are as follows:

"...SL broke off all discussions with the Leninist Faction at this time on the grounds that the LF was not really interested in fusion and was playing games ('proof' of this was our maintaining that we could be in a common organization with SL despite our position on democratic centralism and our maintaining that VNL, SL and the LF could be in a common organization)."
—LFR, 10/15/72, p. 2

We should briefly look at both these issues, democratic centralism and a three-way fusion with the SL, LF and VNL. What has become ever so clear since the Ashtabula Convention, as illustrated by Comrade Paul Abbot in his document, "Party, Class, and Consciousness," is that the unifying conception behind these separate propositions is precisely the misconstrued relation of the vanguard to the class.

First, democratic centralism. The point in conflict here is that the LF holds the position that minorities have the right to publish their views in the public press. Comrade Barbara G.'s document does stipulate that this right is to be under the supervision of the CC but this, in itself, is a contradiction. A

right that can be monitored by the CC ceases to be a right and may or may not become a norm. The right of proportional representation is a right of minorities, and this right is not governed by the discretion of the CC. It is a right, pure and simple; there is no discussion, etc. If the minority has the required number of delegates they get a seat(s) on the national bodies.

In practice the first issue of the LF's press could contain three articles on trade union functioning, two on the Russian question and possibly three on the International question. The CC would of course attempt to regulate this but which minority positions would be left out? Would this not violate their rights? In short this process could easily turn into a factional football which could seriously endanger the unity of action that is so necessary for a vanguard party.

"The petty-bourgeois opposition in our party demonstrates its hostility to Bolshevik organization by its demand that the minority be granted the right to transform the press into a discussion organ for diametrically opposite programs. By that method it would take the control of the press out of the hands of the National Committee and subordinate it to any temporary, anarchistic combination which can make itself heard at the moment."

—James P. Cannon, *Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, p. 234

When the opposition in the 1940 SWP fight did not win the right to publish their positions in the party press they then demanded their own journal. This quote is not used to link the present LF policy as leading in this direction but to show how this right can easily destroy the purpose of the party press. Cer-

tainly on occasions both sides of an issue will or should be presented (e.g., *New International*, 1940, carried the major documents of both sides on the Russian question) but this should not be the norm and never become a right.

What is at issue here is the 60-year experience since Lenin's final defense of "public criticism." That this is so, one need only examine Comrade G.'s document, "Democratic Centralism," adopted at the Ashtabula Convention. In a concrete description of Lenin's organizational principles up to 1912, Comrade G. shows convincingly that Lenin insisted on public debate within the party press. But 1912 appears as a watershed. After the actual foundation of the Bolshevik Party, she finds eclectically only episodes where a minority view was presented to the public as a whole. The *April Theses* are cited as an example, along with permission for Bukharin to speak as a member of the Left Communists. Virtually in every case cited, however, it becomes clear on further examination, that the Party would tolerate appeals to the support of the working class only when such views could not be contained internally or when the issues themselves constituted "split issues" (e.g., the *April Theses*).

The peculiarity of the historical circumstances before 1912 in Russia was underscored by Trotsky when he discusses Shachtman's "historical precedents" for public criticism:

"In the Bolshevik Party the opposition had its own public papers, etc. He forgets only that the Party at that time had hundreds of thousands of members, that the discussion had as its task to reach these hundreds of thousands and to con-

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and corporate board rooms before their regurgitation in the common cud of campaign discussion."

—L.F. Stone, *New York Review of Books*, 2 November 1972.

Soviet/Chinese Subservience

With the breakdown of the international monetary system, and declaration of trade war and economic emergency measures by Nixon in mid-1971, the international power rivalry of the main imperialist countries had erupted into the open, and the hegemonic position of U.S. imperialism of the post-war era was broken. Since China and the USSR had become increasingly isolated and stripped of international influence by their own treacherous policies, they immediately began to look to their own positions in the scramble of alliances which was under way among the imperialist powers. As Nixon made his move in striking a deal with Peking, the Soviet Union sent out strong feelers to Japan.

These developments came to a head when the mining of North Vietnamese harbors by Nixon coincided with the culmination of a U.S./Soviet trade and arms deal in the Moscow summit meeting. With the largest fleet of mine-sweepers in the world at their disposal laying idle, the venal Soviet bureaucrats embraced the perpetrator of this act of supreme imperialist arrogance at the very moment that his mines and bombs were raining down—the greatest campaign of aerial bombardment in history—on their "ally," North Vietnam. Nixon gave them not the merest scrap of a face-saving concession, such as a bombing halt while he was in Moscow: he knew such gestures were unnecessary. With such cringing, dog-like cowardice proving their total reliability for future peace-keeping in the colonial world, the Peking and Moscow bureaucracies competed with each other to secure a deal with imperialism, while the U.S. bourgeoisie lauded Nixon for beating its rivals to the Moscow/Peking trade market. Thus under the formula of "a healthy U.S.—Europe, Soviet Union, China, Japan each balancing the other," combined with joint responsibility for swiftly policing the world of any signs of "instability" (read threat to capitalism), Nixon promises a "new structure of peace."

Based on the subservience of the Sino/Soviet bureaucracies and the possibility of massive new outlets for capital expansion through trade and credits with the deformed workers states, this formula does provide a temporary basis for a new imperialist stabilization. Yet the competition between the imperialist powers will soon burst the narrow limits of this bubble. Already, giant U.S. corporations are demanding the kind of direct, overt state aid and assistance for their international plundering exploits which has enabled Japanese monopolists to dominate the economy of the entire

Pacific basin despite trade barriers, concessions made under pressure, and a vicious American campaign of chauvinist slander. This competition will lead directly and inevitably toward a new, third world war for the redivision of world markets, with the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states choosing sides between sets of international pirates on the basis of whose capital investments and trade their economies are most dependent on. Only the intervention of the international revolutionary proletariat can halt this process.

The Sellout in the Sellout

Little room for maneuver was left to the bureaucratic clique in Hanoi.

from Moscow and Peking to achieve a "settlement"—began to close around them, they began to betray even this meager program, in favor of essentially U.S.-dictated terms. In an 8 October announcement, the Hanoi bureaucrats for the first time dropped, among other things, their demand that a political solution accompany an end to the military conflict. As Kissinger said later, "...for the first time they made a proposal which made it possible to negotiate concretely..." (*NY Times*, 27 October) i.e., they came to terms.

The core of the new terms, which ostensibly allow both "governments" to coexist in the South until the election "decides" on a new government, is that they unambiguously allow the

into: trade and "aid," underlined by a promise of \$2.5 billion for reconstruction made by Nixon in January. Every bureaucratic usurper has his price. For this, Hanoi agreed that the CIA-controlled net including private armies will be allowed to remain and spread from Laos to Vietnam. In addition, the Hanoi/NLF cabal, in contrast even to the 1954 sellout, did not even insist on the release of political prisoners held in the South. These will be murdered when ARVN and U.S. prisoners have been released.

The international supervisory commission, in which the only Southeast Asian country will be the blood-stained, voraciously counter-revolutionary Indonesia, with willing tools of the U.S.

Canarsie: Nixon Profits from Racism

Nixon won the election primarily on the basis of a racist appeal to the white workers and lower middle class on the busing issue. The Canarsie busing dispute, in which a mob of white parents occupied a Brooklyn school and conducted a boycott to prevent the admission of 31 black and Puerto Rican students from a nearby ghetto to John Wilson Junior High School, was thus more important to the average voter than the continuing war in Vietnam.

The smug liberals of the 1960's sanctimoniously proclaimed that the reformist civil rights movement had made "great strides." Perhaps the economic condition of blacks had actually worsened, but "public opinion" was being won over and never again could overt racism raise its head in the North. The anti-busing backlash, exemplified in Canarsie, shows again that bourgeois "public opinion" is a wil-o-the-wisp, and metaphysical "strides" not safeguarded by an organized and conscious proletariat are easily obliterated.

The Canarsie confrontation typified the bankruptcy of liberalism, of which Nixon's re-election was definitive proof. The northern liberals and civil rights leaders tried to duplicate the reformist tactics of the southern civil rights struggle in the North by appealing to the bourgeoisie, through the courts, to correct the conscious discrimination of "de facto" segregation in the schools. White workers fear that what the bourgeoisie "gives" one section of the working class will be paid for by another. Thus racists played on white parent fears aroused by "pairing" plans, in which white students are sent to ghetto schools as blacks are bused out of the ghetto. The lib-

erals did not try to hide the fact, of course, that the ghetto schools, which must prepare black youth not to be fully-developed human beings, but only for the worst jobs, unemployment and a marginal ghetto existence, are inferior to schools in white neighborhoods. In fact, they based their case on the illusion that blacks could advance into the "middle class" if only they had decent education and went to school with middle-class students. In the end, they only succeeded in convincing white workers that they had to oppose black advancement in order to preserve their own gains.

"Left" groups such as the Socialist Workers Party buried the class nature of the school question by firmly adopting a virtual race-war perspective in the 1968 New York teachers strike, by backing the black "community"/Ford Foundation/Mayor Lindsay pop front to smash the teachers union. Now the SWP screams support for "community control" only for the "oppressed community," thereby claiming that whites are not oppressed! Picking up the "community control" demand in response to the liberals, the anti-busing forces of Canarsie have demonstrated the utopian and reactionary character of this slogan. It can only aid segregationism!

Busing to decrease school desegregation is a minimum democratic reform which must be supported as such. Decent education for all, with genuine equality and integration, will come only with the working-class overthrow of the capitalist vermin who thrive on the misery and inequality of the masses. But this cannot be made a precondition for simple equality for blacks. Marxists are the first and most consistent

supporters of the elementary democratic right of the masses to equality. No concessions to the anti-busing reaction!

Canarsie is only one small eruption in a situation seething with potential for full-scale explosion. The racists continue to organize and regroup their forces for future assaults on blacks over busing. The racist hysteria manifested there is present as an undercurrent barely beneath the surface throughout the U.S. Needless to say, race war among workers would be a massacre of blacks in which the only victor would be Nixon and the capitalist ruling class he represents.

Economic and therefore educational equality is a contradiction in terms when capitalist society is defined by inequality. Only through united class struggle around a communist transitional program can an equal and decent standard of living be achieved by workers—at the expense of the capitalists, not each other! For full employment—shorten the work week—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! For a sliding scale of wages and hours. Capitalist inflation must be paid for by the capitalists. Control prices, not wages! We demand quality education for everyone, not equally miserable education. For open admissions to all educational institutions! No "community control"—schools to be run by the students, workers, teachers.

These demands will be fought for and won not by the multi-class "community" or the liberal politicians whose reformist sellout programs are capitalist through and through, designed to make capitalism work better, but by the organized and independent working class with revolutionary leadership. ■

Yet these junior parasites on the workers movement have been through similar treachery and know just what to do. As the bombs fell while Nixon and Brezhnev conversed and Nixon befouled Moscow television with his crocodile tears over "Little Tanya" and victims of Nazi aggression, not one squeak of official protest came from these North Vietnamese butchers of the workers of 1945, these betrayers of 1954! Instead, as before, they prepared the defeat of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and liberation fighters. They had already curtailed the massive offensive which had very quickly threatened the very existence of the Saigon puppet regime. Even American officers expressed amazement at the Stalinist leadership's failure to press the offensive forward when the Saigon militarists had been routed and disorganized.

The Hanoi/PRG/NLF program was a sellout to begin with. Thrusting reunification of Vietnam into the distant background, and disclaiming any interest in socialism whatsoever, their terms called for a "neutral" (read capitalist) South Vietnam, open to foreign investment (allowing continued U.S. control) and run by a coalition government, including the Saigon regime, minus only Thieu. As the jaws of Nixon's "secret plan"—the pressure

Saigon regime to remain intact, whether Thieu remains or is eventually sacrificed. Just as the breathing spell of class peace after 1954, enforced by the Stalinist leadership, enabled the U.S. to re-stabilize the French colonial regime under Diem, so the release from the pressure of the war in the current deal will only aid the stabilization of the present regime. Through intimidation, fraud, etc.—i.e., all the usual methods—Saigon will "win" any elections held on its territory, if any are ever held. The regime may lose more territory after the removal of U.S. troops through continued guerilla war and isolated rebellion, but NLF "representatives" of the liberation forces will then simply be included in the government in exchange for guarantees of class peace in the countryside. This would have to be done only if needed to pacify the masses, since the well-established policy of the South Vietnamese Stalinist leadership is not to intervene in the class struggle in the heaviest population areas even to obtain a mass base, let alone to attempt to seize power.

As a further guarantor of class peace, which is to be guaranteed for all of Indochina, Nixon offers Hanoi the same economic incentive which Moscow and Peking have already bitten

and the Soviet Union for partners, will no doubt allow a tendency for Saigon territory to predominate over that of the PRG/NLF because of the more ostentatious and overwhelming military firepower the regime will be able to bring into play in any local conflicts. (The U.S. insisted on dumping the old international commission created by the 1954 Geneva Accords because of the recent flaunting of U.S. imperialist interests by India, one of its three members, thereby giving it a majority not directly controlled by the U.S.)

Thus despite such difficulties for Saigon as the allowing of North Vietnamese troops to remain in the South and the hard-to-police infiltration routes from the North, the *Wall Street Journal* (30 October) was able to agree with Kissinger that the terms were essentially "made in America..."

While Kissinger spoke righteously of the need to have full truce supervision in place immediately as the cease fire went into effect in order to prevent last-minute land-grabbing by each side, the U.S., in addition to stepping up the bombing of the North, was conducting a massive airlift of military hardware into the South during the delay thus using its technical advantage to grab an advantage for Saigon in materiel before

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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the truce (after the truce, only replacement of existing materiel will be allowed), and further demonstrating its confidence in the longevity of the Saigon regime.

U.S. Left Grovels

The reaction of the left to the peace settlement has been predictable. The Communist Party, *Guardian*, and right-wing Maoist and "Third World" groups such as Revolutionary Union, Black Workers Congress and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (Young Lords), hailed the terms as a great "victory" for the NLF/DRV, thereby demonstrating, not total blindness, but just sufficient vision to discern the essential interests of the bureaucratic ruling stratum without receiving an actual cable from Hanoi. The Communist Party of course has been doing this for decades; the others, with the exception of the *Guardian*, represent the CP-trained remnant of a section of the New Left which sought not revolution but reliance on the bureaucratic elites in the deformed workers states as substitutes for the revolutionary struggle of which they could not conceive anywhere, especially in the U.S.

To the left of these, the hypocrisy of the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League and ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party stands out. Both, of course, denounce the peace terms. Yet both have relied heavily on political adaptation to the Hanoi leadership as part of their opportunist strategies. The SWP leadership has since 1965 based its main orientation on a perspective of loose popular-front coalitions of left petty-bourgeoisie, trade union bureaucrats and bourgeoisie around the "single issue" of the war. They almost seem to feel sorry to lose the issue, since women's liberation has failed to replace it as a "mass movement."

Demonstrations called by SWP-front NPAC at federal buildings on 26 October drew no more than 250 people anywhere. The usual excuse of an "election year" was given—the SWP's semi-honest way of admitting that its "independent" "mass movement" was out working for McGovern (or completely paralyzed by Kissinger's statement, "Peace is at hand."): Thus as Nixon steps up aid to Portugal's counter-revolutionary wars in Africa, deepens commitment to the Republic of South Africa and designates the Indian Ocean area a "power vacuum" calling for increased military attention,

the SWP's "anti-war" movement is gone, nowhere to be found, having served its function of helping to prevent the development of a real, i.e., anti-capitalist, anti-war movement by tying it to the liberal bourgeoisie rather than splitting off a wing on the basis of working-class politics.

In order to promote its "anti-war movement," the SWP, while retaining a verbally Trotskyist analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking, has to be criminally soft on the "heroic" Hanoi/NLF leadership in order not to alienate the other liberals in the "movement." Thus at a recent "educational" conference at UCLA (10-12 November), SWP leader Fred Halstead carefully refrained from characterizing the Vietnamese Communist leadership as "Stalinist," and in effect exonerated them from complicity in the sellout, placing all the blame on Moscow/Peking.

Essentially the same position is pushed by the Workers League (and their mentors of Gerry Healy's British SLL) since these left-sounding political bandits have consistently adapted to the Hanoi bureaucracy and NLF in order to wean their way into favor with a section of the SWP, its "anti-war movement," and its international co-thinkers in the United Secretariat. Thus the 6 November *Bulletin*, in an article on the sellout, only briefly mentions a possible "retreat," not betrayal, on the part of Hanoi, and concentrates its fire on the Moscow/Peking bureaucrats' attempts to strangle NLF "victories" just at the moment at which they were about "to topple the Thieu regime and throw the Americans out..."

Moscow/Peking and the Meaning of the Nixon Victory

Not only diplomatic isolation, but also economic considerations, impelled the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats to this most craven betrayal since the immediate post-war period. Both are thirsting for trade to generate capital for technological modernization as well as for needed commodities.

Looking for new markets for trade and capital investment, capitalists of the rival imperialist countries have been racing each other to get to Peking and Moscow first. 2,500 representatives of U.S. businesses have visited Moscow so far in 1972 looking for deals, including the biggest monopolists. (Some of their house-boy labor leaders, such as Leonard Woodcock of the UAW, could even be found tagging along in the crowd.) This drive by U.S. capitalism is a major part of the new "Nixon" program.

Being more modern and more diversified in its economy, and therefore more dependent on interconnection with the capitalist world market, the Soviet thirst is greatest. Far from being on the verge of "surpassing" capitalism through "peaceful coexistence" as Khrushchev promised, the Soviet economy—deformed and disorganized by heavy-handed bureaucracy—is weak, as evidenced by its need to purchase a staggering one-third of the U.S. wheat crop, and is desperately in need of over-all technological upgrading, without which new investment fails to sufficiently improve the productivity of labor. The USSR lacks high-grade saleable commodities to build up credits in Western markets; most of its industrial products sell only in captive East European markets. Raw materials, such as the potential of natural gas to supply an energy-starved Europe and America, are still its best source of income. Yet even here, massive investments from a major capitalist power are needed to undertake projects such as the natural gas development, and this is an expressed part of Soviet aims. The *Wall Street Journal* (18 March) quoted an unnamed U.S. official, referring to the trade talks: "...the magnitude of the credits the Russians want is mind boggling."

Thus the continued rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic usurpers in the Soviet Union and China has not only led to monumental new betrayals of the world working class, but, under the continued myth of the peaceful development of "socialism in one country," now directly threatens to lead to deep imperialist penetration undermining the nationalized economy itself. Aside from the unpleasant prospect of Soviet workers being directly exploited for the profit of U.S. investors, this threat will ultimately pose the question of the very existence of the basic conquest of the October Revolution, the state-owned planned economy. As the economy becomes more and more linked up with and dependent upon imperialist capital, the bureaucracy will more and more tend to become merely the administrators for the foreign capitalists. Only the construction of Leninist vanguard parties in these degenerated and deformed workers states for workers' political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy, with the slogan "No retreat—for communist unity against U.S. imperialism" and a program of spreading revolution to overthrow the world bourgeoisie and place the world economy in the hands of the working class, can prevent the eventual final betrayal and the ultimate return of the Soviet Union and China, etc., to direct capitalist rule.

Nixon Loyalty Drive Coming

The strength of Nixon's position flows from the interconnected tasks

the Nixon administration has accomplished for the U.S. bourgeoisie, its real masters: new markets for trade and capital expansion; the weakened position of the Moscow/Peking/Hanoi bureaucracies, clawing at one another's throats and locked into a gross new betrayal, the Vietnam "problem" also solved thereby; a gain for the U.S. in its race against Europe and Japan; and prospects for a return to domestic tranquility and class peace through jobs provided by the overseas economic expansion and through the elimination of the Vietnam sore spot. Yet the class struggle goes on, as Nixon and the ruling class are well aware. The prospect of unrest at home is dangerous for them, since above all, the U.S. needs a reliable home base in order to pursue its global designs, which must include new and eventually much bigger wars. Unquestioning patriotism and enthusiasm will be required for this—enthusiasm which was so evidently absent during the Vietnam war. The bourgeoisie cannot lead the working class into a major war if the liberal bourgeois news media are cynical about U.S. policies and "unreliable" enough to print factual exposes which undercut jingoist myths.

Speaking about the renewed bombing of North Vietnam and mining of the ports, Nixon said on 16 October, "Immediately after that decision, there was precious little support from any of the so-called opinion leaders of this country," referring to editors, publishers, television commentators, university presidents, professors, et al. And in a grossly paternalist, arrogant interview just before the election, referring to the American people as "children," Nixon vowed to end the "era of permissiveness." The left (and some unlucky liberals) will be the first victim of this assault in the name of loyalty, and the news media and campus administrations, etc., will begin to line up and help purge their ranks of "reds" as they have done before, thus ushering in a new mood of expansionist pro-imperialism. The trade union leaders, lapping at their master's hand in the usual short-sighted way, will be the most eager adherents to the campaign, although their unions will soon be the target of ruling class assault—not just to purge "reds" and "trouble-makers," but to break trade union resistance, drive down wage scales, etc., in order to make U.S. labor more "productive" for international competition.

In the same interview, Nixon mentioned the need to cut costs in government through purging "fat." The first wave of the assault indicated by this is under way in California under Reagan, where a statewide campaign to smash the union wages of building trades workers on the University of California campuses has been scoring gains because of typical bureaucratic foot-dragging and betrayals. Such cam-



White parents defend "community control" in Canarsie -- racist exclusion of blacks.

paigns, conducted by the federal government, embolden the entire capitalist class to step up the union-busting campaigns which have been building for years. As the trade union bureaucrats trip over each other to assure Nixon of their "loyalty," they will set their own unions up for the axe. A clear example is the construction trades unions, the leaders of which have been the most adamant pro-Nixon anti-communists, organizing anti-red "loyalty" marches in New York City, etc. This vile prostration has merely served to convince the capitalists to go ahead full steam with attacks on the building trades unions.

War and the Election

Nixon's decisive victory at the polls was based on the fact that he had already phased out virtually all direct U.S. involvement in Vietnam, meaning no more American casualties, and seemed to be in the midst of many high-powered maneuvers designed to bring "peace" and provide a basis for jobs and prosperity through renewed capitalist expansion. Particularly, with no more American "boys" coming home in bags, Nixon had indeed succeeded in his promise that Vietnam would not be an issue in the 1972 elections. This was a necessary precondition to the new "Nixon" policy, which certainly does not rule out future use of U.S. troops, but which had to begin its campaign for a new loyalty on the basis of eliminating this great source of discontent of the previous decade.

The liberal pro-imperialist position, especially as it was conveyed by son-of-preacher George McGovern, was left with only "moral" objections about the "evil" character of U.S. bombing, etc. In the context of the general lack of consciousness of the division of society into two basic classes, and the continuing strong identification of the bulk of the working and middle classes with the government as "theirs"—a concept pushed equally, of course, by liberals and conservatives alike—the McGovern position amounted to little more than a statement of the moral culpability of the American people themselves in the crimes of U.S. imperialism. Thus Nixon reaped the anger and frustration of years of liberal propaganda about "injustices" implicitly or explicitly laid at the doorstep of working people (the war, racial oppression, inflation), combined with similar reasoning from the most vocal "Third Worldist" New Leftists (identified by most workers as belonging to the same privileged social stratum as the liberals).

"Race" Question Sweeps Nixon In

Nixon's success in mining Haiphong harbor virtually without a peep of protest from the Russians had already basically defused the Vietnam issue, allowing domestic issues to come to the fore—particularly the "race question." The returns showed that Nixon received the entire Wallace vote, and decisively swept such areas as Michigan—despite a major UAW push for McGovern—where the busing issue had been hottest. McGovern, meanwhile, collected consistent support only from among blacks and the very poor. His puerile, pablum-like evasions of the busing issue were an insult to everyone in place of a program.

Nixon's counter-attack to liberalism on both the international and "race" questions was similar: Don't worry about the problems of other nations and races, ran his appeal; rely on the government to provide prosperity on the basis of capitalist expansion and peace, order and the status quo. In a country completely dominated by capitalist politics, no minority section of the working class can advance without appearing to threaten the rest of the workers. To white ethnic workers and the lower middle class—living perilously close to a ghetto existence themselves and plagued by unemployment, rising taxes, etc.—blacks and liberals making demands on the "establishment" are a threat: what the ruling class "gives"

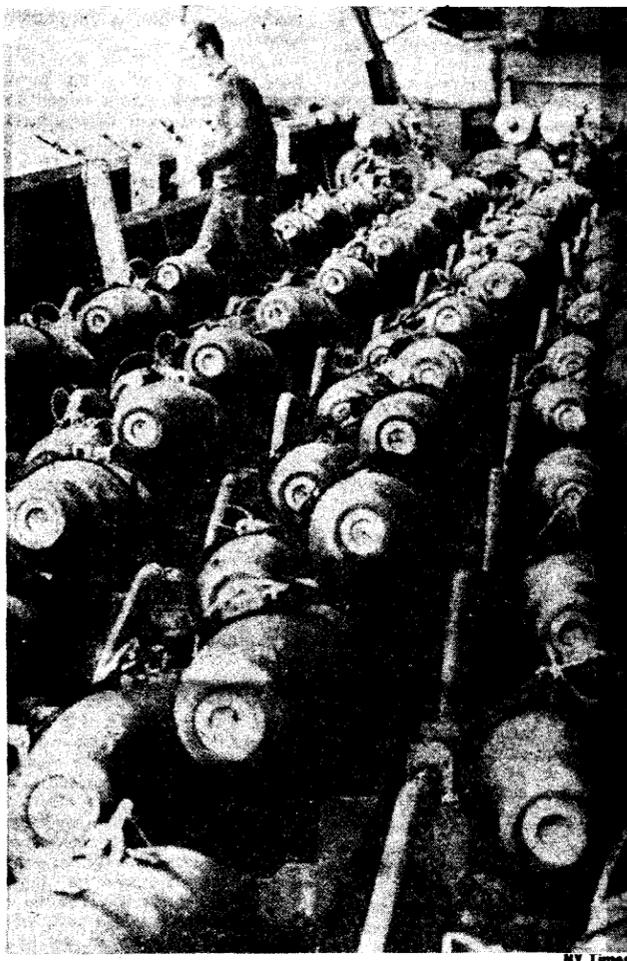
the blacks will be paid for by them. Thus millions of workers, ground down by exploitation all their lives only to be cast onto the human slag heap with nothing to show for it, are transformed into the willing political allies of Nixon and the ruling class for the racist double oppression of blacks and other minorities and the genocide of Vietnamese peasants. This backlash is an outgrowth of the total lack of a working-class political alternative or even the merest semblance of one since the forties. The complete failure of the left to transcend New Leftism, liberalism and the now-shriveled bubble of the bourgeois-dominated anti-war "movement," the inability to address the key questions of a working-class program and orientation, has allowed this miserable condition of a backward and divided working class to be extended, basically unaltered, into the seventies.

The election demonstrated the fragmentation of both bourgeois parties into

party (before the election began in earnest) were never meant for serious deliberations, but only for gullible fools and cynics such as the Workers League, which consciously forms its entire politics from such rubbish. (see *WV* No. 13)

The apparent break to the left from Meany during the election on the part of central leaders of the AFL-CIO who supported McGovern, such as Beirne (CWA) and Smith (IAM), was also food only for fools, such as the Communist Party. Among the bureaucratic tops, Meany's prestige is now enhanced even with the prodigal sons, who were simply maneuvering for a good position in the inevitable in-fighting if Meany were toppled.

The CP's own electoral "campaign" was a complete fraud, aimed "to defeat Nixon" rather than directed against both capitalist candidates equally; it was back-handed support for McGovern. And in the trade unions, of course, there was no mistake about this on the part of CP supporters, who made them-



Bombs on U.S. carrier in Tonkin Gulf -- part of stepped-up war after "peace" announcement.

the plethora of individual careerists, cliques and pressure groups of which they are composed, and of the official labor movement, which was tailing after the different capitalist candidates. To aid the bourgeoisie in restoring some semblance of "voter choice" (and to save the political skins of his cronies in the Democratic Party from the fangs of the old machines), McGovern gingerly suggested the old social-democratic formula of "realignment" of the two parties along clear liberal and conservative lines.

The firm alliance of the official labor movement with the Democratic Party, which was established under the New Deal in the thirties to provide an illusory substitute for a working-class program and party, is in a shambles, thereby increasing the vulnerability of all wings of the bureaucracy. Meany rides at the top of the heap of those seeking to reestablish the old coalition. Probably no one besides Nixon himself was more pleased with the outcome of the election, since it provided the basis to smash the McGovern liberals and reinstate the likes of John Connally, Mayor Daley and Henry Jackson on the Democratic National Committee. This should be a lesson to the Workers League, which gleefully publicized Meany's "neutrality" position as a break with the old coalition and capitalist politics generally, and called on Meany to form a labor party. As all wings of the bureaucracy scramble to redefine "labor's political position," no section even dreams of forming a labor party. Statements made by some of the leaders threatening to form a labor

party completely indistinguishable from the entire so-called "left-wing" pro-McGovern bureaucrats. The CP's *Daily World* hailed this section of the labor bureaucracy and urged it on with a frenzy. But all the Beirnes, Smiths and Woodcocks have essentially the same appetites: to advance themselves first and their own small section of the working class second, when possible, consistent with, and on the basis of, the advancement of "their" capitalists. Thus the ambitious Woodcock's tour to the Soviet bloc countries during the capitalists' deal-rush, supposedly to help provide jobs, naturally (just like the capitalists: which of them does not claim that *all* his deals are *only* for this purpose?), ironically could only help Nixon rather than McGovern, since Nixon provided the diplomatic structure for this capitalist expansion "to provide jobs."

While the CP hailed the Vietnam peace deal as a "victory" for the NLF/DRV, denounced Nixon's "stalling," and vigorously supported McGovern, it preferred not to notice the confidence in Nixon expressed by the Moscow bureaucracy. While noting the usual arguments about the "lesser evil" McGovern in perfunctory fashion, the Soviet tops emphasized Nixon's voter appeal on the basis of improved "Soviet-American relations," and immediately after the election sent Nixon a laudatory telegram and ran an election analysis which said, "McGovern, the main rival of president Nixon, could offer the electors only the statements which in the course of the election campaign were modified, whereas representatives of

the current Administration, including Nixon himself, repeatedly referred in their speeches to the agreement reached with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on an end to the war." (*NY Times* 9 November)

Unlike the Communist Party, Progressive Labor Party is ashamed of its support for McGovern. PL, which has come a long way indeed since it left the CP in 1963, is trying to keep quiet about its return to the CP position of supporting lesser-evil capitalist candidates. PL refuses to admit that its members, disguised as independent members of the "McGovern movement," worked in Boston "Grassroots for McGovern." With this semi-clandestine entry into the "left-wing" of the Democratic Party, PL has completed its turn to the right begun a little over a year ago. It has now taken the SDS experimental alliance with "honest" supporters of McGovern (*New Left Notes*, October 1972), and its call on the U.S. government to stop being racist and oppressing people (Anti-Racism Bill), to the logical conclusion. It has proven that despite its rejection of major elements of Stalinism, it never really rejected the fundamental class collaborationism of the Communist Party, but rather went through a number of phases composed principally of ultra-leftism, which represented its opportunism standing in fear of itself.

Build A Communist Opposition!

A greater percentage of the electorate abstained in the election than at any time since 1948, showing a profound if inchoate alienation from the capitalist parties. In addition, the votes for the CP and SWP candidates, who were on the ballot in several states each, were an index of a hunger for some kind of alternative. The CP vote particularly, through its pseudo-working-class line, trade union orientation, major pitch to blacks through the Angela Davis campaign, etc., demonstrated the existence of a section of the working class looking for radical answers and socialist politics, despite the fact that these campaigns were in no way a motion towards those politics.

The Independent Socialists, which urged a vote for the SWP or SLP candidates, and the Workers League, which "critically" supported the SWP, did so out of pure opportunism and disregard for the Leninist conception of electoral work and "critical support." Neither IS nor WL could find any basis for actually *working* for these candidates in the labor movement, though only the IS was honest enough to admit it. Leninists do not support candidates just for the act of voting, but only as part of building a movement capable of ultimately bringing the working class to power on the basis of its own political forms. This requires an element of real programmatic agreement with the candidate(s) from the standpoint of a revolutionary Marxist program. This was totally lacking in both cases: both the element of working-class program of the candidates and the element of agreement by the IS and WL.

Because of the isolation and brittle character of the arrogantly right-wing heads of the trade union movement—the only mass organizations of the U.S. working class—and the extremely rebellious, restless and combative mood of huge sections of the industrial proletariat, the objective basis exists for a hard revolutionary vanguard based on the Trotskyist transitional program to make sweeping gains in the coming period. Such a development could qualitatively alter the relationship of forces within the labor movement, enabling it to launch a counter-attack to Nixon's attacks and new imperialist stabilization, and place the continued existence of the reformist bureaucracy in question. It would further open the possibility for revolutionary working-class leadership of blacks and other specially oppressed strata in an offensive on all the key social questions. It would pose head on the question of the formation of a mass working-class party to destroy the dominance of capitalist politics within the labor movement and struggle for a workers' government. ■

Pop Front Imperils Chilean Workers

In the face of continual concessions and compromises by the popular front government, Chile's bourgeoisie is mobilizing for counter-revolution. Beneath the evolutionary facade, Chilean society has been deeply polarized and is building toward an explosion, a counter-revolutionary onslaught before which the proletariat is defenseless. As the forces of repression gear themselves for the confrontation and the petty-bourgeoisie slides into the camp of reaction, the working class stands naked, without the organs of dual power, without arms, without a vanguard.

Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) government will not defend the proletarian and peasant masses against the vicious reactionary mobilization, for the only defense is the independent mobilization of the proletariat in its own revolutionary class interest, and the UP government is dedicated to the subordination of the proletariat to the so-called "progressive" sections of the national bourgeoisie." The tragic defeat which looms before the Chilean masses has all too many predecessors: Stalin's disastrous policy of alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, which led straight to the strangulation of the Chinese Revolution in the Shanghai and Canton massacres of 1927; the bloody defeat of the 1937 Spanish revolution and the secure installation of the Franco dictatorship; the butchering of more than half a million Indonesian workers and peasants in 1965, the outcome of Mao's policy of peaceful coexistence with Sukarno; the impending betrayal of twenty-five years of revolutionary struggle by the Vietnamese masses by the NLF-DRV Stalinists.

In Chile there is already a foretaste of things to come as Allende puts twenty-four provinces under Army control (telling the workers to stay home), capitulates to the reactionary mobilization of the petty-bourgeoisie, consolidates the position of the military elite, shoots down peasants who are taking over abandoned haciendas, and arrests workers and students who are trying to keep fascist demonstrations from taking over the streets. Like Torres in Bolivia, Allende is demonstrating that his fundamental loyalty is to the bourgeoisie, and like Torres he will allow himself and his popular front coalition to be swept from power rather than unleash the power of the working class.

Revolution by Stages

One of the myths fostered by Chile's latter-day Mensheviks (the CP and Allende's SP) is that the Chilean ruling class is a feudal landholding aristocracy. From this assumption they reason that a two-stage revolution is required: "first" an anti-feudal alliance with the "progressive" national bourgeoisie to achieve democratic and national tasks, then "later" (i.e., never) a socialist revolution. But even the assumption is false! Chile, like most Latin American countries, achieved its independence from Spain in the national wars following the 1810 uprisings. These wars were led by men like Bernardo O'Higgins, Simón Bolívar and Antonio Sucre. They were *bourgeois* revolutionaries, most of them freemasons, closely tied to British imperialism. They represented the interests of a commercial, mining and landholding bourgeoisie, which was intimately connected with the world market. During this century this same class branched out into light industry, but

without separating into agrarian and industrial wings, still less into "oligarchic" and "progressive" segments. The Edwards family in Chile, a symbol of the monopolists, is a large (capitalist) landowner, owner of several industries, major shareholder in the Bank of London and South America, owner of the newspaper *El Mercurio*, and an important power in the National Party.

Chile is a predominantly urban country with a strong, century-old labor movement. Already by 1907 some 43% of the population was urban; today it is more than three-fourths urban. The first union (railway workers) was founded in 1852, and the main base of the labor movement was laid in the "resistance societies" of the nitrate miners built in the northern regions during the 1890's. The first national labor federation, the Gran Federación Obrera Chilena, was established as early as 1909, and in 1912 the Partido Socialista Obrero was founded by Luis Emilio Recabarren, a Debs-like left socialist. In 1921 Recabarren led the party into the Communist International, becoming the first and largest CP in Latin America (approximately 50 thousand members before the Allende election). Today, some 35% of the employed workers are unionized (as compared to about 25% in the U.S.), and almost 20% are in the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT) federation, led by the CP with large SP and CDP minorities.

Contrary to bourgeois mythology, the history of the Chilean class struggle is permeated with violence. From the massacre of nitrate miners at Iquique in 1907 (more than 2,000 mowed down by machine guns) to the Christian Democrats' attack on strikers at the El Teniente copper mine in 1966, the Chilean ruling class has not hesitated to use the army and police to protect its class interests. Moreover, the CP was illegalized for much of its history, during 1925-35 and 1948-58.

Pop Front Government

Allende's UP government is the product of an electoral coalition of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Radical Party (Chile's classic party of the liberal bourgeoisie) and several minor petty-bourgeois parties (the MAPU, the API, the PSD). It is a classical *popular front*—that is, a coalition of workers' parties and "progressive" bourgeois parties. In spite of the working-class base of the UP government (the vote for the bourgeois parties is barely one-fifth of the combined votes of the workers' parties), the bourgeoisie is strongly represented. The coalition could not have won a plurality without the Radicals, including and especially the right wing. In spite of the Radical Party's small vote, Allende's first cabinet contained a majority of bourgeois ministers.

In order to take office Allende had to come to an understanding with the Christian Democratic Party, the dominant bourgeois party today. (The UP received only a plurality—36% of the votes—and Allende's election by Congress depended on CDP support.) This understanding was codified in a "Statute of Democratic Guarantees"—Constitutional amendments making it illegal to form private militias (such as workers' militias) or to appoint police and military officers who were not trained in the service academies (ensuring the firm control of the armed forces by the

established military elite). In Congress, no Allende program can pass without CDP support, and since June 1972 the UP has repeatedly tried to induce the Christian Democrats to join the government. To top it off, Allende now appoints generals to head three key ministries, including Army commander General Pratts as Minister of the Interior (police).

The nature of the Allende government is best expressed by the Communist Party, the most consistent party of the coalition. In an important recent article, Orlando Millas, member of the CP Political Committee, writes:

"Chile has achieved a People's Government corresponding to an advanced democracy which ensures conditions favorable to the struggle for socialism. In this advanced democracy and with this People's Government... a determined policy... of alliances with the popular masses of the city and the countryside and with the petty bourgeoisie and the small and medium bourgeoisie is required, in order to isolate imperialism, the landlords and the financial oligarchy.

"The People's Government is the result of a patriotic process of tying the revolutionary process to democratic development, during the application of which the working class... has taken in hand the legitimate demands of all anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical classes and social strata."

—Punto Final, 23 June 1972

Popular fronts are not new in Chilean history, as the country experienced several between 1938 and 1948, beginning with the CP-SP-Radical coalition under Pedro Aguirre Cerda (in which Allende himself was an SP minister). A number of social welfare reforms were carried through under these governments of class collaboration, but the net result for the Chilean working class was defeat: wages fell from 27% to 21% of the national income during 1940-53, while profits rose tremendously; the parties of the Right were strengthened and the unions disorganized. The beginning of the end came in 1947 when President Videla outlawed his CP coalition partners (supposedly because of a miners' strike) and imprisoned hundreds of labor leaders in concentration camps. (The SP helped to break the strike and then entered Videla's government.) During the whole period nothing was done about land reform.

Allende, of course, claims that this latest popular front is different:

"... although it is true that there were the same parties as today, the Radical Party, the party of the bourgeoisie, was the dominant party, and this is what makes the difference between the Popular Unity today and the Popular Front; in the Popular Unity... there is a supreme class, the working class, and there is a Marxist Socialist President."

—Debray, *The Chilean Revolution*

But this is hardly new. Exactly this situation existed in the Spanish Popular Front government under the "left socialist" Largo Caballero. As Trotsky pointed out:

"Politically most striking is the fact that in the Spanish People's Front there was not in essence a parallelogram of forces: the place of the bourgeoisie was occupied by its shadow. Through the agency of the Stalinists, Socialists, and Anarchists, the Spanish bourgeoisie subordinated the proletariat to itself, not even troubling itself to participate in the People's Front... In the republican camp remained... only insignificant splinters from the possessing classes, Messrs. Azaña, Companys,



and their like—political lawyers of the bourgeoisie but not the bourgeoisie itself... They represented no one but themselves. However, thanks to their allies, the Socialists, Stalinists and Anarchists, these political phantoms played the decisive role in the revolution. How? Very simply: in the capacity of incarnating the principle of the 'democratic revolution,' i.e., the inviolability of private property."

—Trotsky, *The Lesson of Spain—Last Warning*, 1937

A popular front with the "shadow" of the bourgeoisie is still a popular front. The Spanish revolution died in its infancy, despite the heroic struggle of the masses, because the leaders of the traditional workers' organizations refused to break with the bourgeoisie and mobilize the proletariat for socialism.

It was the Social Democrats Scheidemann and Noske, the butchers of the German revolution, who called for the unity of exploiters and exploited. It was Stalin who invented the "theory" of popular fronts in his panic to obtain an alliance with the "democratic" bourgeoisies of Britain and France against Hitler. In 1917 it was the Mensheviks who allied with the bourgeois Cadets in the provisional government. Lenin denounced this betrayal sharply, demanding "Down with the Ten Capitalist Ministers"—for a government of the workers' parties alone. The Fourth Congress of the Communist International made the point quite clearly:

"The parties of the Second International are trying to 'save' the situation... by advocating and forming a coalition government of bourgeois and social democratic parties... To this open or concealed bourgeois-social democratic coalition the communists oppose the united front of all workers and a coalition of all workers' parties in the economic and political field for the fight against the bourgeois power and its eventual overthrow... The overriding tasks of the workers' government must be to arm the proletariat, to disarm bourgeois, counter-revolutionary organizations, to introduce the control of production... and to break the resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie."

—"Theses on Tactics"

Simply to state the Leninist position reveals how far removed from Leninism is the Allende government and its apologists.

UP Nationalizations

The Unidad Popular program calls for widespread nationalizations. The 1970 UP "Program of Government" declares:

"The united popular forces seek as the central objective of their policy to replace the present economic structure, putting an end to the power of national and foreign monopolistic capital and of latifundism in order to begin the construction of socialism....

"The process of transforming our economy will begin with a policy destined to make up a dominant state area... Into this area of nationalized activities will be integrated the following sectors:



Allende announces copper nationalization: "You have to work more, produce more, sacrifice more."

Punto Final

- (1) the large mining companies of copper, nitrate, iodine, iron and coal;
- (2) the country's financial system, especially private banks and insurance companies;
- (3) foreign trade;
- (4) the great distribution enterprises and monopolies;
- (5) the strategic industrial monopolies;
- (6) in general all those activities which determine the country's economic and social development such as the production and distribution of electrical energy; rail, air and maritime transportation; communications; ... iron and steel production...."

And many of these nationalizations have been carried out. The large copper mines (El Teniente, Chuquibambilla, El Salvador, Exotica) of the Kennecott and Anaconda monopolies are now state property. Also nationalized are the nitrate, iron, iodine and coal mines; virtually all private banks (domestic and foreign); foreign trade; several large paper, textile and auto factories.

But this program does not go beyond the bounds of capitalism. In fact, it aids sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie. The program itself makes it clear that only 150 out of 30,500 concerns would be nationalized—and they would be paid for. Industry would be largely untouched. The agrarian reform is simply the law of the previous Frei government (CDP), which exempts 200 acres of irrigated land (or its equivalent, which is 2,000 acres in the cattle regions), also providing for full compensation. Last spring, when SP Minister of Economics Vuskovic put forward a list of 91 large companies to be nationalized, it brought a storm of protest from the Christian Democrats and eventually his dismissal; the list was dropped. The UP program does not expropriate the bourgeoisie as a class.

We call, in the words of Trotsky's "Transitional Program," for the "socialist program of expropriation, i.e., of political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and liquidation of its economic domination." As the "Transitional Program" points out:

"The difference between these demands and the muddle-headed reformist slogan of 'nationalization' lies in the following: (1) we reject indemnification; (2) we warn the masses against demagogues of the People's Fronts who, giving lip-service to nationalization, remain in reality agents of capital; (3) we call upon the masses to rely only upon their own revolutionary strength; (4) we link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers."

In Ghana under Nkrumah, or in Algeria and Egypt today, there have been large-scale agrarian reforms, and state control of banking, foreign trade and much of industry. In Italy most industry is in the hands of state super-trusts, the IRI and ENI, as a heritage from fascism. But as long as the bourgeoisie continues to exist as a class, in control of important means of production, no

amount of nationalizations will change the nature of the economy: it is capitalist.

Class Nature of the State

The UP program calls for a "People's Assembly":

"A new political constitution will institutionalize the massive incorporation of the people into state power. A single state organization will be created with national, regional and local levels; the People's Assembly will be the superior governing body.... The members of the People's Assembly and of every representative organization of the people will be subject to the control and recall of the electors...."

—"UP Program of Government"

But this is only a gesture to channel the masses' hatred of the bosses' state into reformism. For so long as the bourgeois army and police reign supreme and the working class remains unarmed, so long as the proletariat is not organized in its own class organs of power (soviets) independent of the bourgeois state, not even dual power will exist, much less a workers state. A "People's Assembly" would be a streamlined bourgeois parliament, nothing more.

At the core is the question of state power. The Chilean example is the embodiment of the so-called "peaceful road to socialism." Allende refers to this as the essence of the "Chilean Road":

"The circumstances of Russia in 1917 and of Chile at the present time are very different.... Our revolutionary method, the pluralist method, was anticipated by the classic Marxist theorists but never before put into practice.... Today Chile is the first nation on earth to put into practice the second model of transition to a socialist society...."

"The sceptics and the prophets of doom will say that it is not possible. They will say that a parliament that has served the ruling classes so well cannot be transformed into the Parliament of the Chilean People. Further, they have emphatically stated that the Armed Forces and Corps of Carabineros... would not consent to guarantee the will of the people if these should decide on the establishment of socialism in our country...."

"Since the National Congress is based on the people's vote, there is nothing in its nature which prevents it from changing itself in order to become, in fact, the Parliament of the People. The Chilean Armed Forces and the Carabineros, faithful to their duty and to their tradition of non-intervention in the political process, will support a social organization which corresponds to the will of the people...."

"If violence is not released against the people, we shall be able to change the basic structures on which the capitalist system rests into a democratic, pluralistic and free society, and to do this without unnecessary physical force, without institutional disorder, without disorganizing production...."

—"First Message to Congress"

There is nothing new about the "theory"

of the "Chilean Road." Allende's paeans to a "democratic, pluralistic and libertarian society," Millas' description of Chile as an "advanced democracy"—how neatly these parallel the arch-revisionist Kautsky's statement that "the dictatorship of the proletariat was for Marx a condition which necessarily follows from pure democracy, if the proletariat forms the majority." Marx, however, disavowed the entire conception in one sentence:

"One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.'"

—Marx and Engels, 1872 "Introduction" to the *Communist Manifesto*

And Engels might have been speaking specifically to the Chilean reformists when he wrote:

"Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—all of which are highly authoritarian means. And the victorious party must maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries."

—Engels, "On Authority"

Chile—this "advanced democracy"—has the largest army, in comparison to its population, of any Latin American country, and one of the largest bureaucracies. Today in Chile there exists the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, presided over by a popular front government which includes the major workers' parties. Until it is smashed by an armed and politically conscious working class, it will continue to repress the exploited masses in the interests of capital.

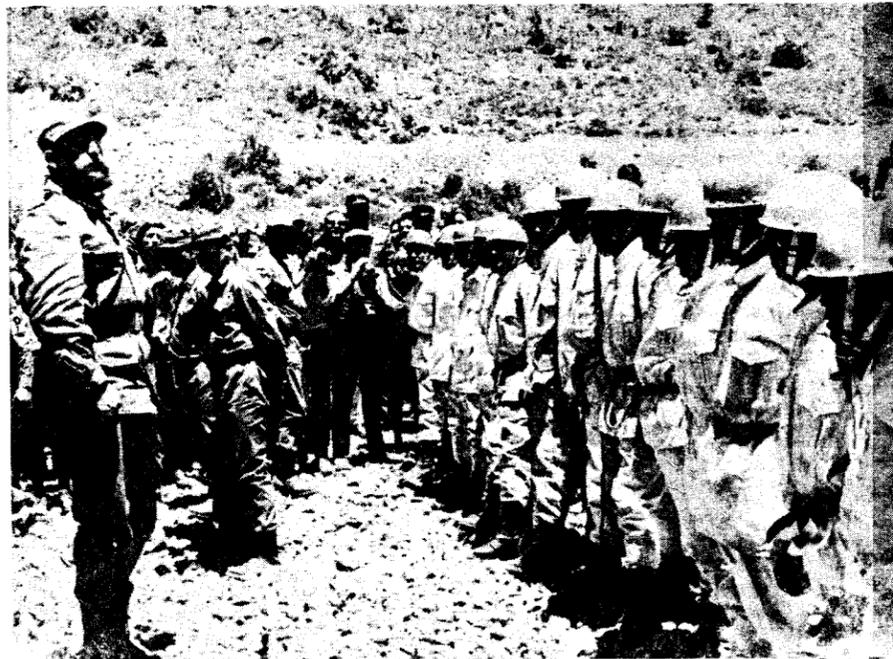
After the September 1970 elections, there was considerable activity from the Right to try to prevent Allende from taking power. As the ITT documents established, the U.S. ambassador and the CIA were in close contact with a General Viaux, who in turn was involved in the assassination of General Schneider, head of the armed forces,

the shares of virtually all private banks, and by decree nationalized foreign trade.

Emboldened, the working class and peasant masses seized hundreds of farms and factories. A New Leftish pro-Castro group, the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) led more than 300 seizures of rural estates in the first months of the UP government, and organized numerous communities of urban squatters around the capital. Industrial workers, mostly under CP union leadership, seized several plants, notably a Ford assembly plant and fourteen textile mills. In early 1971 wages were increased while prices remained largely controlled, leading to a 30-40% increase in real wages.

But the UP government soon showed its real face: the agent of the capitalist class, defender of private property and bourgeois legality. In response to a rightist pressure campaign the government, beginning in mid-1971, has opposed peasant land invasions with force, leaving six dead and scores arrested in the province of Cautín alone. On May 22 of this year the Carabineros (state police) attacked an important anti-rightist counter-demonstration comprising the UP parties, the labor federation and the MIR and arrested 80, almost all MIRistas. The attack was led by the "Mobile Group," the elite tactical police force which the UP program had promised to disband! During recent right-wing riots the government again concentrated on arresting leftists, and placed the country under military rule. (At this very time the Chilean and U.S. navies conducted joint naval maneuvers just off the coast.) On the day after Allende had installed three military ministers, the headquarters of his own SP was raided by police "looking for arms," on a warrant obtained by the fascist Patria y Libertad group. In the face of these mounting attacks from the Right, the UP solemnly maintains that the main task is "winning the battle of production!"

Allende has backed down on several points in the UP program, capitulating



Punto Final

Fidel Castro reviewing elite troops of Chilean army: "There was never any contradiction between the conceptions of the Cuban Revolution and the paths being followed by the left movement and workers' parties in Chile."

in an attempt to provoke a military coup. The Christian Democrats, however, put the emphasis on taming Allende. When the UP, after initial protests, signed the "Statute of Democratic Guarantees," even the rightist National Party supported his election in Congress. In his inaugural message to Congress, Allende promised to respect "legality" and called for "work and sacrifice" from the masses in the "new" Chile.

During 1971 the UP government carried out a number of progressive measures. With CDP agreement Allende nationalized copper, iron, salt-peter and other mines owned by foreign monopolies. Using laws left on the books since the early 1930's he decreed nationalization of several textile mills and U.S.-owned light industries. By negotiations the government bought up

to rightist pressure. Bills calling for a "People's Assembly" and neighborhood courts were both shelved because of CDP resistance. In February 1972 Allende agreed to pay \$85 million in bonds issued by the previous Frei government:

"The reason is that Chile is seeking rescheduling on debts of more than \$2 billion with United States and Western European creditors.... According to financial sources, Chile has reluctantly agreed to allow the International Monetary Fund to periodically review Chile's monetary, credit and trade performance, as part of a deal to obtain refinancing of her debt."

—New York Times, 26 February 1972

But Allende still refused to pay compensation for UP nationalizations. But two months later:

continued on next page

Continued from page 7

...Pop Front

"The United States and 11 other creditor nations agreed early today to grant Chile a major degree of credit relief, while obtaining a promise of 'just compensation for all nationalizations, in conformity with Chilean and international law.'"

—New York Times, 20 April 1972

Chile in Crisis

By the summer of 1972 the UP government had reached a crisis situation, its support clearly dwindling, as shown in congressional by-elections and a dramatic increase in Christian Democratic support in the main labor federation. While some in the Socialist Party urged an "acceleration in the pace of revolutionary transformation" (i.e., more nationalizations), the Communist Party called for *more concessions*:

"It is necessary... to put the accent on the defense of the People's Government, in its maintenance and the continuity of its work. It would be dangerous to continue expanding the number of enemies and instead we must make concessions, and at least neutralize some strata and certain social groups, changing our tactical mistakes."

—Orlando Millas, *Punto Final*, 20 June 1972

True to form, Allende dropped SP Economics Minister Vuskovic for a "less dogmatic" Socialist and shelved the list of 91 firms to be nationalized, in order to "reassure business circles." The *New York Times*, central organ of U.S. imperialism, had fulsome words of praise for these steps:

"President Allende has moved to resolve a severe crisis within his Popular Unity coalition by rejecting the radical counsel of his own Socialist Party and adopting the more moderate and conciliatory approach urged by the Communists.... [The Communists] urge consolidation, rather than rapid extension, of the Allende government's economic and social programs, negotiations on constitutional reform with the Christian Democrats and a working relationship with private business.... This decision may force the president to crack down hard on the MIR... but this is infinitely preferable to a continuation of drift and polarization... It should always be the objective of Chile's now-united democratic opposition not to force Dr. Allende out of office, but to make his government play by well-established rules."

—New York Times, 20 June 1972

Since then, the UP has repeatedly tried to entice the Christian Democrats into the coalition. The CDP, however, is moving steadily to the right as the situation polarizes. The growth of the fascist Patria y Libertad group, and anti-communist armed commandos in the countryside and wealthy urban neighborhoods, are further indications of this polarization.

Recently, a protest by petty-bourgeois truck owners over a government plan for a state transport company was escalated into an anti-government mobilization by store owners, doctors and other professionals, private buses, taxi owners, construction companies and Catholic schools, in response to a "general strike" call by the CDP's "unions" and commercial associations. Their demands included: suppression of the neighborhood price control committees and the "committees for the defense of the revolution" (unarmed workers' guards); a Constitutional amendment prohibiting nationalization without Congressional approval; expulsion of foreign "extremists"; dropping plans for a unified state bank and a state transport company; reopening rightist radio stations; annulment of all sanctions against the protestors.

Faced with this openly counter-revolutionary mobilization, Allende dropped the state transport company plan, brought the military into the Cabi-

net and called out the Army. In the midst of the crisis he announced:

"We are no longer on the verge of civil war... If we wanted to, we could have 150,000 people here. The least word would bring 15 or 20,000 workers from the industrial periphery of Santiago to open the stores. We told them no. The force of this government is in the respect for the Constitution and the law."

—Le Monde, 24 November 1972

"Don't scare the progressive bourgeoisie into the camp of reaction," scream the Stalinists and social democrats (apparently not noticing that the entire capitalist class long ago joined the reactionary camp). Allende is attempting a bonapartist balancing act atop a seething cauldron of overripe class antagonisms. But he cannot indefinitely wave a red flag at the charging Right. Like all bonapartists, Allende and his UP government are finding that they must cement their ties with one of the fundamental classes in society: the bourgeoisie or the proletariat.

Only the independent revolutionary mobilization of the working class can defend even the bourgeois-democratic rights of the masses against vicious reaction. Revolutionaries must demand of the workers' parties: Break with the popular front—split it along class lines; for the formation of workers' councils; only an independent proletarian policy can mobilize the support of the working masses for a workers' government! The leftist-revisionists, in the U.S. and elsewhere, who initially professed agnosticism as a cover for chasing the UP's mass base (see "Chilean Popular Front," *Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970) may soon find the lesson written in the blood of the Chilean working masses.

The destruction of the popular front requires first of all a resolute struggle against the reformist policies of the CP and SP. Some might have expected this from the Castroites, who a few years ago were furiously proclaiming the need for guerilla warfare throughout the continent. The "General Declaration" of Castro's Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) in 1967 proclaimed:

"5. That armed revolutionary struggle constitutes the fundamental course of the Revolution in Latin America; 6. That all other forms of struggle must serve to advance and not to retard the development of this fundamental course, which is armed struggle."

But when it counts they sing a different tune. Speaking before the CUT union leaders in November 1971, Castro stated:

"In the numerous declarations of the Revolution with regard to Latin America, we always saw the Chilean situation as different in character.... There was never any contradiction between the conceptions of the Cuban revolution and the paths being followed by the left movement and workers' parties in Chile."

Speaking to the workers at the Chuquicamata copper mine of 14 November, Castro called on them to moderate their wage demands and to work harder since the mine was nationalized!

The MIR: Chile's New Left

In Chile itself, the major left political organization standing outside the Allende government is the MIR, until the UP elections a relatively small group. But as large masses of working people, their hopes roused by the UP victory, became disenchanted by Allende's conciliatory policies, the MIR began to experience significant growth, and established a "revolutionary peasant federation" (MCR) and a "revolutionary workers' front" (FTR). Although it has militantly led mass dem-

onstrations and land take-overs, the MIR retains an ambiguous attitude toward the UP popular front and cannot provide any political clarity for the working-class movement.

Formed in 1965 out of a unification of Castroites, Maoists and ex-Trotskyists (United Secretariat), the main positions of the MIR were opposition to elections and support for guerilla warfare. In 1967 the MIR formally aligned itself with OLAS, and in 1969 went underground to prepare for guerilla-type operations. In April 1970 it characterized the UP program as "essentially leftist reformist." But following Allende's election it called for critical support to the same UP, demanding that the UP implement the program the MIR had condemned five months earlier.

Initially the MIR opposed any participation in electoral and parliamentary activity on principle (a position Lenin termed "infantile ultra-leftism"), with the slogan "Fúsil, no elecciones" (a gun, not elections). In April 1970 the MIR National Secretariat declared that elections are "nothing more than a mechanism of self-preservation of the ruling class, a more refined method than brute coercion," and called for abstention. But following Allende's victory, they adopted a different analysis:

"For at least three years mass movements in Chile have been growing and the electoral majority of Allende was based on the heightened aspirations of the workers. The electoral victory is a step forward for the masses in the defense of their interests, and the interests of the ruling classes, both national and foreign, are objectively being threatened."

—Punto Final, 13 October 1970

In the typical fashion of the radical petty-bourgeoisie, the MIR succumbed to "worship of the accomplished fact," flip-flopping from sectarian abstentionism to capitulation before a blatant example of "parliamentary cretinism."

The MIR has at times achieved a partial understanding of the fundamental task: the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class and the smashing of the bourgeois state. The MIR's slogans call for the "Conquest of Power by the Workers, For a Revolutionary Government of Workers and Peasants." In a speech MIR Secretary-General Miguel Enriquez declared:

"Thus, although the Popular Unity government has hurt the interests of the ruling class, although it has begun to take positive measures in the economic field in general... by not incorporating the masses in the process and by not striking at the state apparatus and its institutions, it has... been weakened more and more. Now it is precisely these two measures, the incorporation of the masses in the process and blows against the state apparatus, which define a process as revolutionary...."

But the MIR consistently glosses over the popular front nature of the UP; it ignores the crucial fact that an

alliance with the Christian Democrats and the Radicals, whether open or indirect, is a basic aspect of the UP program. Thus it makes such remarkable statements as, "in order to ally with the CDP it is necessary to slow down the process." (*Punto Final*, 6 June 1972) It calls on Allende to carry out various aspects of the UP program; it criticizes him in comradely fashion. Instead of exposing the SP and CP reformists as the most pernicious enemies of the Chilean masses, the MIR vacillates and, ultimately, goes along under the UP banner: "The Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria maintains that although we do not agree with every step of the Popular Unity, that although we have differences with aspects of its policies, this does not signify that we come to a definitive break with the Popular Unity." (*Punto Final*, 9 November 1971) The MIR does not forthrightly attack the illusion of a "peaceful road to socialism," merely stating in passing that at some point armed struggle will be necessary. In fact, the MIR does not even call for the arming of the workers!

The MIR bases itself primarily on peasants and squatters, not on the working class. In the countryside, it orients primarily toward the Indians and the poor and middle peasantry, not on the agricultural proletariat; among the workers, toward marginal sectors of the class rather than the great mining centers. Paralleling the Italian socialists in 1920, the MIR concentrates on factory occupations and land seizures, apparently ignoring the crucial need for political struggle in the labor movement against the CP-SP misleaders. At bottom, the MIR is not a revolutionary opposition to the popular front government, but a militant pressure group (as the *New York Times* termed it, "a militant group operating on the fringes of the UP government"). Even the militant hacienda occupations in southern Chile were done with the approval of the land reform agency.

A Revolutionary Program for Chile

"The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership." These words of the program of the Fourth International, written by Trotsky almost 35 years ago, are fully confirmed in Chile today. The objective conditions for socialist revolution have existed for decades. Through land and factory seizures, by mass mobilizations against counter-revolutionary forces, even in the initial waves of enthusiasm which greeted Allende's promises, the workers have repeatedly shown their desire for their own government, their own class rule. But the traditional leaders of the workers' movement seek above all to tie the masses to the class enemy. What is needed is a Bolshevik leadership, a proletarian vanguard party.

The achievement of this slogan would immediately pose point-blank the total instant choice: the dictatorship of the proletariat or the bourgeois counter-revolution—open class warfare. A powerful weapon in breaking the stranglehold of these class traitors is the demand that the workers' parties must "BREAK WITH THE BOURGEOISIE AND ITS PARTIES—FORM A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT ON A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM." This slogan exposes the reformists' refusal to break with the class enemy. Expressing no confidence in the reformists' willingness to take power and rule in their own name, the Bolsheviks must at the same time continue their own agitation for transitional demands which constitute a revolutionary program for a workers' government. Were such a workers' and peasants' government to be formed, breaking with the bourgeoisie organizationally and programmatically, it would be only a short episode (not a "stage") on the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat; the next step would be open class warfare.

In Chile today, as a result of more than a century of capitalist development, the ruling class in the countryside is an agrarian bourgeoisie; out-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

French Pabloists Renounce Trotskyist Martyrs

A mass demonstration against the Vietnam war was held in Paris on October 15. Organized by the youth group of the Socialist Party, large numbers of militants also participated from the Communist Party, the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (semi-official youth group of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste) and the Ligue Communiste.

Both *Informations Ouvrières* (OCI) and *Rouge* (Ligue) reported physical violence between the AJS and FSI (Ligue-supported anti-war group) contingents—each blamed the other.

To counter the Ligue's slogan of "Long Live Ho Chi Minh" (the French Pabloists, like their U.S. co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers Party, uncritically adapt to the Vietnamese Stalinists), the AJS had made buttons commemorating Ta Thu-tau. Ta Thu-tau was a leader of the Saigon Trotskyists, who were murdered by the Stalinists after World War II because of their opposition to the reestablishment of the French colonial presence in Vietnam on Ho Chi Minh's invitation. Before Ho and his henchmen succeeded in wiping them out, the Vietnamese Trotskyists had achieved a substantial mass base in the Vietnamese proletariat in the cities. The Trotskyists were split into two wings, a more rightist tendency based in Saigon and a more leftist group centered in Hanoi.

The AJS raised the slogans "Long



Live Ta Thu-tau" and "Long Live the Polish and Czech Workers." The *Informations Ouvrières* account quotes prominent Ligue spokesman Alain Krivine as proclaiming: "Those who invoke Ta Thu-tau in a united demonstration of solidarity with Indochina are splitters. Ta Thu-tau has nothing to do with this demonstration!"

Sentimental verbal ties to "Trotskyism" don't stand a chance when they get in the way of revisionist opportunism. It is an inexorable political logic which compels the Ligue to trample on the memory of martyred communists and laud their executioners.

As the Stalinists once again betray twenty-five years of revolutionary struggle by the embattled workers and peasants of Vietnam, the Pabloists must flatly repudiate the heritage and principles of the Fourth International. ■

Continued from page 1 Baton Rouge...

side the building, where the confrontation and killings later took place. Netterville told the students inside to wait in his office while he went to see about the arrested students' release, saying he would return. At this point, sheriff's deputies, who "had gathered information Wednesday (the day before the killings) that the students would attempt to take over the administration building..." (*Times-Pacayune*, 17 November), surrounded the building. Thus the police "knew" of the takeover plans the day before the arrests which sparked the protest!

The deputies demanded that the area be cleared. When the students refused to move immediately, the cops invaded the building and fired tear gas into the crowd outside, which then began to disperse. A student leader who witnessed the shootings which followed said that the secretaries in the administration building were still working before the assault, and emerged later with the students—hardly likely in a "building takeover"!

The same student leader, speaking at a rally held the next day on campus, claimed that the two murdered students were shot accidentally by the police, who were actually trying to hit particular student leaders as the crowd outside dispersed.

Students filed out of the building after the confrontation outside with their hands clasped in back of their necks, past a pool of blood on the sidewalk from one of the students.

Official Fabrications

At first, government spokesmen claimed that the two students had been trampled to death by the student "mob" trying to flee the tear gas. Yet the dead students were among the very last in the crowd escaping from the gas, as the news film of the incident clearly showed, and they both died of shotgun wounds to the head. Governor Edwards later claimed that they were killed by shrapnel fragments from either a student-made or student-thrown bomb or gas canister.

Accusations that the students had overpowered a security guard and seized tear gas canisters, and that the students had "fired first," made by Sheriff Amis and Edwards, are blatant lies. Students reported throwing back a few of the tear gas canisters. Even after admitting that no arms were found in the vicinity where the students had been, Edwards insisted on using the term "fired first" against the students throughout his press conference later in the day (*Times-Pacayune*, 17 November).

Television news film referred to by Edwards showing tear gas canisters flying and the two students emerging from the building and falling on their faces completely failed to verify Edwards' claim that the students attacked the police first. In slow motion the film clearly demonstrated the opposite. Edwards' righteous talk about who "fired first," in a confrontation between unarmed students and a specially-armed detachment of riot police can inspire only rage. It was Edwards who, as a Congressman, called for the shooting of anti-war demonstrators during the "May Day" protests in Washington. In the press conference, when pressed as to his attitude if, in fact, it should be proven that the police had fired first, he replied that the students had broken the law and, "At that stage, it is immaterial who shot first"! Thus that the bourgeoisie is licensed to murder for acts of minor trespassing and disobedience, as at Kent State and Jackson State, is demonstrated once again.

Having committed premeditated assault and killed two students, the ruling class immediately sought to create the impression of an armed insurrection, by reporting a "run" on guns and bringing in over 700 National Guard troops

and more police to "secure" the campus.

The confrontation was the direct result of a "get tough" decision by Edwards and Netterville, who had been attempting to derail a student struggle at three Southern University campuses. A building takeover lasting ten days at the New Orleans campus (SUNO) had resulted in the forced resignation of Dean Emmet W. Bashful. The protest had been for "student power": control over course curriculum, hiring and firing of teachers, the bookstore, and the right to fly the "flag of black liberation" as the campus flag, had been among the demands. A special issue of the *SUNO Observer* had characterized the system at Southern as a device to maintain the second-class status of blacks: "the foremost promoter of 'Uncle Tomism' and subservience." The student demands, however, could only strengthen the status quo against



Southern University students on campus building in protests before murders.

which they were aimed. Rejecting black nationalist separatism, the students must fight for the integration of the Southern University system campuses and for a policy of open admissions with stipend throughout the university system, the lack of both of which is responsible for the enforced inferiority and segregation of education for blacks.

Relying instead on the pressure of the black "community" on the ruling class, the student leaders made no attempt to bring the power of the working class, white or black, to bear against the school administration in the achievement of their demands or for defense against the ruling class' murderous attack.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth was the only tendency to present an organized face on campus after the murders despite the presence of members of the Black Panthers and SDS. The RCY distributed a leaflet on the New Orleans campus the next day which was instantaneously snatched up, calling for a working-class orientation by the students instead of their planned appeal to churches and the "community."

The RCY suggested an official approach to longshoremen and laborers, whose interests in struggling against the special oppression of blacks clearly intersect those of the students—to the union leadership, thus exposing it as a reactionary bureaucracy, and to the ranks—for a sympathy strike to protest the murders. This was met with enthusiasm in the committee, but not by its leaders. It was decided that teachers be assigned to contact union leaders instead.

Such an approach will be unsuccessful unless accompanied by a propaganda appeal to the ranks on the basis of a working-class program. The working-class orientation proposed by the RCY is the only strategy which offers not only a defense, but a road forward against the ruling class in the face of its inexcusable, vicious campaign of racist assault. ■

Continued ...

side of the Indian communities there are few feudal restrictions on landholding. The peasantry itself is characterized by a small middle peasant sector (19% of the agricultural population), compared to poor peasants (32%), semi-proletarians (inquilinos) (26%) and agricultural proletariat (14%). Thus the fundamental policy in the countryside should be the organization of the poor peasants, semi-proletarians and rural proletariat in alliance with the urban working class. The main slogan must be for the "IMMEDIATE EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRARIAN BOURGEOISIE, NO COMPENSATION." The immediate form of exploitation of expropriated estates would be decided by poor peasant-agricultural worker

committees, although it would most likely involve some form of collective production. (Most of the land reform asentamientos are farmed collectively, as are the invaded estates.)

An important point of contention in Chile today is the attitude toward the petty bourgeoisie. In the face of the bourgeoisie's attempts to win over the middle class through its reverence for private property, Allende only capitulates. As Marxists, we seek to win over the lowest, exploited sections of the petty bourgeoisie through a bold program of expropriations, posing the dictatorship of the proletariat as the guarantor of a stable and democratic society, as against the bureaucratic anarchy rampant in Chile today. We seek to neutralize other sections of the petty bourgeoisie, including the middle peasantry, with guarantees against forced collectivization and through cheap credit and cooperative marketing. Toward the bourgeoisie itself, however, there is only one attitude: "TOTAL EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE, BEGINNING WITH ALL KEY SECTORS, NO COMPENSATION."

But the key to a revolutionary program for Chile is the question of state power—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore we demand the creation of "ARMED WORKERS' MILITIAS BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS." Initially directed against the fascist bands, these will be crucial instruments in splitting the Army and bringing down the bourgeois state.

To mobilize the entire working class, and its allies among other exploited sectors of the population, we call for the creation of workers' and poor peasants' soviets. Instruments for organizing the conquest of power, they will become the kernel of the proletarian dictatorship.

The road to victory will be arduous. The absence of a revolutionary vanguard party is today the fundamental problem facing the Chilean workers. This vanguard must be forged in sharp struggle for a class program, against the popular front and the UP reformists who are doing their best to strangle the revolution. As Trotsky wrote of Spain: "FOR A SUCCESSFUL SOLUTION OF ALL THESE TASKS, THREE CONDITIONS ARE REQUIRED: A PARTY; ONCE MORE A PARTY; AND AGAIN A PARTY." ■

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CWA, LOCAL 9415 — Bureaucrats Exposed, Launch Gangster Attack on Caucus

OAKLAND, CA.—The bureaucracy of Local 9415, Communication Workers of America (CWA) has qualitatively escalated its attacks on Militant Action Caucus (MAC) opposition to the level of the grossest physical gangsterism. Following a membership meeting on 21 November members of the local officialdom and their hangers-on set upon and viciously beat MAC members in an unprovoked assault.

Though the previous local president, Loren Blasingame, was decisively defeated in recent local elections, his lesser-known cronies gained re-election by turning on him. This gangster attack, then, was perpetrated by the same bureaucracy which issued the vile "Dear Mummy" letter in its local newsletter. This grossly male chauvinist slander of the MAC, insinuating that its members are company agents, replete with the crudest sexual innuendo toward the "feline chorus" and "your broads," refers to the union membership as "sheep." (See *WV* No. 13)

The atmosphere leading up to this despicable attack, if not the attack itself, was fully prepared in advance by the bureaucrats. They nevertheless felt safe to confront and move on MAC members only after the adjournment of the meeting and the departure of most in attendance. The caucus militants denounced the incident to workers in a leaflet the next day and have been collecting written affidavits from witnesses.

The 21 November meeting was the first in over six months to obtain a quorum—the result of membership apathy due to the defeats suffered at the hands of the leadership. It was marked by an atmosphere of confrontation, as both the MAC and the Bell Wringer's Committee for Elected Shop Stewards (CESS—supported by the International Socialists—is an alliance of the Bell Wringer with aspiring bureaucrats, including Virginia Branning and Bobby Williams, who once enjoyed the favor of the International leadership of Joseph Beirne) presented long-proposed by-laws changes for the election of shop stewards. The local bureaucracy pro-

posed a continued appointment system, modified for appearance's sake. Reflecting its grossly opportunist sectarianism the Bell Wringer group refused to support the MAC proposal, *countering* one essentially identical, instead of proposing amendments. This helped set the stage for what followed, in combination with the Bell Wringer's failure to actively defend the MAC from the bureaucracy's attacks aimed toward silencing, discrediting and isolating it.

Motion of Censure

What followed apparently began at an informal meeting of the local executive committee, which had been held secretly to exclude MAC exec member Jane Margolis. A motion censuring the caucus was presented at the local meeting by Eleanor Hart, local Secretary-Treasurer, and supported in a speech by Tom Sykes, one of the militant-posturing black careerists whom the bureaucracy uses in its attempt to smear the caucus by implication with the brush of racism, in order to intimidate and silence its supporters.

Hart said the caucus had lied about local leaders scabbing on strikes in the past and about threatened and actual violence against caucus members by local bureaucrats, charges which had been documented in a 15 November caucus leaflet, "Gangsterism in 9415." Because the charges were all true (the earlier physical abuse having taken place in front of 60 people at a special pre-election "candidates night" meeting!), the bureaucrats, with lame-duck president Blasingame chairing, refused to recognize MAC members' right to speak in their own defense! Ignoring a vote to continue discussion, supported even by Sykes and Bell Wringer's CESS, the chair railroaded the censure motion through amidst pandemonium in which it was unclear that voting was even taking place. The meeting was then abruptly adjourned.

"How Does It Feel"?

Denouncing this star-chamber proceeding as a "mockery" after the meeting, a caucus member was told by

Eleanor Hart, "Yes, you were railroaded; how does it feel?"

Subsequent arguments between caucus members and local officials turned into physical attacks when Karen Brown (the leadership-backed candidate for executive board alternate who had been defeated by MAC's Jane Margolis in an earlier election) shoved Margolis. When Brown was pulled away by friends, the attack was pursued by vice-president Alta White, and Mary Lou Kindem and Mike Budd, steward-favorites, cronies and goons for the bureaucracy. In a maniacal fit of rage Budd struck at least three caucus members. Margolis was dragged down by the hair, and other caucus members were slapped, slugged and thrown to the floor before managing to extricate themselves. President-elect Harry Ibsen, Eleanor Hart and Blasingame gleefully watched this one-way brawl, while others present, including Tom Sykes, tried to break it up and protect caucus members from brutalization.

Violence of this genre is the inevitable last resort of a cynical bureaucracy which clings to the backs of the workers only to betray them to the capitalist enemy at every opportunity. Every step of the way, the bureaucracy must mask its treachery by denouncing, slandering and silencing all opposition. No trade union leader can escape the necessity for this sooner or later, no matter how well-meaning he may be at first, except those whose leadership is based on complete renunciation of the limitations of traditional trade unionism confined in a capitalist framework.

Only the Trotskyist transitional program—not the special qualities or talents of individuals—can provide the basis for such leadership. Only the transitional program combines the immediate needs and interests of the working class with revolutionary solutions which go beyond the bounds of the isolated, economic struggle of trade unions—beyond the bounds of struggle under capitalism, preparing the way for socialist revolution.

The MAC has always provided leadership on the basis of this program,

which calls for abolition of all forms of racial and sexual discrimination; a shorter work week at no loss in pay, with raises linked to inflation; rank-and-file control of the unions; nationalization of major industry; immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. from Indochina; and a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government.

It is this kind of leadership, threatening to sweep away the very basis for the bureaucrats' existence, which would transform the labor movement into a revolutionary struggle leading all the oppressed, which the Loren Blasingames, Eleanor Harts, *et al.*, must try to destroy to preserve their venal little corner of the capitalist system, their crumbs, their "prestige." Workers do not need such vermin, nor their methods!

Before it can purge itself of class-collaborationist betrayers and inevitable defeats at their hands, the labor movement must put a stop to internal violence. An orderly, disciplined atmosphere of workers' democracy, in which all working-class tendencies have the opportunity to argue for their politics, is necessary to arrive at political clarification and implement decisions.

MAC candidates (excluding Margolis, who did not run for re-election) had received from 12 to 33% of the vote in the election. The caucus expects to expand and gain authority as the only alternative leadership based on a principled, political program. Further attempts by the bureaucrats to intimidate the caucus into submission will undoubtedly meet with determined resistance. Violent assaults will be prevented, not by bringing the intervention of the bourgeoisie's cops and courts into union affairs (the tactic of the bureaucrats), but when the thumb of the fed-up rank and file crushes the bureaucrats like bugs.

As the bureaucracy confirms its bankruptcy by such actions, it brings the day of its defeat and condemnation to the "dung-heap of history" that much closer. ■

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... Leninist Faction

vince them. Under such conditions it was not easy to confine the discussion to internal circles...The American Party has only a comparatively small number of members, the discussion was and is more than abundant. The demarcation lines seem to be firm enough, at least for the next period. Under such conditions for the opposition to have their own public paper or magazine is a means not to convince the Party but to appeal against the Party to the external world."

—In *Defense of Marxism*, p. 161

If the LF leadership sees our current circumstance as parallel to those of the early Bolsheviks, one can only lament such quixotic fantasies.

"But," it will be objected, "no one is proposing separate public papers, but only a separate column for minorities under the common party paper. Have we not already explicitly rejected along with Lenin, separate papers?"

Separate columns, however, and separate papers are only a formal distinction. In both cases the attempt is for the minority to seek a litigation before the court of bourgeois public opinion against the party. We can concretize what Trotsky means by, "... the opposition has its public papers, etc." when we remember what Trotsky proposed as mutual guarantees for any future mi-

nority in the SWP (*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 101):

"(1) No prohibition of factions; (2) No other restriction on factional activity than those dictated by the necessity for common action; (3) the official publications must represent, of course (!), the line established by the new convention; (4) the future minority can have, if it wishes, an internal bulletin destined for party members, or a common discussion bulletin with the majority."

Notice in passing that Trotsky insists the only restrictions on factional activities should be those "dictated by the necessity for common action..." Here, Comrade G. would nod her approval, but not with what follows: "The official publications must represent, of course, the line established by the new convention." Are we not justified in concluding that it is precisely public debate in the Party press which is conceived as an obstacle to common action?

Here we touch upon the crucial premise behind the theory of public criticism. When the Party discusses theory it is "creative," a maximum of debate and disunity before the public, but when it faces a common action before that public, it "closes its fist."

A closed fist becomes a mere slap, however, if we suppose that theory can be separated so neatly from action. We

may cite Cannon's legitimate concern here for the costs to the whole Party if Shachtman and Burnham were allowed to turn the Party's press into an open discussion bulletin. "Incidentally, all comrades who are doing serious work in the mass movement can understand how the agitational value of the *Appeal* will be destroyed if it is converted into a discussion organ at the very moment we are undertaking to defend the Soviet Union against the whole world, including Stalin. It must be pointed out that the campaign of the *Appeal* in defense of the *Soviet Union* is an *action*..."

Cannon, perhaps, was overly anxious to conclude the discussion over the Russian question, but on the other hand, we must apply the dictum to Cannon that Marx applied to philosophy—the democratic centralism of Cannon must be realized before it can be transcended. We must incorporate into our conception of democratic centralism the truth that theory and program is an intervention into reality. The Party's program guides its action and a contradictory public program necessarily leads to contradictory actions.

We stress necessarily, for a minority would not feel constrained to demand public columns unless it felt the pressure of immediate actions bearing down upon it. It is precisely in cases where the disputed Party positions directly affect the activity of the Party that the minority will consider the differences significant enough to warrant debate over the heads of the Party majority.

The separation between the theory and practice becomes all the more catastrophic on an international level,

however. What is "theoretical" to one national section becomes an activity to another section. If we concede to the national sections the right to public criticism of the international majority we are propelled along the course toward a federated conception of the International.

We must be clear on the significance of the Leninist Faction's Menshevik backsliding on the matter of democratic centralism. If we designate as principled questions those questions which are life-and-death to the vanguard party, then surely the relation of the Party's program to the class it represents is a "principled" question. When theory becomes separated from practice; when the proletariat as it is can be appealed to against the vanguard (the proletariat as it will become), then we are surrendering the vanguard to the empirical conditions of the ideological rule of the bourgeoisie. What other explanation can we offer for Comrade Phil P.'s repeated emphasis that "the disputes of the Party are the disputes of the class?"

The second principled question at issue here is whether or not the SL, LF and VNL can be in the same organization, or more precisely can VNL and SL fuse. We think that the SL is correct in asserting that they cannot be in the same organization as VNL. We also believe this to be the official position of the LF, one which the CC ignored. To completely understand this we must return to the August 1972 Ashtabula convention, which has important ramifications for the LF-SL fusion discussions. We will try to quickly deal with organi-

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... AFSCME

managed to provoke a red-baiting response from Victor Gotbaum. Caucus supporters were also present at the Third California State Conference of AFSCME in July to raise the same points, calling particular attention to the fact that the struggle to build a labor party must go hand in hand with the struggle to throw out the corrupt, conservative union bureaucrats.

Workers League: Dangerous Absurdity

The marginal influence of the hopelessly opportunist Workers League, a frenzied, pseudo-Trotskyist sect, was visible at both these conventions in that certain so-called radicals defended the inclusion of the capitalist police and prison guards in the union! This reflects the Workers League's support of cops as part of the labor movement—just one example of their totally unprincipled adaptation to virtually any powerful force. Another example turned up at the state convention in July: the absurd and dangerous notion that George Meany can and should be urged to form a labor party. This goes hand in hand with the WL's pretentious efforts to substitute its own over-rated activity for the necessary real motion of the masses of workers for a working-class party, as in their fraudulent "conferences" for a labor party in Chicago and the Bay Area, which invited "all trade unionists" and then systematically excluded all tendencies and individuals not supporting the WL line.

Unable to satisfy its impatient appetites for bureaucratic control through its own activity, the WL, bypassing patient struggle on the basis of the transitional program, seeks to link up with the worst bureaucratic layers in the labor movement by pressuring them to form a labor party and to take other leading steps which they are completely incapable of taking. Thus the WL simply creates illusions about these bureaucrats.

This was made clear by the *Bulletin's* treatment of the building tradesmen's strike at the UC Medical Center in San Francisco, in which the bureaucrats were forced to undertake a few militant measures in order to save

face. The *Bulletin* (17 July) interpreted this as real motion on the part of the bureaucracy, under the pressure of objective conditions, in the direction of political struggle:

"...San Francisco trade unions are giving a fighting lead to the entire labor movement.... The Labor Council leaders are now forced to declare that their strike is political pointing out in their call that a defeat at UC is an open door to Nixon... These developments deliver shattering blows to the Communist Party who based themselves on a defense of the feeble protest tactics of Groulx and Childers..."

Unfortunately, the only "shattering blows" were the ones dealt to the building tradesmen and AFSCME locals because of the betrayal of the trade union "leaders."

The Bureaucracy Consolidates

As the loosely-knit organizing committee of the early Local 2070 became a local union, different relationships to the existing bureaucracy were arrived at by different elements. Those who rejected the militant defiance and political consistency of the Militant Caucus and oriented instead toward wooing the International bureaucracy have themselves hardened into a local bureaucratic clique, as revealed in key developments. After the election of Dodds as the local delegate to the International convention in Houston, on the basis of the full caucus program, money which had been unavailable to send him to the convention was somehow suddenly produced from the AFSCME Council 36 to send the local president, who was not a delegate. At the convention, the president solidarized with the Wurf bureaucracy by remaining silent while the caucus was under attack, and was later seen shaking Wurf's hand.

The October local meeting to discuss the elections gave further proof of the consolidating bureaucracy and the thrust of the CP positions in supporting the bureaucrats and class collaboration generally. A special newsletter had already been circulated with three positions: the caucus position for a labor party, and outright endorsement of McGovern, and a call to "defeat Nixon." This reflected CP double-talk for supporting McGovern under the cover of their own phony "campaign." In this meeting as everywhere throughout the labor movement, those elements sympathetic to the CP position openly called

for support to McGovern and not to the CP "candidates."

The Militant Caucus position lost by 8 votes, and the meeting also endorsed the bureaucratic aspirations of the local president by backing her participation on the campus administration's "Affirmative Action" board for minority hiring—a diversion from the necessary union struggle for mass hiring—and the decision for the local to testify before the Staff Personnel Board, a powerless advisory body which all UC locals had agreed to boycott. Nevertheless, attempts by pro-CP bureaucratic flunkies to race-bait the Militant Caucus for criticizing the local president, who is black, have proven completely ineffective.

At the November local meeting, a resolution on the proposed "peace" deal in Indochina was put forward by the Militant Caucus and passed by the local. The resolution stated,

"As members of the American and international working class, we realize our special obligation to denounce the government's attempt to halt that revolution.... The similarity between this agreement and the 1954 Geneva Accords is striking. It neither removes the exploitation that is at the root of the social conflict there, nor prevents a bolstered and re-armed Saigon government from ripping the agreement to shreds as they did with the promise of elections in 1954.... For our own part, we believe only the victory of the Vietnamese social revolution, with the construction of a workers and peasants government can represent a real step forward in the long struggle of the Vietnamese toilers. In solidarity with their fight, we denounce the latest U.S. ploys and call for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and supplies in Indochina."

The Demise of Marty Morgenstern

The Wurf bureaucracy fears and hates nothing more than the kind of leadership represented by the Militant Caucus of Local 2070 in the context of a militant, statewide organizing drive. In order to head off such a radical development, Wurf dumped one of his slickest servants, Marty Morgenstern. Morgenstern presided over the demise of the once-militant Social Services Employees Union (SSEU) of New York by leading it into unity with an old, conservative AFSCME local on the latter's sell-out terms. Having then transferred

to California in search of a base, Morgenstern latched onto the potential gold mine of the burgeoning UC campus locals, and urged their formation into a state-wide council. Incidents such as the printing of Dodd's protest letter about the actions of the first state-wide AFSCME convention in the official paper convinced the bureaucracy of the danger of such a move, however, and Morgenstern was dumped for trying to form an independent—and too radical—power base. It was hardly he who was the radical as shown by his subsequent job—as spokesman for the company-union CSEA! To show who they were really after, the International bureaucrats also stopped providing any organizers for the giant UC campus system.

Having contained the left in this way, the Wurf bureaucracy is also maneuvering for unity with state and local "associations" like the CSEA in order to pick up large dues collecting blocs and freeze out radical organizing drives and leadership, thereby fulfilling its bureaucratic ambitions by helping preserve the apple cart of capitalism. Such a unity was narrowly won by AFSCME with the Los Angeles All City Employees Association on the basis of a conservative, "responsible" line. AFSCME's failure to vigorously oppose Proposition 15 on the November ballot, which creates the illusion of collective bargaining without the reality and favors the larger CSEA as "majority" employee representative can only be the beginning of a merger proposal. While the CSEA has been acting a bit more like a union under the pressure to counter organizing drives, it still retains its basically company-union outlook, as shown by its leading slogan in favor of Proposition 15: "End costly work stoppages"! It survives because of the spineless, cringing reformism of the AFSCME bureaucracy.

The Militant Caucus of Local 2070 provides the only alternative to this treachery, in the form of an example of what must be done by militants in all unions, not for the purpose of refurbishing the bureaucracy with new "progressive" faces and slimmer sharpies like Morgenstern, but in order to completely root out all class collaborationism and basis for reformist conciliation of capitalism within the labor movement, and provide an alternative revolutionary leadership committed exclusively to the struggle for workers' power. ■

zational aspects so as to get on to the more important political ones.

Despite the fact that Comrade Phil P. presented an amendment on extending discussion to VNL it was never implied that a three-way fusion was even remotely possible. In addition, a serious VNL fusion perspective was never presented by the Minneapolis comrades who appear to be in general agreement with VNL. But let us look closely at the wording of this amendment as their subsequent actions in the SL talks contradict the thrust of this:

"...it is highly unlikely that we will continue discussing with both organizations for a lengthy period. The fact is that both organizations claim that there are fundamental reasons for their split. If we decide that is the case, we will take sides. If we decide that is not the case, then we must decide which organization affords the best opportunities for building the Trotskyist party, or whether we would be better off continuing to build our independent organization." (writers' emphasis)

—Amendment to Perspectives Document on Vanguard Newsletter, by Phil P.

This statement does not imply that a three-way fusion is possible. This view was concretized by a motion by Rich G. which failed.

FROM THE CONVENTION MINUTES

Motion by Rich G. "That the LF, like the SL holds that there is no political basis for the existence of the VNL and the SL as two separate organizations." Voting on Perspectives Documents

1) Rich G.'s motion on VNL/SL
For: 6 Against: 13 Abstain: 7 Lost.

One must ask where is the justification for presenting or defending the notion that SL, LF and VNL can be in the same organization. It is not from the Ashtabula Convention as this decision confirms the fact that formally the LF agrees with SL. The convention did not decide which organization was correct but it did decide that a three-way fusion was not in the realm of possibility. But the political arguments bear out this organizational conclusion and do in fact shed light on which organization is the principled one. That the LF CC put this proposal before the SL and continued to fight for it leaves us no conclusion to draw but that [it] is a totally unserious proposal. Did the LF leadership intend merely to wield VNL as an ax to chop off fusion discussions with SL?

Comrade Turner's tendency originated in an unprincipled bloc with the Kay Ellens faction inside the SL. This theme, one of blocs to make organizational gains, runs rampant in VNL. Many incidents have been discussed, Sherwood, Fender, Letter to Healy, etc. and while any one of these incidents taken by itself may not prove conclusively the opportunist streak that runs through VNL all of these incidents taken collectively do. They gloss over our differences on the trade union program (a principled difference); conveniently they agree with the majority position on Democratic Centralism. Overall, the VNL group is nothing more than a microscopic OCI-SLL bloc, certainly smaller, but nonetheless just as rotten.

But the LF CC is not unaware of this and had this to say in the most recent Faction Report:

"...VNL still maintains that it can be in a common organization with us even though we would not have their trade union program. VNL also gives full support to the trade union document written by Fred and Steve, and not to the document of the majority. We discussed Turner's letter to Healy. Turner tried to explain it by saying that the letter clearly indicated he could not be in a common organization with WL. We felt the letter in no way indicated this—if it was meant to indicate this, it was entirely too soft. In general, VNL is pushing for immediate fusion, but we would agree only to further discussions. Our greatest criticism of VNL is their accommodationism, ranging from CRFC work to Turner's letter to Healy to their relations with us (they seem to agree with us too quickly on most questions)."

—LFR No. 17, 10/15/72, p. 1

An organization must be judged not only by what it says, but also by what it does. On the next page of the very same report cited above we read:

"At our next meeting with VNL, the CC will propose that in order to learn more about VNL, we begin working with them in the areas where this is possible (perhaps joint interventions)."

—LFR No. 17, p. 2

Despite the fact that this report claims that this is not a proposal for fusion with VNL we can only see the logic of this leading the faction in this direction. The LF is no longer, and perhaps never was, a homogeneous political tendency. The centrifugal forces exerted by the now three or four different tendencies within the faction will soon tear it apart flinging the pieces in the direction of VNL and independent

existence. The emergence of the state capitalist position will either drive the faction in the direction of VNL or result in not one independent organization but two.

We find none of these alternatives as acceptable. We have felt that the faction was on a fusion course with the Spartacist League and openly advocated such an action. We felt the D.C.-Oakland split was premature and the decision to discuss with VNL did not definitively represent a movement away from the SL.

We emphasize the fundamental character of the disputes over democratic centralism and VNL. The notion that contradictory positions can be presented to the working class reveals a dilettante's conception of theory. A sign of "creativity" in a Leninist Party is on the contrary a homogeneous understanding of its tasks, and as a consequence the creation of a new consciousness in the proletariat. From this perspective it follows that when the LF accepted a Shachtmanite model of party building, the LF turned its face toward the past and not toward the future; it codified itself as a *centrist* tendency and counterposed itself to the revolutionary politics of the Spartacist League. The same centrist opportunism reveals itself in the policy of peaceful coexistence toward the VNL. We have no other alternative at this time but to resign from the Leninist Faction.

Fraternally,

Dave E., Boston; Pam E., Boston;
Sam H., Milwaukee; Tom T., Milwaukee

California AFSCME: Militants Organize as Wurf Consolidates Sellouts

The deepening economic crisis of American capitalism, with the associated crunch in revenues for city and state governments, has resulted in massive assaults and cut-backs on the living standards and jobs of government employees through inflation, hiring freezes, layoffs and speed-ups. This in turn has spurred the growth of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) as government workers seek the protection of unionization.

AFSCME is the fastest growing union in the U.S., with a rate of 1,000 new members per month. Its membership is over half a million and it represents a million workers in bargaining and negotiations. This is a powerful and lucrative base for the liberal bureaucracy headed by Jerry Wurf, which seeks to channel the newly-organized workers into a carefully controlled lobbying bloc and dues-collecting agency.

The role of the AFSCME bureaucracy in breaking militant class struggle was made very clear by Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37, when he headed off a potential general strike in New York City in June 1971. Calling on the bridge tenders to lock the bridges open in a move designed to let off steam, he sent them back to work for nothing more than empty promises. Wurf's strategy of class collaboration and labor peace is explicitly outlined in his pamphlet, "From Confrontation to Cooperation," and was reaffirmed at the International Convention of AFSCME in Houston in June, at which the bureaucracy consolidated its position and wooed Humphrey and McGovern (see *WV* No. 10).

Rightward Shift

The problem for Wurf and Co. is that in this period of crisis, the capitalists are not very cooperative. While AFSCME swells with an angry rank and file, including many black and Spanish-speaking workers, the bureaucratic leadership must retreat and move rightward in order to compromise with the attacking capitalist class.

This rightward shift combined with local militancy is especially evident in California, where state and city workers are mostly unorganized or members of the company-union California State Employees Association (CSEA). State workers have suffered sharp blows under Reagan, who has restricted hiring severely and allowed only 5.5% salary increases this year, after vetoing increases for two consecutive years.

The Meyers-Milius-Brown Act allows state workers to "meet and confer" and find "reasonable means" to settle problems, but of course the state, and particularly the University of California Regents, interpret this to mean that regular collective bargaining is prohibited. Thus the urgent need for unionization requires a direct confrontation with the state. The AFSCME International bureaucracy has been desperately maneuvering to head off the growing struggles and strangle militant new leadership in the crib by sabotaging organizing drives and maneuvering for unity with the old, company-union employee associations like the CSEA. Furthermore, Wurf and Co. have been trying to balance the radical California locals by recruiting, mainly in the East, more cops, prison guards (the butchers of Attica!) and other armed agents of the capitalist state into the union!

New Attacks

The focus of much organizing activity in California has been on the sprawling and economically important Univer-

sity of California campuses, some of which have fledgling AFSCME chapters—no thanks to the AFSCME International—as well as other unions. In addition to all that has gone before, these unions face new attacks this year from Reagan and the Board of Regents. While no state workers have legally recognized contracts, the building tradesmen, having strong unions, have long had informal arrangements which provided them with the prevailing wage rates. Last spring, after toying with the idea for years, the Regents launched an offensive against the tradesmen at the Berkeley campus: a new "maintenance" would be set up with rates much lower than prevailing construction trades wages. If the building trades were defeated, the Regents would have little trouble with AFSCME and other unions.

The attack on the craftsmen coincided with the campus upsurge in response to Nixon's mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese harbors, providing an excellent opportunity for direct agitation around demands raised by the Spartacist League: General strike against the war and the wage freeze! For a union of all state workers with signed contracts! All state workers out!

Predictably, the local labor council and building trades bureaucrats called only the most minimal picketing, isolated the strike from the student strikes, and tried to confuse the workers as to the nature of the state itself by calling for arbitration by state legislators! These bureaucrats dared not mobilize the working class for fear of being swept out of office in the struggle. In the end, they accepted a compromise, worked out in secret, which in effect allows the Regents to institute the "maintenance" rates on a delayed basis. The same disaster was soon repeated at the San Francisco Medical Center, where Local 1650 of AFSCME is based. Although the building tradesmen hung out longer there, the result was the same, and the AFSCME local virtually collapsed with the help of a red-baiting campaign conducted by the local bureaucracy against oppositionists. The Regents are now proceeding with this attack elsewhere in the state.

AFSCME on Campus

The growth of AFSCME on the UC campuses is a product of the upsurge of student struggles in the late 1960's as well as the worsening plight of campus employees. *Employee Press* of Local 1695 (Berkeley) notes that the local originated with office employees who were sympathetic with a student strike against Navy recruiters on campus in early 1967. This political atmosphere provided a testing ground for working-class political tendencies and the unmentioned New Left.

At Berkeley, some of the original organizers were sympathetic to the views of the International Socialists (IS). These organizers sought affiliation with AFSCME because AFSCME "seemed" to meet the criteria that the international union "must not restrict the autonomy of the local; especially with regard to strike action." (*Employee Press*, April 1971) But by the time the local became involved in serious struggle over the issues of speed-up and layoffs of low-paid maids in early 1971, it found that the cherished autonomy supposedly provided by AFSCME was in the hands of Richard Groulx of the Central Labor Council, who would not release strike sanction. The result of this disillusionment with the realities of trade union politics was capitulation, in the local's acceptance of "staff reduction" and further retreats



Building trades picket against wage-cutting attack by UC Regents.

up to the present.

The IS orients toward non-political shop floor groupings which emphasize "rank and file control" in answer to the heavy-handed bureaucrats, but precisely because of their low political level, in combination with conscious IS opportunism, these groups invariably become involved in blocs with new "progressive" bureaucrats against the old, as in the Teamster TURF caucus and the "Committee for Elected Shop Stewards" in CWA (see *WV* No. 13), both supported by IS. It is not surprising then, that the leadership of AFSCME Local 1695 was unceremoniously dumped by forces supported by the hopelessly reformist Communist Party, with no discernible change in the reformist face of the local or its downhill direction.

The point missed by the IS is that there can be no "autonomy" or independence for militant workers as long as the bureaucracy as a whole remains in power, and only a struggle based on a full working-class program designed to bring the working class to power in society can accomplish the task of throwing out the bureaucracy. Anything less merely feeds and renews the bureaucracy with fresh forces. A genuine working-class program must include the demand for a break with the two capitalist parties to which the bureaucracy is tied and construction of a working-class political party based on the trade unions. Though the IS favors this demand on paper, groups supported by it in the unions invariably drop it in order to conciliate bureaucratic forces with which they seek to bloc.

Militant Caucus in Los Angeles

The only consistent, political focus for the militant surge toward organization of California state workers has been provided by the Militant Caucus of Local 2070, UCLA, and its predecessor grouping. Partly because of the lack of an entrenched bureaucracy in California State AFSCME, and because its program represents the real interests of the newly-organized and radicalized workers, this local caucus has achieved some notable accomplishments despite its small size, and has been partly

responsible for the more lively, radical political life of California AFSCME compared to the more conservative, older AFSCME in the East.

Local 2070 on the UCLA campus emerged under similar pressures as at Berkeley, but originated with the largely black custodians in the medical center rather than radicalized office workers. It has since spread to the dorms and library, and now has about 350 members. The May 1970 upsurge of student struggle boosted the original organizing, which was led by pro-working class New Left militants.

Very early in the organizing, disputes broke out over a militant political strategy vs. straight, reformist unionism. The latter approach, pushed by those who were influenced by the views of the CP, cripples any militant struggle by accommodating to the reformist bureaucracy. Some of the militants, such as Keith Dodds, who was heavily involved in the organizing, raised a series of issues within the union which were vital to the success of the struggle: the need for explicit labor opposition to the war, the need to break from the capitalist parties and form a labor party, the need to expel all cops, prison guards and other armed agents of the capitalist state from AFSCME, and the need for a militant struggle against the rotten International bureaucracy.

These issues were raised by Dodds and others as delegates to the first California State Conference of AFSCME in September 1971. To the embarrassment of the International, this convention passed a motion made by this militant group calling for a general strike against the wage freeze, and opposing labor leaders sitting on wage boards. When the *AFSCME Californian* failed to report this vote, Dodds sent a protest letter, approved by his local executive board, which was printed in a subsequent issue.

The militant grouping held a series of sharp political discussions, including a head-on clash with proponents of class collaboration expressing the formula for an "anti-monopoly peoples coalition" (read "support Democrats") and supporting Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), an alliance of "progressive" bureaucrats backed by the CP. By mid-1972 the group had resolved these issues in favor of the need for organized, militant leadership in the unions based on a full working-class program. It formed the Militant Caucus, and declared, in its initial program introduction,

"Our goal is to establish a pole in our unions, via our caucus and its program, that can point the way forward for the increasing number of discontented rank and filers, that can mobilize a militant movement around their collective interests, and that can sweep aside those who stand in the way of such a movement."

Vital elements of the caucus program include:

"For the right of public employees to organize and strike. For one militant union of state workers. No cops in our union!"

"For a sliding scale of wages and hours—30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Jobs for all!"

"End all forms of racial, sexual and national discrimination. For international working-class solidarity!"

"No government interference in labor affairs! Repeal all anti-labor legislation!"

"For a general strike against the wage freeze! Labor leaders off the Pay Board for good! Freeze prices, not wages!"

"For immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and supplies from Indochina. For labor political strikes against the war! Defend the Vietnamese revolution!"

"For workers control of basic industry. Open the books!"

"Break with the capitalist parties, for a labor party! Forward to a workers government!"

The caucus intervened with its program at the International convention in Houston in June, placing special emphasis on the need for a labor party as opposed to bureaucratic wheeling and dealing in the election year, and the need to expel cops from the union. It

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