

Labour Gov't. Starvation Policies Enrage Workers

Britain Heads for Winter Blow-Up

LONDON, November 10—Britain's ruling Labour Party (BLP) suffered a sharp electoral setback in three by-elections on November 4, losing two of the contested seats to the Conservatives. The returns from all three elections—Walsall North, Workington and Newcastle Central (the only seat Labour managed to retain)—all showed a pronounced swing against the Labour government. The BLP remains without a clear majority in Parliament, leaving Prime Minister Callaghan's government dependent upon the votes of two breakaway Scottish Labour Party MPs, as well as two Catholic Social Democratic Labour Party MPs from Northern Ireland.

The context is the disastrous and worsening economic position of British capitalism. The pound has now dropped to \$1.57 (the lowest point in history) on the international money markets, down from \$2.02 in January. Unemployment is over 1.37 million (an increase of 200,000 in one year), inflation is continuing to skyrocket at an annual rate of 15 percent (and is likely to increase), while Britain's trade deficit is currently running at over £4,000 million.

The Labour government's response to the worsening economic crisis has been to impose the "Social Contract"—an agreement between the government and the Trades Union Congress (TUC) bureaucrats which is a futile attempt to revive moribund British capitalism by mercilessly driving down the wages and living standards of the working class. Concretely, the "Social Contract" has imposed a 4.5 percent ceiling on annual wage increases (in effect a 10 percent cut in real wages given the rate of inflation) while simultaneously massively cutting social services and laying off government employees.

With the pound plummeting, Callaghan has gone to the "gnomes of Zürich" of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to request a \$3.9 million loan to prop up the pound and cover the growing trade deficit. The IMF has yet to specify the precise conditions under which it would grant the loan, but the deal will certainly involve further cuts in government expenditure and in the British workers' wage packet, perhaps disguised through indirect taxation.

Callaghan obliquely warned the international imperialist money-changers that failure to bail out the sagging pound could usher in grim "political consequences" (*Times* [London], 26 October). What the Labour government and its counterparts on the continent fear is an eruption of sharp class battles which could escape the leaden control of the trade-union bureaucracy.

The BLP is in deep trouble. The three contested seats have traditionally been safely in Labour's pocket. But on November 4 the BLP squeaked by in only one constituency while losing one seat which went Tory for the first time since 1918!

The by-election results are no ordinary fluctuation in relative party
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Demonstrators in Peking denounce the "Gang of Four" following palace coup by Hua Kuo-feng. UPI

Clique Warfare Without End in Stalinist China

MAOISTS WITHOUT MAO

The arrest of Chiang Ching and three other leading members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Politburo—all reputed "radicals" of the Cultural Revolution period—in Peking October 7 has sent shock waves through the Maoist movement internationally. When Mao Tse-tung was alive, his great personal authority could be used to justify any conceivable purge, wild accusation or reshuffling of the regime. Even the liquidation of Lin Piao, Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms" and officially designated heir, was generally accepted by foreign Maoists. If Mao says Lin was a "capitalist roader" who plotted a military coup, it must be true.

But without the stable pole of the "Great Helmsman's" personal authority, the Maoist movement cannot cope with the perpetual, violent conflicts within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Yesterday it was hailing Chiang Ching and her clique of "radicals" for the "anti-rightist" campaign against Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou En-lai's picked successor as premier. But today the new rulers denounce the "Gang of Four" as "ultra-right capitalist roaders" who have committed unforgivable crimes against the people, including hastening the death of Mao—the Maoist equivalent of killing Christ. (For a Marxist analysis of the succession crisis following Mao's death, see "Violent Power Struggle Erupts in China," *WV* No. 130, 22 October.)

The immediate reaction of the two principal U.S. Maoist

organizations, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the October League (OL), to news of a power struggle among Mao's heirs was to close their eyes and wish it would go away. To date—more than a month after the purge—the RCP has yet to take a position on the events in China. Bob Avakian truly deserves this year's political ostrich-with-his-head-in-the-sand award: so far his RCP has only one article on the dramatic events in Peking, appearing in the November issue of its New York/New Jersey-area *Worker*. In this article, entitled "Revolution Will Continue in China," we are informed:

"They [the "big struggles among top Party leaders in China"] are profoundly political struggles over opposite lines and policies and ways of doing things, over which direction things will take in China—a struggle over which way China will go and which class of people will have power."

That, believe it or not, is the beginning and the end of the RCP's line to date on the events in Peking. The *Worker* refuses to divulge the names of the "struggling top Party leaders," nor does it tell us just what the "profoundly political struggles" are about. With Mao no longer on the scene, the RCP is having difficulty figuring out whether China is on the "capitalist road" or the "socialist road."

If the RCP is procrastinating so long that it looks ridiculous, its rival, the OL, stalled until the defeat of the "Gang of Four" became official and the winning line could be copied word for word from *Peking Review*. The first

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The Poverty of Maoist Economics...6

The Reactionary Utopian Doctrines of
Bettelheim/Sweezy

Deportation Threatened

Houston Cops Arrest 91 Iranian Students

On Monday, November 8 members of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) set up a picket line outside the French consulate in Houston. They had planned a four-day vigil in protest of the arrest in France of six Iranian students charged with a November 3 assassination attempt on an Iranian diplomat, reputed to be a member of SAVAK, Iran's dreaded secret police.

The action was cut short, however, by a brutal, premeditated assault by Houston police on the 150 demonstrators. *Ninety-one* (91) Iranians were arrested on misdemeanor charges and another was charged with "aggravated assault on a police officer" for allegedly stabbing one of the cops in the hand with a screwdriver. Since the mass arrests, the victimized students have been hit with punitive bail and threats of deportation to Iran, where they face jail and torture.

The cops reportedly confronted the Iranians and told demonstrators to disperse within two minutes or be arrested. However, Iranians who escaped arrest stated they had never heard any warning, and at least one media account said that the cops moved in even *before* two minutes had passed. Houston police chief B.G. (Pappy) Bond later stated that he is "personally fed up" with people "who don't live in this country who try to solve the problems of their government by dis-

turbing the people of Houston."

Bond added hypocritically: "We leaned over backwards to keep from having to put these people in jail.... We used methodical and humane methods of removing the people from the streets" (quoted in *Houston Chronicle*, 10 November). However, a *Houston Post* account on the same day reported that: "At least one demonstrator had his arms pinned behind him by a police officer while another officer hit the man in the face with his club." Moreover, 40 demonstrators were sent to the hospital by Bond's "humane methods," though most of the Iranians refused to be treated.

This attack takes place in the context of an increasingly conservative mood and upsurge of right-wing activity in the Houston area. Assistant district attorney Tom Henderson boasted that "People were applauding" as the Iranians were assaulted. In addition to the recent KKK attack on October League (OL) supporters (see *WV* No. 128, 8 October), the Klan has recently stepped up harassment of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), assembling mobs outside Houston SWP headquarters, and recently opened up a public book store in suburban Pasadena to spread its racist filth. Also in the last month, two OLeers were arrested while selling literature outside the Shell Oil refinery in Deer Park, an activity leftists in



Darrell Davidson/Houston Chronicle

One of the 91 Iranian students being arrested November 9 in Houston.

Houston have carried out without incident for several years.

On the same day the racist cop attack on the student protesters took place in Houston, officials in Washington were announcing that they had been unable to find any evidence of "illegal and improper activity" by the Iranian government in the U.S. Yet on a recent

U.S. tour, Iran's Shah Reza Pahlevi openly announced that he had SAVAK agents all over the world "checking on" Iranian students abroad. In September, Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., U.S. assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs confirmed the presence of SAVAK agents in the U.S. "to check on potential terrorists."

Despite pious blusterings from Capitol Hill, collaboration between the U.S. (via the CIA) and police agents of despotic regimes like the Shah's obviously exists. Recent investigations have established that the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) aggressively threatens and carries out assaults on anti-Park dissidents in the U.S. In 1973 KCIA agents kidnapped a former presidential candidate and took him back to Seoul where he remains in prison.

Within two days of the Houston police attack immigration officials were already interviewing those arrested. By Thursday, orders to "show-cause" why they shouldn't be deported had been prepared against three persons, and Troy Adams, temporary director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's Houston office stated his office was "prepared to work through the night" to process more (*Houston Post*, 12 November). Later reports indicate as many as 90 may be deported.

While most of those arrested were charged with "disorderly conduct," a misdemeanor that carries a \$27.50 fine, Harris County sheriff Jack Heard has refused to accept appearance bonds because Adams wants the Iranians detained while he carries out his "investigation." This blatant denial of elementary civil rights is an outrage! Adams has indicated that the minimum bond on the "show-cause" orders he is frantically preparing would be at least \$2,000! Moreover, actual deportation would mean sending the student protesters straight to the dungeons of the SAVAK torturers, who earlier this year executed nine leftist prisoners.

The entire working-class movement must come to the defense of these victims of racist capitalist "justice" and demand that they be granted political asylum in the U.S. Stop the deportations! Drop all the charges now! ■

In Jail Since 1950/54

NYC Demo Demands Freedom for Puerto Rican Five

NOVEMBER 13—In one of the largest demonstrations held in New York City this year, almost a thousand people came out to Union Square today to participate in the annual march to free five jailed Puerto Rican Nationalists—the longest-held political prisoners in U.S. history.

Of the five, Oscar Collazo was imprisoned in 1950 for participating in an unsuccessful Nationalist Party assassination attempt against American president Harry Truman, a protest against brutal U.S. suppression of the pro-independence uprising that year in Jayuya, Puerto Rico. The other four—Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores—were jailed following a 1954 machinegun raid on the U.S. House of Representatives. While these acts of individual terrorism are incapable of advancing the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, the workers movement wholeheartedly defends these militants whose actions were directed against the imperialist oppressor.

The NYC demonstration was attended by most of the city's left groups, with large numbers of supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Puerto Rican Nationalist Party and the New York-based El Comité. Among the participants were representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, with signs calling for freedom of the Nationalist prisoners as well as demanding "For United Defense Against Colonialist Attacks on Independence Movement." The Spartacist League (SL) raised a "Free the Five" banner which also called "For the Independence of Puerto Rico!

For a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean!" SL signs demanded "U.S. Out of Puerto Rico" and "No Illusions in Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism."

The defense activity was marred by a blatant act of censorship of revolutionary politics when the National Coordinating Committee for the Puerto Rican Five excluded the SL for refusing to lower its sign protesting petty-bourgeois nationalism. This bureaucratic suppression was doubly sectarian because, although the Committee attempted to portray the demonstration as an apoliti-

cal defense activity, the thrust of the speeches and slogans of the day was overwhelmingly nationalist.

When the SL supporters refused to give up their right to raise communist politics within the context of united-front defense of the prisoners, goons of the Workers World Party, always johnny-on-the-spot hatchet men for "Third World" petty-bourgeois nationalists, soon appeared to enforce the exclusion. Rather than submit to this censorship of its Trotskyist politics, the SL, supported by the Partisan Defense Committee, withdrew from the rally. ■



WV Photo

Demonstrators in New York City on November 13 demand freedom for five Puerto Rican nationalists held in U.S. jails.

Just Out!

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 13

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Make checks payable/mail to:
SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, N.Y. 10001

Le Bolchévik

publication de la
Ligue Trotskyste de France

No. 1, 1er trimestre 1976, 0,50 f.

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

Poor Showing for Independistas in Colonial Elections

Puerto Rico Must Be Independent!

Pro-independence parties made a surprisingly poor showing in the Puerto Rican elections November 2, pulling only 6 percent of the vote, or about half what analysts had predicted. At the same time, the pro-statehood New Progressive Party (PNP), allied to the Republicans, won an upset victory over the incumbent Popular Democrats (PPD). The "populares"—connected with mainland Democrats—have been running the colony for the U.S. during most of the last 35 years under the guise of "Commonwealth" status. The swing to the conservative statehood party was interpreted as a protest vote against the island's dire economic situation.

The U.S. government could scarcely contain its delight with the meager returns for the *independistas*, both the bourgeois Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the social-democratic Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Seeing another opportunity to stymie the PSP's perennial hat-in-hand pilgrimages to the United Nations begging for Puerto Rican independence, the imperialist bourgeoisie is flaunting the election returns against the nationalists. A 5 November *New York Times* editorial smugly remarked that:

"...those United Nations delegates, who at Cuba's behest, annually demand 'self-determination and independence' for Puerto Rico should note that in a free exercise of self-determination only about 6 percent of the island's voters supported independentista parties."

The vote count is in fact suspiciously low. In the 14 November issue of its paper, *Claridad*, the PSP pointed to several examples of ballot-box tampering and announced it is demanding a recount of all electoral college votes taken where PSP observers were not present. Moreover, since the campaign began, the ruling Popular Democrats had been accused of a bagful of "dirty tricks." The PSP's release last July of tapes given to it by members of the telephone workers union, proving that the government has been illegally wiretapping the phones of PSP candidates and other political opponents, touched off a scandal now being called the "Puerto Rican Watergate."

For months, both the president of the government-owned telephone company, Salvador Rodríguez Aponte, and Governor Hernández Colón (both PDP bigwigs) denied knowledge of the tapes. Then they accused the telephone workers union of fabricating them. Now, to divert attention from the issue, the government is concentrating on the refusal of PSP general secretary Juan

Mari Bras to reveal who gave him the tapes.

As the PSP maintains, the phone company is undoubtedly funneling information to the FBI and CIA for use in their long campaign of harassment which has led to a number of physical attacks on *independistas* since 1971. Last March, Mari Bras' brother, Santiago Mari Pesquera, was savagely assassinated while the PSP leader was touring the U.S. and speaking before the UN Committee on Decolonization. During the campaign even the bourgeois gubernatorial candidate, the PNP's Romero Barcelo, complained that the phone company president's wife, who was running on the Popular Democrat ticket, used information about PNP finances which could only have been gained through illegal wiretapping!

Clearly the U.S. imperialists and their PDP and PNP lackeys will stop at nothing to prevent the independence of Puerto Rico, a key political and military outpost crucial to U.S. control of the Caribbean. But the low vote for the *independista* parties also reflects the undeniable fact that at present the majority of the Puerto Rican population is not in favor of independence.

The PNP victory at the polls does not mean there is mass sentiment in favor of statehood. Rather the Puerto Rican working masses have reached the end of their rope with "Operation Bootstrap," the *populares* miracle solution to attract industry by cancelling taxes for U.S. capitalists. As new investment has tailed off, conditions on the island have been growing increasingly desperate, with unemployment now estimated at 40 percent and over two-thirds of the population on food stamps! The program of the PPD—to woo back industry through carrying out massive wage cuts—undoubtedly contributed greatly to the November 2 vote of no confidence in their policies.

Some Puerto Ricans may believe that statehood would bring a higher standard of living, ignoring the fact that the island has become industrialized above all because of its low-wage, tax-free "business climate." (The 2 million Puerto Ricans crammed in run-down New York City slums like Harlem and the South Bronx could tell them differently in any case.) But rather than active support for statehood (or the PPD's "free associated state" mask for colonial rule), there is widespread sentiment that independence would bring a drop, possibly drastic, in the Puerto Rican standard of living, presently the highest in the Caribbean.

This could well be the case should the island follow the path of other ex-colonial countries under bourgeois rule, which are *unable* to break from imperialist control (as well as being splintered into a myriad of tiny statelets). Certainly the bourgeois nationalist parties and the reformist PSP—with its explicit "two-stage" program of bourgeois independence first, socialism "later"—offer no answer to the masses' concerns. The only road to eliminating neo-colonial poverty and imperialist domination is through proletarian revolution in the Caribbean and above all in North America.

The Spartacist League fights for the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, for the working class to take the lead of all the oppressed in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in resolving the national and agrarian questions in the only way possible: by overthrowing capitalism and establishing proletarian rule. At the same time, we *unconditionally* demand independence for Puerto



Latin NY

Juan Mari Bras with tapes proving illegal wiretapping of PSP candidates.



Claridad

Former Puerto Rican governor Rafael Hernández Colón.

Rico, even if the resultant is a Puerto Rican capitalist ruling class. Any imperialist machinations such as a bogus colonial "referendum" must be rejected. For Marxists the right of self-determination for colonial peoples can be realized *only* through independence: the demand for "unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation... signifies nothing more nor less than the recognition of the right to self-determination," wrote Lenin ("The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," January-February 1916).

In the face of the unexpectedly meager election returns, a number of phony excuses are now being raised. The PSP covered itself beforehand, disingenuously proclaiming that since it had not run before, any vote above zero would be an advance. Only a group as grotesquely electoralist as the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) could run a headline like the one which appeared on the front page of the 19 November *Militant* announcing "Puerto Rican Independence Vote Grows," even though the total was less than one-third of the Nationalist Party vote in the 1950's. (The SWP was mainly looking for arguments to justify the electoral support given by its Puerto Rican affiliate, the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores [LIT—Workers Internationalist League] to the PSP.)

With nothing to choose but the colonialists, the bourgeois PIP and the reformist/nationalist PSP, revolutionaries could not call on Puerto Rican workers to cast their vote for any of the parties in the November 2 election. However, this does not mean adopting a policy of abstention on principle, as was done by the Puerto Rican Anti-Electoral Front (FRAE), composed of the Movimiento Socialista Puertorriqueño (MSP—a Castroite group), the Liga Socialista (LS—affiliated with Progressive Labor in the U.S.) and the Puerto Rican Communist Party. According to a speech by *independista* labor leader Federico Cintrón ("Tasks of the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement") in New York on October 30, the FRAE holds that the elections have "sharpen[ed] the divisions within the working class" and "dilute[d] the ideological positions of parties." The FRAE's answer is "armed struggle."

The long history of electoral abstentionism in the Puerto Rican independence movement goes back to the Nationalist Party's heyday in the 1930's. Marxists, of course, point out that the imperialist yoke will not be thrown off by the ballot box. Moreover, in the case of a colonial referendum on independence boycotting is frequently a correct tactic. But to make electoral abstentionism into a principle is to stupidly throw away a useful platform for reaching the working masses.

As against the narrow nationalism of the PSP, Trotskyists insist that the struggle for Puerto Rican independence and a socialist federation of the Caribbean must be carried out in close collaboration with the U.S. working class. Not only are there half as many people of Puerto Rican origin living in New York City as on the island (along with hundreds of thousands from other West Indian islands), but the colony's industrial economy is closely tied to that of the U.S. due to its proximity. A revolutionary Leninist party can be built in Puerto Rico only as part of the international struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Chris Knox, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

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

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

SPARTACIST edition française pour toute commande s'adresser à:

Pascal Alessandri B.P. 336 75011 Paris FRANCE

Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377, GPO New York, N.Y. 10001 USA

3,00 F.F. \$.75 US/Canada

Britain...

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strength, but represent a deep social crisis manifesting itself on the parliamentary plane. Significant sections of the bourgeoisie are agitating, not as they usually do for a Tory government, but for a "National Government" of right-wing Labourites, Tories and Liberals. This is a deliberate appeal for the repetition of the Ramsay MacDonald government of the Depression years. The undisguised anti-working-class policies of the "traitor MacDonald" produced among the Labourite masses a profound rejection of popular-front coalitionism which has lasted more than 40 years.

Strike Against the "Social Contract"!

The Callaghan government has staked its hold on power on tightening the screws of the "Social Contract," whose key is the conscious treachery of the TUC tops. Despite the frontal assault on the living standards of the British workers, there have been fewer strikes this year than in any year since 1953. Thus far the only organized opposition to the vicious austerity program has come from a few trade-union leaders, mainly in the government employee sector. It is this sector which is most imminently threatened; the *Economist* is calling for the immediate sacking of 100,000 government employees!

The TUC tops have refused to back even the weak-kneed plea for mercy (a one-day "lobby" of respectful begging in front of Parliament November 17) called by the government employee unions. Both Jack Jones of the powerful Transport and General Workers Union and Hugh Scanlon of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers—the "spearheads of the Social Contract" (*Guardian* [London], 28 October)—prefer to accept the layoffs without even a whimper of protest. The "left"-dominated BLP National Executive Committee passed a ritual motion in support of the impotent "lobby" as a sop to the workers under the axe, while doing nothing to build even this parliamentary "pressure" protest.

The BLP finds itself in an unenviable position. As a mass reformist workers party administering a capitalist state in a period in which its capitalist masters are insisting on drastic cuts in the workers' living standards, its policies necessarily provoke bitter disaffection among the working-class ranks, which will reflect itself in the possibility of deep splits in the BLP. Uneasiness is pervasive in the face of a downward economic spiral which cannot be halted. The TUC and the Labour "lefts" emit ineffectual squeaks of protest while collaborating in shoving the "Social Contract" policy of enforced social peace down the workers' throats. The right wing of the parliamentary Labour Party, known as the Manifesto Group, proposes to go the government one better by demanding even more spending cuts. The current spate of calls for a coalition "National Government" of the BLP (minus the "lefts") and the Tories reflects the apprehension that the catastrophic economic situation may shake the BLP to pieces.

The erosion of social gains won by the workers since World War II (welfare, old-age pensions, education, health care, etc.) in itself constitutes a significant inroad into the workers' living standards, but this is only one subordinate consequence of the trade-union bureaucrats' grovelling acceptance of the whole "Social Contract." By themselves, protests against public expenditure cuts are a way to let the TUC leadership off the hook by channeling militancy into traditional "pressure" protests directed at the parliamentary Labour Party. The central axis of any



Jack Jones (left) and Jim Callaghan

Economist

successful resistance to the Labour government's austerity program must involve mobilization for effective industrial action by the organised labour movement to smash the "Social Contract"!

Centrists Tail BLP "Lefts"

The potential for massive social struggles in Britain in the next period is immense. But the self-styled "revolutionary left" is deeply mired in one or another form of capitulation to the Labour Party "lefts"; their strategy can generally be summed up in the recurring slogan "Make the Lefts Fight!"

When they are not involved in some pantomime inside the BLP constituency organisations, a favourite activity of the various British pseudo-Trotskyist groups has been construction of their own fake-mass reformist front groups. None of these groups addresses the urgent task of building programmatically based class-struggle oppositions within strategic sections of the proletariat, and invariably they refuse to confront the critical political questions.

For example, the Workers Socialist League (WSL) substituted organisational small change for programme, bragging that the 250 WSL supporters who attended its recent "conference on wage control and union democracy" were the expression of the "powerful feeling building up in the workers movement against the TUC's 4-1/2 percent wage cutting policy" (*Socialist Press*, 3 November). A leaflet distributed at this conference by London supporters of the international Spartacist tendency focused on the WSL's programmatic inadequacy:

"The conference resolution talks of a fight against the bureaucrats. But on what basis? Is it a fight to oust them, and by whom are they to be replaced? The only real alternative is the construction of groupings in the unions based on a genuine and comprehensive class-struggle program.... Any genuine alternative leadership must pose the need for a real workers government based on democratically elected workers councils, administering a planned economy in which the capitalists have been expropriated. The conference resolution refuses to go beyond the call for nationalisation of companies in economic difficulty.... The lack of a fighting strategy against the Labour Party, its absolute silence on the Labour "lefts" and the failure to oppose import controls are... a systematic adaptation to militants who share the outlook of the Labour 'lefts'."

The International Socialists (I.S.)—the only group to the left of the Labour Party to stand candidates in the recent by-elections—focused almost entirely on local reforms: a fight to keep open a maternity hospital in Bloxwich, a struggle to maintain bus service in Walsall, a call for "rank and file organisation to stop the dreadful decline in the center of Newcastle caused by

property speculators" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 October), with some vague rhetoric about a "socialist alternative."

The nearest the I.S. came to a political programme was a series of militant incantations: "Fight Racism! Stop Price Rises! Fight for the Right to Work! Build the Rank and File Movement!" (*Socialist Worker*, 23 October). The "Social Contract" itself was rarely even mentioned.

Asked to define his programme, Dave Hayes, I.S. candidate for Newcastle Central replied: "We stand for total opposition to unemployment, to hospital closings. We want to see the strengthening of the Right to Work Campaign nationally..." (*Red Weekly*, 4 November). In no way does the I.S. offer a programmatic alternative to the wage-slashing Labour Party. There is no basis for extending critical support to I.S. candidates in the by-election.

With typical capitulationist "logic," the International Marxist Group (IMG) called for a vote for Hayes even though "it has proved impossible to support the *Socialist Worker* campaign itself" (*Red Weekly*, 21 October). Although spiced up with complaints that the I.S. campaign did not "raise any socialist demands," the IMG's main objection is that the I.S. candidates run as I.S. members—rather than as the joint candidates of the sort of local front groups in which the IMG wallows. For the IMG—which believes that the super-opportunist Militant Group, buried deep in the Labour Party, is "sectarian"—the main weakness of the "ultra-left" I.S. is that it poses its own organisation, rather than the IMG's long-awaited "new mass vanguard," as the alternative to the "crisis of leadership":

"The IS does not represent the 'only' alternative. But it represents part of it. That is why it is correct to call for a vote to the IS against the Labour candidates in Walsall and Newcastle."

—*Red Weekly*, 4 November

The International Communist League (I-CL) and the WSL both argued against voting for the I.S. candidates. In a confused article, the I-CL argued that since the I.S. has no "mass base" a vote for the I.S. could be justified only "on the basis of its program," not as a "lesser evil" to the BLP. But the workerist I-CL—which appears to rule out the possibility of ever extending critical support to the candidates of a small centrist organisation—allows for the tactic of such support to individuals who may enjoy a degree of mass support, adducing as an example the reformist Eddie Blyth who, after he was expelled from the BLP, stood in the elections "clearly against corruption in the labour movement, with the support of several local trade union bodies" (*Workers Action*, 9-15 September). Thus the I-CL's ostensible programmatic

criteria can be speedily shelved for a splinter candidate if only he is popular enough.

Split the Labour Party!

In arguing against a vote for the I.S., the WSL raised the danger of a Tory victory. It is a valid tactic for revolutionists to extend critical support to mass reformist workers parties when they stand against bourgeois parties, as a means to expose their pro-capitalist leaderships and split away their mass base. We would prefer to see Labour in office because from that pinnacle of merciless class treason the leadership stands most exposed before the ranks. When the Tories are in power, the BLP tops who today enforce the most drastic assault on the workers' living standards can blame everything on the Tories. The exposure of the Labour traitors as the equally loyal administrators of British capitalism facilitates the main task of revolutionists toward the BLP: to split this reformist obstacle along class lines.

But such critical support is not an invariable tactic even when the revolutionary organisation cannot field its own candidates. Other considerations may supersede even when a reformist workers party is standing for election in its own name against the bourgeois parties—as for example when such a party's avowal of the intent to form a popular-frontist coalition is as yet unrequited.

In the present conjuncture, the necessity to provide a clear lead against the "Social Contract" is the central and overriding issue, the issue around which the possibility of splitting the mass base of the Labour Party from its misleadership is urgently posed. In these by-elections, which were widely seen as a referendum on the Labour government's performance, to vote for Labour Party candidates who stand as supporters of Callaghan's viciously anti-working-class policies undercuts this vital task and indeed implies a vote for the "Social Contract," the crucifixion of the British workers. Therefore in the November voting revolutionists could seek to exploit and intensify working-class anger over the Labour government's policies by adopting a policy of conditional non-support to BLP candidates. Only if a Labour candidate had stood as committed to support struggles of the workers to break the "Social Contract" would critical electoral support have been justified. But all that the working class was offered were the fake-left MPs who are fulsome in their sanctimonious sympathy for the workers in their hardships under the "Social Contract," and no less fulsome in their apologies: "now is not the time," "the parliamentary majority is in danger," etc.—i.e., the traditional posture of an aspirant for ministerial post in Labour-led capitalist Britain.

As the present social and economic crisis of British capitalism acquires excruciating intensity, it becomes the increasingly evident duty of revolutionists to pose sharply and clearly the necessity for the workers to break from the reformist traitors of the BLP and trade-union bureaucracy. This struggle must be expressed in terms of irreconcilable opposition to the Callaghan government and the "Social Contract" and requires the creation of an authentically revolutionary, Trotskyist vanguard party fighting for the transitional programme.

—Smash the "Social Contract"!
Down with the chauvinist plans for import controls! For a sliding scale of hours and wages to combat unemployment and inflation!

—No to the social welfare cuts!

—For workers control! For the expropriation of basic industry without compensation!

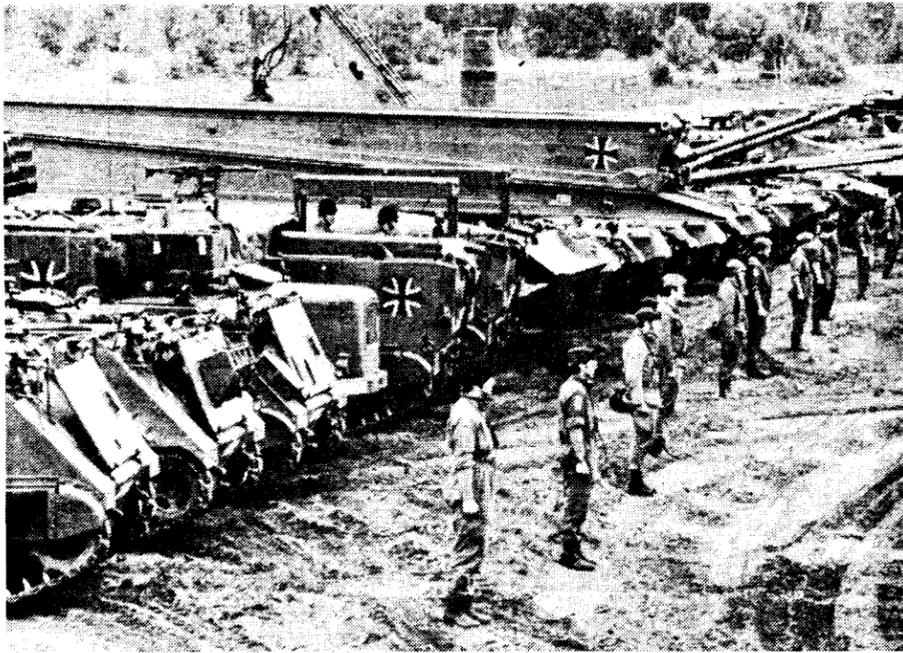
—Oust the Labour bureaucrats, right and "left," Callaghan and Benn, Jack Jones and Clive Jenkins!

—Not Callaghan's capitalist government, but a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Ominous Resurgence of German Militarism

West German Army Fetes Nazi Crusader



Der Spiegel

"Democratic" West German army years for glory of Third Reich.

West Germany's resurgence as the most powerful capitalist industrial nation in Europe and bulwark of NATO has inexorably led to the re-emergence of German nationalism and militarism. Despite the fact that its predecessors lost two world wars, the military elite continues to praise the "noble" traditions of the German imperial army, including the early days of World War II under Adolf Hitler. Cast in a more self-effacing posture under the post-occupation federal republic, the officer corps of the "democratic Bundeswehr" yearns for past glory. This sentiment is seeking more open expression, and has caused a major scandal currently shaking West German society.

On October 22-24, the Immelmann air reconnaissance unit held a reunion to which they invited members of the World War II Immelmann dive-bomber wing, including most prominently the wing commander, Hans-Ulrich Rudel. Rudel was the most decorated German officer of the war (having knocked out

519 tanks), and remains an arrogant unreconstructed Nazi.

After fleeing to Argentina in 1945, where he belonged to the "Circle of Friends of Adolf Hitler," Rudel returned to Germany and has been active in several ultra-right parties. He began in the Socialist Party of the Reich, outlawed in 1949, then became a spokesman for the German Party of the Reich (DRP), and is presently a member of the neo-Nazi German National Party (NPD). Just last year Rudel proposed that Rudolf Hess be given a Nobel Prize, and he defends the Nazis' "crusade against Bolshevism" at every opportunity.

In response to the recent controversy, Rudel stated to *Bild*—the leading West German tabloid, part of the reactionary Springer newspaper empire—that the Americans should be grateful to the Nazis and should have supported them, since then the "grave problem of Bolshevism" would not exist. In a 1950's pamphlet he argued for a future war provided "we Germans can again be something," by obtaining "Lebensraum" in the East (quoted in *Spiegel*, 8 November).

Evidently, permission to hold the Immelmann reunion was requested last

Stop Healyite Thug Attacks!

The following statement is being circulated by the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) as part of a campaign to halt vicious physical attacks by members of the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL) against left opponents. Two brutal and premeditated attacks were launched by SLLers against SL/ANZ and SWP members distributing literature in front of a "public" SLL meeting on October 17 at the Sydney Trades Hall, and several members of both groups were seriously injured, one SWPer requiring hospitalization (see WV No. 130, 22 October, for a complete report of the attack).

The Healyite political bandits have a long history of both Stalinist gangsterism and calling the cops to suppress their leftist opponents. Recently, along with their paranoid slander campaign against American SWP leaders Hansen and Novak, the thuggery has escalated. This violence discredits and injures the entire left. WV urges readers to protest this outrageous violation of workers democracy by sending statements of protest and endorsement of the statement below to: Bill Logan, Box 3473, GPO, Sydney 2001, Australia.

Reports have come to our attention that Socialist Labour League (SLL) members have used physical violence against members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Spartacist League (SL). It has

been reported that several members of the SWP and the SL were set upon and severely beaten in a completely unprovoked attack outside the Sydney Trades Hall on October 17. Other reports of intimidation of sellers of *Tribune*, *Direct Action*, *Australasian Spartacist* and *The Socialist* in the past months and the disruption of SWP public meetings have also disturbed us.

These incidents lead us to make this statement in favor of the free exchange of differing views within the labor movement without fear of physical reprisal from anyone. Taking such a stand certainly does not mean repudiating the right of self-defence against violent attacks. It means making clear that differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons. Any attempt to do so simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the workers movement to tear us apart.

Further, it certainly does not help us oppose the Government's use of violence against us if some of us use it against people who may not agree with our points of view. These attacks must stop and we must respect each other's democratic rights if we are to have an environment where there can be progress in the struggles of the oppressed.

We call on all individuals and organisations of the labor and radical movements to support this stand and add their signature to this statement.



Direct Action

Healyite goons after assault on Spartacist League and Socialist Workers Party members in Sydney, Australia, October 17.



Der Spiegel

Most-decorated Nazi officer Hans-Ulrich Rudel was saluted by West German army.

spring and denied by the defense ministry in Bonn. When it was held anyway with the presence of Rudel a public outcry ensued. In response, two high-ranking Luftwaffe officers, chief of operations Lieutenant General Walter Krupinski and his deputy Major General Karl-Heinz Franke, held an off-the-record press conference at which they defended the invitation. Krupinski, who served under Rudel on the Russian front, remarked that, "The cult of tradition is necessary and the Bundeswehr is in the tradition of the armies which preceded it."

Franke went much further, in a clear provocation to the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD), stating, "The presence of the ex-colonel cannot be condemned so long as left extremists and communists like [Herbert] Wehner, who at that time lived in the Soviet Union, continue to sit in parliament" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 2 November). Wehner, a former Communist, is head of the SPD parliamentary fraction. At this point, Social Democratic deputies demanded action and SPD defense minister Georg Leber was forced to

continued on page 9

The Poverty of Maoist Economics

by Joseph Seymour

Maoists justify China's increasingly open and all-sided alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union—manifested in Peking's continual warnings to strengthen NATO and in its support to the American-inspired, South African-led invasion of Angola last winter—by raising the assertion that capitalism has been restored in the USSR, which has allegedly become an "aggressive, expanding social-imperialist" state. More importantly, Western Maoist support for China's counterrevolutionary line derives from the belief that China is uniquely socialist, representing an even higher form of socialism than did Russia under Stalin. Thus the seemingly abstract question of what constitutes progress toward communism is an important factional bone of contention among Stalinists, with

petty-bourgeois radicals in the West. It was the promise of an end to alienated labor here and now, without the whole historical period needed to raise the technological and cultural level of mankind, that enabled many of the followers of Marcuse to transfer their loyalty to Maoist China in the late 1960's. It is the belief that China has broken with Soviet-style "economism" to create a veritable "socialist man" that gives Maoism a mystique and appeal not shared by other "Third World" Stalinist regimes such as Castro's Cuba or Ho's Vietnam.

Of course, the realities of Chinese economic life are very distant from the idealizations of Western Maoist apologists like Charles Bettelheim, Paul Sweezy and William Hinton. China today is as stratified and as rife with

that this is the case." [emphasis in original]

—Charles Bettelheim, *Economic Calculation and Forms of Property*, 1975

The contrast between a supposedly egalitarian, voluntarist "Chinese road to socialism" and Soviet-style "economism" is clearly stated by Paul Sweezy, who is less concerned than Bettelheim to claim Maoism for orthodox Marxism:

"...the experience of the Chinese Revolution...has shown that a low level of development of productive forces is not an insuperable obstacle to the socialist transformation of social relations and does not necessarily entail a process of 'primitive accumulation' and the aggravation of inequalities; that it is self-defeating to try to build the material bases of socialism first, while putting off until later the task of developing compatible social relations...."

—"The Nature of Soviet Society, Part I," *Monthly Review*, November 1974

And Sweezy goes on to emphasize what he believes to be the unique contribution to Marxism of the "Chinese road":

"It was only in China, where of all countries in the world conditions were most favorable for revolution, that Marxism could finally be purged of its (essentially bourgeois) economic taint."

—"The Nature of Soviet Society, Part II," *Monthly Review*, January 1975

It is the fate of revisionism to rediscover the very doctrines and ideas against which Marxism developed. In the case of Maoism we see a clear reversion to pre-Marxian petty-bourgeois conceptions of socialism. The programmatic models constructed by the first socialists—Babeuf, Owen, Weitling, Cabet—were moneyless, marketless, self-sufficient productive units where labor was allocated and goods distributed by a central political authority. In short, they were pure versions of the "people's communes" of the Chinese Great Leap Forward period, which Bettelheim claims as a higher form of socialism than the state property of the Soviet Union.

To do historic justice to Babeuf and the other early communists, their model of a just society was necessarily limited and conditioned by the pre-industrial technology prevalent in continental Europe. Marx was able to transcend primitive egalitarian notions of socialism only by assimilating the significance of the industrial revolution in Britain (in large part through his association with Engels).

Virtually from the day he became a communist in Paris in 1843, Marx vehemently attacked the doctrines of "barracks socialism" prevalent among contemporary communists like Weitling and Cabet:

"This type of communism—since it negates the *personality* of man in every sphere—is but the logical expression of private property, which is this negation.... Crude communism is only the culmination of this envy and of this levelling-down proceeding from the *preconceived* minimum. It has a *definite, limited* standard. How little this annulment of private property is really an appropriation is in fact proved by the abstract negation of the entire world of culture and civilization, the regression to the *unnatural* simplicity of the *poor* and crude man who has not only failed to go beyond private property, but has not yet even reached it." [emphasis in original]

—Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*

And when the Communist League



Pierre Bèrenger/Monthly Review Press

Charles Bettelheim



Ida Berman/Monthly Review Press

Paul Sweezy

published the first and only issue of its journal, the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift*, in September 1847, it began with an editorial differentiating the League from other contemporary communist tendencies (as well as its own origins in the primitive egalitarian League of the Just):

"We are not among those communists who are out to destroy personal liberty, who wish to turn the world into one huge barrack or into a gigantic workhouse. There certainly are some communists who...refuse to countenance personal liberty and would like to shuffle it out of the world because they consider that it is a hindrance to complete harmony. But we have no desire to exchange freedom for equality. We are convinced...that in no social order will personal freedom be so assured as in a society based upon communal ownership."

—reproduced in David Ryazanov (ed.), *The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, 1928

There is no better proof of the reactionary nature of the Maoist concept of socialism than that it was rejected by the vanguard of the European artisan-proletariat—the first Marxists—130 years ago!

The similarity between pre-Marxian models of socialism and the "radical" Maoist ideal arises because both are ideological expressions of social groups *doomed by historic progress*. Primitive egalitarianism—"barracks socialism"—was the response of artisans driven into destitution by the beginnings of the industrial revolution. It was the ideological expression of an impulse to *escape* from the hostile capitalist environment through the voluntary creation of self-sufficient producers' cooperatives.

The voluntarist Maoist version of "socialism in one country" expresses the false consciousness of a Stalinist bureaucracy in an economically backward deformed workers state isolated in a world dominated by the advanced capitalist powers. The overthrow of world capitalism through international proletarian revolution would sweep away the Chinese Stalinist regime. Therefore the Maoist bureaucracy

"Question 2: What is the aim of the Communists?"

Answer: To organize society in such a way that every member of it can develop and use all his capabilities and powers in complete freedom and without thereby infringing the basic conditions of this society."

—Friedrich Engels, "Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith," 1847

* * * * *

"Only through the interaction of these three elements, state planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can the correct direction of the economy of the transitional epoch be attained."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Soviet Economy in Danger," October 1932

Maoist apologists dismissing any hesitations about Chinese foreign policy by invoking China's supposedly unparalleled rapid progress toward so-called communism.

The Soviet Stalinist concept of "socialism in one country" always involved a large element of technological dynamism: a faith that backward Russia, through its planned economy, could catch up with the advanced capitalist countries in a generation or less. Stalin's *Problems of Leninism* (1933) asserts: "We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years."

Maoist China is qualitatively even more economically backward than was Russia in the 1930's. The gulf between the productive capacity of the Chinese and American economies is so vast that bridging it in any politically meaningful time period is inconceivable. When the Maoist regime broke with the Soviet bloc in the late 1950's, it was therefore forced to radically alter traditional Stalinist concepts. "Socialism" was redefined so as to be imminently achievable in one of the most impoverished nations on earth.

Far more so than Moscow-line Stalinism, therefore, Maoist ideology is a sustained attack on the fundamental Marxist premise that socialism requires material superabundance through a level of labor productivity far higher than that of the most advanced capitalism. Maoist ideology rests on a *subjectivist* redefinition of class society. Thus socialist relations are achieved through a "cultural revolution," and the process which supposedly restored capitalism in the Soviet Union was located mainly inside the head of Nikita Khrushchev.

Maoism's primitivism and extreme voluntarism—particularly as presented during the "Cultural Revolution" period—have had great appeal for

bureaucratic corruption and black-marketeering as Brezhnev's Russia. The economic policies of the Chinese and Soviet bureaucratically deformed workers states have far more in common with one another than either would have with the economic program of a genuinely revolutionary, democratic workers government.

In particular, Chinese economic policy rather closely resembles the regional decentralization of the later Khrushchev period (1958-64). In both cases decentralization resulted from an intra-bureaucratic conflict followed by an attempt to transfer control of economic resources from the centralized administrative/technical apparatus to the local party chiefs. However, the purpose of this article is not to counterpose China's venal, bureaucratic reality to the "radical" Maoist ideal presented by its Western sycophants. Rather it is to expose and attack the reactionary utopian nature of the Maoist ideal itself.

Marx Against Primitive Egalitarianism

Running through Maoist apologetics is an identification of concern for technical progress with "capitalist roadism." Bettelheim, for example, exhorts backward countries to follow China's policy of "self-reliance" and not to base development on importing advanced technology, which he regards as intrinsically capitalistic (!):

"Take, for example, the growth in the technical composition of capital, the apparently 'necessary' growth in the size of units of production in order to obtain a reduction in cost.... Far from being modalities of 'natural laws of technique,' are these not, quite simply, *social laws*—an effect of the domination of capitalist relations of production over the productive forces, quite concretely, an effect of the *laws of capitalist concentration and centralization*? There are many reasons for thinking



Der Spiegel

instinctively rejects international proletarian revolution as the key to a socialist future and projects communism as the idealization of existing Chinese reality.

Like Marx in the 1840's, his successors today, the Trotskyists, insist that socialism can only be based on the revolutionary appropriation of the productive forces of the advanced capitalist nations.

Obscurantism in the Service of Maoist Subjectivism

The most ambitious effort to give the crude, even embarrassing, subjectivism of *Peking Review* editorials the appearance of Marxism is that of Charles Bettelheim, a long-time orthodox French Stalinist who won to Maoism in the late 1960's. Bettelheim's works are a lengthy exercise in obscurantism. After tortuous terminological harangues and casuistic logic-chopping, Bettelheim arrives at the predictable conclusion that the class nature of society depends on the attitude of its ruling group. Bettelheim's assertion that capitalism has been restored in the USSR is as distant from scientific socialism as is his Chinese mentors' successive claims that Liu Shao-chi, then Lin Piao and now Chiang Ching were "capitalist roaders" (and long-time double-dealing "capitalist roaders" at that).

Of course, Bettelheim rejects the Marxist understanding of capitalism as a system of generalized commodity production associated with and requiring private ownership of the means of production. He chooses instead to define capitalism as "the separation of the direct producers from the means of production," a vague formulation smacking of New Left libertarianism and anarcho-syndicalism. Bettelheim sees wage labor as the essential element of capitalism:

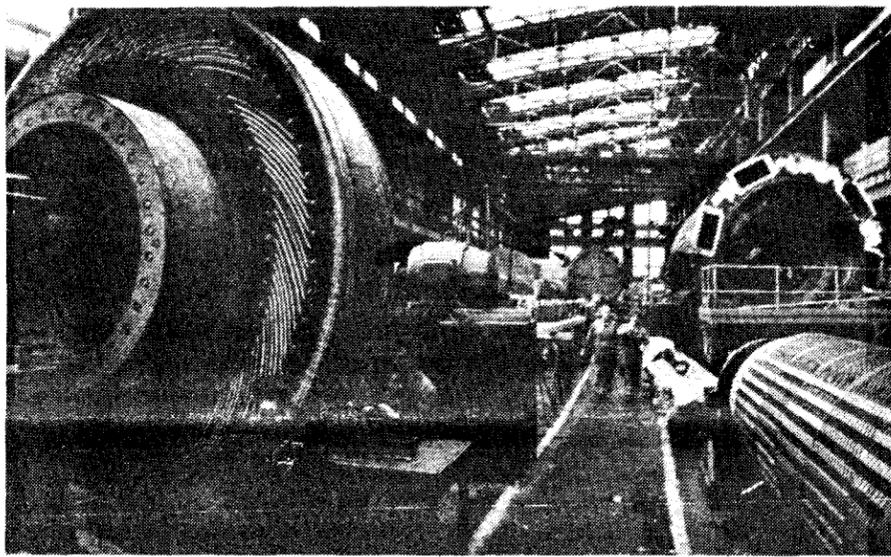
"The point to be particularly emphasized... is that it is the wage-labor relation, intervening in commodity production... that constitutes a capitalist social relation of production." [emphasis in original]

—*Economic Calculation and Forms of Property*

Like everyone else who uses the term "state capitalism" to describe the USSR, Bettelheim gives to it his own, unique definition. Actually he has two fundamentally different definitions. State capitalism, for Bettelheim, is either the complex of commodity relations within the dictatorship of the proletariat, or a new bourgeois mode of production. This highly confusing terminological dualism is very important for Bettelheim's purpose as an apologist for Chinese Stalinism against the Kremlin.

This becomes clear, or at least clearer, if we contrast genuine anarcho-syndicalism to Bettelheim's Maoism.

Stalin held that "socialism in one country" could be achieved through concentration on heavy industry (below) to the exclusion of consumer goods. Maoists go further, asserting that classes can be abolished in one of the most impoverished economies of the world (above). Marx, Lenin and Trotsky held that socialism could be achieved only on a world scale, based on the highest level of productive forces.



Life

For an anarcho-syndicalist an economy characterized by wage labor is capitalism, and that's that. But Bettelheim is not a syndicalist—he is a Stalinist. He firmly believes in the uncontrolled rule of a bureaucratic elite, masquerading as a Leninist vanguard party, which maintains itself in power through violence and terror against opposition arising from the working masses.

In Bettelheim's theoretical schema, if a genuine proletarian vanguard is in power, then "state capitalism" is "subordinated" to the construction of socialism (the case of Maoist China). But if power is not in the hands of a genuine vanguard, then "state capitalism" becomes dominant (as in Brezhnev's Russia):

"In brief, if the state apparatus which owns the means of production (as a result of state control) exists apart from the masses, and if, moreover, this apparatus is not subject to control by a party which is linked to the masses and which helps the masses to struggle to gain control over the use made of the means of production, we are then faced with relations constituting a structure which reproduces the separation of the direct producers from their means of production. If under these conditions the relationship between labor power and means of production is expressed through a wage relationship, this means that the relations of production are capitalist relations, and that those who occupy leading posts in the central state apparatus and associated apparatuses are, collectively, a capitalist—a state-bourgeoisie..."

"For there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat if the ruling party is not the party of the working class." [emphasis in original]

—Charles Bettelheim (with Paul Sweezy), *On the Transition to Socialism*, 1972

Since Bettelheim maintains that the vanguard party can be corrupted and

lose its class character by a peaceful, organic process, capitalism can be restored without a violent counterrevolution. Thus inherent in Maoism is a fundamental rejection of the Leninist theory of the state in favor of subjectivist voluntarism.

Does Bettelheim provide us with an objective measure—like the nature and extent of economic planning—of whether commodity relations are dominant or subordinate in a given collectivized economy? No, he denies that such an objective measure exists. Isn't it true that the market plays a far larger role in China, and that enterprises have greater autonomy there than in Brezhnev's Russia? Illusions! cries Bettelheim. The power of economic planning is bestowed only upon the true disciples. And since the masters of the Kremlin are no longer among the faithful, they have lost the power to plan. Economic planning in the USSR does not exist!

"If such a vanguard does not exist, and, in particular, if the ruling workers' party does not have, or no longer has, the characteristics which make it a vanguard of the working class, then the political and ideological conditions which enable planned relations to be dominant over market relations do not exist. When this is the case, it is, indeed, possible to formally have a document that bears the name 'plan,' but this only conceals the absence of real planning." [emphasis in original]

—*Economic Calculation and Forms of Property*

At this point, Bettelheim reunites with the undisguised subjectivism of *Peking Review*. Classes no longer arise from objective economic relations but depend on the attitudes of those wielding political power at any given time. How are we to know if it is a "real" proletarian vanguard engaged in "real"

economic planning? On this key question, Bettelheim and his Maoist cothinkers can only claim revelation by faith—and the latest purge. We wonder if Bettelheim's own faith that the Chinese Communist Party is a "real vanguard" has been shaken by the purge of Chiang Ching and the other Cultural Revolution "radicals." After all, Bettelheim's theorizing was originally inspired by the Cultural Revolution, all of whose leaders are now either dead or imprisoned as "capitalist roaders."

Does Money-Capital Exist in the USSR?

Bettelheim's assertion that wage labor as it exists in the Soviet Union (and China) is a capitalist relation of production requires further investigation. Running through Bettelheim is a fixation with the money form as intrinsically capitalist. A central theme of *Economic Calculation and Forms of Property* is the counterposition of monetary (capitalist) to economic (socialist) calculation in heterogeneous physical units, including different types of labor inputs.

Under capitalism wage labor is the exchange of money-capital for labor time. Money is not any piece of paper which can sometimes be exchanged for commodities. A ration ticket is not money. Money is the generalized embodiment of exchange value; according to Marx, money exists as "the universal medium of payment, as the universal means of purchase, and as the universal embodiment of wealth" (*Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. 3). What distinguishes money from all other forms of finance is precisely its generalized exchange value. That is why Marx insisted that money could not be ultimately based on government fiat, but only on precious metals which had intrinsic value as the product of labor.

In a capitalist economy, the sale of a consumer good directly and immediately adds to the money-capital of the particular capitalists who produced and distributed it. In contrast, in the Soviet Union there is a rigid separation between the financial flow associated with wages and consumption and that associated with interenterprise transactions. This empirical fact is recognized by everyone from Joseph Stalin himself (in his *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*) to every bourgeois expert on the Soviet economy. Only Bettelheim and his Maoist cothinkers believe that money-capital circulates in the Soviet economy.

The sale of a consumer good in the USSR affects the bank balance of the enterprise which produced it very indirectly through the mediation of higher economic authorities. Furthermore the bank accounts of Soviet enterprises are not money-capital either. Enterprise managers cannot use "their" funds to purchase whatever they want, but only goods specified in the supply plan or subsequently approved by higher-ups. Using capitalist categories to describe the Soviet financial system, one can say that labor is paid in generalized ration tickets and enterprises buy and sell among themselves through the extension and contraction of trade credit, not the circulation of money-capital.

In this respect, the Soviet economy conforms to Marx's own explicit projection of the financial mechanisms of a socialized economy under scarcity:

"In the case of socialized production the money-capital is eliminated. Society distributes labor-power and the means of production to the different branches of production. The producers may eventually receive paper vouchers, by means of which they withdraw from the social supply of the means of consumption a share corresponding to their labor time. These vouchers are not money. They do not circulate." [our emphasis]

—Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Ch. 18

Rationing vs. Market Distribution

Predictably Bettelheim regards the elimination of commodity forms in

continued on page 11

D.A. Prepares New Frame-Up in Retrial

Jersey Courts, Cops Go After Rubin Carter Again

Free Carter and Artis Now!

The retrial of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis which opened November 11 has made clear that the state is not dropping its vendetta to pin a triple-murder frame-up charge on these victimized black defendants.

Accused of slaying three white patrons in a Paterson, New Jersey bar in 1966, Carter and Artis were found guilty and sentenced to life terms in 1967. They won a new trial last March—ten years after the shootings—on the basis of concealed evidence which had "substantially prejudiced" a fair trial.

This evidence involved promises of leniency and a payoff of \$10,500 to two prosecution "eyewitnesses" facing a string of criminal charges unrelated to the Carter/Artis case. After claiming during the first trial that Carter and Artis were the gunmen who committed the murders, the two "eyewitnesses" recanted their testimony in September 1974 when the defendants had already been imprisoned for seven years. The prosecution's star witnesses evaded perjury charges by waiting until the statute of limitations had expired before coming forward with the truth.

In the new trial, the Passaic County prosecutor and judge seem as determined to "get" Carter and Artis as the first time around. For example:

- Alfred Bello, one of the "eyewitnesses," refused to testify and disappeared. Since his 1974 recantation, he has been singing a different tune: Carter and Artis, he claims, were at the scene of the slayings but were not the gunmen. The prosecutor's office has obtained a court order to hold Bello as a material witness and is considering additional charges against Carter and Artis as accomplices.

- Because of prejudicial pre-trial publicity deemed favorable to the defendants, the trial was moved from Paterson to Jersey City. But when the prosecutor opposed the change of venue on the grounds that newspaper and television coverage was actually more favorable to the defense in areas outside Paterson, the trial was moved back to Paterson!

- The prosecution's second "eyewitness," Arthur Bradley, was visited in Boston by someone from the prosecutor's office prior to the opening of the new trial. The D.A.'s representative asked how he would testify at the second trial, offered air fare to the trial and hinted at a deal on an indictment pending against him. After Bradley refused to testify and reported the conversation to the press, he was found guilty of the charges against him



WV Photo
Rubin Carter speaking at June 5 rally for Gary Tyler at Borough Hall, Brooklyn.

brought in the indictment. Presently out on bail, he maintains that his recantation was the truth.

- The prosecution obtained \$70,000 in additional budget allocations to reinvestigate the case.

- In court on November 12 prosecution witness Patricia Graham Valentine contradicted the testimony she gave at the 1966 trial concerning a shotgun cartridge and shell which the defense asserts were planted in Carter's car. The clerk's records show they were turned in as evidence *five days* after the murders, but Valentine now claims they were shown to her by a homicide detective within hours of the incident. Valentine, who lived above the Paterson bar, also identified tail lights she saw as those on the car driven by Carter when he was picked up for questioning rather than as another type which she described repeatedly at the first trial. Valentine has filed suit against song writer Bob Dylan for using her name in his solidarity song for Carter, "Hurricane."

- In an ominous move, the judge barred *New York Times* reporter Selwyn Raab from the courtroom Thursday and served him with a subpoena to testify for the prosecution. Not only is this a frontal attack on freedom of the press, but it was a clear attempt to gag news coverage of the case. It was Raab's reporting that produced the recantations by Bello and Bradley, without which there would not have been a new trial.

The second trial is barely a week old and already Carter and Artis' long-overdue freedom is threatened by an orchestrated attempt to put them in jail for the rest of their lives. Carter and Artis are innocent! Only a massive protest can stop the frame-up and win their freedom! Militants must demand, no more trials—drop the charges against Carter and Artis!

For more information on the Carter/Artis case, contact: Freedom for All Forever Corp., 505 Park Avenue, 12th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10022 (Att.: John Webster); phone: (212) 421-9207. ■

Maintenance Workers Fired as AFSCME Moves In

Gotbaum Throws CUNY Workers on the Street

An attempt by City University of New York Graduate Center administrators to fire 37 maintenance workers and give their jobs to members of another trade union has sparked a bitter strike at the facility. Members of the Building Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Locals 32B and 32J employed at the center began their walkout October 28 when then were told they would be laid off and replaced by members of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). The SEIU workers, some of whom have up to 29 years seniority, were given one week's notice by the administration and told to clear out.

According to the strikers, AFSCME leader Victor Gotbaum pressured the City University to fire the private contractor who had employed the SEIU workers in order to replace them with members of Gotbaum's own union. The DC37 employees had themselves been recently laid off from jobs at other university branches.

Despite the workers' determination, the mood on the picket lines this week has been grim. Not only are the SEIU members being knifed in the back by fellow unionists, but their picket lines are being sabotaged by a virtual army of scabs including DC37 workers in the building, college teachers organized under the Professional Staff Congress and, with few exceptions, the

entire graduate student population.

Members of the CCNY chapter of the Spartacus Youth League have been walking the picket lines and are calling on the student body to respect the strike. But the lines are badly undermined. SEIU leaders, having the same defeatist politics as the rest of the city's business-unionist labor bureaucracy, are doing nothing to try to mobilize massive support for the lines to keep the scabs out. One striker told *WV*, "We can't stop them [the scabs] because the union doesn't say to stop them." Another striker complained, "Nobody's doing anything at all. If the union leaders would only encourage us..."

Instead of bureaucratic infighting among the labor fakers for a share in an ever shrinking capitalist pie, the SEIU strike points to the need for labor solidarity in a fight for jobs for all. But from Victor Gotbaum, this despicable job raid is just par for the course. Since the bank-manipulated "fiscal crisis" began two years ago, the NYC labor bureaucracy's program to fight the massive slashing of government jobs has been a never ending series of criminal actions against the working people of the city.

Gotbaum's first move two years ago was to sacrifice workers holding "provisional" job titles, although some of them had years of seniority behind them, in the futile hope of keeping the workers with "permanent" status. Next he engineered a vicious campaign to force the early retirement of older workers in order to "save" the jobs of the younger, only to see thousands of the latter laid off a few months later. Then he made a deal with the city to liquidate the CETA hiring program, which provided jobs for thousands of minority workers, and to give their jobs to laid-off DC37 members.

In the interests of this desperate strategy of backstabbing and appeasement, in the past two years everything from vacation days and sick days to the crucial cost-of-living escalator in the AFSCME Local 420 municipal hospital workers' contract has gone out the window. And still the layoffs and the cutbacks keep coming, as Gotbaum knew they would. These fakers care only for protecting their own dues base, no matter whose jobs or what contractual gains are lost in the process.

Shanker Gives Up Collective Bargaining

In another development this week, United Federation of Teachers (UFT) head Albert Shanker announced to the city's teachers, whom he forced back to work without a contract over a year ago, that not only is there still no settlement in sight, but he believes they would be better off to just forget about collective bargaining altogether until the "crisis" is over. "When there's nothing to be bargained for," he said, "it's a form of torture to send people in to bargain.... Maintaining bargaining-as-usual posture in a period of a combination of war and bankruptcy is ridiculous" (*New York Times*, 13 November).

Truly there is no limit to the chaos and hardship these "leaders" are willing to unleash upon the city's proletariat in order to save their own skins and avoid the course of class struggle which would quickly topple them from power. Class-struggle caucuses must be built to oust Gotbaum, Shanker and the rest of the bureaucrats from leadership before the unions' remaining gains are sacrificed and the unions themselves gutted. ■

Bosses' Troops...

(continued from page 12)

consequences of reliance on the imperialist state.

So with consummate cynicism the SWP/NSCAR invite Devlin to this conference while duplicating the same criminal line that left Ulster's Catholics virtually defenseless before London's storm troopers. In fact, in every respect, the SWP compounds the treachery of Devlin's support for British intervention. Devlin and her cohorts in the PD of 1969 were an amorphous and largely inexperienced grouping of radical students. By contrast, the SWP of 1976 is a sophisticated, hardened and consciously reformist tendency.

The PD's capitulation to the pressures of mass illusions about the British role in Ulster followed (and contradicted) its brave participation in defense of the Bogside. No such contradiction exists for the SWP. It has consistently fought against the Spartacist League's advocacy of an independent labor and black defense force to stop racist attacks. And, finally, where Devlin eventually drew at least partially correct conclusions from the brutal British occupation, the SWP only defends and deepens its flagrantly opportunist line.

The call for "Troops to Boston" is nothing but a call for the government to enforce capitalist "law and order," i.e., the racist status quo. The lessons of history count for nothing before the reformists' appetite for respectability. If "Federal Troops to Boston" no longer plays a significant role in the SWP/NSCAR's propaganda, it is not because they are pulling back from the potentially catastrophic consequences of such a line. It merely signals a new phase in their groveling pursuit of popular-frontist alliances on terms acceptable to bourgeois liberals. ■

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B'nai B'rith, ACLU Defend Fascists' "Rights"

Smash Nazis' Anti-Jewish Hate Campaign in Chicago!

CHICAGO—The tiny National Socialist White People's Party (Nazis), which has recently been waging a campaign of terror and intimidation against black people on Chicago's Southwest Side (particularly in the Marquette Park area), has turned its attention to a new target. In a leaflet entitled "We Are Coming," the Nazis announced that:

"...the Chicago Park District and the courts...have both enforced what amounts to a complete ban of our right to free speech in public. And, since we have been so banned, we have decided to relocate in areas heavily populated by the real enemy—the Jews."

If the Nazis' "free speech" has been infringed upon, it is through no fault of blind civil libertarians among their intended victims. In response to the Nazis' threats to spew out their racist and anti-semitic filth on the city's North Side, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith has stated that it *defends* the fascists' "Constitutional rights" to leaflet and assemble.

To outraged Jewish residents, some of them survivors of Hitler's death camps, the "responsible" ADL preaches they should *ignore* Nazi plans to hold race-hate marches in their neighborhoods:

"In the eventuality that a rally ever should occur, it should be ignored. Nothing can be more demoralizing to the Nazis. A violent confrontation, in contrast, would put the Nazis on the front page, and whet their appetites for future activities."

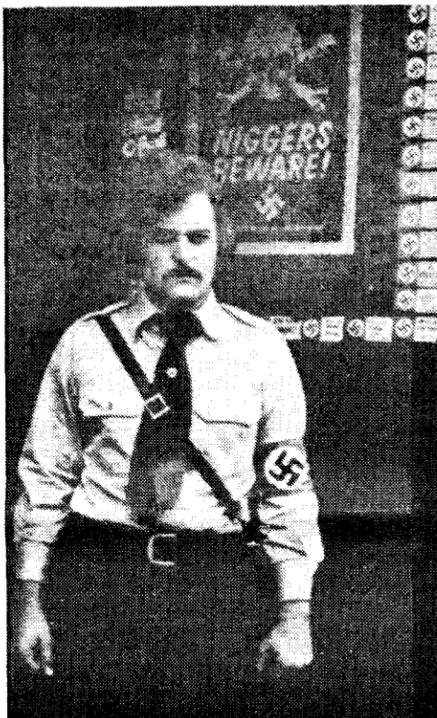
—letter of the Midwest regional office of the ADL, 30 September

Should these ostrich tactics fail to achieve the desired results, the ADL counsels recourse to the police, courts and civil liberties organizations, to find "constructive ways" to stop the Nazis.

The ADL's head-in-the-sand refusal to learn the lessons of history is shared by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), both of which "constructively" deal with the Nazis by defending the "rights" of these fascist terrorists. In fact, the Chicago ACLU's major project over the past year has been a campaign to stop police "harassment" (!) of the Nazis and to aid them in gaining permits for demonstrations from city officials. The SWP characterizes as "ultra-left" attempts by the left and labor movement to smash the

fascist vermin before they multiply.

The handful of brownshirted storm-troopers who operate out of Lincoln Rockwell Hall distributing the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and posters showing "rabbis involved in the ritual murder of an innocent Gentile boy" are socially marginal worshippers of the Third Reich rather than harbingers of a mass fascist movement in the U.S. But in Marquette Park they have joined



Rachel Cowan/Village Voice

Fascists have spearheaded mob violence against black people in Marquette Park, Chicago.

forces with the native American fascists of the Ku Klux Klan and tapped a reservoir of violent white racism. The result has been three years of night-riding terror attacks on black families and thousands of screaming blood-thirsty racists attacking open-housing marchers.

Flabby civil libertarianism in the face of fascist and racist attacks is suicidal for the working class and oppressed minorities. While physical clashes with the Nazis ending in a stand-off or police intervention can embolden the fascists, the aim of the labor movement must be to ruthlessly *smash* these racist swine. Neither the courts nor cops of the capitalist state can be relied on to deny a platform to the poisonous anti-communist labor-haters: only resolute mass action by workers defense guards can decisively crush the fascist scum.

This is the strategy which the Spartacist League has consistently called for in Chicago and elsewhere that the Nazis and Klansmen have raised their repulsive heads. One inspiring example of successful defense against racist terror in Chicago was the action of United Auto Workers Local 6 in mounting a union defense guard at a black member's home that had been firebombed and stoned by night-riders. This is the answer to the Nazis' terrorist activities in Marquette Park and threatened anti-semitic campaign. No reliance on the bourgeois state—For workers defense guards against racist and fascist terror! ■

Nazi Crusader...

(continued from page 5)

retire the two air force generals, an act unprecedented in the 20-year history of the West German armed forces.

The Rudel affair has become a focal point for left-wing fears of a resurgence of Nazism in the officer corps as well as protest by the military elite and ultra-rightists against the SPD-dominated government. Hundreds of letters, some signed "Sieg Heil," have poured into German newspapers and the defense ministry. Ultra-rightist forces such as the "Union of the German People" (DVU) are becoming more vociferous in their veiled appeals to Nazism, and the DVU on November 7 staged a demonstration in Mannheim in honor of former Waffen SS officer Joachim Peiper, the fascists' current martyr.

Peiper was convicted in 1945 of the mass murder of 71 American soldiers, but was paroled after 12 years of a life sentence. He subsequently became chief of promotions for Porsche, until the metal workers union protested and he was fired. He moved to Volkswagen, where the union again drove him out, and finally settled in France. After some years he was uncovered by the French Communist Party, which launched a massive exposure campaign this year. Shortly thereafter a burned corpse, presumably that of Peiper, was discovered in the smoldering ruins of his home on Bastille Day (July 14) last summer.

It is well known that many top Nazis, like Peiper, hold down key jobs in German industry and finance; but since these loyal servants of capitalism have powerful protectors, the fact is kept quiet, "to avoid trouble." The few token show trials of old Nazis and their underlings which do occur in the federal republic meet with widespread cynicism, as the current 11-month trial of Mrs. Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan demonstrates.

Mrs. Ryan, who was extradited from the U.S., is one of five women and nine men charged with mass murder in connection with shootings, deadly injections, hangings and gassings of Jewish inmates at the Mjdanek concentration camp in Poland from 1941 to 1944. Although their guilt is unquestioned, one of the accused women complained that it was "unfair to punish the little people after most of the big shots escaped" (*New York Times*, 1 November).

It is no accident that the "big shots" have escaped, for it is the colleagues of the Peipers and Rudels who formed the core of the West Germany army when it was reconstituted in the mid-1950's. The nationalist tradition of this army—universally recognized as the most effective in capitalist Europe—represents a continuity with the Nazi period, and thus it is hardly surprising that defense minister Leber's cashiering of the two air force generals reportedly met with near-universal rejection in the officer corps.

The Nazi-infested Bundeswehr gives the lie to the Social Democrats' claim to be building a model welfare state and peace-loving nation. To maintain capitalist rule, the SPD has consciously fostered a strong military apparatus. Leber's predecessor as defense minister, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, attempted to streamline the Bundeswehr with McNamara-style "rationalization." The

current defense chief has made a particular point of catering to the whims of the general staff, almost always following their advice when there is a difference with civilian officials.

Characterized by an SPD colleague in parliament as being "in love with uniforms," Leber has consistently chosen military officers over civilians for defense ministry posts, repeatedly favored right-wing officers over those few who are known as SPD members or supporters, and constantly sees "Communist conspiracies" at work among Social Democratic legislators. He has often praised the military power as "that great renowned power which supports the state," and stated that it should have equal place with the parties, the trade unions and the churches.

SPD leaders have admitted that it was no secret that top Bundeswehr officers think like Krupinski and Franke, but now pro-Social Democratic media are beginning to sound the alarm that "the



Der Spiegel

General Krupinski, fired as German air force chief for defending unauthorized fete of Nazi and attack on Social Democratic leader.

military authorities began to go overboard in their self-confidence, and the generals became more autocratic" (*Spiegel*, 8 November). The moderate and "left" Social Democrats, however, only want the revanchist, ultra-rightist, fanatically anti-communist generals to keep their mouths shut.

Revolutionaries must point out that the only way to truly cleanse the military of fascist elements is by destroying the officer corps root and branch, through socialist revolution. The fact that Krupinkis and Frankes are legion in the West Germany army is nothing but an expression of the fact that the capitalist state, even where administered by reformist "socialists," always maintains the fascists in reserve, ready to intervene should bourgeois democracy fail to restrain the working class.

In 1979 the statute of limitations on war crimes expires in West Germany. All foes of Nazi barbarism must demand that this collective pardon be annulled, and known war criminals be rapidly brought to trial. It is reported that the "Office of Protection of the Constitution" has more than 3,000 cases of Nazi murderers in their files, but systematically ignores them, instead concentrating on a McCarthy-style witchhunt of leftists in government employment (*New York Times*, 29 August).

While demanding that war criminals be jailed for their crimes, Marxists warn that no confidence can be placed in the bourgeois state to crush the fascists. Unless the German and European proletariat rises up to sweep away bourgeois rule, Nazi barbarism and the imperialist holocaust of World War II will be repeated on an infinitely more destructive scale. ■

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Maoists...

(continued from page 1)

article on the dramatic events in Peking, appearing in the November issue of its New York/New Jersey-area *Worker*. In this article, entitled "Revolution Will Continue in China," we are informed:

"They [the "big struggles among top Party leaders in China"] are profoundly political struggles over opposite lines and policies and ways of doing things, over which direction things will take in China—a struggle over which way China will go and which class of people will have power."

That, believe it or not, is the beginning and the end of the RCP's line to date on the events in Peking. The *Worker* refuses to divulge the names of the "struggling top Party leaders," nor does it tell us just what the "profoundly political struggles" are about. With Mao no longer on the scene, the RCP is having difficulty figuring out whether China is on the "capitalist road" or the "socialist road."

If the RCP is procrastinating so long that it looks ridiculous, its rival, the OL, stalled until the defeat of the "Gang of Four" became official and the winning line could be copied word for word from *Peking Review*. The first article on the power struggle in China to appear in the OL weekly, the *Call* (1 November), consists entirely of quotations and close paraphrases from the Chinese press. Given the fluid situation in China, it didn't dare risk an independent commentary. Mike Klonsky undoubtedly



People's Liberation Army support for the new chairman, Hua. Gamma-Liaison

an would of course conclude that she then represents "broad forces." The *Guardian's* ever-so-diplomatic reaction to the change in the Chinese regimes proves once again that it is nothing other than an unpaid publicity agent for successful "Third World" nationalists and Stalinists.

Furthermore, the *Guardian's* analysis stands in flat contradiction to that offered by the Chinese rulers. Far from accusing the Chiang Ching clique of being on the left wing of the party, Hua & Co. lambaste the "Gang" as "rightists" on the "capitalist road." As for the earlier

attacked Hua's purge as the liquidation of "revolutionary Maoism." Typically these have been "critical Maoist" tendencies that had already criticized the Chinese Stalinists on such questions as the latter's support for NATO, or groups on the fringes of the Maoist movement. Thus in Europe, the German Kommunistischer Bund, the French group Révolution and the Swedish Forbundet Kommunist have come out for the "Shanghai Group" (Chiang Ching and her supporters).

In the U.S., the most sophisticated presentation of the anti-Hua position has been by the eclectic Stalinoid, Sam Marcy, ex-Trotskyist head of the Workers World Party. A three-part article in *Workers World*, entitled "The Suppression of the Left in China," seeks to expose the power grab by "Thermidorian reaction" against "revolutionary Maoism."

Marcy's article is based on the completely fraudulent claim that Mao/Chiang constituted a left opposition to the Chou/Teng right-wing axis. Therefore Marcy is forced to explain away why Mao publicly supported all major statements of Chinese policy over the past period. Marcy calls attention to the new state constitution promulgated in January 1975. He notes the rightist, conservative nature of the document, which guarantees the peasant the right to a private plot, maintains the low-level production team as the basic unit of accounting in collectivized agriculture and asserts the principle of distribution according to work performed. The "radical Maoists" didn't oppose this constitution—in fact, they openly supported it. But Marcy, presumably in secret contact with the Forbidden Palace, informs us:

"In retrospect his [Mao's] de facto boycott of these meetings [the 1975 National People's Congress] was indicative of the fact that the Maoist supporters were clearly in the minority and that the rightists were in fact trying to reverse earlier 'correct verdicts'."

—*Workers World*, 29 October

So according to Marcy, Mao was a political coward who refused to fight revisionism unless he was in a majority. Some revolutionary leader! Or perhaps he means that China was even then so bureaucratic that Chou/Teng would have suppressed Mao had he spoken up against them. Some "socialist" China!

With his position that Mao was a sincere, if oft-times ineffectual, revolutionary leader, Marcy has naturally denied the need for workers democracy in China. He rejects the Trotskyist program of soviet democracy through political revolution led by a proletarian vanguard party against the privileged, parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. Even now when he claims that rightist reaction has just triumphed in China, Marcy refrains from calling for a political revolution to smash the Hua regime. He simply concludes fatalistically that "Both revolutionary revival as well as further regression are possible."

The ideological legacy of Maoism has

left its followers in a hopeless muddle. Maoists who memorized their "Little Red Book" lessons well learned that capitalism was restored in Russia with a speech by Khrushchev. For any surviving Maoists who still believe what their mentors taught them in the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," the thought that Hua could be the Chinese Khrushchev must send shivers up and down their political spines.

But the victory of the Hua clique has not restored capitalism in China any more than Khrushchev's rise overthrew the proletarian property forms which were a fundamental conquest of the October Revolution and must be unconditionally defended by communists. Rather in both cases the victor emerged from clique maneuvering to (temporarily) nail down a position at the helm of a rapacious bureaucratic caste which arbitrarily rules these deformed and degenerated workers states.

Sam Marcy uses the term "Thermidor" referring to Hua's coup in order to recall Trotsky's analysis of Stalin's usurpation of power following Lenin's death. Yet the Trotskyist Left Opposition was able to launch an international struggle against Stalinist reaction because there was a Leninist revolutionary program which Stalin had to bury, and because of the existence of a Communist International built by the Bolsheviks. In contrast, the foreign Maoists present a pathetic picture, unable to identify any substantial political differences between Hua, Chiang Ching and Mao, and utterly irrelevant to the power struggle in Peking.

Not only partisans of the defeated "Shanghai Group," but loyal mouthpieces for the Peking bureaucracy such as Klonsky and Avakian were utterly impotent in the face of Hua's lightning purge and no more informed than the *New York Times*. Whether or not they support the new masters in the Forbidden Palace, these puppets will remain pathetic and contemptible as would-be revolutionary leaders. ■



Caricatures in Shanghai, stronghold of opposition to Hua, denounce the "four devils." AP

hopes that the Peking regime will overlook his blunder in sending condolences to the widow Chiang. After all, this loyal supporter of whoever rules in the Forbidden Palace had not yet been informed by "Acting Chairman" Hua that Chiang was a "monstrous criminal capitalist roader."

Guardian: Two, Three, Many Lines

China's alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, and particularly its support to the Kissinger-inspired South African invasion of Angola last winter, provoked dissent among critical currents within the Maoist milieu. In the U.S., this current was represented by the non-party *Guardian*, which is above all committed to reflecting mainstream sentiment among New Left-derived petty-bourgeois radical circles.

This apolitical opportunism governs the *Guardian's* response to the post-Mao succession crisis. A series of articles by staff writer Jack Smith comes out for the new Hua regime because it appears popular and secure, while rejecting the incredible accusations being leveled against the "Gang of Four." The *Guardian* (10 November) analysis is summarized by the contention that:

"The post-Mao-Chou era thus dawns with the Communist Party's right and left wings clipped at least temporarily with political power now firmly in the hands of the broad center forces led by Chairman Hua."

And just how does the *Guardian* know that Hua (totally obscure a year ago) now commands "broad forces"? Because he won. In the (highly unlikely) event that Chiang Ching makes a comeback and topples Hua, the *Guardian*

"anti-rightist" campaign against Teng Hsiao-ping, it is being shelved. Teng, who remains in the party and at large, is no longer condemned as a "capitalist roader," but merely as having a right-deviationist line, a fairly mild criticism. And so Teng has reportedly returned to Peking in the company of two generals.

It is noteworthy that all the "friends of China," from liberal academic John K. Fairbank to the various competing Maoist sects, insist that the latest purge is a fundamental class political battle, yet are unable to agree on what are the main issues (or in some cases even to suggest what they are). To say otherwise would reveal too much about the endless bureaucratic war in Peking. To admit that millions of Chinese had been mobilized in a clique struggle would cast doubt on the entire recent political past in China, putting a question mark over the "mass democracy" which allegedly demonstrated the anti-bureaucratic nature of the Chinese rulers as opposed to the Russians.

There is the added problem that the present victims are precisely those who led the Cultural Revolution and were for years seen as being closest to Mao himself. The *Guardian* states that it is "fairly obvious" that the "Gang of Four" had been under Mao's protection. For this it is excoriated by the OL, which reveals:

"But what is really obvious from the recent CCP statements is that Chairman Mao, far from 'protecting' the 'gang of four' criticized and warned against conspiring and factionalizing over a period of several years."

—*Call*, 15 November

So much for the "obvious"!

Myth of the "Radical Maoists"

Predictably some groups have come to the defense of Chiang Ching and

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Maoist Economics . . .

(continued from page 7)

production as the goal of socialism. And he sees progress toward this end primarily through "ideological revolutionization":

"Unity among socialist workers must develop on the basis of politics and ideology. Such a unity makes it possible to envisage the eventual elimination of the surviving market relations and the emergence of new socialist social relations, an outcome that is directly related to the ideological revolutionization achieved by the class struggle unfolding under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party." [our emphasis]

—Charles Bettelheim, *Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China*, 1974

That Marx regarded differential wage labor as a necessary characteristic of the transition to communism is well-known, being explicitly stated in both the *Critique of the Gotha Program* and *Anti-Dühring*. Only when labor absorbs an insignificant amount of time and energy will individuals freely grant it to the social collective. Marx would have savagely ridiculed as subjective idealism the notion that the elimination of wage labor could be achieved through "ideological revolutionization." In reality, the Chinese bureaucracy's claim to favor "moral" over "material incentives" is a cover for the allocation of labor by *state coercion*, which is both more oppressive and economically less effective than wage labor.

The Chinese bureaucracy's use of state coercion masquerading as "ideological revolutionization" is apparent in the practice of transferring urban student youth to the countryside for indefinite periods. This practice not only generates enormous social discontent, but is probably a net drain on the Chinese economy. The transplanted youth are indifferent, negligent farmers, and the peasants justifiably resent having to partly support and socialize with recalcitrant, labor-shirking youth, who behave as if they were in a prison camp.

Bettelheim's biases also lead him to favor rationing or socialized distribution as opposed to the individual purchase of consumables. However, the aim of socialism is not to impose a uniform way of life, but exactly the opposite: the full development of individual capacity. This development is not primarily spiritual, but requires the individual appropriation of material wealth. Painting and sculpture, for example, require a wide variety of ingredients available in subtle gradations. Within the limits imposed by overall availability, a socialist economic policy seeks to maximize individual choice of consumables.

Rationing subverts this aim, as does "free" distribution of scarce consum-

ables on a first come, first served basis. In the early 1960's, when Fidel Castro and Che Guevara wanted to establish socialism in Cuba overnight, they eliminated charges on telephone calls. The result was that one had to wait hours to make a phone call! Even under the fullest, most perfect workers democracy, rationing, discriminatory pricing and socialized distribution entail an element of administrative arbitrariness and subjectivity. This subjective arbitrariness is magnified many times over in China where the administrators are an irrational, clique-ridden bureaucracy.

Of course, in times of war or natural disaster administrative control must be rigidly imposed on all sectors of the economy. But as a norm in the dictatorship of the proletariat, and assuming the wage structure is optimal, the market is the most efficient, sensitive and democratic mechanism for adjusting scarce consumer goods and services to individual needs and desires. The extension of socialized distribution should be an exception to be justified by particular merits. For example, a workers government might use free or subsidized distribution to make available sports facilities. It also makes sense to supply free of individual charge necessary services where demand is little affected by price, like mass intra-city transit. However, unless it expresses the elimination of scarcity, the extension of socialized distribution restricts individual choice and so impoverishes social life.

Here again Marx is in explicit opposition to Bettelheim's "Chinese road to socialism." Marx considered that in a collectivized economy under conditions of scarcity, consumables would be priced and sold at their cost of production. In fact, he believed that one of the advantages of economic planning would be the elimination of random market fluctuations and that consumables would be available at their true value and equilibrium quantity:

"(It is *only* where production is under the actual, *predetermining control* of society that the latter establishes a relation between the volume of social labor-time applied in producing definite articles, and the volume of social want to be satisfied by these articles.) . . . But if the quantity of social labor expended in the production of a certain article corresponds to the social demand for it, so that the produced quantity corresponds to the usual scale of reproduction and the demand remains unchanged, then the article is sold at its market-value. The exchange, or sale, of commodities at their value is the *rational state of affairs*, i.e., the natural law of their equilibrium." [our emphasis]

—Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 10

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the market should be the normal mechanism for distributing the *existing* supply of scarce goods and services destined for individual consumption. However, the *extension* of productive capacity for particular consumables should be determined through the

centralized investment plan. Major investment in particular consumer goods industries (like the establishment of an automobile industry) should be governed not only by projected market demand, but by a collective (i.e., political) decision concerning general social desirability.

The Marxist Path From Scarcity to Communism

The crass anti-Marxism of the Maoist ideologues is, in a sense, more revealed by what they do not say than by what they do say. Virtually every time Marx and Engels wrote about communist society and progress toward it, they focused on the radical reduction in necessary labor time and its replacement by creative, scientific work. For Marx the reduction in labor time required to produce necessities was not only the central measure of human progress, but reducing the workday was the object of much of his political agitation, particularly in the early years of the First International.

In the writings of Bettelheim, Sweezy, *et al.*, the reduction of labor time as a precondition for socialism is nowhere to be found. Commodity relations are to be eliminated on the basis of existing technology with little change in the quantity and quality of labor. Sweezy provides this capsule description of communism:

"...under communism, classes have disappeared; the state has withered away; crippling forms of the division of labor have been overcome; distinctions between city and country and between mental and manual labor have been abolished; distribution is according to need, etc."

—*On the Transition to Socialism*

What makes this possible, or why it could not have been accomplished at the time of the Pharaohs, is not mentioned by this Maoist ideologue in his efforts to combat "economistic" Marxism.

In order to focus on questions of labor and economics, we have not discussed the *nationalist* deviation inherent in the Stalinist concept of "socialism in one country." But Sweezy's description of communism cries out for refutation on this point, too. Sweezy's Stalinist ideology is so deep-rooted he doesn't even realize that the Marxist conception of communism contains as one of its central elements the *disappearance of national affiliation*.

For those whose "Marxist education" is derived from the *Monthly Review* circle or even more vulgar Stalinist ideologues, the original Marxist vision of communist society will come as a shocking revelation. Writing the first draft of what became the *Communist Manifesto*, Engels asserted:

"The nationalities of the peoples who join together according to the principle of community will be just as much compelled by this union to merge with one another and thereby supersede themselves as the various differences between estates and classes disappear through the superseding of their basis—private property."

—"Draft of a Communist Confession of Faith," June 1847

To return to the main theme of this article, Sweezy's phrase that under communism the differences between "mental and manual labor have been abolished" is vague and consequently misleading. For Marxists, that "abolition" occurs precisely through the *elimination* of arduous, mechanical manual labor and its replacement by creative, scientific work. Marx regarded the most progressive tendency of capitalist industrialization as the elimination of direct manual labor from the process of production and its replacement by the supervision of machinery:

"Real wealth develops much more (as is disclosed by heavy industry) in the enormous disproportion between labor time utilized and its product, and also the qualitative disproportion between labor that has been reduced to a mere abstraction, and the power of the production process that it supervises. Labor does not seem any longer to be an

essential part of the process of production. The human factor is restricted to watching and supervising the production process. . . .

"The worker no longer inserts transformed natural objects as the intermediaries between the material and himself; he now inserts the natural process that he has transformed into an industrial one between himself and inorganic nature, over which he has achieved mastery. He is no longer the principal agent of the production process: he exists alongside it."

—Karl Marx, *The Grundrisse*

In other words, Marx conceived of communism as what would today be called a fully automated society. His opposition to capitalism as a system of production was that it *arrested* technical progress because the expansion of the means of production generated a historically declining rate of profit.

The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state permits the expropriation and centralized control of the existing means of production. The full, rational utilization of economic resources, particularly investment embodying the most advanced technology, produces a quantum leap in labor productivity. The increased productivity is partly expended on raising the level of consumption but mainly on a significant reduction in labor time. The additional free time is used for re-education of the working masses which raises their cultural level and technical capacity. When these workers re-enter the process of production, they further stimulate increases in productivity. Thus increases in labor productivity become a self-perpetuating, self-reinforcing process:

"Real economy—savings—consists in the saving of working time (the minimum, and reduction to the minimum, of production costs); but this saving is identical with the development of productivity. Economizing, therefore, does not mean the giving up of pleasure, but the development of power and productive capacity, and thus both the capacity for and the means of enjoyment. . . . Free time—which includes leisure as well as time for higher activities—naturally transforms anyone who enjoys it into a *different* person, and it is this different person who *then enters* the direct process of production. The man who is being formed finds discipline in this process, while for the man who is already formed it is practice, experimental science, materially creative and self-objectifying knowledge, and he contains within his own head the accumulated wisdom of society." [our emphasis]

—*Ibid.*

The end of this process occurs when necessary labor absorbs such an insignificant share of time and energy that the individual freely grants it to the social collective. In turn, the level of productivity is then so great that individual material appropriation can be given unrestricted play: "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs."

Wage labor and commodity distribution are simply the characteristic *forms* of scarcity and labor coercion under the capitalist mode of production. The true goal of communism is to eliminate the *reality* of scarcity and labor coercion.

Independently of its contribution to the eventual transcendence of scarcity, the elimination of commodity relations has no progressive character at all. A program to eliminate wage-labor and commodity distribution under conditions of material backwardness is reactionary utopianism. Attempts to carry out such a program will lead to economic collapse, as following the Chinese Great Leap Forward in 1960-61, and will create conditions of life more oppressive than those associated with wage labor in the deformed workers states. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

"Left" Cheerleaders for Imperialist Army Join Hands at NSCAR

From Belfast to Boston: No to the Bosses' Troops!

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey is scheduled to address this weekend's conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), an event rife with historical irony. If either Devlin or the NSCAR leadership had any shame (or political scruples), each would be distinctly uncomfortable with the other. Her political history is dramatic testimony to the criminal folly of reliance on imperialist armed forces to "protect" oppressed minorities. Yet NSCAR stands for the same counter-revolutionary policy in the U.S. which Devlin was forced under pressure of

Racist Regimes" in southern Africa. This, after all, is a politically safe issue, particularly if opposition to apartheid is scrupulously separated from the question of proletarian revolution (see "NSCAR Gropes for New Gimmicks," *Young Spartacus*, November 1976).

As apparent evidence of NSCAR's new "international" orientation enter Devlin, billed as "a leader of the Irish freedom struggle." We are waiting with genuine interest to hear her presentation. Will she forthrightly account for her support in August 1969 to the introduction of 6,000 British troops into Northern Ireland and her subsequent reversal after the oppressive role of these imperialist gendarmes became bloodily apparent? Will she draw the lessons of that betrayal and apply them to NSCAR's notorious call for "Federal Troops to Boston"? Or will we hear only the usual, vague "unity and solidarity" mongering by which the most sordid acts of treachery are covered up?

It would seem difficult, to say the least, to ignore the glaring political parallels between support for British troops in Northern Ireland and NSCAR's calls for federal troops (or sometimes merely for better police protection) in Boston. In both cases, an imminent danger, from reactionary thugs (Ulster's Orange gangs, Boston's anti-busing mobs), ineffectively contained or actively aided by bigoted local police forces, was used by ostensible socialists to justify a vote of confidence to the highest levels of the bourgeois state power (Westminster and Washington).

The SWP/NSCAR tell embattled black people in Boston to rely on the U.S. army, as if it were not the same army that raped Indochina and slaughtered black rebels in Detroit. Devlin refused to call for the immediate withdrawal of the occupying British troops, as if they were not the historic oppressors of the Irish people.

Only a week after the initial troop deployment in Derry, Devlin was in New York raising funds to rebuild 500 houses, as if the British military occupation had suddenly ushered in a period of peace and tranquility. In fact, she was quite explicit in telling reporters:

"We may well be in a lull before the storm. The British forces have moved in to protect the people living behind the barricades from 'the forces of law and order.'

"The British Army must remain. If withdrawn, the underlying problems will again raise their heads."

"Our short-term demand is that the British must disarm and disband the constabulary and the special police, which are instruments of the Unionist party that dominates the six northern counties."

—*New York Times*, 22 August 1969

Two days later, the *New York Times* reports her as "asserting that the civil rights movement wanted direct rule by



British troops in Belfast (above) claimed to be neutral yet repeatedly attacked oppressed Catholic masses. Boston police (below) likewise enforce racist status quo. In both Belfast and Boston, reformists called for imperialist armed forces to "protect" the oppressed.



WV Photo

Britain over Northern Ireland until an all-Irish plebiscite could be held to consider the question of reunification."

This "leader of the Irish freedom struggle" simply capitulated to the short-lived illusions of embattled Northern Irish Catholics in the neutrality of the imperialist forces. The results of this capitulation were not long in coming. While temporarily restraining the Orange gangs and ending the autonomy of the Ulster police forces, British troops quickly joined with Catholic politicians, businessmen and priests in dismantling the barricades thrown up around the ghettos of Derry and Belfast.

Arms raids and arrests aimed at crippling the self-defense capacity of the Catholic workers followed within the year. One of those arrested was Devlin herself, indicted for having joined in the defense of Derry's Catholic Bogside in August 1969 against an attempted pogrom.

A few days before her arrest, Devlin reiterated her refusal to oppose the British military presence in Ulster

(except at some vague point in the future):

"The saving of lives, the necessity of saving lives in that circumstance, was brought around by the whole system and therefore you cannot simply say take the troops out of Ulster. Because the people will say you cannot take the troops out because if you do the people will die...."

"The people must inevitably remove the system, and in the process of doing so will undoubtedly remove the troops."

—interview with the Socialist Labour League's *Newsletter*, 18 June 1970

Only with the election of a Tory government in June 1970 and particularly brutal incursions into Catholic areas of Belfast the next month did Devlin and her group, People's Democracy (PD), call for removal of troops. But the soldiers stayed. In August 1971 internment was introduced, and the camps were soon jammed with nationalist and leftist political prisoners. In January 1972 the Bloody Sunday massacre of 13 Catholic demonstrators in Derry indelibly recorded the bloody



Bernadette Devlin

Militant

events to abandon in Northern Ireland.

But NSCAR reflects the views of its creator, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and political scruples are not a strong point with that reformist outfit. Indeed, the entire conference is a shamefaced attempt to revive NSCAR after the demise wrought by its impotent, class-collaborationist strategy *without repudiating that strategy*. If black liberals can no longer be cajoled into sponsoring protest marches in defense of busing (the single explosive issue around which NSCAR was formed) and the Boston police will no longer guarantee protection for marches demanding more police (or U.S. Army) protection, then busing simply drops to the bottom of the laundry list in a "new," multi-issue NSCAR.

These political con-artists hope to rekindle the liberals' flagging interest in NSCAR with their projected "Student Protests Against U.S. Complicity With

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