

## Jumblat Assassinated, PLO Accommodates Sheiks and Colonels

# Blood and Deals in Near East

MARCH 21—As if to whitewash the streets stained with blood of the masses shot down by the Egyptian army during January protests against drastic price increases, two "Third World" spectacles were brought to Cairo early this month. The Afro-Arab summit conference of 59 governments who are usually at each others throats was joined by that semi-government-in-exile fighting for a demistatelet, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In this forum the poorer relations—led by the pathological president-for-life of Uganda (and immediate past president of the Organization for African Unity), Idi Amin—strike up a chorus of excoriation of U.S. imperialism and Zionism in order to receive a little baksheesh from the U.S.-allied sheikdoms' share of imperialist oil profits.

The Afro-Arab summit was followed by a meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC), the so-called "parliament" of the PLO. This "parliament," which is supposed to be the highest decision-making body of the PLO, is no more democratic or representative than similar sounding-boards in the Arab states governed by Sandhurst-educated "anti-imperialist" colonels. They preside over one-party systems whose "socialist" label is meant to hide rampant corruption, patronage and ruthless suppression of every effort toward working-class self-organization.

At the conference in Riyadh last October where the sheikdom-financed Pax Syria in Lebanon was clinched, the humiliated PLO was forced to expand the National Council from 178 to 291 delegates in order to include more "moderate" delegates amenable to the various reactionary Arab rulers. The "opposition" in the PNC is now restricted to 13 supporters of the "Rejection Front" who oppose negotiations with Israel. However, the "rejectionists" led by Dr. George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) are no more independent than the Saudi-financed "moderates": the PFLP speaks for its patrons, the imperialist-trained Ba'athist colonels in Baghdad.

### Jumblat: Yogi and Mass Murder

The decisive event for the PLO since the last meeting of the Palestine National Council in June 1974 has been the murderous Lebanese civil war. In the 1970 near-civil war in Jordan, culminating in the savage "Black September" massacre of up to 10,000 Palestinians, it was imperative for proletarian revolu-



Syrian troops precede bulldozer through downtown Beirut.

David Lomax/Camera Press



Kamal Jumblat

Abbas/Gamma

tionaries to give *military* support to the Palestinian forces against the Jordanian army. But the Lebanese civil war was *inter-communal* in character, with whole populations massacred or uprooted because they belonged to the "wrong" religion, whole villages leveled because the inhabitants were dominated by the "wrong" clan.

The Palestinian commando groups threw in their lot in this inter-communal conflict with the so-called "Muslim-left alliance," whose conduct and intentions were no less despicable and totally

unsupportable as the "Christians" and later the Syrians whom they opposed.

Midway through the recent PNC meetings in Cairo, Lebanon intruded directly. PLO leader Yasir Arafat was choked by his own sobbing when he interrupted the proceedings on March 16 to announce the assassination of his former ally in the Lebanese civil war, Druse patriarch and Muslim "left" leader Kamal Jumblat. He was probably murdered by supporters of the right-wing Maronite clan of Camille Chamoun, the former president of Lebanon who in 1958 called in the U.S. Marines to suppress a Muslim rebellion of which Jumblat was one of the leaders.

Perhaps nothing so clearly revealed the real character of the Lebanese fighting than the Jumblat assassination. His death was mourned not only by the PLO leadership, Druse religious leaders and fake-leftists. As if being Druse patriarch was not a sufficient outlet for religious obscurantism, Jumblat was also something of a Buddhist mystic, retiring at least twice a year to a monastery in the Himalayas for "spiritual exercises." This combination of mysticism and his real political role (as the key link tying leftists to more conservative Muslim communal leaders) led the British conservative weekly *Economist* (19 March) to eulogize him, adding that "the best tribute to his Gandhian ideals" would be if the Druses took no reprisals against the Maronites.

The *Economist* goes on to say of Jumblat:

"Even though he only partially suc-

ceeded, at least he tried hard through difficult combination: the yogi who is also a commissar."

Even the leader of the right-wing Maronite Phalangist party, Pierre Gemayel, issued a panegyric upon Jumblat's death, praising him as a "great man." It is suspected that Chamoun's clan killed this modern-day philosopher-king ("yogi-commissar") because, although Jumblat generally left the fighting to Palestinian forces, the one time he actually sent his substantial Druse militia into "battle" was to level the Maronite village of Damur, a "stronghold" of Chamoun. Three hundred villagers were murdered in that horrendous communal massacre, their bodies dismembered, graves dug up and the corpses mutilated.

Although razed to the ground, Damur was to serve yet another macabre purpose for the PLO—"Muslim left" alliance in the endless cycle of savage revenge which characterizes the Lebanese inter-communal conflict. One of the most brutal acts of the Syrian-backed reactionary Maronite gangs was the siege of the Beirut Palestinian refugee camp, Tel al-Zaatar. In the last two days alone, 3,000 Palestinians were murdered. But after the siege was lifted, the PLO made the survivors settle precisely at Damur!

Following Jumblat's assassination, Druse militiamen followed not the exhortations of the *Economist* nor the "Gandhian ideals" of their erstwhile leader, but the example he had set at Damur. Some 100-200 Maronite villagers were butchered, including 23 blown up in a church and 66 decapitated.

### Liberation or a Piece of "National Soil"

The Palestine National Council meetings concluded on March 20 with a 15-point declaration authorizing Palestinian attendance at an Arab-Israeli "peace" conference and the setting up of

*continued on page 11*



## Lenin vs. Luxemburg on the National Question ... 6

# Frame-Up Victim Wendy Yoshimura Gets 15 Years

## Drop the Charges! Free Her Now!

OAKLAND—While U.S. imperialist chief Jimmy Carter was hypocritically preaching about "human rights" before the United Nations, Alameda County Superior Court judge Martin Pulich was sentencing Wendy Yoshimura, innocent of any crime, to an indeterminate prison term of one to 15 years.

This stiff sentence is the latest atrocity in the bourgeoisie's vendetta against the former anti-war activist arrested in September 1975 in the company of Patricia Hearst. While the government was unable to link Yoshimura to the criminal activities of the SLA, it did charge her with being part of an alleged conspiracy to blow up the ROTC building on the Berkeley campus of the University of California in 1972.

After a frame-up show trial the capitalist courts found Yoshimura guilty of illegal possession of a machine gun, bomb parts and explosives, all of which were discovered in 1972 when police raided a Berkeley garage which had been rented by her.

Throughout the trial Yoshimura adamantly maintained that she was innocent of the charges brought against her. The prosecution was unable to come up with a *single* piece of hard evidence linking Yoshimura to any illegal act. Instead Assistant District Attorney Jeffrey Horner snowed the jury with testimony of dozens of police "experts" and hundreds of exhibits. Horner also sought to inflame the jurors by playing up his victim's associations with the "radical underground" and the SLA—i.e., by deliberately concentrating on the years after 1972 when Yoshimura was driven to become a fugitive precisely because she feared that if arrested she would get no justice from the racist capitalist courts.

What especially enraged the prosecutor and the judge was Yoshimura's courageous and principled refusal to inform on the people who helped her, especially after she went into hiding following the 1972 arrest of her three companions. This alone earned her six counts of contempt of court, carrying a total possible sentence of two-and-one-half years, and was cited as a major reason for denying her probation.

Reporting to Pulich, Alameda county probation officer Judy Campbell opined that Yoshimura could have been "far more candid in discussing her associates and activities with them" (*Oakland Tribune*, 18 March 1977). Campbell went on to argue that "she also still feels a debt of obligation to the SLA (because of her refusal to answer questions about her activities with her former underground associates)."

"Had her only involvement with a violent group been her initial one with Brandt (Willie Brandt, one of her three co-defendants in the 1972 Berkeley bomb cache incident), we would feel comfortable in believing she exhibited naive misjudgment as several of her supporters have characterized her past affiliations—due to her love affair with Brandt.

"However, the second more impersonal allegiance with the SLA and her present protection of them and their known associates is reason for concern."

*San Francisco Examiner*,  
18 March 1977

Pulich accepted Campbell's recommendation not to grant Yoshimura probation.



Wendy Yoshimura

All three counts for Yoshimura are to run concurrently. The charge of illegal possession of explosives carries a mandatory sentence of one to 15 years in prison. A new California law eliminating the draconian "indeterminate" sentences—under which the parole board can keep the prisoner locked up until the maximum limit if it feels he or she has not yet "reformed"—may reduce the maximum sentence on this count to three years. However, there is a very real possibility that Yoshimura could serve a maximum 15-year penalty.

The new sentencing law could be overturned at any point by reactionaries in the state legislature who are now mounting a hue and cry about "turning dangerous criminals loose on the streets." It could be modified to eliminate retroactivity, so that presently incarcerated prisoners would still be subject to the old law. And the parole board has already given notice of what it considers the only evidence that Wendy had "reformed"—willingness to act as a stool pigeon on those who aided her.

Further, the two-and-one-half year contempt of court sentences still hang over her head along with the possibility of a retrial on charges of "possession of explosives and destructive devices with intent to injure, terrify and intimidate and to destroy property," which could result in a possible life sentence. (A mistrial was declared on these charges when the jury failed to reach a verdict.)

The harsh ordeal of Wendy Yoshimura daughter of a Japanese American gardener, born to her parents while they were imprisoned along with 100,000 other Japanese Americans in U.S. concentration camps during World War II—has vividly contrasted with the treatment meted out to the wealthy Patricia Hearst.

Patricia Hearst, who was convicted of armed robbery of a bank on behalf of the crazed SLA killer cult, received a seven-year sentence. Wendy Yoshimura, whose only "crime" was to rent a garage, gets 15 years. Subsequently Hearst has been bailed out to the tune of \$1.5 million by her wealthy father and now sits surrounded by private guards in a...  
...so sharp that even the  
jud... nura's trial felt com-  
pelle... ent as he set her bail at

*continued on page 11*



U.S. border police dragnets looking for "illegal aliens."

Robert Ziegler

# Carter Plans Apartheid-Style Pass for "Aliens"

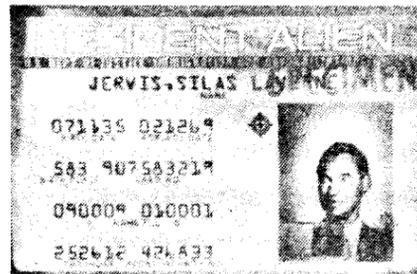
LOS ANGELES, 10 March—Racist hysteria directed against so-called "illegal aliens"—undocumented immigrants, primarily from Mexico—has been intensifying in the wake of Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall's announcement that President Carter had appointed a three-man cabinet-level committee to plan a crackdown on these foreign-born workers. Newspapers in the Los Angeles area have featured article after article blaming the undocumented workers for all the evils of capitalism, from unemployment to the rising rate of crime.

Beginning this month, a new "counterfeit-proof, alter-proof, imposter-proof" photo identification card is being introduced to replace the former "green card" for resident non-citizens. The new wallet-sized plastic ID card also includes a fingerprint and several rows of numbers allegedly describing the physical characteristics of the bearer (but which could just as easily be used for any other information the government wishes to include).

Without this card, the estimated eight million "illegals" living in the U.S. would be unable to obtain work and the authorities could improve the effectiveness of their frequent dragnet raids in immigrant neighborhoods. This would also enhance the government's ability to enforce rigid controls on the lives of "legal" foreign residents who have the cards. And when combined with the government's development of a "national crime databank"—linked to FBI indexes of "known radicals"—the possibilities that such a scheme would be expanded into a uniform national identity card system, for police control of the American population, are immense.

Sure enough, Marshall has said that the Carter administration is also considering "counterfeit-proof cards for all workers," which would be necessary in order to obtain work. Ironically, it was Attorney General Griffin Bell, widely despised for his segregationist actions and racist affiliations, who later voiced reservations about this police-state policy. "I've been to South Africa," he declared, "and I do not favor" the work card system under which non-whites are required to carry passbooks. The proposed counterfeit-proof card, he added, "might be a step in that direction."

The apartheid-type ID card is only one aspect of the overall government campaign against foreign-born workers.



LA Times

Sample of card "aliens" must carry at all times.

Congress is again considering passage of the Rodino bill, which would provide criminal penalties for employers who hire undocumented workers. If passed, the law would effectively encourage discrimination in hiring against all persons of Latin American origin or ancestry, for fear of hiring an "illegal."

There have also been stepped-up police raids and prosecutions of "illegals." According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), over 1,500 persons are deported from the Los Angeles area alone each month. These raids create an atmosphere of terror in the barrios, shops and fields where large numbers of Mexicans are employed, especially since it is not uncommon for such harassment to be used for punitive political reasons. At least two Mexican American political activists, Jacobo Rodríguez and José Jacques Medina, are presently facing deportation, and INS raids have been used to break up union organizing drives in the heavily Mexican sweatshops of the Los Angeles garment industry, singling out pro-union workers for deportation.

In addition, *WV* has learned from a staff worker of the L.A. American Civil Liberties Union that Los Angeles County has recently moved to cut back medical services to undocumented workers. The county council has ruled that undocumented workers are ineligible for medical benefits and services except emergency care and certain public health measures unless a payment plan is negotiated with the hospital prior to treatment. It is the responsibility of the hospital to determine if an individual is "legal" or not. While the doctor or hospital is not obligated to voluntarily turn "illegals" in to the INS, they must furnish information on the immigration status of a patient upon request. The ruling will not go into effect until it has been approved by the L.A. County Board of Supervisors, but

approval is considered likely.

Plans for introducing South African-style police passes for foreign-born workers and for excluding a sizable portion of the working population in Los Angeles from medical services are indicative of the depths to which imperialist "democracy" will sink in the epoch of capitalist decay.

Especially in the Southwest, the "illegal alien" has become the scapegoat for the social and economic problems of capitalism, blamed for unemployment, rising welfare and education costs, crime and drug traffic.

Aside from its purpose in diverting workers' struggles into chauvinist hysteria this racist myth overlooks the fact that undocumented foreign workers have a significantly *higher* rate of employment and *lower* rate of arrest than the general population in poor neighborhoods (obviously because the slightest brush with government authorities could lead to deportation). These immigrant workers are "illegal" because of the U.S.'s racist immigration laws, and they would not be here unless capitalism needed them—to fill low-paid menial jobs and to hold down wage pressures by increasing competition for jobs.

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* (22 February), Secretary of Labor Marshall shed some light on ruling-class fears of undocumented workers. Said Marshall:

"I believe we are now building a new civil rights struggle of the 1980s by having an underclass of people come into this country unable to protect themselves, easily exploited, dissatisfied with their status and yet fearful of being exported [sic]."

"Their children will be even more dissatisfied and likely to revolt against such conditions, and they will demand their civil rights in the fashion of the civil rights struggles which began in the 1960s."

The government's answer to even a *potential* struggle for democratic rights is a campaign of police repression which attacks not only the undocumented workers but the entire working class. The response of the working class and the organized labor movement must be the fight for *full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers*, a drive to organize the unorganized on both sides of the border and the strengthening of international class unity against the racist and chauvinist offensive. No to the apartheid pass! Stop the deportations! ■

# State's "Witnesses" Admit Bribed Testimony in Wilmington Ten Trial



Marvin Patrick



William Wright II



Reginald Epps



Anne Sheppard Turner



James McKoy



Wayne Moore



Jerry Jacobs



Connie Tindell



Rev. Ben Chavis



Willie Vereen

The frame-up convictions of the Wilmington Ten—civil rights activists including Rev. Ben Chavis, eight black youths and one white woman—are falling apart as the last of the prosecution's three key witnesses recanted his original testimony before a federal grand jury March 8. All of these so-called "eyewitnesses" have now confessed that they were bribed, lied to and threatened by the North Carolina state prosecutor and district attorney in order to manufacture evidence in the case. Now, five years after the original trial, the defendants have a chance of freedom with the decision of the Pender County Court—site of the original trial—to schedule a hearing in early May for a new trial.

The Wilmington Ten were sentenced in 1972 to a total of 282 years in prison in the aftermath of black protests against a wave of Ku Klux Klan terror that swept the state in 1969-71 following a federal court ruling that Charlotte-Mecklenburg County schools had to desegregate. The specific charges against them grew out of four days of police and vigilante terror in 1971, known as the "siege of Wilmington."

Klansmen had opened fire on the Gregory Congregational Church, in which a group of blacks had barricaded themselves for protection. One black student was shot down and killed by these racist scum; no one was ever charged with the murder.

The same night a white-owned grocery store burned down and *one year later* Chavis and the others were charged with "conspiracy" for this act. The prison sentences were among the severest ever in North Carolina for arson in which there was neither death nor injury. Chavis received up to 34 years; the others drew 7- to 29-year terms.

From the outset North Carolina's case against the ten was hollow, based on the testimony of 13-year-old Eric Junious and two others, Allen Ray Hall and Jerome Mitchell, both facing long prison terms themselves. All now admit they were coerced by the prosecution.

Hall, who has tried twice recently to kill himself in jail, originally gave 20 hours of testimony at the trial, claiming that Chavis incited 150 black youths to burn down the store. Last August, Hall admitted to defense attorney James Ferguson that he had been threatened with a long prison sentence by District Attorney Allen Cobb and Prosecutor J.T. Stroud if he refused to testify against Chavis. "They told me," he said, "I would go to prison for the rest of my life if I did not say what they wanted....

they told me Chavis was going to kill my family."

Junious' confession that "for my testimony I was given a minibike and a job in a service station" has since been confirmed by Stroud himself who insists his offer grew out of "strong personal feelings" for Junious. Thus it is now alleged that the prosecutor who was so anxious to pursue these racist frame-ups has all along had a soft spot for a black youth whom he longed to show that "someone out of his immediate family was concerned about him"! In jail for breaking and entering and larceny, Junious' "honor" status in prison has been revoked since his recantation.

Jerome Mitchell, the last phony witness to recant, reportedly claims Stroud "told me he needed someone to back up Allen Hall's testimony." In grand jury testimony this month Mitchell, now serving time for robbery and second degree murder, said Stroud told him he would "take care of me.... I'd get out in six months." Mitchell said Stroud had kept both Hall and himself in a beach cottage, coaching them for the trial. Hall said that Stroud even described in detail how to make a Molotov cocktail—at the trial Hall claimed Chavis had taught him how.

The trial itself was a racist railroad job. The original jury selection consisted of ten blacks and two whites, but the prosecutor claimed he had "stomach pains" and couldn't proceed with the case. A mistrial was declared and presiding Judge Robert Martin then seated a jury of ten whites and two blacks. During this jury selection Martin would not agree that membership in the KKK was cause to remove a prospective juror! Martin now sits on the North Carolina appeals court which upheld the conviction.

In another case from the same period, the Charlotte Three—poet T. J. Reddy, Charles Parker and Dr. James E. Grant—were released on bail early this year to await a new trial after having served four years in prison in North Carolina. The three were convicted in 1972 on the framed-up charges of burning down a riding stable in 1968. This was the same riding stable that these civil rights organizers had been instrumental in integrating the previous year; and the state's witnesses were the same informants used in other cases against civil rights workers. It has since been revealed that for their services to the prosecution the federal government paid them \$4,000. The government has been forced to re-try the Charlotte Three both because of revelations of the bribing of witnesses and exposure of the

state's destruction of evidence.

The defense of the Wilmington Ten has unfortunately been marred by the sectarian policies of various defense organizations involved in the case. Supporters of the October League in the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) refused to attend or support last September's Labor Day rally held in Raleigh, N.C., simply because the rally was called by the Communist Party-associated National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR). For its part the NAARPR has in the past excluded groups which go beyond its reformist politics.

At last summer's *Lawyers Guild* convention in Houston, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) exposed the sectarian antics by both the Moscow- and Peking-line Stalinists. The PDC favored participation in the rally, but did not endorse the NAARPR political resolution in the Guild which was meant to be used as an instrument of exclusion. Recognizing the need to build the largest, most effective united front possible to defend the Wilmington Ten—not to play games with their lives by petty sectarian squabbling—the PDC participated in the Raleigh demonstration with a banner proclaiming "Free the Wilmington 10! Free the Charlotte 3! Free All Class War Prisoners!"

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League demand that all charges against the Wilmington Ten and the Charlotte Three be immediately dropped. These victims of right-wing racist repression must go free! ■

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## Defend Sandi Polaski!

# UE Decertified at Cambion by Scab Votes

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts— In the wake of the tragic defeat of the long and bitterly fought strike at Cambion-Cambridge Thermionic Corporation has come a second disaster. On March 9, the United Electrical Workers (UE) was narrowly defeated by an 81-77 vote in an NLRB decertification election. The close vote probably reflects management intimidation rather than anti-union sentiment.

From the beginning of the strike, the strikers had been exposed to the most vicious police brutality. An around-the-clock special police detail was rented by Cambion management at a cost of some \$300,000. In the course of the strike, this platoon of blue-uniformed mercenaries supplied by the allegedly "pro-labor" Cambridge municipal government was responsible for at least 14 arrests and seven injuries, including serious head and back injuries.

Six days after the decertification election, the union filed a challenge with the state Labor Board, charging Cambion with "creating an atmosphere of fear that the plant would close down if the union prevailed." If this challenge is successful, new elections can be held within a few months. However, if not, the law mandates a one-year waiting period.

Although the picket lines received support from Cambridge students and radicals, the kind of massive labor mobilization needed to defeat Cambion's vicious union-busting tactics never took place. The Cambion shop leadership relied on such alleged "friends of labor" as the mayor and vice mayor of Cambridge and the NLRB rather than mobilizing massive picket lines to stop the considerable level of scabbing (which brought the defeat of the strike). In fact, picket lines were weakened by the bureaucrats' urging the workers to get full time jobs. But even with militant strike leadership, the small, isolated Cambion workforce might well have been defeated.

The strikers were forced back to work in November without any gain from the long and bitter struggle. Right on the heels of this blow came the outrageous sentencing in December of strike leader Sandi Polaski to a term of up to five years for allegedly throwing a rock at a scab's car. Additionally, student strike supporter Mark Brier received a two-year term and Mary Ann Munroe, secretary-treasurer of UE Local 262 was arrested outside the courtroom where Polaski and Brier had just been sentenced, for "threatening a [scab] wit-



Sandi Polaski

WV Photo

ness." The sentences are under appeal, and these victims of bourgeois "justice" are currently free on bail. Militants must demand that all charges against the Cambion Three be dropped immediately!

The brutal defeat of the Cambion workers is part of a pattern of vicious assaults on the labor movement in Massachusetts and across the country. The decertification of Cambion UE takes place simultaneously with the frame-up of UE organizer Alex Markley by federal labor spies in western Massachusetts and with police assaults on the picket lines of the 1199 strikers at the Boston-area Preterm abortion clinic. Isolated groups of workers must not be forced to continue to face capitalist repression alone. The working class must learn the bitter lesson of Cambion: "An injury to one is an injury to all!" ■

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## One-Third of Membership Expelled

# I.S. Fractures

The "third camp socialists" are at it again. Some 90 supporters of the so-called "Left Faction" were summarily expelled from the International Socialists (I.S.) at a special national conference in Detroit earlier this month. The expellees, comprising nearly one-third of the I.S. membership, have constituted themselves the International Socialists Organization (ISO). Thus continues the proliferation of "third-camp" groups which began with the departure from the I.S. of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) some three years ago.

Even supporters of the I.S. majority were reportedly disquieted by I.S. head Joel Geier's drive toward a naked political expulsion, so the various subterranean cliques which make up the majority resorted to a less blatant but equally despicable maneuver: discipline violations were alleged against some "Left Faction" supporters—and for these, the whole group was ousted! The melodrama was complicated by the emergence of a fence-straddling "Political Solution Caucus" which protested that "full socialist democracy and minority rights are in some question in the I.S." but remained in the larger organization.

The Left Faction pledged in writing to uphold I.S. discipline, including promising to dissolve the faction and not to demand proportional representation on leading bodies. Such "discipline" would be utterly alien to a truly democratic-centralist organization, where a minority's right to factional democracy is a key to the determination of policy. But the Geier leadership had no scruples about carrying off a blatant bureaucratic purge. The I.S. Executive Committee announced that the Left Faction "refused to carry out the work of the organization in the trade unions..." and proclaimed: "the 'Left Faction' operated as a separate organization" and "had, in fact, already set up its own separate organization" (*Workers' Power*, 21 March). In the wake of the split, rumors abound that new expulsions are already being prepared.

### Who Needs It?

The new ISO is programmatically indistinguishable from the old I.S. It is brain-trusted by the I.S.'s avowed British co-thinkers (formerly the International Socialists, now renamed the Socialist Workers Party [SWP]). In the context of a far more class-conscious national terrain, the British group often appeared to stand to the left of its U.S. counterpart. But its skin-deep "left" face is only the same opportunism adapted to a more radical milieu, as demonstrated for example by its recent stand in favor of police "unions." Thus it is far from certain that the new U.S. group will outline a course even quantitatively to the left of its parent organization.

Though it also prepared motions on such matters as "women" and "democratic centralism," the Left Faction's main target was I.S. industrialization. Yet even here the minority and its sponsors had little quarrel with the I.S.'s cravenly opportunist "work" in the labor movement, which consists of tailing out-bureaucrats like Sadlowski and attempting to construct "militant" front groups while deliberately eschewing the struggle for programmatically based caucuses. For example, the minority claimed most of the I.S.'s steelworkers but, according to the agenda, prepared no counter-motion on steel. The real complaint of the Left Faction and its backers was that the I.S.'s opportunist maneuvers have not succeeded.

The ISO hopes to substitute for these

"dead-end" tactics a more ambitious reformist project of more "visible" "agitational" efforts modeled along the lines of the British group's anti-racism campaigns. The "political" thrust can be summarized as: hang loose and go where the action is. This empty recipe will not bring the instant influence which Left Faction supporters clearly envisaged as they left the convention cheering, "We did it!" With less than 100 members drawn mainly from outlying areas, no new gimmick grafted onto I.S.-style left-social-democratic politics will give left-reformism a new lease on life.

Indeed, the Left Faction's biggest drawing card was negative: disgust with the I.S.'s bureaucratic leadership and dismay at deepening demoralization and numerous "quits." The ISO has little to offer except the promise of a more flashy image and the British franchise. It apparently hopes that the latter will mean participation in some broader international bloc of groupings that hold that Russia is "state capitalist" and other pseudo-Marxists.

We find it hard to share the ISO's apparent naive expectations of success, however, as we survey the fate of existing rotten-bloc international conglomerations. The most ambitious among the practitioners of spurious "internationalism," the so-called United Secretariat, is fractured into three parts; the even more disunited components of any "state-cap" marriage of convenience will certainly fare no better. Only pitiable programmatic disarray and frantic backstabbing await the continuators of the I.S.'s Anglo-American alliance. The laughable scene at the recent I.S. expulsion-fest, where the British and Canadian "fraternal" groups were excluded as "hostile" organizations, can only be repeated.

If there are any among the supporters of the new group who hope that the launching of this venture constitutes some sort of break with a rotten past, they may find a glance at the stillborn RSL instructive. Unlike the present Left Faction, the grouping which became the RSL originally sought to carve out for itself a niche significantly to the left of the I.S. Pronouncing themselves the only real "Trotskyists," the RSL founding cadres promised a radically different orientation which would supposedly break to the left from the I.S.'s wretched trade-union opportunism.

But the RSL had no intention of breaking with the cynical cliquish maneuverism of its parent group, nor from its subservience to radical petty-bourgeois moods, nor from its social-democratic line on the "Russian question." Without such a fundamental break, there was no room for the RSL, squeezed between the I.S. on its right and the revolutionary Trotskyism of the Spartacist League on its left. In the few brief years of its pathetic existence, the RSL has accomplished nothing except to people the left-wing movement with its decomposition products by bureau-

continued on page 10

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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Angry Ranks Oppose Local 10 Leadership

# Bay Area Longshoremen Face Forced Transfers

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly a thousand angry West Coast dock workers turned out at the March 17 membership meeting of Local 10, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) where they slapped down a leadership-sponsored proposal to further attack their jobs. The Local's newly elected "opposition" leadership, however, proved its commitment to carrying out Harry Bridges' sell-out contract while Communist Party (CP) supporters once again did their best to derail the restive ranks from a class-struggle course.

The issue at hand is the possible declaration of San Francisco as a "Low Work Opportunity Port" (LWOP)—a contractual designation which would allow the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) to begin moving longshoremen out of the port, first by asking for volunteers and then by using forced transfer powers.

Though longshoremen are faced with escalating unemployment and constant schemes to slash ever more jobs, Local 10 president Cleophus Williams tried to sell the new designation rather than resist it. He reported the grim statistics: "A" men are now averaging 13 hours per week *actual* work, and drastic cuts in the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) have meant huge losses in income. "B" men and other second-class categories have suffered even worse. Williams tried to reason that the LWOP designation would make it easier for voluntary transfers to take place, and possibly this would ease the work shortage.

Significantly, International spokesmen including retiring ILWU president Harry Bridges, architect of the job-slashing contracts, did not show up to fight for the LWOP scheme. But the so-called anti-Bridges bureaucrats showed their true colors by promoting the job-stealing ploy. Newly elected chief business agent Herb Mills tossed out a few cheap threats to "tear up the contract," warned of the serious possibility of locals fighting locals over jobs under the LWOP plan, but ended up arguing for it because he could see no other alternative!

Fronting for Bridges & Co., Mills claimed to have "verbal assurances" from the International and PMA that once voluntary transfers had been exhausted, transfers would be stopped. However, when the minutes of the joint union/employer Coast Labor Relations Committee were read it became clear to the disgruntled membership that no such promise had been made. It has not taken long for Mills to dump his January campaign threat to "tie the coast up" to win the shorter workshift at no loss in pay in order to secure jobs. Suddenly Mills has forgotten *this* alternative!

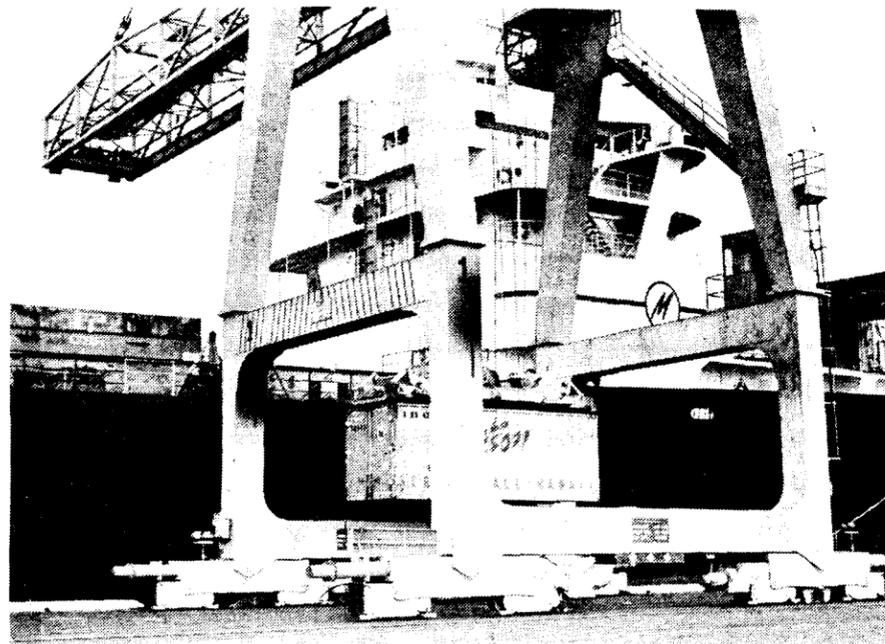
Led off by Stan Gow, Local 10 executive board member and an editor of the oppositionist newsletter "Longshore Militant," speaker after speaker rose to blast the LWOP scheme as suicidal for the membership and to denounce the union's Coast Committee for its continued collaboration with PMA's job-cutting proposals. Both Gow and co-editor Howard Keylor, also a local executive board member, focused on the role of the Local leadership

in trying to get the union to sign its own death warrant.

They pointed out that the rotten contract automatically *imposes* the LWOP designation at a certain point—the Local leadership is merely trying to sell the idea to the membership now to avoid an explosive class confrontation later. They also emphasized the point stated in the 17 March "Longshore Militant" that the struggle for jobs is really the question of who will benefit from containerization and automation:

"But S.F. is *not* a 'Low Work Opportunity' port. Tonnage and productivity are at record levels—and so are profits. The Bay Area is the second largest volume container port in the world. The jobs are there and the only obstacle to all longshoremen having work is the rotten no work contract and the leadership that defends it. The membership of Local 10 has only two choices: either we go like sheep to the slaughter, allowing ourselves to be transferred all over hell, or we decide to dump the contract which permits this LWOP and reduces us to misery and to go out on a coast-wide strike for jobs."

With the membership cheering on the anti-LWOP speakers, CP supporter Bill



LASH vessel being loaded at Port of Oakland pier.

WV Photo

Proctor finally stepped in to save some face for the Local leaders and to sidetrack the fight. To prevent a decisive vote against LWOP, Proctor slyly moved to table the entire question until after the upcoming April 18 International convention and longshore caucus. Seeing this as a rebuke to the Local 10 tops, the ranks roared their approval. Only "Longshore Militant" supporters and a few others who recognized the Stalinists' evasive trickery and wanted to vote LWOP down for good opposed tabling. The defeated leadership, knowing that a substantive vote would have sunk LWOP by an overwhelming majority, wisely remained silent and abstained on the vote to table.

Proctor and other reformists like Leo Robinson had laid out their "strategy" beforehand in a leaflet calling on the membership to "Delay any decision on Low Work Opportunity until after the April caucus." This delay would not aim at gaining time to mobilize for a strike—no, the leaflet proposed to do the bosses' work by starting a "voluntary transfer

program" without officially declaring LWOP!

If this is "not sufficient," the leaflet says, the union should call the "steady men" (who now do not have to get dispatched from the union) back to the hiring hall; and if this is not good enough, the union should "threaten... to scrap the contract"! And if the employers fail to "heed" such threats? No doubt these blustering fakery will knuckle under just as they did in 1975 when Bridges called their bluff, inviting them to strike if they didn't like the contract. The CP supporters, of course, backed down, while the class-struggle supporters of "Longshore Militant" continued to demand a coast-wide strike.

The longshore ranks are clearly becoming impatient with the lack of alternatives from the leadership. There is widespread fear that declaration of LWOP would clear the way for de-registration of longshoremen under the "unusual circumstances" loophole in the no-layoffs clause of the contract.

The divisive effects of the LWOP scheme are already becoming evident. The Puget Sound local, on a motion of the Bridges-loyal bureaucracy from

cy. The Stalinists' role in ILWU Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse) is even more blatant. There they hold several leading union positions and have been strengthening their forces with the addition of several prominent supporters. CP backers are shamelessly spearheading the fight to ram through a major dues increase for the bureaucracy. Necessarily part of its traitorous role are the CP's attacks on and red-baiting of the Militant Caucus, a militant opposition group in Local 6 which counterposes aggressive class-struggle policies to the CP's flabby reformism.

In a piece of classic Stalinist slander *People's World* (12 March) reprints a letter from a "Local 6 member" concerning the recent Warehouse convention which denounces people who "aim their fire at the Local leadership." Blaming the unrest on the "role of the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Union," the letter at the same time tries to ride on the popularity of a motion for Spanish translation of important union materials (like the contract)...which was offered by the Militant Caucus and which a CP supporter moved to table!

In a move which may be intended to test the waters for an openly pro-CP candidate to succeed McLain as Local 6 president, this lying letter makes several cheap and easy criticisms of the current leaders. These are clearly intended to place the CP supporters a tiny fraction to the left of the incumbents.

The ranks need no more of such fakery. The decimation of jobs on the waterfront and the defeat of the 1976 warehousemen's strike show the need for a completely new leadership in the ILWU.

The Stalinoid bureaucracy of the ILWU is far more willing to pay lip service to even the dictatorship of the proletariat than to stand for the basic trade-union principle of opposing the layoff of any dockworker any time, anywhere. To realize this elementary demand requires radical changes in the labor economics of the industry.

First, there must be a *uniform and high wage standard* for stuffing containers. This would prevent shippers from exploiting distant low-wage, unskilled workers for this job. Secondly, the small, well-organized, strategically placed labor force on the docks can and must win a drastically shorter workweek—e.g., four six-hour days a week—at *no* loss in pay. To prevent such a shorter workweek from being eroded in practice, overtime must be absolutely voluntary and subject to a steep penalty pay—say, triple-time.

The longshoremen are truly a skilled and valuable part of the laboring population, and the ILWU plays a strategic role for all West Coast labor.

The program for the salvation of this section of the working class must be stated, defended and relentlessly fought for. That is what the "Longshore Militant" and Militant Caucus are doing. ■

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# Lenin vs. Luxemburg on the National Question

The absence of sustained proletarian revolutionary struggles in the advanced capitalist countries and the continued hegemony in them of the reformist parties have led to widespread support for petty-bourgeois nationalism within the left. Groups like the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Angolan MPLA, Irish Republican Army and Basque ETA are viewed by many leftists, including would-be Marxists, as among the vanguard of the revolutionary forces of our day.

As part of the international Spartacist tendency's struggle against the nationalist deviations rampant in the contemporary left, we published last year a two-part article analyzing the evolution of the Marxist position on the national question, from the 1848 concept of "progressive nations" to the Leninist principle of the "right of self-determination" ("The National Question in the Marxist Movement, 1848-1914," *WI* Nos. 123 & 125, 3 & 17 September 1976).

This survey article dealt, in a necessarily brief and sketchy way, with the views of Rosa Luxemburg and their relation to Leninism. Shortly after our article appeared, Monthly Review Press published a collection of Luxemburg's writings entitled *The National Question*, edited by Horace B. Davis, who is somewhat sympathetic to her views. Most of the material is made available in English for the first time, including Luxemburg's major work on the subject, "The National Question and Autonomy" (1908-09). While publica-



Rosa Luxemburg



V.I. Lenin

Leninism and "Luxemburgism." Before 1914 both Luxemburg and Lenin were leaders of the revolutionary current in the Second International and were in agreement on basic programmatic and theoretical premises. Luxemburg never succeeded in going beyond that oppositional stance to become a leader of an international revolutionary party.

Lenin did. In creating the Communist International Lenin was forced to develop and present his positions in a positive, world-historic programmatic form. Leninism is codified in the documents and resolutions of the first four congresses of the Communist International. It is only because we know the Leninism of the Communist International that we can discern its rudiments in his earlier works. In contrast, Luxemburg's writings remain oppositional, partial and lacking programmatic generality.

"Luxemburgism," therefore, is an artificial creation first developed by right-wingers in the German Communist Party, like Paul Levi, who were breaking from the Third back to the Second International. Since then various centrists have appealed to "Luxemburgism" as a credible revolutionary alternative to Lenin's Bolshevism and its contemporary continuation, Trotskyism. Conversely, Stalin denounced "Luxemburgism" in order to build up the cult of Lenin and retrospectively isolate Russian Bolshevism from the broader traditions of revolutionary Marxism.

The differences between Luxemburg and Lenin were important and sometimes sharp, particularly in 1912-14 when Luxemburg advocated the unity of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. However, their differences were in large part episodic and contained within the framework of revolutionary socialist principle.

## Polish Independence and the Russian Revolution

Although best known as a left oppositionist in the German social democracy and as a martyr in the

January 1919 "Spartacus uprising," in the years before 1914, the period from which her writings on the national question stem, Luxemburg's primary organizational loyalty was as a leader of a revolutionary party in Russian Poland, the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and of Lithuania (SDKPiL). This organization originated in 1893 as a split from the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the then inclusive organization of Polish socialists, which strongly emphasized national independence. From its inception until World War I, the struggle of Luxemburg's SDKPiL against the PPS centered on the national question, although the situation was greatly complicated by a left-right split in the latter party in 1906.

Much of Luxemburg's writings on the Polish question is a justification for rejecting the traditional Marxist position. Marx and Engels not only advocated Poland's restoration as an independent state, but considered that this would be an important contribution to the cause of European socialism. In 1848 and the following decades, tsarist Russia was the bastion of European-wide reaction. Marx and Engels considered Russia, unlike Poland, economically too backward to undergo a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Therefore, until the late 1870's they considered the Polish national liberation movement the only serious internal force against tsarist absolutism and looked forward to an independent bourgeois-democratic Poland as a buffer against counterrevolutionary Russian intervention in the West.

Luxemburg argued that Marx/Engels' strategic support for Polish independence had become outdated. By the 1880's Great Russia was pregnant with social revolution. And by the mid-1890's it was evident that a Russian revolution would have a large proletarian component. Furthermore, the Polish industrial bourgeoisie benefited from access to the protected Russian market. Support for national independence had therefore disappeared among the Polish ruling classes. For Luxemburg, the task

of the Polish proletariat was to put national independence behind it and unite with its Russian class brothers in revolutionary struggle.

Luxemburg's position that Polish national liberation was no longer the principal internal revolutionary force in tsarist Russia was correct. This fact was also recognized by Lenin, who cited it in his own polemic against the national liberationist PPS ("The National Question in Our Program" [1903]).

However, as early as 1882 Engels already had shifted the main argument for Polish independence from the strategic weakening of tsarist Russia to its impetus to the development of socialist consciousness among the Polish workers. Engels was responding to the emergence of a group of Polish socialists, led by Ludwik Waryński, who rejected independence in favor of a unified social revolution throughout the Russian empire. (Luxemburg joined Waryński's Proletariat party in its dying days.)

In a letter to Kautsky (7 February 1882), Engels asserted that national independence was a precondition for socialist class consciousness among "great peoples" (i.e., nations too large and important to be assimilated into others):

"It is historically impossible for a great people even to discuss internal problems of any kind seriously, as long as it lacks national independence. Before 1859 there was no question of socialism in Italy; even the number of Republicans was small.... Only after 1861 the Republicans increased in influence and later transferred their best elements to the Socialists. The same was true in Germany."

Engels applied the same principles to Poland:

"So long as Poland is partitioned and subjugated, therefore, neither a strong socialist party can develop in the country itself, nor can there arise real international intercourse between the proletarian parties in Germany, etc., with other than emigré Poles. Every Polish peasant or worker who wakes up from the general gloom and participates in the common interests, encounters first the fact of national subjugation. This fact is in his way everywhere as the

## A review of *The National Question* by Rosa Luxemburg (edited by Horace B. Davis)

tion of *The National Question* does not cause us to revise our fundamental assessment of Luxemburg's position, it does require of serious Marxists a careful consideration of her arguments.

Davis observes that in general there has been a vulgarized notion of Luxemburg's position on the national question. No doubt among Stalinists, who for years dismissed this great revolutionary as a centrist, such a simplistic evaluation does exist; the publication of this book therefore provides an opportunity to review the premises underlying the Leninist position. However, we disagree with Davis' contention that it was previously impossible for an English-speaking Marxist to really comprehend Luxemburg's position. A careful reading of Lenin's counterpolemics combined with J. P. Nettl's biography (*Rosa Luxemburg*, 1966) provides an accurate account of her views on the national question.

Some readers may be disappointed by the narrow focus of *The National Question*. While containing many general statements, Luxemburg's writings concentrate on the issue of Polish independence. In part, this historical specificity reflects the fact that Luxemburg's position was essentially *negative*. She rejected the right of self-determination and any other general principle, maintaining that each national situation had to be judged from the interests of the proletariat at the given conjuncture.

In part, the Polish-centered nature of her work on the national question impinges on the broader issue of

first barrier. To remove it is the basic condition of every healthy and free development."

With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that Engels overstated his case. Unlike the Italians and Germans, the Polish working class achieved socialist consciousness (in part through the activities of revolutionaries who opposed independence, like Waryński) while its nation remained divided among tsarist Russia, Habsburg Austro-Hungary and Wilhelminian Germany. Furthermore, the Polish working class engaged in common struggles with the proletariat of its oppressor nations.

This demonstrates that national subjugation is not an *absolute* barrier to socialist consciousness and transnational proletarian unity. However, Engels, having witnessed the antagonism between Irish and English workers in Britain, understood that national oppression is definitely an obstacle to a unified labor movement within a multinational state.

### Polish Socialism and the Independence Question

The predominance of the national-liberationist PPS over the anti-independence SDKPiL argues for Engels (and Lenin) and against Luxemburg. The PPS was the hegemonic organization of the class-conscious Polish proletariat, with several thousand active members on the eve of the revolution of 1905. In marked contrast, the SDKPiL remained a tiny propaganda group until 1905.

Since she claimed that the Polish working class was indifferent to national independence, Luxemburg was hard-put to explain the predominance of the PPS. Her explanation is, to say the least, unconvincing. She attributes the widespread acceptance of the PPS' pro-independence line to the authority of the Marxist tradition:

"...the restoration of Poland lost its stigma as the betrayal of socialism—after all, the most accomplished theoreticians and practitioners of the European movement had come out in support of this slogan—and the Polish Socialist Party's program had obtained the direct sanction of Marxism—hadn't 'Marx himself' attested to its correctness?"

—"Foreword to the Anthology *The Polish Question and the Socialist Movement*" (1905)

It is not credible that the overwhelming majority of Poland's socialist working-class organizers and intellectuals was committed to carrying out Marx's program with doctrinaire literalness. Rather, the popularity of the PPS indicated that the Polish workers, while having attained a certain socialist consciousness, still felt themselves to be members of an oppressed nationality and looked forward to an independent state.

As coherent worldviews, proletarian socialism and nationalism are absolutely counterposed and mutually exclusive.

However, among the working masses, both the impulse toward internationalist solidarity with their class brothers and a sense of national loyalty invariably coexist. Now class loyalty prevails, now national affiliation. A Polish worker who contributed to support a strike in St. Petersburg one day could contribute to Pilsudski's nationalist fighting squads on the morrow.

Luxemburg's views on the national question tended to idealize working-class socialist consciousness, a tendency also reflected in her differences with Lenin on the party question. Outside of the communist vanguard, proletarian internationalism is always uneven, inconsistent and reversible. The revolutionary party in a multinational state must *continually compete* with the petty-bourgeois nationalists for the loyalty of the proletariat of the national minorities. Lenin understood that only by championing the equality of the Polish nation, including its right to a separate state, could he politically defeat the Pilsudskis.

The revolution of 1905 vindicated Luxemburg's faith in the Great Russian working class and demonstrated a tendency toward organic unity between the Russian and Polish labor movements. It was to be expected that the wing of Polish socialism which stood for a unified social revolution against tsarism should be the main beneficiary of 1905. The SDKPiL grew very rapidly to become a small mass party, claiming 25,000 members in 1907 (M. K. Dziwnowski, *The Communist Party of Poland* [1959]). However, it still remained a minority tendency within the Polish workers movement.

Another important change in the Polish workers movement demonstrated how harmful Luxemburg's ultra-left position on the national question was in developing a mass revolutionary party. The revolution of 1905 split the PPS between the nationalist, terroristic Pilsudskites and a left-wing majority. Pilsudski's Revolutionary Fraction was essentially a petty-bourgeois nationalist party, outside the workers movement.

The PPS-Left rejected the old program of a *national* uprising in favor of a social revolution throughout the tsarist empire. It also dropped independence from its immediate, "minimum" program and put a question mark over its ultimate desirability.

The split in the PPS refuted Luxemburg's contention that its leaders were simply nationalists masquerading as socialists. The SDKPiL should have won over and fused with the best elements of the larger, centrist PPS-Left. However, the SDKPiL's ultra-left position on the national question formed an absolute barrier for the cadre of the PPS-Left.

When World War I broke out, Pilsudski predictably supported Germany against Russia. The PPS-Left adopted a defeatist position and participated in the Zimmerwald movement.

This laid the basis for the fusion of the PPS-Left with the SDKPiL to create the Polish Communist Workers Party in late 1918 after Poland had been restored as an independent state. Luxemburg's sectarian failure to win over the PPS-Left *before* the war seriously arrested the development of revolutionary workers parties in Central and East Europe.

### Was an Independent Poland Utopian?

In the same article previously quoted, Luxemburg wrote:

"Any analysis of objective social developments in Poland requires the conclusion that a campaign for the restoration of Poland at this juncture is a petit bourgeois utopian fantasy, and, as such, is capable only of interfering with the class struggle of the proletariat and diverting it from its path."

One might be inclined to dismiss such an argument with the simple observation that in 1918 an independent, bourgeois Poland was, in fact, restored. This is not an irrefutable counterargument: certainly Rosa Luxemburg would not have considered it so. Luxemburg's position was that an independent Poland could not be restored through



Josef Pilsudski

UPI

an internal national-liberation struggle. That a European-wide war and a proletarian revolution in Russia might result in the restoration of a Polish state Luxemburg would not have rejected as inconceivable, however undesirable.

Luxemburg's contention that restoration of Poland was a utopian project was based on two interrelated arguments: the one economic, the other political-military. The core of her position is that the high protective tariff imposed by tsarist Russia gave the Polish industrial bourgeoisie privileged access to the Russian market and, therefore, a material interest in a common state. This thesis was developed at length in her 1898 work, *The Industrial Development of Poland*. Empirically it is true that in the last quarter of the 19th century Polish industry, geared to the Russian market, grew very rapidly. However, Russian tariff policy was *reversible*, even under tsarism. Particularly after 1900 the tsarist policy of high protective tariffs on raw materials combined with discriminatory railroad rates tended to benefit Russian industry at the expense of its established, more efficient Polish competitors. Thus, Luxemburg's analysis of the relationship of the Polish industrial bourgeoisie to the Russian state became dated not long after she developed it.

The capacity to establish an independent political economy is one of the necessary characteristics of a nation.

Certain nationalist projects are indeed utopian because they are economically unviable under capitalism. American "black nationalism" is a case in point. It is the inability to establish a separate political economy, with its own class structure, that centrally defines American blacks as a *caste*, rather than any kind of national group. The establishment of a separate American black state would require massive population transfers and a total restructuring of the economy which is inconceivable under capitalism, except as a reaction to fascist genocide. That indisputable fact is why the real program of American "black nationalism" is not for an independent state, but for various forms of pseudo-separatism within the presently constituted USA.

A separate political economy does not mean self-sufficiency or even freedom from dependence on a more powerful neighboring country. The Irish republic is certainly economically dependent on Britain. If the British government excluded Irish labor from England, prohibited the repatriation of their income to Ireland or imposed impenetrable tariffs against Irish imports, then the economy of the independent Irish republic would collapse. The right of self-determination is a bourgeois-democratic answer to the *direct oppression of a nation by a foreign state power*. There is no bourgeois-democratic solution to the imperialist exploitation of weaker national economies.

Since Luxemburg maintained that neither the Polish masses nor ruling class had a material interest in a separate state, she naturally argued that they would not make the great sacrifices needed for a war of independence against the overwhelming might of the Central and East European powers. This political-military argument was important to her contention that Polish independence was utopian:

"Any rebellion would be bloodily suppressed. But if no rebellion is attempted, nothing can be done, since armed rebellion is the only way that Polish independence can be achieved.... If one 'demands' something, one must do something to achieve that demand. If one can do nothing, the empty 'demand' may well make the air tremble, but it will certainly not shake the states ruling over Poland."

—"The Polish Question at the International Congress" (1896)

A demand is not "empty" simply because it cannot be realized given the existing international balance of forces. The international balance of forces can and sometimes does change in a favorable way. Even Pilsudski never attempted an uprising when tsarist Russia could concentrate all its forces against Poland. In the Russo-Japanese War, he attempted (unsuccessfully) an alliance with Japan and in World War I he attempted (successfully) an alliance with Germany. Pilsudski's policy of a national uprising was adventurist; it was not perforce utopian.

For revolutionaries to consider a program utopian because it cannot be realized given the existing international situation is a false and potentially dangerous method. Such a method would lead one to exclude the possibility of proletarian revolutions in small countries surrounded by great powers.

The life of a Belgian workers state, for example, would be measured in months, if not weeks, if France and West Germany remained capitalist. However, it is certainly possible that the class struggle in Belgium could escalate (as in the 1960-61 general strike) to a point where the seizure of power is posed, in advance of any European-wide revolutionary crisis. To reject the seizure of power if the internal situation is favorable for fear of foreign counterrevolutionary intervention would be an act of cowardly reformism, not of communist realism. A communist leadership would take power in Belgium and do every-

*continued on page 8*



Striking factory workers in Lodz during 1905-06 revolution in Poland.

# National Question...

(continued from page 7)

thing possible to spread the revolution to the neighboring countries.

## Are Multinational States Inevitable or Progressive?

Insofar as Luxemburg's opposition to Polish independence has a general theoretical justification it is that multinational states are an inevitable product of capitalist development and, in that sense, progressive. She takes issue with Kautsky who considered the national state as the normal political-territorial form of bourgeois society:

"That 'best' national state is only an abstraction which can be easily described and defined theoretically, but which doesn't correspond to reality. Historical development toward a universal community of civilization will...take place in the midst of contradiction, but this contradiction...lies in another area than where Kautsky seeks it, not in the tendency toward the idea of a 'national state,' but rather where Marx indicates it to be, in the deadly struggle among nations, in the tendency to create—alongside the great areas of civilization and despite them—great capitalist states.

"The development of world powers, a characteristic feature of our times growing in importance along with the progress of capitalism, from the very onset condemns all small nations to political impotence." [emphasis in original]

—"The National Question and Autonomy" (1908-09)

Luxemburg's equation of Britain, Russia and the Dutch empire as all examples of the inevitability of multinational states is not only ahistorical (as both Kautsky and Lenin pointed out), it is downright confusionist. First, it confuses the creation of multinational states (e.g., Britain) through the rise of bourgeois society in West Europe with the preservation of pre-bourgeois absolutist empires in the East—tsarist Russia, Habsburg Austro-Hungary, Ottoman Turkey. Second, it confuses genuine multinational states with integrated political economies and the far-flung colonial empires of the advanced bourgeois countries.

The absorption of smaller, more backward nationalities by their more dynamic bourgeois neighboring states (e.g., the Scots and Welsh by England) was, despite nationalist atrocities, historically progressive in the context of capitalism in its ascendancy. It raised the economic and cultural level of these peoples. Particularly important from the Marxist standpoint, the expansion of the "progressive nations" spread bourgeois democracy to the more backward neighboring peoples.

The absolutist multinational states of the East were not the product of the absorption of smaller, backward peoples by a developing bourgeois nation. The majority of the population in the tsarist empire was not Russian, in the Ottoman empire not Turkish and in the

Habsburg empire not German. Even more important from the Marxist standpoint, Poland was more advanced economically and culturally than Russia, and Serbia than Turkey. That is why Marx/Engels strongly supported the Polish and Serbian national liberation struggles.

Since Marx/Engels advocated outright independence for Poland, not merely recognizing the principle of national self-determination, Luxemburg concludes that they had no general policy on the national question. This is a miscomprehension of the classic Marxist position. Marx and Engels divided Europe into the "great nations," for which they advocated independence, and the minor peoples or "relics of nations," which they considered must assimilate into one or another of the former. Whatever their empirical misjudgments about particular nations, this national program was integral to their general policy of supporting those developments of capitalism which laid the basis for socialism.

A clear, succinct statement of the classic Marxist position on the national question is found in a little-known 1866 article by Engels on the Polish question:

"Here, then, we perceive the difference between the 'principle of nationalities' and the old democratic and working-class tenet to the right of the great European nations to separate and independent existence.... The principle of nationalities raises two sorts of questions; first of all, questions of boundary between these great historic peoples; and secondly, as to the right to independent national existence of these numerous small relics of peoples which, after having figured for longer or shorter on the stage of history, were absorbed as integral portions into one or the other of these more powerful nations whose greater vitality enabled them to overcome greater obstacles." [our emphasis]

—"What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?" in Marx and Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe*, edited by Paul W. Blackstock and Bert F. Hoselitz (1952)

In contrast to Luxemburg, Marx and Engels did not regard the multinational state as a normal, inevitable or progressive development. Rather they considered certain bourgeois multinational states as a *stage* leading to the more or less rapid assimilation of the minority nationalities.

However, the objective conditions for proletarian revolution, including a mass labor movement, developed before the organic assimilation of the various nations in the European multinational states. Antagonism between the different nationalities (e.g., Germans and Czechs in Austria) became a major barrier to proletarian unity. The difference between the early and later Marxist position on the national question can be summarized as follows: with the development in Europe of a mass labor movement (around the 1880's) the negative effect on socialist consciousness and organization of national antagonisms within a multinational state can offset the advantages of a higher level of economic development. That is why the *subjective* attitude of the working masses of the minority nationality is of decisive importance.

## Proletarian Party and Nationalist Petty Bourgeoisie

The root of Luxemburg's position on the national question is often attributed to the economic determinism characteristic of the Second International. She certainly uses arguments based on economic determinism (the Polish bourgeoisie has no interest in independence, an independent national economy is not possible). But a careful reading of *The National Question* reveals that Luxemburg's primary motivation is partly opposition to nationalist ideology and partly unwillingness to allow the policies of the proletarian party, on any issue, to be governed by the attitude of

the petty bourgeoisie.

Luxemburg maintained that any concept of the *rights* of nations or nationalities necessarily embodies nationalist ideology. Often she seems more opposed to the slogan, "the right of nations to self-determination," than to the underlying policy which it expresses:

"If we recognize the right of each nation to self-determination it is obviously a logical conclusion that we must condemn every attempt to place one nation over another, or for one nation to force upon another any form of national existence. However, the duty of the class party of the proletariat to protest and resist national oppression arises not from any special 'right of nation'.... This duty arises solely from the general opposition to the class regime and to every form of social inequality and social domination, in a word, from the basic position of socialism."

—"The National Question and Autonomy"

Reading passages like this, one wonders to what extent Luxemburg's differences with the Leninist position are terminological rather than substantive. Even Lenin, who knew her personally, was sometimes unsure whether their disputes were not primarily over words.

But the difference between Luxemburg and Lenin on the national question is real and important. Luxemburg is unwilling to accept the democratic will of the oppressed national group on this question. She would refuse to give military support to independence struggles in Europe. Karl Radek, an ex-SDKPiL member who shared Luxemburg's views on the question, dismissed the 1916 Irish Easter uprising as a petty-bourgeois "putsch" and refused to support it against the British army.

It is highly significant that Luxemburg criticized the Bolshevik revolution not only for granting the minority nations independence, but also for allowing the peasants to divide up the land. She herself makes a connection between the two policies:

"Lenin and his comrades clearly calculated that there was no surer method of binding the many foreign peoples within the Russian Empire to the cause of the revolution, to the cause of the socialist proletariat, than that of offering them, in the name of the revolution and of socialism, the most extreme and unlimited freedom to determine their own fate. This was analogous on the policy of the Bolsheviks toward the Russian peasants, whose land hunger was satisfied by the slogan of direct seizure of noble estates.... In both cases, unfortunately, the calculation was entirely wrong."

—*The Russian Revolution* (1918)

In opposing the right of self-determination, Luxemburg projects a situation in which the petty-bourgeois majority supports independence, while the majority of the proletariat opposes it. This view of the world is at the heart of her position.

As a general proposition, this is an unreal world. To be sure, the most aggressive, militant nationalists will be concentrated among the petty bourgeoisie. However, a situation where the petty-bourgeois masses in an oppressed nation are strongly nationalistic while the proletariat is solidly assimilationist rarely occurs. For it to come about the proletariat would have to be won not to bourgeois assimilationism but to communist internationalism, in which case socialist revolution would be the burning issue of the day.

Such a class polarization was not present in the major independence struggles of Luxemburg's day—Norway, Ireland, the Czechs. Even in Poland, the SDKPiL remained a *minority* current within the workers movement. Nor do we see a nationalist petty-bourgeois vs. assimilationist proletariat polarization in comparable situations today—e.g., Quebec, the Basques and Catalans in Spain.

However, let us accept Luxemburg's hypothetical case and see where it leads. A plebiscite is held in which the majority of the population votes for independence, while a majority of the working class votes against. If a majority of the population supports independence it is

only the military force of the dominant nation which preserves the state tie, whether force is actually employed or merely threatened being immaterial. For the proletarian party to oppose granting independence under such conditions is to condone, if not indirectly support, bourgeois state violence against the oppressed nationality. National self-determination is a genuine bourgeois-democratic right. To reject it necessarily leads to acceptance of bourgeois state oppression.

## Proletarian Revolution in a Multinational State

In a *bourgeois* multinational state, a polarization between a nationalist petty bourgeoisie and an assimilationist proletariat seldom, if ever, occurs. However, the class polarization supposed by Luxemburg may well happen if a proletarian revolution breaks out in the dominant nation. The Russian Revolution experienced this phenomenon.

Lenin's acceptance of self-determination for Finland, Poland, the Baltic nations and the Ukraine was a powerful lever for the Bolsheviks during the civil war which followed the October Revolution in 1917. However, after achieving independent state power, the bourgeois nationalists like Pilsudski and Mannerheim mobilized the petty-bourgeois masses against the pro-Bolshevik working class, which wanted unity with Soviet Russia. A certain conflict arose between national self-determination and the defense of proletarian revolution. This was shown in the case of Finland where the Soviets recognized its national independence in December 1917; but following a Communist uprising against the bourgeois Mannerheim government the next month, Russian troops still in Finland aided the revolutionary forces in the ensuing civil war.

The history of the Ukraine during 1917-20 clearly illuminates this conflict. In October, local Bolsheviks, in *alliance with* the nationalist-dominated Ukrainian Central Rada, overthrew the pro-Kerensky provisional government in Kiev, the capital. However, the Ukrainian nationalist parties had their social base among the peasantry and naturally opposed the rule of soviets, which represented centrally the urban working classes. In late November the Central Rada suppressed the Kiev soviet and arrested its Bolshevik leaders. Further, it prohibited the Red Army from crossing Ukrainian territory to smash the counterrevolutionary mobilization of the Don Cossacks.

Lenin's Bolsheviks did not permit the principle of national self-determination, or any other bourgeois-democratic right, to prevent defense of the October Revolution against counterrevolution. This was well illustrated in a December 1917 Soviet ultimatum to the Rada which simultaneously recognized the independence of the latter's Ukrainian People's Republic, refused to recognize the Rada as its government and gave it 48 hours to agree to stop aiding the Whites and repressing the soviets. When the Rada continued its provocations, Lenin's government declared war.

The Red Army conquered Kiev in early 1918, shortly after the Ukrainian nationalists had massacred their Bolshevik prisoners. At that point, the Rada allied itself with the German imperialists, who occupied the Ukraine, shoved aside the nationalists and set up a puppet government.

When Germany was defeated on the Western Front in late 1918, it was forced by the victorious Allies to withdraw from the Ukraine. This set the stage for a bloody and complex three-cornered civil war between Ukrainian nationalists led by Simon Petliura, the White army of Denikin and the Bolsheviks. Petliura's military forces consisted of anarchistic peasant partisans, given to anti-Jewish massacres, and Ukrainian units

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of the dissolved Austro-Hungarian army. By early 1920 the Bolshevik government finally established its rule in the Ukraine.

The experience of bourgeois nationalists mobilizing the petty-bourgeois masses against the revolutionary proletariat led to increasing dissatisfaction within the Bolshevik Party to the traditional formula of national self-determination. The left-communist (e.g., Bukharin, Piatakov) and Luxemburgist formulation, "self-determination for the working people of the oppressed nations," gained support, including from the Commissar of Nationalities, Joseph Stalin.

Lenin, too, realized that the old bourgeois-democratic formulation was insufficient to answer the problems facing a proletarian revolution centered in the dominant nation. It was necessary to decide *who* represented the will of the nation. However, he rejected any formulation which absolutely denied the democratic will of the petty bourgeoisie on this question. In Soviet Central Asia, for example, the proletariat was a small minority and largely of Russian nationality.

The issue was decided at the Eighth Party Congress in March 1919, which adopted a new program (formally the party was still bound to the old 1903 program). Lenin rejected Bukharin's position as not providing the necessary flexibility vis-à-vis the nationalistic petty bourgeoisie:

"To reject the self-determination of nations and insert the self-determination of the working people would be absolutely wrong, because this manner of settling the question does not reckon with the difficulties, with the zigzag course taken by differentiation within nations."

—"Report on the Party Program," *Collected Works*, Vol. 29

Instead Lenin proposed an *algebraic* formulation as to which class expresses the will of the nation for separation. This formulation was adopted and incorporated into the new party program:

"Article 9.4: The All-Russian Communist Party regards the question as to who expresses the desire of a nation for separation, from a historical-class point of view, taking into consideration the level of historical development of any given nation: whether the nation is passing from medievalism toward bourgeois democracy or from bourgeois democracy toward soviet or proletarian democracy, etc."

—Robert H. Neal, ed., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

This programmatic statement expresses a general principle of Leninism. The right of nations to self-determination, as any other bourgeois-democratic right, can only be superseded when proletarian class rule and its democracy supersede bourgeois democracy. ■

## Videla's Reign of Death...

(continued from page 12)

working conditions. Every sector except agriculture has been severely strained in consequence.

Though an hour's work now buys little more than a quarter of the meat it bought at this time a year ago—an indication of the drastic decline in real wages—the government exhibits misleading statistics and boasts of inroads made against inflation. Even so, official figures indicate a 14 percent rise in the cost of living in January alone.

Though the major unions are directly administered by the military and while strikes are illegal and hundreds have been arrested or killed in factories where

staging slowdowns against changes in work rules, employing tactics similar to those of the militant power plant workers. Cargo worked went down from 1,000 tons a day to 200 and sabotage again caused serious damage, though the naval infantry had immediately occupied the docks. This struggle overlapped new work stoppages in auto.

Most recently Luz y Fuerza workers have been protesting the government's attempt to increase the workweek from 36 to 42 hours, staging slowdowns and selective work stoppages. In mid-February the workers held a 14-hour sitdown strike to protest the kidnapping of Oscar Smith, ousted leader of the 100,000-member union who was called back by the government to negotiate a back-to-work agreement. Though originally no one knew if leftists might not have kidnapped Smith to protest the sellout, it now appears that rightists had

death grip of the junta. "Democracy" is not about to be peacefully reinstated through a "dialogue" with Videla. The March 1976 coup was fervently desired by the Argentine bourgeoisie in order to break the back of the combative labor movement. The generals have been unable to accomplish this task, however, and until they succeed—or are defeated by militant working-class struggle—the capitalists will continue to support the bloody junta, while perhaps clucking their tongues over "lamentable excesses."

But the vital need of the labor movement to resist the wage-slashing, murderous junta does not guarantee that the workers will obtain the revolutionary leadership they require to wage this struggle victoriously. The Peronist labor leadership did not lift a finger to resist the 1976 coup and has been largely quiescent ever since. Having become accustomed to grovelling submission to one military bonaparte, some are already making deals with Videla & Co.

The most shameless capitulators before the junta are the Argentine Stalinists. Licking the jackboots of the military from the very beginning, even as its headquarters were raided and some of its supporters murdered, the Communist Party of Argentina (PCA) is now speaking from the cloud-cuckoo land on the far side of opportunism. According to the vice president of the PCA youth group:

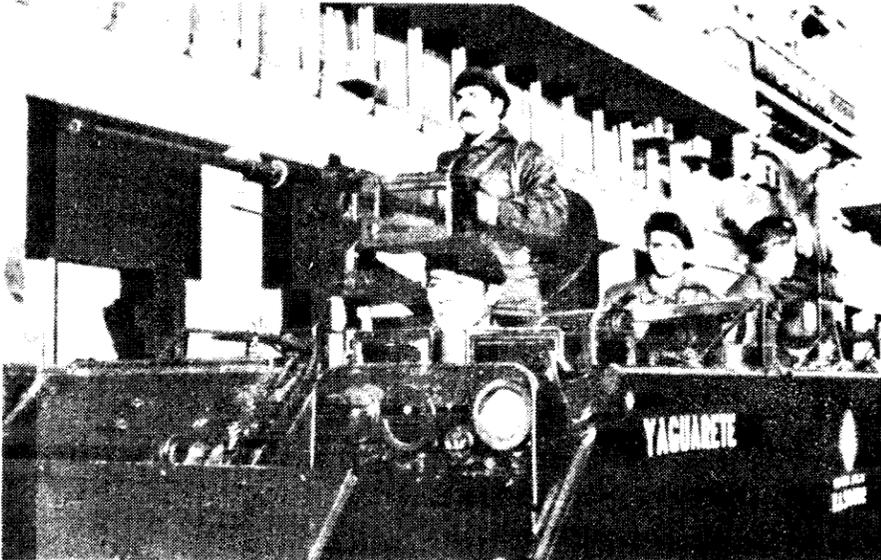
"We maintain that it is the ultras, right or left, who don't want peace. They would like to see 200,000 dead in order to proclaim fascism or anarchy in Argentina."

"The assaults against the government, carried out by the ultras, are assaults against the people. Despite its heterogeneous viewpoints, the military government is agreed on one point: the sensible and democratic policies that it follows."

—quoted in *Cambio* 16 [Madrid], 19 December 1976

Not even bourgeois conservatives such as the anti-Peronist Radical Civic Union have made such an *incredibly* shortsighted and ludicrous defense of the junta. Ever willing to prove its services to the *most reactionary* sectors of the Argentine bourgeoisie (as after World War II, when it joined with the landowners against Perón), PCA leaders recently issued a statement defending the junta against charges by the U.S. that it violated "human rights." While admitting a few transgressions, the declaration (reported in the 18 March *Daily World*) "drew attention to statements made by President (Gen.) Jorge R. Videla on opening up a dialogue with all sectors in Argentina and beginning a

continued on page 10



Argentine troops

Edgar Moura/Liaison

workers are allegedly influenced by leftist guerrillas, worker resistance continues without let-up. Recognizing this fact, the *New York Times* (27 February) recently published an article entitled "Battleground Between Leftists and Military in Argentina Shifts to Labor."

During the first months following the coup last March this resistance came primarily in the form of generalized and massive industrial sabotage. In auto more than 35 percent of production was affected, as in one Ford factory where 40 Falcons (the standard car used by the federal police and the AAA) had their motors destroyed.

Then in September auto workers at Ford, GM, Chrysler, Mercedes-Benz and Fiat in Buenos Aires responded to the government's insulting 12-percent wage increase with slowdowns and strikes (see "Argentine Auto Workers Defy Military Dictatorship," *WV* No. 125, 17 September). Disturbances spread to other industries. At Swift Packing Co. in Rosario, tons of meat for export were lost due to sabotage of a big refrigeration unit; explosions in electrical stations blacked out sections of La Plata and San Fernando.

The strikers finally returned to work under threat of dismissal and ten-year prison sentences, having gained only a return to the five-day week at GM and employer promises of "bonuses" as opposed to illegal wage increases. But no sooner had they gone back than electricity workers went out at the beginning of October. The running battle between troops occupying the power stations and workers of the state-owned SEGBA power company, sparked October 4 with the dismissal of more than 200 workers of the Luz y Fuerza (Light and Power) union, including the union leadership, lasted a month and a half and did \$100 million worth of damage. This action immediately spread to the privately-owned Italo-Argentina power company and beyond.

By the beginning of November dockers in the port of Buenos Aires were



Goldberg/Sygma

Dictators Pinochet (top left) and Videla on parade.

done it to embarrass the government and wreck its efforts to achieve "labor peace" through deals with Peronist union leaders.

Videla increasingly attempts to use the Peronist bureaucrats as mediators, holding open the possibility of re-installing them in their union posts in the CGT labor federation and individual unions in order to control the ranks. But the ability of these discredited elements to control the beleaguered union ranks, increasingly unable to obtain even the bare necessities of life with their greatly diminished purchasing power, is questionable. In the meantime the underground "CGT en la Resistencia" claims to have organized committees for resistance in many factories and public services.

### Break with Peronism and Stalinism!

As a simple matter of survival, Argentine workers must smash the

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# Videla's Reign of Death...

(continued from page 9)

process to re-establish a 'stable democratic regime'."

The Stalinists apparently hope that with their belly-crawling servility to the murderous generals, they may eventually get the nod from the junta when the latter decides it needs to control the workers movement from within. Certain Peronist union leaders harbor the same ambition. But the bloodbath continues, and will do so until the labor movement and its capacity to resist are shattered—or until the workers defeat the junta on the battlefield of class struggle. In the former case, the Stalinists will have been treacherous accomplices in decapitating the most militant



Massacre victims.

Economist

proletariat of Latin America; in the latter case, they will have posed a serious roadblock to revolution.

What is needed in Argentina is above all a Trotskyist party which breaks with the bourgeois populism of Peronism and with Stalinist class collaboration—which bases itself not on the impotent strategy of guerrilla warfare but on the mobilization of the working class. The fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, however, has capitulated both to Peronism and guerrillaism. While its guerrillaist supporters have either split toward open Castroism (the case of the PRT ERP) or been decimated, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) of Nahuel Moreno managed to build an organization of several thousand members and sympathizers, with some influence in combative sectors of the proletariat.

During the Perón regime this capital was squandered through support ("critical," of course), first to the Peronist government of Héctor Cámpora, and then through promises of support for the "institutional process" and to the "continuity" of the government—which

was simultaneously mowing down left-wing militants in the factories and on the streets. We have already reported how the PST has taken an equivocal line toward the Videla junta, with Moreno referring to it in an interview as "obliged to concede certain legal margins from time to time" (quoted in *WV* No. 133, 12 November 1976). He also went to great pains to distinguish the Videla regime from Pinochet, labeling the March 1976 coup "not a historic defeat for the Argentine proletariat."

Recently, the PST has given another example of its utter failure to comprehend the most fundamental questions of life and death for the proletariat. In the 17 March *Inprecor* a PST militant gives the following agnostic evaluation of the junta:

"If the workers and people's resistance grows rapidly, if it succeeds in curbing the government offensive, the black months of 1976 will remain an ultra-reactionary period but will not have inaugurated a stage of counterrevolution, nor would the government be characterized as counterrevolutionary, in spite of its subjective desires. If, on the other hand, the government continues its offensive, even if there are isolated struggles and contradictions, if

the workers movement is incapable of reversing or at least curbing this situation for a prolonged period, then these events will mean that the period initiated on March 24 must be characterized as a new, counterrevolutionary period."

To this one can only reply that if, "on the one hand," the junta only jails the PST militants and kills various of its trade-unionists, then Moreno will be able to mount protest campaigns from the safety of exile while continuing to blabber about "legal margins." But if, on the other hand, Videla's murderers assassinate Moreno himself, then perhaps finally the PST will concede that this is a counterrevolutionary government—although Moreno will be unable to utter the verdict himself. The working class, in any case, has no need of such impressionistic, utterly cynical "leaders."

The international Spartacist tendency warned, from the beginning, of the reactionary consequences of the Videla coup and condemned the misleaders of the Argentine labor movement for their lack of resistance. We stated on the morrow of the military takeover:

"But behind the 'moderate' image of the junta... lurk numerous 'hardliners' screaming for blood.

"Despite the cynical talk of reconciliation, it is clear that the generals have taken power in order to smash the workers movement. Videla's program for the Argentine workers is the same as Pinochet's remedy for Chile. To the extent that rigidly enforced 'moderation' is unable to break the back of organized labor—which will now be made to pick up the tab for bankrupt Argentine capitalism—the *gorillas* are prepared to drench the workers quarters in rivers of blood."

—"Military Coup in Argentina," *WV* No. 103, 2 April 1976

Tragically this prediction has proved true. But the Argentine workers have continued their struggle under the most adverse conditions. The struggle to forge an authentic Trotskyist party in Argentina, as part of a reborn Fourth International, has never been more urgent. ■



Dictator Videla

D Goldberg Sygma

## Urgent PDC Fund Appeal Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid

Fernando Marcos is a 30-year-old Chilean miners union organizer now exiled in France. He was blinded in a 1972 industrial accident, but continued to aid the workers' struggles until the bloody Pinochet coup forced him to flee the country. Previous operations to regain his eyesight have failed due to inadequate medical attention, first from a pro-junta doctor in Chile and then in a charity ward in exile. His last chance to see again involves a delicate corneal transplant operation at the world-renowned Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona. The cost: \$10,000. The Partisan Defense Committee has undertaken to raise the funds necessary for this operation, one which will determine if Marcos can again dedicate himself with his fullest abilities to the cause of the oppressed. The PDC solicits and welcomes your financial support in this effort.

- Enclosed please find my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund.")
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The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization, which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

## I.S. Fractures ...

(continued from page 4)

cratically expelling one little group after another. (In fact the RSL—which might be expected to be the natural beneficiary of any split in the I.S.—could not even muster a presence at the recent conference.)

At the time of the RSL's separation from its parent organism, we commented that the I.S. might actually find itself strengthened by the split through increased cohesion and effectiveness in pursuit of its left-reformist aims. The same cannot be said today. The split significantly weakens the I.S. numerically and threatens to wipe it out of several geographic areas while seriously damaging its implantation in industry.

But we have no expectation that the main cadres of the I.S. will "learn" even an empirical lesson from their setbacks; hardened opportunists cannot understand that theirs is not the way to "get rich," even in the short run. Neither manifest political bankruptcy nor organizational decomposition can be expected to teach them very much. While a revolutionary program is not in itself a talisman against splits and serious membership losses, it is the Trotskyist programmatic homogeneity of the Spartacist League that is the root source of our organization's growth and consolidation during the same period in which the cynical maneuverists of the I.S. have undergone two major splits. This is a political truth which the Joel Geiers of this world—whose imagination does not go beyond an endless search for "get-rich-quick" gimmicks—will never understand. ■

### CORRECTIONS

In our last issue (*WV* No. 149, 18 March), the article "International Women's Day—A Proletarian Celebration" contains the following sentence: "The 'consistent-feminism-leads-to-socialism' SWPers might recall the anti-communist fervor of the Women's Battalion of Death." While the clearly reactionary Women's Battalion of Death was not itself feminist, it nevertheless aroused deep feelings of sympathy from leading feminists like Emmeline Pankhurst, the founder of the British Women's Social and Political Union. She defended Kerensky against the Bolsheviks and pronounced the Women's Battalion of Death "the greatest thing in history since Joan of Arc."

Also the article "Behind the 'Roots' Craze" (*WV* No. 147, 4 March) gives the date of Malcolm X's assassination as 1967 instead of 1965.

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# Blood and Deals

(continued from page 1)

an "independent national state" on "national soil." Though not explicitly stated, this is universally taken to mean another step toward PLO endorsement of the West Bank Gaza Strip "mini-state" proposal and co-existence with Israel.

The first step toward endorsing the mini-state was taken at the 1974 meeting of the PNC, which endorsed a "transitional program" calling for setting up of a "national authority on any land liberated from Israel." Previously, the PLO called for the liberation of all of pre-1948 Palestine through the destruction of Israel, without stopping on the way to set up some kind of "transitional national authority" much less settle for a tiny slice of "national soil" to set up a statelet.

The PLO was rewarded for its moderation when it received recognition in that club of feudal sheiks and little bonapartes, the Arab League, at its October 1974 Rabat conference, as the "sole representative of the Palestinian people."

The one Arab head of state whose ox was gored at Rabat is King Hussein, ruler of the "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan." A majority of his "subjects" are Palestinian; thus to declare the PLO their "sole legitimate representative" is to directly challenge the existence of his throne, artificially imposed by British imperialism on Jordan after World War I. Further, the West Bank (annexed by Hussein's grandfather during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war and lost in the 1967 war) is still considered by Hussein as part of his Hashemite patrimony.

The Hashemites, always unpopular with the Palestinian masses, were detested in the aftermath of "Black September." This feeling was so strong that even though the 1974 PNC meeting, like the one recently concluded, was dominated by the "moderate" views of Yasir Arafat, it called for the overthrow of Hussein's dynasty.

## "Links": PLO-Hussein-CIA

However, in preparation for the 1977 Palestine National Council meetings, the hated Hashemites are being refurbished and presented as the vehicle for Palestinian "liberation"! The Arab states value social stability within a capitalist framework and a steady flow of their cut of the oil revenues above all else. They have drawn their own lessons from the devastating Lebanese civil war.

In Lebanon the well-armed, self-governing Palestinian refugee camps constituted a "national authority," albeit on land "liberated" from an Arab country rather than Israel. The Arab rulers see such a "national authority" or "independent national state" in the West Bank as simply a replication of Lebanon, with all the inherent instability of the Arab-Israel conflict. (What would be the relation of such a statelet to the Palestinians in Jordan, the refugees in Lebanon and Syria, and the Arabs in Israel?!) The Sadats, Assads and Khalids blame the Lebanese civil war on the Palestinian "state" within a fragile state, and they see an even more combustible mixture in a West Bank statelet.

The Ba'athists in Damascus see their "united front" with Jordan as creating a division of labor: Syria will militarily and politically disarm the Palestinians in Lebanon—perhaps laying the basis for the eventual absorption of Lebanon into a Greater Syria—and Jordan will handle the West Bank Palestinians either through outright re-annexation or a Hashemite-dominated "federation."

Earlier this year, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, after consummating a "united political command" with Syria, began to launch trial balloons regarding a Palestinian-Jordanian "link." The basis for such a link would be laid by including the PLO in the Jordanian

delegation to a reconvened Near East peace conference in Geneva, thereby overcoming Israel's opposition to attending a conference with direct PLO representation.

However, the so-called "moderates" within the Israeli Zionist establishment (like Prime Minister Rabin) are willing to "withdraw" only from a West Bank which is entirely surrounded by Israeli military bases, including along the Jordan River. This is, from a military standpoint, no withdrawal at all, and it is predicated on Jordan assuming administration of the center of this Israeli-controlled "bantustan."

Suggestions for a PLO-Hashemite link were made in anticipation of a visit to the Near East in February by the new U.S. secretary of state, Cyrus Vance,



Teresa Zabala/New York Times

## Israeli premier Rabin (left) with Carter.

which was to be followed by meetings between King Hussein and the PLO. However, the refurbishment of Hussein almost had to be jettisoned. On the eve of Vance's arrival in Amman, the *Washington Post* revealed that the Jordanian king had received millions of dollars over 20 years from the CIA.

Following Vance's departure, formal talks were held between the PLO leadership and the Jordanian government. Agreeing "in principle" on the need for strong "links" between Jordan and a future PLO-administered West Bank, the participants in these discussions also agreed to hide behind studied ambiguity and not define what was meant by "links."

More importantly, at least for symbolic value, in the middle of the Afro-Arab summit conference, Arafat and Hussein dined together at the King's Suite of the Cairo Hilton Hotel. When delegates at the PNC meeting asked



Gamma/Liaison

## Israeli soldier arrests Palestinian protester.

Arafat prickly questions about his dealings with a man on the CIA payroll, he is quoted as responding: "This was nothing new to us. The King is not the only one in the Arab world to have been in that position."

Although Arafat himself may not be personally corrupt, his cynical defense of Hussein's CIA meal ticket means that he already anticipates that his statelet will merely provide a select few of the Palestinian middle class a chance at accumulating bribes, profiteering and speculation, or getting on the CIA payroll while the Palestinian masses languish in desperate poverty.

A statelet encompassing the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would comprise less than one fourth of pre-1948 Palestine. Further, it is the least desir-

able and economically viable land. The West Bank is divided into desert in the south and terraced, labor-intensive Mediterranean agriculture in the north. In order to sustain another million Palestinians, even economic studies favorable to a mini-state solution estimate a necessary capital investment of anywhere from \$8 to \$20 billion over five years.

Thus, even if a Palestinian West Bank won nominal political independence, it would necessarily be a client state of Jordan and/or the oil sheikdoms. Gaza is already tremendously overpopulated at 300,000 and the bulk of the population are refugees living in hovels and wretched camps. Even if a PLO "national authority" or "independent national state" were set up in Gaza and the West Bank, it would *like Israel and Jordan* survive only through the financial support of the oil sheikdoms and U.S. imperialism!

## Arab-Hebrew Working-Class Unity

Real liberation for the Palestinian people will never come through their PLO misleaders and the reactionary Arab states which have betrayed them so often. It will not come through the eternal struggle to find the elusive formulation that will disarm Zionist Israel and U.S. imperialism and win "liberation" through an imperialist-imposed peace.

The real "link" that is needed is that between the West Bank masses and the Israeli and Jordanian proletariat. Today the Israeli proletariat, both Hebrew and Arab, is undertaking the most

militant class struggle in the history of the Zionist state. They are striking and protesting over the same issues, against the same government and capitalist class that the West Bank Palestinians are fighting.

Such links will be forged only when the Israeli workers take up the demand for Israel out of the occupied territories; for full democratic rights for all Arabs in Israel, including the right to self-determination for the Palestinians in West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian liberation can only come about through the destruction of the Zionist racist state by the Israeli workers themselves, and the overthrow of the Hashemites by the Jordanian and Palestinian masses, under the leadership of Trotskyist parties in a reborn Fourth International, fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

# Wendy Yoshimura . . .

(continued from page 2)

\$50,000: "I think it would be a little bit anomalous if somebody whose financial resources are a million and a half gets bail, and somebody who has to depend on friends has to go to state prison" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 March 1977).

Unfortunately the judge's "arithmetic" is a little anomalous. Patricia Hearst's father has personal assets of well over \$100 million. A proportionate bail for Yoshimura based on her family's income would amount at most to several hundred dollars! However the sop of \$50,000 bail was as far as the "generous" judge was willing to go as he denied defense attorneys James Larson and Garrick Lew's motions for a new trial.

Larson and Lew charged among other things that the eleven white members of the jury imposed a "racist verdict." An affidavit from the one black juror, Lucille Mitchell, stated she was harassed by the other jurors into her guilty verdict. Mitchell said that white jury members made racial slurs when discussing Yoshimura's choice of a white companion (Willie Brandt) and that newspaper stories about the trial were regularly circulated among the jurors.

Pulich routinely denied these motions along with one by Larson, citing legal precedent, that Yoshimura be given credit for prison time already served—the three years she spent in Manzanar, a World War II concentration camp for Japanese Americans. According to Pulich his was just a state court and the precedent cited by Larson concerned a federal case.

In a statement made after the sentencing, Yoshimura said she didn't get a fair trial "because of sexism and racism" in the jury. She also stated she was convicted not on the basis of the 1972 charges but because of her associations with Patricia Hearst and William and Emily Harris of the S.L.A. We heartily concur, and once again hail Wendy Yoshimura for her steadfast refusal, in the face of long jail sentences in one of the U.S.' worst penal systems, to turn informer and fink on her friends and comrades.

Yoshimura must now pursue a lengthy and expensive series of legal appeals. In addition, she must raise another \$25,000 in bail by March 31 or return to prison. It is the duty of the entire workers movement to come to her aid with financial support to expose and protest the vicious racist attempt to frame up this honest and principled militant.

Contributions to Wendy Yoshimura's defense may be made to the Wendy Yoshimura Fair Trial Committee, c/o Janis Mirikatani, Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## A Year of Junta Terror in Argentina

### Not Peronism or Guerrillaism, But Workers Revolution!

# Smash Videla's Reign of Death!

Despite the vast scope of its bloody reign of death, the Argentine military junta, which took power one year ago this week, can only draw a negative balance sheet in terms of its own goals. The economy is still a shambles despite a disastrous decline in the masses' standard of living. Though it has suffered tremendous losses, the left-wing guerrilla movement is still capable of spectacular actions. (For the third time in a year, President Jorge Videla narrowly missed death on February 18 when a bomb in a culvert exploded under the runway as Videla's plane took off from the Buenos Aires municipal airport.) And most serious of all, the working class continues to actively resist the junta's wage-slashing "austerity" drive.

Consequently, military hardliners are

demanding yet more blood while the "doves" hypocritically appeal for a more selective policy of torture and murder. Contrary to their wishes, the carnage being committed by the junta has become so notorious that U.S. president Carter felt he could gain credibility for his "human rights" ploy by cutting U.S. military aid to Argentina amid great fanfare.

In a huff of indignation, Videla replied by renouncing military aid from the U.S. "America is wrong," he said in an interview with the Paris weekly *L'Express* (14-20 March). "We defend human rights against subversives, the corrupt, delinquents" (!)—explicitly excluding the latter from the human community. He goes on to philosophically articulate the bonapartist

"mission" of the Argentine military, voicing the traditional contempt of the "man on horseback" for "inept" and "impotent" politicians:

"We are the heirs of ideas which are the legacy of the French Revolution [!]. But can this democracy of 1789 be applied in our epoch? I think it is necessary to adapt it to our country's realities. We don't want the politicians to destroy our work of renovation on the day the army returns to the barracks."

Still the "moderate" within the political spectrum of the Argentine armed forces, Videla rejects the strategy of those even more megalomaniacal air force and naval officers who want to regroup "the last Western anti-Marxist forces in a South Atlantic pact, supported by South Africa." Videla recently demoted and retired some intransigent hardliners, but his position within the armed forces as a whole, particularly in relation to his fellow members of the junta, reportedly remains precarious (*Latin America*, 17 December 1976).

#### Junta Death Machine

Repression has reached new depths in Argentina, not simply in terms of numbers but in the massive, deliberate barbarity which it represents. Amnesty International has pointed to a "new phase" of "disappeared prisoners" in Chile. Pinochet's response to "human rights" pressure. The Argentine junta also appreciates the advantages of massively executing prisoners, denying any knowledge of their arrest or whereabouts.

Furthermore, the bodies can be added to the "enemy" death count. Junta officials announce the death of "guerrillas" in confrontations of various sorts with security forces, who always come out remarkably unscathed. Even so, the overflow from the prisons has forced the building of concentration camps. According to journalist Marcelo Dias in *Rouge* (7 February):

"First of all in Tucumán where the forces of General Bussi are still attempting to annihilate the rural guerrilla and the political infrastructure of the ERP, by means of massacring its social base: thousands of agricultural sugar-cane workers. Then other concentration camps were constructed in Córdoba, at Campo de Mayo [military base] and near the Ezeiza airport (Atómica), etc. They have also constructed seven oven crematoriums to prevent relatives of victims from mobbing the cemeteries and the international spectacle and bad image caused by the 'recovered corpses'."

The number of political prisoners interned is still a "military secret." Informed estimates place the figure between 20,000 and 30,000, though the government claims this is preposterous. How many have died at the hands of security forces and paramilitary gangs? According to figures compiled from

police sources and local newspaper accounts, about 1,400; more likely is the figure of 5,000 claimed by some former prisoners.

Observers have noted that the violence of the repression takes on an accelerating momentum of its own and the sadism takes on a mass dimension. The machine of repression trains thousands of individuals in the practice of torture and mass assassination creating a virtual army of sadistic psychopaths. The darkest irrationality becomes the norm as the reactionaries seek cultural hegemony for the "moral regeneration of the fatherland." The parallel with fascism is obvious and anti-Semitic atrocities are on the rise along with the proliferation of Nazi literature.

Referring to the paramilitary death squads such as the infamous AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance), foreign affairs minister Admiral César Augusto Guzzetti told critics in Washington: "It is a healthy and normal reaction. A little like an organism which, attacked by a disease, manufactures antibodies" (*L'Express*, 14-20 March).

The minister of education exhorts parents and teachers to eradicate the "moral roots of the bad Argentine" and to flush out those teachers who employ non-traditional methods and talk too much about postconciliar Catholicism. An official poster warns parents to oversee the education of their children so that they not be taught pernicious ideas under the cover of "literature." "You can be disinterested," it says, "but don't complain when you get a call from the morgue to identify your child's corpse." For all the talk of "moral regeneration" and "the values of Christian civilization," Argentina under the military heel is living through the darkest night of barbarism. Only the organized power of a revolutionary proletariat can wipe these murderous parasites from the face of the planet.

#### Labor Resistance Continues

For all the talk of "eradicating the guerrilla disease," it was the combativeness of the Argentine workers which drove the military to seize power last March 24. Few in Argentina disagree that it is above all the workers' struggles that will determine the fate of junta rule and shape the future of Argentina.

The working masses are constantly being ordered to make the sacrifices demanded by the "shock treatment" prescription of economics minister Martínez de Hoz in order to put bankrupt Argentine capitalism back on its feet, i.e., to rationalize by cutting jobs, real wages, increasing productivity through speed-up and undermining

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