



L'EXPRESS

Nixon Frolics in Cairo and Moscow

"Peace" Junket Fails to Block Impeachment Drive

Richard Nixon's recent triumphal tour of the Near East and his Moscow summitry have failed to advance him a single inch on the "road to peace." More important to the embattled U.S. president, this diplomatic razzmatazz also failed to accomplish its real aim, to waylay Congressional impeachment moves.

In the Near East, Arab and Israeli regimes may be temporarily "united" in their hopes of milking arms aid from the Pentagon, but the innumerable obstacles to negotiating even the current

unstable ceasefire make it clear that a negotiated peace between rival capitalist regimes competing for the same territory is a pipedream. The complete vacuousness of the Moscow accords, on the other hand, is convincing proof of the death of the short-lived "détente," which ran aground on the rocky shoals of the cold-war revivalism now prevailing in key sectors of the American ruling class. Back in Washington, shortly after Nixon's return, the House Judiciary Committee published eight volumes of edited testimony clearly pointing to

a recommendation to impeach the commander-in-chief of U.S. imperialism.

The new "disarmament" agreement adds little to the 1972 arms limitation pact, save for provisions limiting the number of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems to one in each country and restricting underground nuclear test explosions to under 150,000 tons of TNT. This merely endorses the status quo in these categories and has about the same impact vis-à-vis thermonuclear weaponry as promising that Washington will

remain on the Potomac. Nothing whatever was done about the key issue of multiple warheads (MIRVs).

Pravda's reassurance that this package "signifies an essential movement forward on the path of strengthening peace and mutual trust" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 8 July) was solely designed for U.S. consumption. So, too, was Nixon's reported statement that, "Because of our personal relationship, there is no question about our will to keep these agreements and

continued on page 11

Local Cops Walk Out, State Police Called In

Baltimore Sanitation Strike Sold Out

LATE NEWS BULLETIN

BALTIMORE, July 15—The leadership of the AFSCME sanitation workers' local here today rammed through a wholly inadequate wage settlement in order to head off what appeared to be rapidly building toward a strike of all city workers. In a meeting attended by 2,000-3,000 union members, the bargaining committee unanimously recommended a pact which provided for 35 cents per hour increase in each of the next two years. The workers had demanded 50 cents per hour immediately, which would barely have kept pace with the current 12 percent rate of inflation. Thus the settlement, which was voted in record time and without full discussion by the membership, amounts to a *wage cut*. The hated "point system" was eliminated, but an alternative form of "absence control" will be decided on in later bargaining or submitted to arbitration.



Baltimore cops do their job.

SUNPAPERS

JULY 15—In big upsurges of the class struggle, all of the "practical" arrangements of the trade-union bureaucracy for collaborating with the bosses—negotiated in times of labor peace—are quickly shown to be so many nooses around the necks of the workers. This is clearly the case in the current strike of public employees in Baltimore, which is building into a showdown between the city government and the Baltimore labor movement.

Already the bourgeoisie has used the excuse of a partial police strike to bring in state police—in a dramatic procession of 100 cars, with lights flashing—and to mobilize the national guard, placing it on standby alert. The threat of arrest of the leaders of the three-week-old strike if there is no settlement by Monday morning hangs over the heads of the striking workers, directly posing the need for a city-wide

continued on page 9

SWP Stages Mass Purge.....2

Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency.....6

End of the "United" Secretariat?

SWP Stages Mass Purge

The Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance this 4th of July resolved three years of mounting internal struggle by the brutal mass expulsion of the supporters of the Internationalist Tendency (IT). Forty-five party members, 45 youth members and 25 dual members were expelled—a total of 115, the largest single split in the SWP in 21 years. This abrupt act in the United States may well lead, even within a matter of weeks, to the definitive rupture in the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" between the SWP-led Minority ("Leninist-Trotskyist Faction," or LTF) and the International Majority Tendency (IMT) which the U.S. IT supports.

For the past five years the United Secretariat (Usec) has been polarizing ever more sharply between the fake orthodoxy of the reformist, legalist Minority and the impressionistic revisionism of the centrist, petty-bourgeois Pabloist Majority. Brain-truster for the Majority (whose main base is the French organization currently calling itself the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire) is the facile, erudite, academic European Ernest Mandel, while the spokesman for the Minority has been the American SWP's intellectual technician Joseph Hansen.

The SWP expulsions were accomplished by the simple expedient of notifying every IT supporter "that the Internationalist Tendency's status as a separate, rival party be recognized and that the members of the Internationalist Tendency party be informed that this status places them outside the constitutional provisions of membership in the Socialist Workers Party." The peculiarly tortured language in proclaiming, not an expulsion, but the recognition of a new "Internationalist Tendency party" standing outside the SWP is an attempt to put a defensible face on the expulsion in confronting the SWP's international associates, in the light of the "Tenth World Congress" agreement prohibiting new splits and organizational reprisals. In addition the SWP immediately published a massive 146-page *Internal Information Bulletin* (No. 6, July 1974) to its membership attempting to justify the expulsion.

The Statement on the IT expulsion adopted by the SWP Political Committee on 4 July concludes with the ultimistic demand: "To avert the danger to the international arising from the actions of the IMT, we call for the convocation of a special world congress of the Fourth International as provided for in the statutes of the Fourth International. . . . Only a special world congress can now isolate the splitters and reverse the disastrous orientation now being fostered by the prosplit wing of the IMT."

Technique of the Big Lie

To justify its accusation of IMT "splitters" the SWP had to make a fraudulent case against the IT. The core of the case is the Political Committee Statement's assertion that in fact the expulsions are based on the *previous* split of the IT: "the split was consummated at the May 25-27 national convention of the Internationalist Tendency held in Chicago."

There was a national conference of the IT at the place and dates indicated. But the funny thing is, it had a very different outcome than that alleged by the SWP. The IT delegates went into that conference with various draft resolutions and amendments whose thrust was that they saw little long-term future for themselves in the SWP/YSA. But the Bureau of the IMT made very forceful recommendations to the conference, and the IT adopted the per-

spective of "building a strong Tendency in the SWP in the long-term sense."

The IT was dead serious about remaining in the bureaucratic stranglehold of the SWP as was made absolutely clear in this same circular letter of 11 June to the IMT by IT leader Bill Massey, who concluded: "In short, we urge the comrades of the IMT, who we recognize as our political leaders, to take strong actions to help us democratize the SWP, so that we can carry out the perspectives of the Bureau. Without your strong actions, we will die trying, but we will die."

Massey's conclusions about dying were straightforward and bore early fruit: on June 26 Don Smith, a founding leader of the IT, and two associates abruptly resigned from the IT expressing in the course of their resignation profound demoralization and disorientation. (They still made the unaltered SWP's expulsion list as ITers, however.) Smith noted: "The transformation of the Internationalist Tendency from a group seeking to 'build the nucleus of the future section' to one seeking to 'become a strong tendency within the SWP' completely changes our political situation." He recommended that the IT break with the IMT and suggested that it itself break into four constituent tendencies.

Behind the Usec Fight

The fundamental driving force behind the escalating polarization of the Usec is that the two counterposed wings are responding to different pressures and appetites. The European-based Majority continues to race recklessly along the archetypically Pabloist road of striving for some kind of "revolution" other than the victorious class struggle of the proletariat, without the creation and ascension to real leadership in that struggle of a Leninist vanguard party as a condition for victory. Having abandoned (but never disavowing) universal "entrism" (tailing and hoping to pressure Stalinist, social-democratic or Labourite bureaucracies or big-time colonial nationalists) the Usec has in rapid succession put forward various impressionistic short cuts to social revolutionary success without the class-conscious proletariat: a peasant-guerrilla road to power in Bolivia; the "red university" strategy which sees students as the key social layer; "from the periphery to the center" as the means whereby their French student graduates turned bank clerks or school teachers can somehow find the road to the Stalinist-led industrial proletariat.

The new jargonistic cover for this petty-bourgeois impressionism is the discovery of the New Mass Vanguard, comprised of all the discontented young Europeans who, of course, don't even necessarily know they are supposed to be a vanguard and who embody every kind of manifestly false, mainly anarcho-Maoist, program. Rather than viewing the heterogeneous strata of militant, disaffected young workers and students as potential raw material for a Leninist party, the Usec turns them into a New Mass Vanguard, a semi-Leninist semi-party waiting to be found by the Pabloist vanguard-detectors.

Thus the thin, pulsating layers of Pabloists are fated to walk the earth looking for the "easy way." But what happens when they find it? When one of their local formations has locked on and acquired some significance—something tangible to sell out—then the centrist rhetoric of the Usec suddenly becomes an impediment to be sloughed off: the Ceylonese LSSP got into a popular-front government; Michel Pablo himself got to be a senior advisor

to the Ben Bella government in Algeria; the Argentine PST, along with the representatives of six bourgeois parties and the CP, even got to meet with Peñon. Of course Mandel himself didn't make it, being bounced in 1960 as a top advisor in the Belgian left labor bureaucracy, and had to hit the road for the infinitely less satisfying "student power" (thus the tabling of deep entrism—enter the "red university").

The SWP hit the big time briefly with the Vietnam peace movement and has been shopping around, mainly unsuccessfully, for a successor. SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, his personal appetites for greater power and global post notwithstanding, and his SWP are above all seeking to fend off and suppress the Usec Majority's appetites for miscellaneous (mainly verbal) extremism which are not only embarrassing but downright dangerous for the SWP's main chance as a radical power-broker to social movements in the United States, hopefully thereby to acquire the basis to become a successful mass new domestic social-democratic party. So for several years the SWP has employed its presumed authority and very considerable material resources to bend the Usec to its needs and will.

The IT Is Expendable

The 112 comrades of the IT are essentially but a pawn in the far-flung international calculation and counter-calculation as the two wings of revisionist ex-Trotskyism maneuver to destroy one another's credibility. The Usec Majority evidently sees that a break with the SWP and its allies cannot be long postponed (see our account of the "Tenth World Congress" in *WV* No. 42, 12 April). But to avoid the appearance of a major international split which would undermine its own presumed legitimacy as "the Fourth International," the IMT may have hoped to tackle the Minority piecemeal. They temporized, so the story goes, until the exhibition, under the tumultuous conditions in Argentina, of the naked reformist appetite of the PST (see article in this issue) should compel the SWP to acquiesce to the elimination of its major LTF ally. Apparently, Barnes simply struck first, precipitating the crisis of his own choosing at his own time.

Whether by calculation in order to isolate the SWP, or because the shameful conduct of the PST has become an albatross the Usec can no longer wear, and whatever the accompanying Machiavellian calculation, this is the logic of thrust and counter-thrust. And so the IT, having accepted the perspective of continued suppression, demoralization and disintegration inside the SWP, suddenly finds itself on the outside while the IMT considers the next move in the gambit.

The prospects in any case for the IT are unenviable, above all because of the "comrades of the IMT, who we recognize as our political leaders," as Comrade Massey put it so clearly. In its desperate thrashing about, the IT has tried to persuade itself that the Pabloism of the United Secretariat is only a shibboleth, an empty political epithet. They are finding out differently. The organizational consequence of the Usec's objectivist, tailist line is disinterest and contempt toward the painstaking building of communist cadres. What are 112 ITers in the United States to the Pabloist mind?—after all, the automatic unfolding processes of the New Mass Vanguard or some successor gimmick will certainly bring thousands; surely one speech by Ernest Mandel in a suitable mass

meeting could win far more, so why worry about small change like the political death of the IT, which is merely the major part of three years of left oppositional activity in the SWP? Thus it is not subjective evil or ill will that causes the Usec tops (the superstars Mandel and Alain Krivine, the more pedestrian Pierre Frank and Livio Maitain) to look upon the IT not as comrades but as pawns; this willful destructiveness is only the necessary corollary of their impressionistic politics.

Evolution of the IT

The comrades of the IT, leaders and ranks alike, are mainly young and inexperienced. They sought, not always steadily or without capitulations, to move left in the degenerated SWP, that school for opportunism with its hypocritical, brutal regime which willfully connives at the destruction of internal critics. The initial oppositional declaration of the left wingers was "For a Proletarian Orientation" introduced for the 1971 SWP Convention, some two years after the fight in the Usec had begun. Though narrowly focused and ahistorical, this document was a promising beginning for an SWP left wing. It cast Ernest Mandel as the principal theoretical fount for the SWP's departures: "However in the last several years Comrade Ernest Mandel has developed a theory which challenges these basic Marxist definitions [on the centrality of the industrial working class to socialist revolution]. And the SWP leadership has neither criticized Mandel's assertions nor analyzed the implications these assertions have for the strategy of the revolutionary party. In fact, our party has been following the logic of Mandel's position without admitting it."

By 1973 in their letter of 19 January again declaring a tendency, signed by Bill Massey, John Shaffer and Don Smith (*SWP Discussion Bulletin* Volume 31 No. 1, 8 April 1973) the oppositionists clearly inclined to the Usec Majority while still expressing criticism of its guerrilla war line and reservations about its hailing of Third World Stalinism as a pragmatic revolutionary leadership. By 27 May 1973, in their Declaration as the IT, they had come out for the general line of the IMT, and they ended up voting unconditionally for all IMT positions. Thus a tendency which began by criticizing the SWP for tailing Mandel, architect of the petty-bourgeois "neo-capitalism" line, today condemns the SWP for refusing to embrace this same Mandel.

Bureaucratic Centralism

The SWP leadership has not failed to make considerable demagogic exploitation of the IT's turnabout, while doing its level best to drive the oppositionists down such a destructive road into indiscipline and/or into the arms of the IMT. Accompanying the political degeneration of the SWP, the life of oppositional elements in that party has gotten correspondingly shorter, nastier and more brutish. The SWP Control Commission Report justifying the IT's expulsion, in the current *SWP Internal Information Bulletin*, makes a new long step in "regulating" out of existence any remnants of factional democracy within the SWP.

The 1965 SWP Organizational Resolution adopted to justify the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency (precursor to the Spartacist League) still had a certain elasticity. Our tendency had written on 25 March 1963 in a statement to the SWP National Committee (reprinted in our *Marxist Bulletin*

tin No. 4-I) that "The Minority declares: 1—that it has and will strictly abide by the democratic-centralist practices, discipline and responsibilities normal to the Trotskyist movement; 2—that it will not surrender the necessary and essential attributes and functions of an organized and internally democratic tendency; 3—that it recognizes the right of existence as an organized tendency is only justified by the most serious political differences such as all sides acknowledge exist within the party today."

In his reports motivating our exclusion from the party Farrell Dobbs brooded aloud about point 2, but was forced to expel us for "disloyalty." This was reflected in the 1965 resolution, the gist of which can be summarized as: (1) factions are permitted in the SWP, (2) factionalists are disloyal people, (3) disloyal people are expelled.

Barnes' present-day SWP removes the ambiguities left in 1965. Thus the Control Commission Report states: "While a faction has the right to meet privately and determine its own structure, it must inform the party as a whole of its organizational structure: its basis for membership, its structure, its membership composition, its leadership composition, the powers of its leadership bodies, and the extent of its discipline"; "But an organized faction can circulate its own internal discussion bulletin only on the condition that it receive the prior approval of the party and that its bulletin be made available to the party"; and "A faction has no right to conduct an internal political discussion that is kept secret from the party, and then to bind its members to discipline on political questions when they participate in the party's internal discussion."

Both the IT and our tendency when in the SWP were denied representation on the SWP National Committee. Such denial of representation for oppositions has been normal SWP practice these last ten years. This adds another dimension to the Control Commission's new restrictions on factional activity. Thus a majority faction, declared or otherwise, always has the automatic secrecy, protected by party discipline, of privacy in higher bodies (including the restricted circulation of minutes) while it thrashes out its own factional platform. Meanwhile caucus or faction participants are to be denied the right to subordinate minor differences to major issues in order to present a common front within the party. For a politically-based faction to demand privacy in its deliberations and put forward a disciplined common front within the party is fully principled and necessary. How many times did Cannon in the CP or the SWP or Trotsky in the Russian CP do this very and utterly necessary thing? Conversely, how many times has anyone seen SWP Majorityites break a common front in the last ten years? A rotten bloc is when primary differences are subordinated to secondary ones.

The SWP accuses the IT of acts of indiscipline or hostility. The primary responsibility for the maintenance of discipline and good party practice rests in the first place with a majority, and above all in its own conduct. Only then can it legitimately make corresponding demands on all other elements in the party. The SWP Majority has been concretely and massively disloyal and undisciplined, excluding the IT from its rightful share in the official leadership and depriving ITers of all significant opportunity for responsible party work. This deliberate practice of the Dobbs and later Barnes leadership, which facilitated the capitulation of the IT into the ostensibly protective arms of the IMT, has successfully driven out all oppositional elements from the SWP. All oppositions but one, that is. The Revolutionary Tendency refused to quit, refused to break discipline and refused to capitulate to Healy's "protective" arms. That's why they had to throw us out for our views solely and then cook up the 1965 resolution and its current escalation.

The IT in endless letters and documents

continued on next page

Usec Scandal

PST Caught Redhanded

Pact with Perón for "Law and Order"

In recent months rightist terror in Argentina has mounted sharply. This is seldom reported in the bourgeois media, which prefer to dwell on kidnappings carried out by leftist guerrillas. However, in addition to the police "coup" in the interior industrial city of Córdoba during February, there have been a series of shootings, raids, suppressions of newspapers and other arbitrary acts directed against left-Peronist and socialist organizations.

Earlier this year General Perón closed down the left-Peronist newspapers *El Descamisado* and *El Mundo*. Offices of the pro-Moscow Communist Party, of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR), of the UJS (Union of Youth for Socialism, youth group of Política Obrera) and of the PST (Socialist Workers Party) and its youth group, the AJS (Vanguard Socialist Youth), have all been raided by the police. Left-wing union offices have been dynamited and attacked with machine guns by bureaucratic goons. And in May three militants of the PST, who had been kidnapped from the office of their party in a Buenos Aires suburb, were murdered by a gang of 15 rightist thugs. Now, with the death of "El Líder" (Perón) on June 30, this wave of atrocities will undoubtedly accelerate.

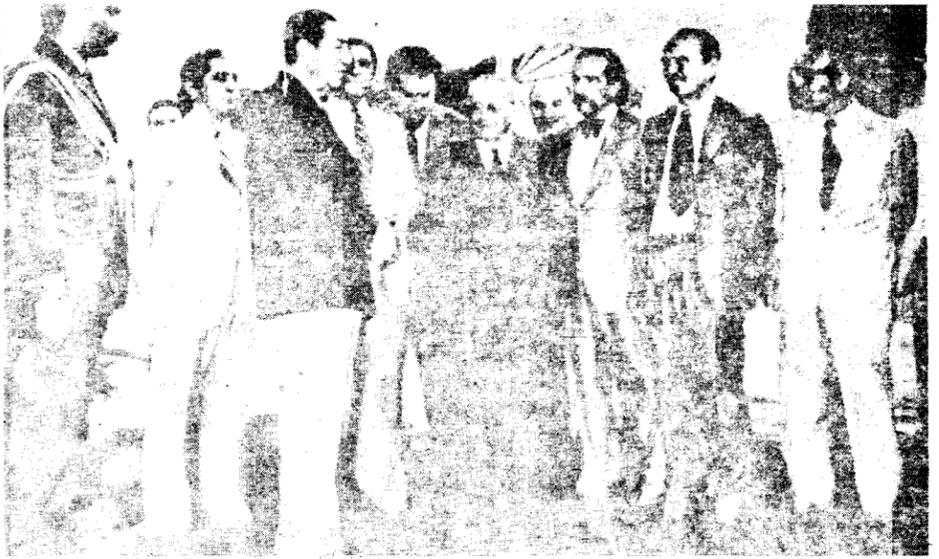
Under such circumstances, faced with a wave of rightist terror which has tacit backing and often direct participation by the police and army, it is an elementary necessity of the class struggle to call for united actions in defense of the left, with the participation of all socialist organizations as well as left-Peronist union and youth organizations. Such actions would include united demonstrations, armed pickets to defend strikes and the offices of leftist organizations, and the eventual formation of a united workers militia based on the unions. These united-front actions would in no way compromise the necessary political independence of the various organizations participating.

However, in a display of panic typical of the frenzied petty bourgeoisie, the Argentine PST (a sympathizing organization of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International") has gone a very different path—toward a political bloc with the Stalinists and bourgeois liberal and populist parties, in defense of the "institutionalization" of bourgeois legality. This craven capitulation was vividly expressed in a joint declaration by six bourgeois parties, the CP and the PST in an audience with General Perón at his residence, "Olivos," on March 21. The declaration promises to adhere to "the institutional process" (i.e., capitalist law-and-order), condemns all those (such as communists) who seek to change this process, and calls for united action (together with the Radicals and Peronists) against imperialism!

This preposterous "Declaration of the 8" is undoubtedly one of the greatest atrocities perpetrated by an ostensibly Trotskyist organization since the Ceylonese LSSP joined a popular-front government in 1964. In addition to implying that the very bourgeois forces which murdered PST militants and deposed the left-Peronist Córdoba government can "institutionalize" democracy and fight imperialism, the Olivos declaration is, in fact, a forerunner to a popular front.

We do not have in our possession a copy of the original statement, but the excerpts from it printed in *Política Obrera* (30 March) are more than adequate for an exact appreciation of its character. The PST now claims, in the 26 June issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, that it never signed the document apparently because it couldn't get a good

POLÍTICA OBRERA



PST's Coral (third from right) at presentation of "Declaration of the 8" to Perón.

enough "deal" from the bourgeois parties and the Stalinists on the wording (see *Intercontinental Press*, 15 July). However, at most this can only have to do with a formal signature, since the PST very definitely did participate in the Olivos meeting (we print a picture of the PST's ubiquitous Juan Carlos Coral along with the rest of the eight at the audience with Perón) whose purpose was to present the declaration to the president. In any case, it is, to say the least, unusual that *Avanzada Socialista* reported the PST as having signed the declaration in its edition of 28 March. Despite the vehement public attack by the Política Obrera group on the PST because of this act AS did not see fit to publish a "rectification" of its "editorial error" until three months later!

In the text presented to Perón by the eight parties we read that the participants in the Olivos meeting support "in all instances the institutional process and, at the same time, condemn all those who in one way or another attempt to change it." In the first place the reader notes repeated references to "institutionalization," "the institutional process" and the like. Evidently even the double-talking PST has trouble speaking of bourgeois democracy in Perón's Argentina! And secondly, whom exactly does the declaration condemn? No doubt the "ultrarightists." But, then, not only the right-wing Peronist thugs and fascists wish to change the institutional process of bourgeois democracy—so, too, would any self-respecting Marxist.

As for the tasks ahead, the PST has something quite different from proletarian revolution in mind. According to the declaration:

"The difficult moments which await the Republic, as a consequence of its confrontation with the powers which have subjected it from long ago, can be overcome victoriously with solidarity in action of the sectors which respect the majority and popular will for liberation [as] expressed in the elections...."

"The realization of a true federalism of the national community, Latin American integration, solidarity with the subjected peoples of the world and the fight against imperialism and the oligarchy can be materialized only with the creative agreements [coincidencias] which grow out of the full exercise of democracy in all areas...."

After piercing through the byzantine rhetoric, the only possible meaning one can get from this passage is that the Peronists, Radicals and other liberal/populist capitalist parties, together with the CP and PST, can fight against imperialism and the oligarchy... provided, of course, they achieve those "creative agreements" which result from bourgeois democracy!

Such an open rejection of the Marxist principle of working-class independence from the bourgeoisie, the implicit belief that the bourgeoisie can fight against imperialism (and therefore that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution is false), and the ex-

PLICIT agreement to abide by the rules of the "institutional process" (not even bourgeois democracy!)—even for the unprincipled Usec, such a document is a little extreme. Yet to date, no section of the "Trotskyist" United Secretariat has publicly stated its disagreement!

The Usec majority has reportedly sent an internal letter to its sections in which it demands that the PST clarify its position on the document, or else be expelled. This is only natural, since the PST sides with the reformist Usec minority led by the SWP. What better way to get at the SWP than to saddle it with this betrayal by its Argentine cothinkers? But what of the militant workers in Argentina itself, who have at least two organizations sympathizing with the United Secretariat to choose from (the PST and the "Red Faction" of the ERP/PRT)? Certainly they might be interested to know where the "Fourth International" stands on this important issue. Not to mention would-be Trotskyists around the world.

As for the SWP, it is prepared to denounce kidnappings of U.S. businessmen carried out by the ERP/PRT, at the time the official Argentine section of the Usec, within hours of their occurrence. Yet it took the weekly 40-page-plus *Intercontinental Press* a quarter of a year to even mention the Olivos declaration.

The Spartacist League denounces the declaration by the Argentine PST (Socialist Workers Party), Communist Party and six bourgeois liberal and populist parties as an obscene reformist capitulation. Whether or not the Coral/Moreno leadership of the PST may have had reservations or disagreements at the time (or quite likely only now, after receiving a letter from some unnamed "European *compañero*" asking for "clarification"), they cannot deny that they were prepared in principle to enter a bloc for law and order with the bourgeoisie. The PST is revealed as an enemy of the workers!

We have in the past denounced similar betrayals by the PST as when, at a similar meeting between the Peronist President-elect Cámpora the bourgeois parties and CP, Juan Carlos Coral stated the PST's support for the "positive measures" of the new government and declared his "proletarian solidarity" with Cámpora ("Argentina: The Struggle Against Peronism," *WV* No. 24, 6 July 1973). Like the scandalous Olivos declaration, this "critical support" for a bourgeois government has never been denounced in the public press of the United Secretariat. No doubt, however, after Mandel has squeezed the last drop of factional advantage from the affair, and the PST is duly expelled or walks out of the Usec, he will then turn around and write one of those lucid explanations of his ex-affiliates' betrayals (his article on the Ceylonese LSSP is a model) in which he denounces everything... except his own, and the Usec's, culpability in the betrayal. ■

SWP Mass Purge...

ments of protest has shown itself to be particularly and vehemently sensitive to the suppression of its democratic rights. But it stood by while the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, led by Gerald Clark, was suppressed, framed up and expelled, and all appeal not only denied but ignored through the common action of both the SWP and the IMT. The RIT had analyzed the USec fight and drew conclusions from roughly the same quarter as the SL. As we note in the document "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" (printed in this issue) one of the aspects of the principled Leninist movement is even-handedness in discipline, not the importation into the allegedly Marxist movement of the common practice of reformist bureaucrats: step on the little ones, smash the troublesome ones and crawl before the powerful ones.

What Next for the IT?

Some of the IT's positions are not bad. It opposes the SWP's sectoralism ("self-determination" and a separate party for everyone) and the line that U.S. blacks are a nation. But for the IT as a tendency, though surely not for many of the individual members, its revolutionary fibre is damaged.

Conceivably, as the result of an unlikely deal, the IT could be forcibly restored for a time to the bosom of the SWP. As Massey implied, down that road lies death. Or if the current USec crisis stops short of a complete international rupture, the IT could for a time become a public "sympathizing group" pledged not to openly criticize the SWP. In the event of a complete international split, as now appears probable, the IT will become the new USec Majority group—all heterogeneous 112 of them, along with the several sympathizing circles scattered around the country and maybe even the nine IMT supporters still in the SWP.

The IT grouping will find that a USec franchise will not cut a lot of ice as they begin to be squeezed on the right by the tenfold-larger SWP and on the left by the several times larger Spartacist League. The IT will find, when and if it is permitted to set up shop publicly, that it is mistaken in many of its SWP-derived prejudices about the irrelevance or ineffectiveness (as to political origins, prior work and present practice) of the SL of the U.S., now a section of a burgeoning and principled democratic-centralist international tendency. Moreover, the IT's implantation within the labor movement is primitive and its practice opportunist with a kamikaze overlay. Given the current gloomy economic prognosis, the IT will find it difficult to improve its trade-union involvement; should it manage to do so, however, it will find the SL there as an established competitor, not least in the IT's projected target industries.

Unlike the IT, the SWP has a niche to fill—but that niche lies unequivocally outside the authentic Trotskyist movement. The original split in the Fourth International took place in 1952-53. The SWP then, despite its developing weaknesses, fought against the Pabloites on the qualitatively superior political platform. Then, a decade of accelerating degeneration brought it down to the centrist level of Pablo's International Secretariat. The resulting European-centered USec has continued on the same centrist merry-go-round, powered more recently by some thousands of new youth. But the SWP continued its rightward motion. It, as first grotesquely revealed by Dobbs' condolence telegram to the widow Kennedy, is locked in fundamentally to the American scene and ultimately its activity is at the pleasure of the American bourgeoisie. The preconditions for its reformist participation in American life are fully prepared. It awaits only new and bigger opportunity. ■

Grigorenko Freed

Former Red Army Major General Piotr Grigorenko has recently been released after five years' imprisonment in mental institutions in the USSR. As a result of mistreatment during his imprisonment he is today a sick, nearly blind and physically broken man. The official reason given for his incarceration in mental hospitals, according to a 1969 report by psychological "experts," was that he was suffering from "reformist illusions."

We welcome the release of this unjustly persecuted and courageous socialist. However, we have no illusions that the Russian bureaucracy will now let up, even temporarily, in its unrelenting suppression of any expressions of opposition to its parasitic rule. Grigorenko's release took place simultaneously with the arrests of prominent Jewish scientists and intellectuals, in order to forestall possible demonstrations during Nixon's June visit.

Although decorated six times during World War II and a recipient of the Order of Lenin, Grigorenko was arrested and ruled insane in 1969 for his defense of the Crimean Tatars' right to repatriate to their homeland. They had been driven from the Crimea by Stalin after World War II, as punishment for alleged "war crimes." Although subsequently exculpated by the Russian bureaucracy in 1967, the Tatars have not been allowed to return from Central Asia, where they were forced to settle.

Grigorenko himself has been in the left wing of the amorphous Soviet dissidents' movement, which encompasses everything from Russian Orthodox religious fanatics, nationalists, ardent Zionists and bourgeois liberals to bureaucratic reformists and revolutionary socialists. Although never in contact with the Left Opposition (which was exterminated after the notorious Purge Trials of 1936-38), Grigorenko was impelled by the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) to re-examine the Stalin era.

He concluded that Stalin's crimes were not an accident of personality, but that the original Bolshevik conceptions had been subverted and that Khrushchev and the regimes of other "socialist" countries were no better than previous Stalinist regimes. As Grigorenko stated in 1968 in a letter of protest to USSR Attorney General Rudenko against a search of his apartment by the KGB (the bureaucracy's "security police"), "I am a communist and, as such, I hate with every fiber of my being the organs of caste lawlessness, violence and coercion. In our country this means the organization created by Stalin and now called the KGB" (reprinted in *Samizdat, Voices of the Soviet Opposition*, a collection of Soviet dissident writings recently published in English by Monad Press).

In 1963 he founded the "Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism," which studied *State and Revolution* and passed out leaflets critical of the Khrushchev regime. For these activities he was arrested in February 1964, demoted to the rank of private and expelled from the party. Although Khrushchev was removed from power in October 1964 the Brezhnev regime did not release Grigorenko until May of the following year.

As Trotskyists we fight for the re-establishment of soviet democracy in the USSR, including the right of assembly, freedom of the press and legalization of all soviet parties. We have demanded the right of free political expression even for such open anti-Marxists as Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. But we do not for a moment lose sight of the profound differences among "Soviet dissidents." Nor do we overlook

the crucial fact that a successful political revolution, to topple the bureaucracy and replace it with the rule of democratically elected soviets, requires the crystallization of an authentic Bolshevik-Leninist vanguard party. Key to this necessary task is a relentless struggle against the false solutions of various bureaucratic reformers, bourgeois liberals and even religious mystics who today appear to dominate the tiny opposition movement.



Grigorenko and wife

Grigorenko, although subjectively a sincere socialist, can hardly be considered a Marxist-Leninist. In calling for political support for Dubcek and the "democratization" campaign of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1968, he failed to make the crucial distinction between bureaucratic reforms and a political revolution by the working class. Moreover, he has now evidently come to believe that his initial attempts at Bolshevik organization were wrong. As he stated to a psychiatrist while imprisoned for the second time:

"The old approach [the Union of Struggle] was typically Bolshevik, the creation of a strictly conspiratorial, illegal organization and the circulation of illegal leaflets. But now there's no organization, no leaflets, just open bold attacks on obvious tyranny, falsehood, and hypocrisy.... Before, the call was for the overthrow of the regime of that period and for a return to the point at which Lenin left off. Now the call is to remove the visible evils of society, to fight for strict observance of existing laws.... for the democratization of the life of our society."

—from P. Grigorenko's "Diary from Prison," reprinted in *Samizdat*

But it is precisely "the overthrow of the regime" and "a return to the point at which Lenin left off" which is necessary in order to democratize the USSR! Since the bureaucracy will permit no open opposition, clandestine political organization—linking up with the class-conscious workers and soldiers, as well as with left oppositionists among the intelligentsia, party members and even among military officers and the state bureaucracy—is absolutely necessary. The USSR's dictatorial regime so blatantly violates its own constitution that the dissidents' legalistic emphasis on exposés of this lawlessness is ineffective.

Despite the personal courage and integrity of many of the current oppositionists, such idealist protests cannot mobilize the masses, who have few illusions about the state apparatus' capacity for vicious and illegal repression, and thus do not react with outrage at each new violation. However, in certain exceptional circumstances, such as the USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the massive shock and public indignation generated do provide the opportunity for open organizing of

protest by socialists inside the USSR.

Although important political differences separate even such socialist opponents of the Brezhnev regime as Grigorenko from revolutionary Marxism, we must bear in mind the barriers of ignorance imposed by the bureaucracy's rigid ban on Trotskyist literature. Even Roy Medvedev, who was permitted to read Trotsky's early oppositional writings in preparing a history of Stalinism (*Let History Judge*), is apparently unaware of the positions of the International Left Opposition and the Fourth International on the "Russian question" during the 1930's.

It is the duty of all supporters of workers democracy to demand the restoration of soviet liberties in the degenerated and deformed workers states presently under Stalinist domination, and to demand the immediate release of other democratic oppositionists who remain behind in Russian jails. Prominent among these is Vladimir Bukovsky, who like Grigorenko and many other Soviet oppositionists was confined to a psychiatric asylum (between 1963 and 1965) for his political views. After his release he was again arrested and sent to a hospital for six months because of his participation in a demonstration against the trial of the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel in late 1965. In 1967 he was once more arrested and exiled for three years for demonstrating for the release of political prisoners.

In March of 1971 Bukovsky made available a 400-page dossier documenting the treatment received by political dissidents in Russian mental hospitals. As a result of this document, directed to the 1971 world congress of psychiatry and the 26th congress of the CPSU, he was sentenced in 1972 to two years in prison, five years in a labor camp and five years in exile. Earlier this year the 31-year-old Bukovsky was transferred from a labor camp to the infamous Vladimir prison as a result of heart disease contracted during earlier periods of imprisonment.

Already another young Soviet writer, Yuri Galanskov, has died because of mistreatment and medical neglect at the hands of the prison authorities. Also reported to be in serious condition is the mathematician Leonid Plyushch, who is being held in the mental hospital of Dnepropetrovsk.

Hands off the democratic opposition—for the restoration of full soviet democracy! Down with the bureaucracy—for political revolution in the USSR! Toward the formation of a Soviet Trotskyist party, Russian section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

SUBSCRIBE:**Australasian Spartacist**

A monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand

12
ISSUES

OVERSEAS:
\$2 by surface mail
\$5 by air mail

order from/pay to:
SPARTACIST LEAGUE of
AUSTRALIA/NEW ZEALAND
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW, Australia

Portugal:

Spínola Purges Cabinet

JULY 14—Since the coup of April 25 the Portuguese Communist Party has acted as the most willing servant of the Portuguese bourgeoisie. As loyal members of General Spínola's "Provisional Government" the PCP used its authority to break strikes, telling the workers that their demands were "unreasonable." While the government organized troop intervention to smash the nationwide postal and telephone strike, the CP organized its own goon squads to terrorize the strikers. When the military imposed strict press censorship, including the prohibition of any "ideological attacks against the program of the Movement of the Armed Forces," the CP agreed that the "forces of anarchy" needed to be suppressed. All this was done in the name of preserving at all costs the "unity of democratic forces":

"The PCP insists that the Armed Forces will not be able to lead the country toward democracy without the participation of the popular forces, neither can the popular forces do so without the Armed Forces. The PCP severely criticizes attitudes which try to create breaches between the people and the Armed Forces."

—O Comércio do Porto, 21 June

But what has happened to the "unity of democratic forces" now? After a short two months in power, Portugal's coalition government collapsed on July 9 when five bourgeois ministers resigned, leaving a cabinet composed principally of Communist and Socialist Party ministers, under the direction of the military "Junta of National Salvation" and President General Spínola. Two days later Spínola dismissed the remaining ministers.

The resignations were led by Premier Adelino da Palma Carlos, who complained that the State Council (dominated by the Movement of the Armed Forces) had not given him sufficient power to deal with a partly rebellious cabinet. Palma Carlos wanted to be able



Palma Carlos (left) with Spínola

to name his own ministers in order to prevent any further public attacks on the government by the Communist Party.

The CP, loyal ally of the military and strikebreaker for the Spínola government, recently criticized the government for the appointment of "fascists" of the old regime to important posts, in particular the appointment of a former minister in the Caetano gov-

ernment as ambassador to the United Nations. CP criticisms of the government's social and economic program announced last week were especially galling since they came in the middle of demonstrations by thousands of civil servants against the new program.

In the face of continuing social unrest the Junta of National Salvation is now dumping its civilian facade and moving toward tight military control.



Lisbon, May Day 1974.

Today General Spínola appointed Colonel Vasco Gonçalves, president of the coordination committee of the Movement of the Armed Forces, as the new premier. Gonçalves will have complete freedom in choosing his own ministers.

Not quite ready to exclude the CP and SP from the government—which could lead to a heightened working-class upsurge—the military seeks to severely limit their roles. The CP will most likely lose the Ministry of Labor, and the key ministries of defense, interior, information, labor and social affairs will all be occupied by military officers.

A decree by the Joint Defense Staff was also published today establishing a "Continental Operations Command" whose task is to restore "peace and tranquility" when normal police forces are not adequate (*New York Times*, 14 July). The command of marines, paratroopers and commando units will be directed by General Francisco da Costa Gomes, who is chief of the Joint Defense Staff, a close supporter of Spínola and independent of government direction, with rank equivalent to the premier.

The protestations of the Communist Party that "the situation in every country is different" notwithstanding, the Portuguese experience is one more example of the disastrous consequences of popular-front politics—the politics of class collaboration which led to the victory of Franco in Spain, the Vichy government in France and Pinochet in Chile. (In an interview PCP chief Alvaro Cunhal stated that "it is natural for us to study the Chilean experience" but the Portuguese situation is actually "radically different because it was the Armed Forces that arose against the fascist regime" [*Diario de Noticias*, 8 June:])

The policies of the Stalinist CP are not merely willful blindness and stupidity, but conscious treason against the working class. It is not enough to say, as do many militant Portuguese workers fed up with the CP's betrayals, that "they have their policy and we have ours," or that political parties should not become involved in strikes.

It is not possible to avoid the struggle for state power, to separate the workers' struggles into "social" and "political," or to simply bypass the Communist Party and the junta. Only in the process of politically smashing the Stalinist betrayers and winning away their mass support can the road be opened to a successful confrontation with Spínola and the junta.

This task requires the political ex-

of mounting bourgeois reaction the struggle for a revolutionary program of transitional demands must be focused on the urgent need for united working-class defense against the threat of full-scale military takeover.

The crucial need is for a Trotskyist party which, basing itself on such a program, can win the leadership of the masses in struggle against the Stalinist betrayers and for the victory of the workers' demands. The fight to build this party, which does not exist (even in embryo) in Portugal today, is simultaneously the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International. In contrast the pretenders to the mantle of the FI, notably the so-called "United Secretariat" and its sympathizing organization in Portugal, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI), are an excellent example of what Trotskyism is not.

Instead of a democratic-centralist International, the USec is a federated rotten bloc composed of sharply differing tendencies united only in their rejection of Marxism. Thus, as one of many examples, the USec considered the Allende regime in Chile to be a popular front from December 1971 until its downfall in September 1973. (Subsequently the European majority of the USec decided to posthumously rehabilitate the Popular Unity coalition, referring to it only as "reformist"—in order to better capitulate to the centrist MIR.) But not one of the several groups in Chile who have been affiliated with the USec had this line! This same process is now repeating itself in Portugal. A USec declaration on Portugal (reprinted in *Inprecor* No. 1, 6 June) calls for a constituent assembly—but the LCI has not raised this crucial demand inside Portugal. Likewise, in a widely reported speech in Lisbon, USec superstar Mandel warned against a half-and-half revolution and called for a workers government—but the LCI has not raised this demand!

The LCI, together with the Castroist-workerist PRP (Proletarian Revolutionary Party), affirm their desire to overthrow the junta and bourgeois Provisional Government; they raise demands for expropriation of the monopolies, formation of workers councils and other slogans which go beyond simple democratic rights; they call for power to the proletariat. Even the Maoist MRPP (Movement for the Reconstruction of the Proletarian Party) raises some of these demands, while calling for a "democratic people's revolution." Yet in the course of the actual workers' struggles, the various centrist and left-reformist groups abandon these demands and simply tail after the workers. The policy of a Trotskyist vanguard organization would be precisely the opposite: to raise its full program in order to be able to lead the struggle forward to victory. ■

Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International

Speaker: JOHN SHARPE, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, 27 July 7:30 p.m.
Washington Square Methodist Church
135 West 4th Street

For more information call 925-5665

Donation: 50 cents

NEW YORK

Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency

European Summer Camp

A European summer camp organized by supporters of the international Spartacist tendency was held in the mountains of Central Europe during the first week of July. Attending the camp were more than fifty comrades from eight countries.

The camp opened with firsthand accounts of the class struggles and political situation in India and Portugal. Following these reports, classes were held on a variety of topics.

A main focus was on communist work in the trade unions, centering on the problems Trotskyists face in constructing communist trade-union fractions in the various countries. These classes and subsequent discussions and exchanges of information greatly aided the comrades who attended the camp in broadening their understanding of the international labor movement.

In addition talks were given on the origins of the Spartacist League/US and on the struggle for Trotskyism in Austria, France, Germany and Israel. At the end of the camp, brief talks were also given on the history of Maoist groups in Austria and Germany.

A Japanese observer at the camp reported that major Spartacist tendency documents have been translated, reproduced and are being circulated by Japanese Marxists. The inability of a delegation from the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand to attend was keenly felt, especially by those who have previously worked with comrades of the ANZ section.

The high point of the week was the discussion of the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" presented to the camp by the SL/US and the SL/ANZ. The Declaration was endorsed at the camp by the ÖBL (Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists), the Berlin Committee publishing *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* and the Paris comrades, as well as by individuals from other countries. While comrades from Canada and Israel endorsed the Declaration, there was unavoidably insufficient participation at the camp to permit action on behalf of the Toronto Committee and the Spartacist nucleus in Israel. At the close of the session at which agreement to the Declaration was declared, the participants in the camp joined in singing the *Internationale*.

With the endorsement of the Declaration and the creation of a nucleus for the early crystallization of an international Trotskyist tendency, the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, politically destroyed by Pabloist revisionism, takes a great step forward.

Coincidentally, word of the expulsion of the Internationalist Tendency from the SWP reached the camp immediately after the session at which the Declaration was endorsed. This event, which poses the possibility of the splitting apart of the rotten "United Secretariat" bloc, which has been masquerading as the Fourth International since 1963, could not more clearly underline and confirm the political line of the Declaration, which we here reprint.



Leon Trotsky near Naples, Italy, 1932.



Lenin in Gorky, 1922.

1. The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand and the Spartacist League of the United States declare themselves to be the nucleus for the early crystallization of an international Trotskyist tendency based upon the 1966 Declaration of Principles and dedicated to the rebirth of the Fourth International.

2. In a half dozen other countries parties, groups and committees have expressed their general or specific sympathy or support for the international Spartacist tendency, as have scattered supporters or sympathizers from a number of additional countries. Among these groups and individuals are comrades, in both Europe and Asia, possessing many years or even decades of experience as cadres of the Trotskyist movement.

3. The Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, a small Marxist wing of the "United Secretariat," centered on the United States and with supporters in Australia and elsewhere, has seen its spokesmen expelled from their national sections and parties for seeking to express their views within the United Secretariat, that deeply factionally divided and unprincipled conglomeration of reformists and revisionists, latter-day Kautskys, Bukharins and Pablos. If the main contenders in the "United Secretariat" are united in their common and not-so-veiled class collaborationist appetites, they are deeply divided between the electoralism and placid neo-populism of, e.g., the American Socialist Workers Party and the guerrilla-terrorist enthralling of, e.g., the French ex-Ligue Communiste. These differences reflect far more the differing national milieus and resulting opportunist appetites than they do any questions of principle. The recently concluded "Tenth World Congress" of the United Secretariat refused to hear or even acknowledge the appeal of RIT comrades against their expulsion. The RIT forces are

now making common cause with the Spartacist tendency. They are but a vanguard of those who will struggle out of the revisionist swamp and toward revolutionary Marxism. Already in France an oppositional Central Committee member of the former Ligue Communiste has broken from the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (recently formed by *Rouge*) in solidarity with the views of the RIT.

4. In Germany senior elements from the centrist and now fragmented left split from the United Secretariat in 1969 are being won to the Spartacist tendency. They are regrouping around the publication *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*. In Germany three inextricable tasks are posed for Leninists: to programmatically win over subjectively revolutionary elements from among the thousands of young left social democrats, centrists, revisionists and Maoists; to fuse together intellectual and proletarian elements, above all through the development and struggle of communist industrial fractions; to inwardly assimilate some thirty years of Marxist experience and analysis from which the long break in continuity has left the new generation of German revolutionary Marxists still partially isolated.

5. In Austria, Israel, Canada and elsewhere similar splits, followed by revolutionary regroupment and growth, are occurring. In Austria the initial nucleus came from youth of the United Secretariat section. The "Vanguard" group of Israel is the last still united section of the old "International Committee" which split in 1971 between the British Socialist Labour League's wing led by Gerry Healy (with which the American Workers League of Wohlforth is still united despite friction) and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste led by Pierre Lambert which subsequently lost most of its international support—i.e., with the Bolivian Partido

Obrero Revolucionario of G. Lora and the European groupings around the Hungarian, Varga, both breaking away. If the "Vanguard" group amid this welter of disintegration is still unable to choose between the counterposed claims of Healy and Lambert, it did produce and promptly expel a principled and valiant counter-tendency to both. In Canada youth from the Revolutionary Marxist Group's Red Circles are being drawn to Trotskyism. Everywhere unprincipled formations are subjected to the hammer blows of sharpened capitalist crisis and upsurge in the class struggle.

6. In Ceylon where the historical consequences of Pabloist revisionism have been most fully revealed, only the Revolutionary Workers Party, led by the veteran Trotskyist,

based factions have gone their own way—ultimately in response to the pressures of their own ruling classes. Thus until the English and French components of the ex-"International Committee" blew apart, the International Committee operated explicitly on the proposition that "the only method of arriving at decisions that remains possible at present is the principle of unanimity" (decision at the 1966 London International Committee Conference). Since then the Healyites have substituted the naked Gauleiter/Führer principle as their mockery of democratic centralism. The other, OCI-led, wing of the ex-IC retained the contradiction of launching the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, which was supposed to initiate political discussion on the basis of the 1938 Transitional Program,

"The united front is nothing more than a means, a tactic, by which the revolutionary party, i.e. its program and authority, can in times of crisis mobilize and then win over masses (at that time supporters of other parties) by means of concrete demands for common action made to the reformist organizations. Any other interpretation must base itself on a supposed latent revolutionary vanguard capacity within the reformist or Stalinist parties themselves—a central proposition of Pabloism."

—Letter to OCRFI and OCI, 15 January 1973 (*Spartacist* No. 22, Winter 1973-1974)

Edmund Samarakkody, has emerged with integrity from the welter of betrayals perpetrated by the old LSSP and which were aided and abetted by the United Secretariat, its unspeakable agent on the island, Bala Tampoe, and the craven Healyite "International Committee." The RWP has been compelled to seek to generalize the revolutionary Marxist program anew from Marxist class-struggle principles.

7. The Spartacist tendency is now actively working for the immediate convening of an international conference to politically and geographically extend the tendency and to further formalize and consolidate it. The tendency organizing nucleus will seek to work in the closest collaboration with sympathizing groups, particularly in continuing and assuring a broadly-based and full written and verbal discussion process leading to this international conference.

In the pre-conference interim the tendency organizing nucleus assumes political and organizational responsibility for the prior international resolutions, declarations, open letters and agreements for common work of its present constituent groups. These documents notably include: "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," 14 June 1963; Statement to the 3rd Conference of the International Committee, 6 April 1966; Letter to the OCRFI and French OCI, 15 January 1973; Letter to Samarakkody, 27 October 1973; the historical analyses: "Genesis of Pabloism," "Development of the Spartacist League [of New Zealand]," and "The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon"; and the agreements endorsed at the interim international conference held in Germany in January 1974, printed in *WV* No. 39, 1 March 1974.

8. Both the present "United Secretariat" and the former "International Committee" despite their respective pretensions "to be" the Fourth International, as a necessary condition for their fake "unities," have chronically mocked the principles of internationalism and of Bolshevik democratic centralism as their different national groups or nationally-

while simultaneously seeking to build new national sections. Both such hypothetical sections and the Organizing Committee itself therefore labored under a basic ambiguity from the outset, but the Organizing Committee's disintegration, into sharply counterposed elements all of whom swear by the 1938 Program, has left its practice stillborn.

Today, following the just concluded "Tenth Congress" of the United Secretariat, its American supporters, being themselves in the Minority internationally, threaten their own national minority, the Internationalist Tendency (which belongs to the international Majority), by declaring:

"The Socialist Workers Party proclaims its fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International but is prevented by reactionary legislation from affiliating to it. All political activities of members of the SWP are decided upon by the democratically elected national leadership bodies of the SWP and by the local and branch units of the party. Unconditional acceptance of the authority of these SWP bodies is a prerequisite of membership. *There are no other bodies whose decisions are binding on the SWP or its members.*" [our emphasis]

—SWP *Internal Information Bulletin* #4, April 1974, from Introductory Note, 17 April 1974

9. This apparently naked assertion of national independence by or toward organizations in the United States is not unique and has a specific history. Thus the American Healyite publicist, Wohlforth, declares in his pamphlet, "Revisionism in Crisis":

"With the passing of the Voorhis Act in 1940 the SWP was barred from membership in the Fourth International by law. Ever since that time the SWP has not been able to be an affiliate of the Fourth International. So today its relationship to the United Secretariat is one of political solidarity just as the Workers' League stands in political solidarity with the International Committee."

The "Voorhis Act" passed by the American Congress in 1940 has been used as a convenient excuse for revisionists to more openly

continued on next page

"In the colonial world the struggle against imperialism reflects the felt oppression of the laboring masses as coming from outside the nation itself. Hence 'national bourgeois' formations, including very radical petty-bourgeois ones ranging over to the Russian Social-Revolutionaries or the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, can strive to play the kind of mass leadership role not seen in Western Europe since 1848. In this they simulate the present role there of the (trade-union, social-democratic, Stalinist) labor bureaucracies. But mass plebeian or even proletarian base notwithstanding, such nationalist political formations are external to the working class, unlike the labor bureaucracies which are the internalized mechanism of capitalist mass control."

—Letter to Samarakkody, 27 October 1973

"While revolutionary Marxists would give critical support to some oppositional actions of the so-called national bourgeoisie, they are unequivocally opposed to national bourgeois regimes; it remains their task to carry on a consistent and irreconcilable struggle to expose their real role of treachery to the national liberation struggle and to wrest the leadership of the national struggle from their hands...."

"It is precisely this question of the so-called national or liberal bourgeoisie—the Bandaranaike question—that LSSP leaders failed to understand in the light of Marxist experience. In the result, the leadership followed empirically a zig zag policy, which inevitably led them into the coalition government with the SLFP in 1964."

—"Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon," by Edmund Samarakkody, *Spartacist* No. 22, Winter 1973-1974

Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Declaration...

display their concrete anti-internationalism than is convenient for their co-thinkers elsewhere.

This act, while ostensibly aimed centrally at domestic military conspiracies directed by foreign powers, was actually intended, as was the overlapping "Smith Act," to harass the American Communist Party, then supporting the Hitler-Stalin Pact. A key provision states: "An organization is subject to foreign control if... its policies or any of them are determined by or at the suggestion of... an international political organization" (political activity being defined as that aimed at the forcible control or overthrow of the government). Such organizations were to be subject to such massive and repetitive "registration" requirements as to paralyze them, quite aside from the impermissible nature of many of the disclosures demanded. Thus it was similar to the later "Communist Control Act" which was successfully fought by the American CP. But the "Voorhis Act" with its patently unconstitutional and contradictory provisions has never been used by the government—only by revisionists.

10. Today the United Secretariat Majority makes loud cries in favor of *international* unity and discipline i.e., against the SWP's views and conduct, but it was not always so. When the forerunner of the Spartacist League tried to appeal its expulsion from the SWP to the United Secretariat, Pierre Frank wrote for the United Secretariat on 28 May 1965 that:

"In reply to your letter of May 18 we call your attention first of all to the fact that the Fourth International has no organizational connection with the Socialist Workers party and consequently has no jurisdiction in a problem such as you raise; namely, the application of democratic centralism as it affects the organization either as a whole or in individual instances."

After Frank gave the Spartacists his answer, Healy publicly expressed sympathy for the Spartacists' plight, charging in his *Newsletter* of 16 June 1965 that Frank "ducks behind a legal formula for cover." But when Healy's own ox was gored by the SWP's publication of the embarrassing pamphlet "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International," Healy's SLL threatened violence and/or legal action ("Political Com-

mittee Statement," 20 August 1966 *Newsletter*) against any who circulated the pamphlet in his England. Shortly he used both—the Tate affair! Healy claimed as the basis for his threats the self-same fear of the Voorhis Act on behalf of Wohlforth and the Spartacists. But the *Spartacist* then replied:

"We for our part reject the SLL's solicitousness on our behalf. The Voorhis Act is a *paper tiger*—never used against anyone and patently unconstitutional. For the Justice Department to start proceedings against a small group like ours or the smaller and less threatening [Wohlforthite] ACFI would make the government a laughing stock, and Healy knows this. He is aware that for years the SWP has hidden behind this very act to defend its own federalist idea of an International."
—*Spartacist* #7, Sept.-Oct. 1966

"The struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International means the construction of viable national sections of a democratic centralist international tendency. As Trotsky stressed in the foreign Introduction to "Permanent Revolution," national sections of a living international party cannot be constructed from afar as the replication of some 'leading section,' but must have an organic development within the context of their own class struggle... The development of the international authority of the tendency entails the dialectical interaction of principled leadership based on the authentic Trotskyist program and the development of the authority of the national sections within the class struggles of their own countries."

—Letter to Samarakkody, 27 October 1973

11. More currently, however, as in the United Secretariat Majority's "Again, and Always, the Question of the International" (by Alain Krivine and the self-same Pierre Frank, 10 June 1971, *SWP International Information Bulletin* #5, July 1971) they attack the public formulation by Jack Barnes, SWP National Secretary, that "the principal condition for international organization" is "collaboration between leaderships... in every country." To this idea Krivine and Frank counterpose "the International, a world party based on democratic centralism." And later this Majority Tendency (in *IIDB* Volume X, #20, October 1973) notes that the Minority, in flagrant

contradiction to Barnes' and Hansen's previously expressed views, declares, "we will do our utmost to construct a strong [international] center," and the Majority concludes that "actual practice leaves no doubt: the [Minority] faction would be for a 'strong center' if it were able to have a majority in it." And most recently the same United Secretariat Majority asserts that behind the acts of the SWP-based Minority "lies a federalist conception of the International which contradicts the statutes and the line adopted by the [Tenth] World Congress" (17 March 1974, *IIDB* Volume XI, #5, April 1974). The United Secretariat Majority ought to know. They made this accusation in commenting on a Tenth Congress joint Minority-Majority agreement so flagrant in mutually amnestying every sort of indiscipline, public attack and disavowal, organizational chicanery, walkout and expulsion that the Majority also had to offer the feeble disclaimer that these "compromises adopted at this World Congress should in no way be taken as precedents" and that "the exceptional character of these measures is demonstrated, moreover, by the unanimous adoption of our new statutes" (which formally contradict the real practice!). Yes indeed, for opportunists and revisionists basic organizational principles are not of centralized, comradely, even-handed and consistent practice but just boil down to the simple matter of whose ox is gored. This is the organizational aspect of Pabloism.

If today the United Secretariat promises to back up its own friends in the SWP should action be taken against them, the point to be made is not the United Secretariat's dishonesty and hypocrisy per se, but rather the shattering of the United Secretariat's pretensions (like those of the International Committee) to be the Fourth International. They both trim their avowed organizational principles through expediency for petty advantage just as *and because* they do the same with their political principles and program.

"Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the proletarian leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism no matter what pious wish may be concurrently expressed for 'building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries'..."

— "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," *Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964

12. The international Spartacist tendency is just that, a tendency in the process of consolidation. But from its international outset it declares its continuing fidelity already tested for a decade in national confines to Marxist-Leninist principle and Trotskyist program—Revolutionary, Internationalist and Proletarian.

The struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International promises to be difficult, long, and, above all, uneven. But it is an indispensable and central task facing those who would win proletarian power and thus open the road to the achievement of socialism for humanity. The struggle begun by L.D. Trotsky in 1929 to constitute an International Left Opposition must be studied. Both despite and because of the differing objective and subjective particulars and with ultimately common basis then and now there is much to be learned especially as to the testing and selection of cadres in the course of the vicissitudes of social and internal struggles.

The giant figure of Trotsky attracted around itself all sorts of personally and programmatically unstable elements repelled by the degenerating Comintern. This led, together with demoralization from the succession of working-class defeats culminating in the second World War, to a prolonged and not always successful sorting out process. It is a small compensation for the lack of a Trotsky that the Spartacist tendency has little extraneous, symbolic drawing power at the outset. But a decade of largely localized experience shows no lack of weak or accidental elements drawn temporarily to the tendency. The only real test is in hard-driving, all-sided involvement in living class struggle.

As L.D. Trotsky noted in "At the Fresh Grave of Kote Tsintsadze," 7 January 1931:

"It took altogether extraordinary conditions like czarism, illegality, prison, and deportation, many years of struggle against the Mensheviks, and especially the experience of three revolutions to produce fighters like Kote Tsintsadze..."

"The Communist parties in the West have not yet brought up fighters of Tsintsadze's type. This is their besetting weakness, determined by historical reasons but nonetheless a weakness. The Left Opposition in the Western countries is not an exception in this respect and it must well take note of it."

Central Committee, SL/ANZ

Central Committee, SL/U.S.

[The draft Declaration adopted by the Political Bureau of the SL/U.S. and a representative of the Central Committee of the SL/ANZ, 22 May 1974; accepted by the Central Committee of the SL/ANZ, 7 June 1974; declared to be in force, following concurrence with it at the European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency, 6 July 1974.]

"Two decisive elements have been common to the whole series of upheavals under Stalinist-type leaderships, as in Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Vietnam: 1) a civil war of the peasant-guerrilla variety, which first wrenches the peasant movement from the immediate control of imperialism and substitutes a petty-bourgeois leadership; and then, if victorious, seizes the urban centers and on its own momentum smashes capitalist property relations, nationalizing industry under the newly consolidating Bonapartist leadership; 2) the absence of the working class as a contender for social power, in particular, the absence of its revolutionary vanguard: this permits an exceptionally independent role for the petty-bourgeois sections of society which are thus denied the polarization which occurred in the October Revolution, in which the most militant petty-bourgeois sections were drawn into the wake of the revolutionary working class.

"However it is apparent that supplemental political revolution is necessary to open the road to socialist development... the petty-bourgeois peasantry under the most favorable historic circumstances conceivable could achieve no third road, neither capitalist, nor working class. Instead all that has come out of China and Cuba was a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counter-revolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, the degeneration of the October..."

—Statement to the 3rd Conference of the International Committee, 6 April 1966 (*Spartacist* No. 6, June-July 1966)

Continued from page 1

Sanitation Workers' Strike...

general strike to defend the trade unions against the bosses' attacks.

But from the beginning, the confrontation between striking sanitation workers and the city government has found the official union leadership at a complete loss as to what to do, since all of their "alternatives" were exhausted early in the strike.

The strike began as a wildcat walk-out of city garbage haulers after the leadership of their union, Local 44 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), forced a sellout, 6-percent, 20-cent-an-hour deal through a rump local meeting of less than 300 workers. The next day, with three or four garages already on strike, a second meeting was held. The meeting came to an abrupt end when the 500 angry workers chased the leadership of Ray Clarke et al. out the back doors of the meeting hall. Clarke was hung in effigy by the ranks, who demanded a wage increase of at least 50 cents an hour. Following this meeting, the strike quickly spread to include 3,000 sanitation, sewage and highway workers.

This strike comes on the heels of representation election victories for the AFSCME local early this year and an announced drive to organize state employees. The newly unionized workers hoped AFSCME could deliver some improvements in wages in the face of soaring inflation and "energy crisis" hardships and also win some changes in their working conditions. Baltimore sanitation workers now make about \$3.60 to \$4.15 an hour, amounting to \$70 to \$90 a week take-home pay, even for twenty-year veterans. In addition to higher wages, the strikers are also demanding an end to a hated "points" system of "absentee control," which restricts sick leave and has led to the firing of seven workers.

AFSCME: "Don't Blame Us—It's the Workers' Fault!"

As soon as the sanitation workers overran their leadership, top AFSCME brass were sent in to make sure things didn't "get out of hand." Reluctantly, the leadership recognized the strike, while visiting AFSCME President Wurf and Secretary-Treasurer Lucy got themselves arrested on the "illegal" picket lines in a show of militancy before heading back out of town.

Picketing has been kept to a minimum and picketers have been forbidden to talk about the issues of the strike. Not only have there been no mass meetings or rallies to build support for the strike, but the union leadership has failed even to mobilize the ranks to prevent scabbing by the private garbage haulers, many of whom are still operating.

AFSCME leaders are as bitter as Baltimore's Mayor Schaeffer at the dumping of their "deal" with the city—the product of six months of negotiations—by the ranks. "What's the value of forcing leaders to go to jail?" said Al Bilils, an AFSCME International officer, "It was clearly the workers who forced the issue in the first place" ([Baltimore] *Sun*, 9 July 1974):

The militancy of the ranks has been unquestionable, and the administration of Mayor Schaeffer has so far been afraid to organize a massive strike-breaking effort. Some scabs—from an association with which AFSCME has been considering merging—and high school youth "volunteers" have been hired at inflated rates to clean up the downtown streets, but the garbage piles have continued to mount throughout the city. Private haulers were also hired to move garbage out of some of the critical areas normally serviced by city sanitation men. However, the haulers have been reluctant to take on dangerous "strike business," despite

the do-nothing policy of the AFSCME leaders.

The Bourgeoisie Mobilizes

The politicians, of course, have managed to set aside the day-to-day infighting of bourgeois politics and are presenting a united face against the workers' demands. To them, the strike is simply illegal since it is a strike against the state. Above all, these political representatives of the capitalists fear a spreading of this potentially explosive labor struggle. Already, hospital workers are on the verge of a strike and the teachers, who were sold out in February will demand a percentage increase equal to the sanitationmen. Democratic Governor Mandel, one of those famous "friends of labor," attempted to sympathize with the sanitation workers by blaming Washington—as he ordered in the state troopers. But he warned, "Wait until you see the strikes when private industry starts getting its fresh demands from organized labor" (*New York Times*, 14 July).

The Baltimore city government argues that it is "legally bound" to honor its budget, which has already been passed, and which allows only so much for wages of city workers. Such budgetary considerations do not, however, seem to trouble the bourgeoisie when the question of mobilizing the national guard to break the strike is posed!

While so far hesitant to attempt massive strike-breaking, Baltimore Mayor Schaeffer has declared the strike illegal and has attempted to break the union in the courts. (As we go to press Schaeffer has also announced that there will be no general "amnesty" for striking city workers.) A \$15,000-a-day fine has been levied on the union, and Local 44's meagre \$5,000 bank account has been "frozen" by court order. Further, the city has impounded "check-off" dues monies owed the union.

The strike of the Baltimore city employees poses the question of power much more directly than a normal strike. It is a technically illegal strike against the government, in which the workers, in order to win, must force a change in the budget by extra-legal means. The entire capitalist class depends upon the authority and credibility of its state and its law. The entire working class has an interest in seeing the state defeated, since this state power is the ultimate defense of all the bosses against the workers.

AFSCME: "Godfather" to Cops

The bourgeois state at bottom consists of bands of armed men—the police and the military—whose job is to protect the capitalists' "right" to exploit the working class. Needless to say, the AFSCME leadership, besides signing sellout contracts and refusing to mobilize the workers in struggle, has done its best to obscure the class nature of this state. Thus, AFSCME has been eagerly organizing the police into unions, and in late 1973 scored a representation "victory" among Baltimore cops, more than half of whom are now in AFSCME Police Local 1195.

This local is headed by an AFSCME organizer and ex-coal miner, Rapanotti, whom the cops refer to as "the Godfather." "They get on the phone, and say, 'Godfather...' Its a nice feeling," says Rapanotti (*Sun*, 13 July).

During the sanitation strike, the cops have been demonstrating to their striking "brothers" in the sanitation local just which side they are on. On July 7 they arrested nine sanitationmen and charged them with "disorderly conduct" for trying to stop scab trash removal at the Cross Street Market Place. On July 8 they arrested three more sanitationmen who were trying to convince city parks groundskeepers to join the strike; the strikers were accused of assaulting an off-duty cop. Then on July 11 the police broke up a demonstration of about 60 strike supporters (led by the Revolutionary Union) at City Hall, where the demonstrators were depositing their garbage on the city streets. About ten people were arrested, with

AFSCME Council 67 Director Crofoot solidarizing with the cops by denouncing the support demonstration! And on the same night (after some police had gone out on "strike") a cop shot and killed Roy Lee Jr., a "suspected looter," who according to witnesses was unarmed and not threatening anyone.

Of course, cops, too, want more money. And they seized upon the opportunity presented by the sanitation strike to make their demands, first through a "slow down" (writing more traffic tickets on technicalities against innocent people!), and then through a partial strike beginning July 11. Jail guards, also organized by AFSCME, joined the strike too.

But the job of cops and jail guards as guardians of the bosses' interests—as the armed thugs and strikebreakers hired to protect the interests of the workers' class enemies—is not changed one iota by their being organized into unions and striking for higher wages. The cops will continue being labor's enemies after their "strike," only with fuller bellies and greater élan.

AFSCME cop organizers only enhance the morale of the state's guardians with their propaganda about the plight of cops who "risk their lives" defending property. Cops are not workers, and their incorporation in the labor movement only serves to disarm and confuse the working class. At the very moment that cops were arresting sanitationmen, leaders of the AFSCME cop and sanitation worker locals were meeting together to link their demands. The union leadership is thus tying the sanitationmen's struggle to the very force which will come back from its own "strike" to physically crush the sanitation strike if ordered to do so! Militant AFSCME members must raise the demand that all cops and jail guards be thrown out of the union. There is no room for the hired guns of the bosses' state in the labor movement!

The Strike and the Fight Against Racism

Although workers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* say there has been little overt racial tension in the strike itself, the question of racism lurks in the background. The sanitationmen are about 75 percent black, coming mostly from the city's West Side ghetto. Baltimore is a racially divided city, with strict neighborhood segregation in most areas. Moreover, during the strike, the local press has given prominent attention to a series of racial incidents perpetrated by white youth gangs; naturally, the *Sun* tries to make these incidents appear as generalized racial conflict. Behind the attempt of the bourgeois media to play up racial antagonism lies a cold calculation: if racial antagonism develops, the repeated appeals of Mayor Schaeffer to the interests of the "taxpayers" would, in such a tense situation, be very likely to lead to a bloody race riot, in which the strike would be smashed.

While this is not an immediate danger, a militant strike leadership would attempt to meet this danger by tireless activity to broaden support for the strike among all of the working class. At the same time, such a leadership would denounce and expose the racialist hysteria-mongering of the *Sun* and

clearly explain the class role of the police in the strike.

The Need for Revolutionary Leadership

Such a militant strike leadership will not arise spontaneously. Nor will it come from the various fake-left groups operating in the Baltimore area. In a situation in which workers on the street ask each other what the next course of action should be, the Maoist Revolutionary Union can only come up with... dumping garbage on the street! And the bizarre and cultist National Caucus of Labor Committees, when it can tear its attention away from looking for KGB and CIA agents, pushes its technocratic fantasy of eliminating the city debt in order to make more money available for city workers.

The principal obstacle which today stands between the workers and satisfaction of their just demands—the agency responsible for the 10 percent drop in U.S. workers' real wages in the last year and a half, and constituting the main social support for the tottering Nixon regime—is the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Whether liberal (Woodcock) or conservative (Meany); whether encrusted holdovers from the 1930's (Abel) or new "reformers" (Miller)—this parasitic stratum systematically sabotages strike struggles, such as those of Baltimore and San Francisco public employees in recent months. The task is to replace this bureaucracy, not with a new crop of more militant-talking fakers, but with a real class-struggle leadership of the unions, one which is prepared to fight for victory in the immediate battles and to generalize the workers' demands into an assault on the capitalist system which is the cause of our oppression.

The construction of such a class-struggle leadership requires the building of caucuses in AFSCME and other unions on a program that provides answers to the objective needs of the working class in this period of decaying capitalism. Points in such a program would include a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; an end to racial and sexual discrimination through union control of hiring and upgrading on a first-come, first-served basis; complete independence of the unions from the repressive organs of the state—cops out of the union; and for a workers party based upon the trade unions, counterposed to all bourgeois parties, to fight for a workers government and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. (These demands are included in the program of the Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070 in Los Angeles.)

Likewise it is necessary to take forward the current struggle in Baltimore by raising the demand for a citywide general strike in defense of the sanitation workers' demands and against the court attacks on the union. But the construction of class-struggle caucuses and victory in the present strike cannot be separated from the task of building a revolutionary workers party. Based on the Trotskyist Transitional Program representing the historical interests of the proletariat, it is the vanguard party which is key to leading the workers movement forward to victory not only against a single employer or in a single strike, but against the capitalist class as a whole. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

includes SPARTACIST Enclosed is \$5 for 24 issues
 Enclosed is \$1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377. GPO/NY, NY 10001

Canada Elections . . .

Tory Prime Minister Diefenbaker in order to whip up chauvinist sentiment against the Québécois, and therefore against the Liberals. Nevertheless, the Conservatives did not appear to profit from the controversy in English-speaking areas and the Liberals did manage to strengthen their dominance in Quebec.

The increase of Liberal votes in Quebec came primarily at the expense of the right-wing Social Credit (Socred) Party, which saw its representation in Parliament shrink from 15 to 11 seats. Ten years ago the national Social Credit Party had a significant base both in Quebec and in western Canada. In 1962-63, with 30 elected MPs, the Socreds held the balance of power in the last minority Progressive Conservative government. Today all that remains of this right-wing populist party is its declining holdings in poor rural regions of Quebec.

The July 8 election also witnessed an assortment of left groups contesting one or more seats, among them pro-Moscow Stalinists, Maoists, nationalist social democrats and fake Trotskyists. As the local representative of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the strategy of the Communist Party is to ally with that sector of the Canadian bourgeoisie most favourably disposed to peaceful co-existence with the USSR. Because of the CP's explicit perspective of a class-collaborationist "anti-monopoly coalition" with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, a policy which in no way differs from the NDP's "corridor coalition" with the Liberals since 1972, the Spartacist League gave no support to the candidates of the CP. The pro-Peking Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) candidates were likewise unsupportable, because of their strategy of uniting with the "progressive, anti-imperialist" sector of the bourgeoisie (!) to carry out the "first stage" of the Canadian revolution.

The campaign of the Waffle, a left-nationalist social-democratic grouping which split away from the NDP in 1972, focused on the need for the "Canadian people" to control Canada. Although it calls for a "socialist" Canada, the Waffle program is carefully formulated so as not to offend any of the "Canadian people" (e.g., sections of the bourgeoisie) who may be willing to support the struggle against "American imperialism." Due to the Waffle's insignificant petty-bourgeois social base and its explicit appeal to Canadian nationalism, the SL did not call for votes for the Waffle candidates.

The Revolutionary Marxist Group, which is aligned with the European majority of the pseudo-Trotskyist

"United Secretariat," ran three candidates on a program of militant trade unionism capped with a vague call for a "revolutionary transformation of Canadian society." In the abstract, the RMG claims to agree with the Transitional Program. For Trotsky the purpose of transitional demands was precisely to abolish the distinction between the old social-democratic "minimum" and "maximum" programs. But in its elec-



NDP leader David Lewis

CP PHOTO

tion propaganda the pseudo-Trotskyist RMG now openly abandons the Transitional Program, not even mentioning the demands for a workers government or expropriation of the bourgeoisie, in favour of a minimum program of trade-union demands. At a debate with the LSA in Toronto on July 1, an RMG spokesman defended this piece of treachery with the argument that "for the working class the question of... proletarian political power is not posed" at this time!

The electoral program of the RMG's reformist opponents in the USec, the League for Socialist Action, was not qualitatively better, although it presented a more leftist face, calling for a campaign on the "full program." The LSA's "full" program called notably for "nationalization of big business under workers' control." At first glance this demand might appear to be only a poor formulation of the slogan in Trotsky's Transitional Program which calls for expropriation of the bourgeoisie without compensation.

In fact, however, the LSA's slogan of "nationalization" is a willful revision of a key element of the Trotskyist program. By not necessarily violating the sanctity of bourgeois property (i.e., holding open the option of "compensating" the capitalists), this slogan is designed to keep the LSA in the good graces of the right-wing social-democratic leadership of the NDP. Thus at the NDP Left Caucus conference of March 1973, the supporters of the LSA voted *against* a resolution calling for nationalization of industry without compensation!

This same appetite motivates the LSA to revise the call for a workers government as it is posed in the Transitional Program, and to formulate it instead as an NDP parliamentary government ("pledged to socialist policies," of course). It is perfectly in order for Trotskyists to call on a reformist workers party, such as the NDP, to break with the bourgeois parties and campaign or form a government in its own name. This demand exposes the class collaboration of the fake lefts and their unwillingness to break with the class enemy.

But we never imply that should the reformists actually form a parliamentary government this would somehow constitute a workers government. As called for by the early Communist International and in the founding document of the Fourth International, the slogan of a workers government is explicitly a *transitional*, and therefore

revolutionary, demand, and a narrow parliamentary backing and had explicitly promised to do so again if the opportunity presented itself. The "corridor coalition" which the NDP promised the Liberals in advance put the NDP's stamp on the program of the bourgeoisie. A vote for the NDP was a vote for a parliamentary bloc with the Liberals—yet both the LSA and the RMG claimed a vote for the NDP would represent a blow in favour of the political independence of the working class! What the fake Trotskyists of the RMG and LSA fail to understand is that with the NDP leaders having promised in advance to subordinate their political independence in order to "make Parliament work," the political basis for a Bolshevik tactic of "critical support" to the NDP (i.e., at least organizational independence from the bourgeoisie) was eliminated. Any worker who voted for the NDP did so with the knowledge beforehand that Lewis intended to reconstitute his parliamentary bloc with Trudeau. Thus there existed no contradiction between what such a worker would expect the NDP, as the party which claims to support the trade unions, to do, and what it would in fact be compelled to do in fulfilling its role as the labour lieutenant of capital.

The LSA, which has been patiently awaiting a "mass working-class radicalization" to sweep the NDP/CCF to power for almost a quarter century, finally decided to run its own candidate in a federal election for the first time since 1958. The program they ran on,

however, was the program of "left-wing" social-democratic reformism.

Conditional Opposition to Candidates of the NDP

In those ridings in English-speaking areas of Canada where they were not running candidates, the RMG and LSA both called for a vote to the NDP as an independent working-class political pole. The LSA/LSO (Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière—Quebec section of the LSA) also called for a vote to the NDP in Quebec, despite the fact that the NDP has no mass working-class base whatsoever in that province. The RMG and its co-thinkers in Quebec, the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR), however, did not call for a vote to the NDP in Quebec, but called for abstention instead.

Both the RMG and the LSA called for a vote to the NDP despite the fact that Lewis and Co. had maintained the bourgeois Liberal party in power for

the last year and a half through their parliamentary backing and had explicitly promised to do so again if the opportunity presented itself. The "corridor coalition" which the NDP promised the Liberals in advance put the NDP's stamp on the program of the bourgeoisie. A vote for the NDP was a vote for a parliamentary bloc with the Liberals—yet both the LSA and the RMG claimed a vote for the NDP would represent a blow in favour of the political independence of the working class! What the fake Trotskyists of the RMG and LSA fail to understand is that with the NDP leaders having promised in advance to subordinate their political independence in order to "make Parliament work," the political basis for a Bolshevik tactic of "critical support" to the NDP (i.e., at least organizational independence from the bourgeoisie) was eliminated. Any worker who voted for the NDP did so with the knowledge beforehand that Lewis intended to reconstitute his parliamentary bloc with Trudeau. Thus there existed no contradiction between what such a worker would expect the NDP, as the party which claims to support the trade unions, to do, and what it would in fact be compelled to do in fulfilling its role as the labour lieutenant of capital.

Toward the New Democrats the SL advocated a policy of conditional opposition to its candidates. Calling on the NDP to break its bloc with the Liberals, we pointed out that until and unless it did so, there was no political basis for electoral support (however critical) to Trudeau's camp followers. In the July elections the Spartacist League called for a vote only to candidates of the RMG and the LSA. Wretched as their programs were, these candidacies at least represented an attempt, however distorted, to pose an independent working-class pole to the open class collaborationism of the NDP and the other "left" organizations which ran in the election.

However, neither the militant trade unionist "minimum" program of the RMG nor the social-democratic "transitional" program of the LSA shows the way forward for the Canadian working class. This can be provided only by building a Canadian section of a reborn Fourth International, a party based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky, of irreconcilable opposition to class collaboration and of uncompromising struggle for the political independence of the proletariat. In the recent Canadian elections this program was expressed only by the policies of the Spartacist League. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:

Liz Gordon (chairman)
Jan Norden (managing editor)
Chris Knox (labor editor)
Karen Allen (production manager)
Joseph Seymour

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

West Coast Editor: Mark Small
Southern Editor: Joe Vetter
Midwest Editor: Steve Green

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G. P. O., New York, N. Y. 10001. Telephone: 925-8234.

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

Spartacist Local Directory

- BAY AREA**
Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701 (415) 653-4668
- BOSTON**
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 282-7587
- BUFFALO**
Box 905, Station C, Buffalo, NY 14209 (716) 837-1854
- CHICAGO**
Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680 (312) 728-2151
- CLEVELAND**
Box 6765, Cleveland, OH 44101 (216) 687-1413
- DETROIT**
Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232 (313) 921-4626
- HOUSTON**
Box 26474, Gulfgate Sta., Houston, TX 77032 (713) 926-9944
- LOS ANGELES**
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90038 (213) 485-1838
- MADISON**
c/o RCY, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704
- NEW ORLEANS**
Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151 (504) 866-8384
- NEW YORK**
Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001 (212) 925-2426
- SAN DIEGO**
P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92011
- TORONTO**
(Committee of Toronto Supporters of the International Spartacist Tendency)
Box 5867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada



NIXON ON STAGE: Waving to crowds in Cairo (top left), speaking in the Kremlin Green Room, signing guest book at Khatyn, greeting bystanders in Brussels (bottom left), viewing Khatyn war memorial and before pyramid with Sadat.



Continued from page 1

"Peace" Junket...

to make more" (*Newsweek*, 8 July). Not even Vice President Ford, it seems, would do.

Meanwhile, the arms build-up reported earlier this year (see "Nixon Beefs Up Pentagon War Arsenal," *WV* No. 42, 12 April) is proceeding apace. The government is asking for roughly \$95 billion in new spending authority for the coming year which, if it passes Congress (as initial votes indicate it will), represents the first rise in military spending in five years. Perhaps even more significant was the 48 to 37 Senate vote last month endorsing the administration's decision to develop highly accurate MIRVs, with the capability of destroying the USSR's land-based missile force if the U.S. orders a nuclear "first strike." Until recently the Defense Department had opposed achieving a "first-strike capability," since this would presumably encourage the Russians to achieve the same... and use it (*New York Times*, 11 June; *Wall Street Journal*, 12 June). This only confirms what we wrote a few months ago on the subject of the fabled détente:

"Peaceful coexistence is really and truly a reformist illusion. A few months ago it might have appeared that Brezhnev and Nixon were like-minded reactionaries trying to run a dual world empire, a view shared by many left liberals, 'Third Camp' socialists, syndicalists and Maoists. However, U.S. imperialism is not content to maintain the status quo with the Soviet Union, engaging in mutually advantageous deals. With ambitions toward world empire, U.S. capitalism strives to dominate the Soviet Union."

—"U.S., USSR Summer Détente Cools," *WV* No. 30, 15 October 1973

Although eager and willing to make disadvantageous deals with the imperialists in exchange for promises of peace when someone else's revolution is at stake (Vietnam, for instance), the Russian bureaucracy becomes understandably more reticent when the material basis for its own existence is involved. Thus Brezhnev was unwilling to bend to Nixon's demands to limit the number of warheads per missile. Such

a concession would prevent the USSR from overcoming the sizeable gap which currently exists in the number of deliverable warheads (about 7,100 for the U.S. compared to roughly 3,300 for the Soviet Union).

The sombre atmosphere of Moscow was in stark contrast to the bizarre festivities which attended Nixon's journey through the Near East the week before. Every Arab ruler from the most reactionary to the most "progressive" was stumbling over his neighbor trying to get into the good graces of the world's number one imperialist warmonger. This spectacle must have caused a certain amount of consternation among the likes of the pro-Moscow Stalinists, Maoists, Healyites and others who have heretofore sung the praises of the "Arab Revolution" with its "anti-imperialist" Nasserite/Baathist bonapartist regimes. The idea that a defeat of Israel would strike a blow against imperialism has been neatly demolished by the

current reality: a partial Israeli defeat resulted in increased dominance by U.S. imperialism in the Near East!

And if Richard Nixon can represent the aspirations of the Arab peoples, then surely Senator Henry Jackson can enter Mao's Hall of Fame reserved for such progressive friends of China as the Shah of Iran and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Jackson (the "Senator from Boeing") is an inveterate cold warrior, anti-communist liberal and rocket rattler. He recently countered Nixon's efforts at U.S./USSR rapprochement with his own simultaneous pilgrimage to Peking. Of course, such goings-on are as much a part of Jackson's campaign to win the Democratic nomination for president in 1976 as Nixon's trips were an effort to stave off impeachment. But behind Jackson's sudden concern for Chou En-lai's health and support for diplomatic recognition of China lies hard-nosed bourgeois realism. Jackson and the bulk of the American bourgeoisie well realize (as Nixon seems to want to ignore) that the Soviet

Union is the primary stumbling block for U.S. imperialism. In the context of beefing up the Pentagon's arsenal, what is more natural than cementing an alliance with "People's China," which coincidentally favors a strong NATO and views Russia as its main enemy.

Against the efforts of the nationalist bureaucracies of the degenerated and deformed workers states, who willingly sacrifice every vestige of proletarian internationalism to the cause of their own peaceful coexistence with Nixon, Trotskyists pose the need for a militant defense of the social conquests of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. We call for political revolution to oust the parasitic and criminally shortsighted bureaucracies, the precondition for the military and economic unity of the USSR, China, etc. against imperialism. The military defeat of the USSR at the hands of the U.S. would sound the death knell for China as well. Not "peaceful coexistence" with the bourgeoisie but international proletarian revolution! ■

SL/RCY PUBLIC OFFICES

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.

Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Revolutionary Literature

The Popular Fronts in Chile and Portugal: Blueprint for Betrayal

Speaker: CARL WATSON
Spartacist League

Friday, July 19
8:00 p.m.

for more information call:
(313) 921-4626

DETROIT

Trinity Methodist Church
13100 Woodward Avenue

SUBSCRIBE TO

Young Spartacus

Organ of the youth section of the Spartacist League

\$1
6 ISSUES

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

Make payable/mail to: RCY, Box 454, Cooper Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10003

WORKERS VANGUARD

Canada Elections:

Liberals Win, NDP Routed

TORONTO, July 10—The recent Canadian parliamentary elections resulted in Pierre Trudeau's outgoing minority Liberal government being returned to office with a solid majority, winning 141 of a total 264 seats. The Liberals' success can be attributed largely to the dissatisfaction of the Canadian electorate with weak minority governments and frequent general elections.

The extent of the Liberals' sweep was indicated by the unexpected upset of David Lewis, national leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP), in the riding (election district) which he has held for the last nine years. Lewis was ousted by an unknown Liberal, Ursula Appollini.

The Liberals increased their standing in Parliament by a total of 32 seats. The bulk of these came from Ontario, where they gained 15 members of Parliament (MPs) at the expense of the Progressive Conservatives as well as three from the NDP. The Liberals also picked up seats from the PCs in the Atlantic provinces, from the Social Credit party in Quebec and from the NDP in Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

The NDP not only lost 15 of its 31 seats in the elections, it also saw its share of the popular vote fall from 18 to 16 percent. Its most serious losses were in highly unionized British Columbia, where the NDP lost all but two of the 11 seats which it had won in the last election. The NDP's losses in B.C. can be largely ascribed to disillusionment with the provincial NDP government of David Barrett. Hans Brown, NDP campaign chairman in B.C., blamed the defeat on the parliamentary bloc with the Liberals (*Globe and Mail*, 9 July).

Tweedledum and Tweedledee

The main issue in the campaign was inflation. In the last year inflation in Canada has been 10.4 percent, slightly above the rate in the United States. The Progressive Conservatives, who saw their representation in Parliament reduced from 107 to 95, had campaigned on a program of curtailed government expenditure and for the implementation of a 90-day wage/price freeze. They proposed a freeze as the solution to inflation in Canada because of their claim that "the major part of our inflation is homemade, not international in origin" (*Globe and Mail*, 8 June). In other words, the unions were the culprits.

PC federal leader Robert Stanfield argued that Canada has had wage and price freezes before and that "they achieved their purpose and the country disciplined itself and prospered" (*Globe and Mail*, 24 May). However, as the campaign wore on and the Tories' poll ratings sagged, Stanfield began to lay less stress on the "discipline" and more on the "flexibility" involved in his proposal.

Despite Stanfield's "softening up," however, the program of the PCs represented the views of a generally more

parochial and shortsighted section of the bourgeoisie, which wishes to solve the problem of inflation for itself by direct state disciplining of the working class into accepting the burden of a deteriorating economic situation.

On the government side, Prime Minister Trudeau, leader of the Liberal Party, announced after his election in 1972 that the fight against inflation would be a "top priority." The twenty months since then, however, have only accelerated the rate of inflation in Canada. This time the Liberals campaigned essentially on an economic program of "more of the same." The Liberals' position on inflation was summed up in their economic statement, which noted that: "Although it may be of small comfort, the fact is that Canada's price performance compares very favourably with that of other industrial nations" (*The Canadian Economy, Performance, Prospects and Problems*, 2 April 1974). This is a weak position, but given the timidity of the NDP and Conservative attacks on the government it was enough to win the elections.

The Liberals recognize that inflation is primarily a result of Canada's integration into an international capitalist economy. The Canadian bourgeoisie cannot effectively protect itself against the effects of international inflation without a sharp attack on the workers' living standards and/or a severe curtailment of foreign trade, both of which would have catastrophic effects on its own economy. Trudeau opposed Stanfield's proposed wage/price controls on the grounds that "they generate social unrest and violence" (*Globe and Mail*, 4 May). However, the Liberals' difference with the Tories on the advisability of implementing controls at this time is merely tactical as Trudeau has stated publicly that his government has contingency plans for instituting controls if they "become necessary" (*Globe and Mail*, 4 May).

The Liberals campaigned largely on the basis that they were the only party capable of providing a "strong government" which could represent both the English-speaking and French-speaking populations in the Canadian state. Trudeau advised NDP supporters who wanted a government which could "get things done" that they were throwing their votes away in voting for the NDP (*Toronto Star*, 14 June).

NDP: Trudeau's Camp Followers

The biggest loser in the election was the New Democratic Party. David Lewis, national leader of the NDP, had promised throughout the campaign that if his party once again held the balance of power, it would "make Parliament work" (i.e., again bloc with the Liberals as it had done since 1972) "not for 18 months, but perhaps for 2, 3 or 4 years" (*Globe and Mail*, 18 June). It seems, however, that many NDP supporters who were really



Prime Minister Trudeau

serious about "making Parliament work" decided that they might just as well follow Trudeau's advice and vote Liberal.

The NDP's "program" for combating inflation called for preventing the largely American-owned companies involved in the key primary sector of the Canadian economy (mining, lumbering, etc.) from selling Canadians "their own" raw materials for "inflated world prices." Lewis proposed establishing a "National Marketing Board" which would set up a two-price system for primary goods: a "fair" price for domestic consumption and the current world price for exports.

Lewis claimed that such a two-price system would benefit that sector of the Canadian bourgeoisie engaged in manufacturing by cheapening its costs of production. According to his utopian scheme, this in turn would lower the price of consumer goods and thus partially offset the effects of inflation!

In addition, the NDP proposed establishing a Price Review Board which would have the power to immediately roll back prices of selected commodities. Finally, it proposed increased corporate taxes and reduced income taxes as the means by which to "dampen wage and salary demands," thus supposedly helping to arrest inflation.

Seeking to assert his desired role as political spokesman for the Canadian labor bureaucracy, Lewis went on record on a number of occasions as being opposed to any sort of wage freeze, such as Stanfield's PCs were proposing. This produced a public split between Lewis and the more "right-wing" elements within the NDP, led by Premier Ed Shreyer of Manitoba. In an interview with the *Toronto Star* on June 7, Shreyer stated that "any practical, workable policy of anti-inflation restraint has to affect both sides of the equation—incomes as well as prices."

Lewis was able to patch up this embarrassing open split and a few days later Shreyer issued a public statement of lukewarm support for federal NDP policy. However, throughout the cam-

aign Stanfield continued to make reference to the fact that Shreyer and the other two NDP provincial premiers, Alan Blakeney of Saskatchewan and David Barrett of British Columbia, were both on record as being in favour of wage and price controls.

Quebec: Pivot of the Election

Issues arising out of the existence of a substantial French-speaking minority, concentrated in the province of Quebec, were a dominant theme of the campaign. For the Conservatives, the key to a parliamentary majority lay in winning, for the first time, a substantial number of seats in Quebec. However, the Tories have traditionally represented the most chauvinist and reactionary attitudes of English-speaking Canadians toward Québécois and the French-speaking minority elsewhere. This and the PC's hard-line anti-union economic program (hardly likely to win support from the militant Québécois workers) led to the Conservatives' inability to make any inroads on the Liberal majority in Quebec, although they did manage to retain the three seats they won in 1972.

For the New Democrats Quebec is also key in a negative sense, due to their failure to win any support at all from French-speaking workers in the elections. The NDP has never won a parliamentary seat from Quebec. In this election the social democrats received, as usual, a half-hearted endorsement of the FTQ (Quebec Federation of Labour), one of the two largest labour organizations in the province. (The FTQ is affiliated to the Canadian Labour Congress and, through it, to the AFL-CIO.) In his statement calling for a vote for the NDP, FTQ President Louis Laberge said he was making the endorsement "even though it [the NDP] is far from understanding the national question in Quebec" (*Toronto Star*, 4 June). The New Democrats do not recognize the right of self-determination for Quebec.

The more nationalist CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions) did not take a position in the elections, although its Montreal Council called for abstention in the federal elections. In the past, CSN leaders have occasionally made noises about forming a provincial labour party based on the unions, but ended up supporting candidates of the Parti Québécois. This is a petty-bourgeois nationalist party which has received a sizeable chunk of the vote from urban working-class ridings in Quebec provincial elections. Following its past practice, the PQ called for abstention in the current federal elections.

For the Liberals the significance of Quebec is precisely the reverse of the situation for the Tories and social democrats. The French-speaking province is the prime base of support for Trudeau, having voted more or less solidly Liberal in federal elections ever since World War I. After the government's heavy losses in 1972, the Liberals were virtually reduced to a party of the French-speaking minority. Most of its Ottawa delegation came from Quebec (56 out of 109 Liberal Members of Parliament) and French-speaking pockets elsewhere in the country.

The significance of Quebec for Liberal Party fortunes in this election was highlighted by the furor over a bill introduced by the provincial government of Quebec regulating the language question. The bill was introduced by Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, evidently with the aim of attracting nationalist support for the Liberals. However, the bill was criticized by the PQ as not going far enough toward making French the single official language in Quebec. And in English-speaking Canada the language issue was seized upon by reactionaries such as former

continued on page 10