

Information, Education, Discussion

BULLETIN in Defense of Marxism

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Who We Are

The *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* is published monthly (except for a combined July-August issue) by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency. We have dedicated this journal to the process of clarifying the program and theory of revolutionary Marxism—of discussing its application to the class struggle both internationally and here in the United States. This vital task must be undertaken if we want to forge a political party in this country capable of bringing an end to the domination of the U.S. imperialist ruling class and of establishing a socialist society based on human need instead of private greed.

The F.I.T. was created in the winter of 1984 by members expelled from the Socialist Workers Party because we opposed abandoning the Trotskyist principles and methods on which the SWP was founded and built for more than half a century. Since our formation we have fought to win the party back to a revolutionary Marxist perspective and for our readmission to the SWP. In addition our members are active in the U.S. class struggle.

At the 1985 World Congress of the Fourth International, the appeals of the F.I.T. and other expelled members were upheld, and the congress delegates demanded, by an overwhelming majority, that the SWP readmit those who had been purged. So far the SWP has refused to take any steps to comply with this decision.

"All members of the party must begin to *study*, completely dispassionately and with utmost honesty, first the essence of the differences and second the course of the dispute in the party. . . . It is necessary to *study* both the one and the other, unfailingly demanding the most exact, printed documents, open to verification by all sides. Whoever believes things simply on someone else's say-so is a hopeless idiot, to be dismissed with a wave of the hand."

—V.I. Lenin, "The Party Crisis," Jan. 19, 1921.

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Solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle!

AT THE JUNE meeting of the International Executive Committee, the Fourth International reaffirmed its long-standing commitment to build solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.

The following document is the text of the motion adopted by the IEC, the leading body of the Fourth International between meetings of the World Congress.

1 **The boycott of South Africa**
The questions of economic boycott and isolation of South Africa have become major elements in propaganda against the apartheid regime. This boycott has taken various forms: denunciation of all organized expression by or for the benefit of the South African authorities, the "governments" of the bantustans and other collaborators; the demand for an end to all trade with South Africa, as well as to all exchanges of technology and other services; and the ending of all banking or financial relations.

Depending on the countries and the circumstances this has concerned the export of military technology to South Africa, the provision of petrol, the im-

port of Namibian coal or uranium, the maintenance of air links, or South African access to bank loans and credit facilities.

Finally, it has involved exposing foreign investments in South Africa and calling for the withdrawal of imperialist companies from the country.

Over the last few years, several imperialist governments have undertaken to put pressure on the Pretoria regime by adopting a certain number of economic sanctions. For them it is a question of defending a third way (between apartheid and revolution), demanding that the Botha regime commit itself to negotiated reforms, and themselves preparing to take part in these hypothetical negotiations.

What is more, a certain number of companies — including some important multinationals, particularly American — have decided to leave South Africa. Some of them mentioned risks to the image of their product caused by staying in the country. Most of them put the emphasis on their criticism of the South African system. This, however, had been their main motivation for setting up in the country and making large profits there. So all this cannot delude people. In reality the economic crisis that the country is presently going through, combined with political and social instability, have been reason enough for many foreign companies to decide to close their South African subsidiaries, sell them to South Africans or hold on to sub-contracted markets only.

The solidarity movement must be able to explain these singular practices on the part of people who have colluded with the racist regime for so many years.

It must also know how to avoid the trap of an over-economistic conception of the boycott. Disinvestment must not be translated into a de-capitalization implying factory closures, dismantling of machinery or other formulas which try to make Black South African workers pay for this retreat. The capitalists must sort things out themselves, accept the proposals of the independent trade unions, find appropriate solutions!

Any boycott campaign or call for the withdrawal of a company must be accompanied on the part of the workers' movement and solidarity organizations by a clear willingness to build links

ANNOUNCING: Our International Editorial Board

As regular readers can see from the change in our inside front cover, we are introducing another improvement to our magazine with this issue. The *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* has asked a number of leaders of the Fourth International—or of its sections and sympathizing organizations—to collaborate with us in expanding the range of viewpoints presented in these pages, along with the depth and variety of our international coverage. To accomplish this we have established a board of "International Contributing Editors," which we are initiating in this issue. The list as it appears is still in the process of formation.

We are asking those who have agreed to participate in this board to try to submit articles concerning the class struggle in their own countries, or relating to the kinds of theoretical topics which readers of the *Bulletin IDOM* are interested in. We hope to run these on a regular basis. To initiate the process we are reprinting a piece by Ernest Mandel, "Vanguard Parties," as our "From the Arsenal of Marxism" feature this month.

The Editors

with the South African independent trade unions of the branch and the company involved. This is essential if this kind of campaign is not to echo agreement with the demagogic pretensions of certain imperialist governments, the media operations of certain multinationals or bourgeois lobbies.

For example, this is what was cruelly lacking at the time of the General Motors workers' strike in Port Elisabeth in 1986. The solidarity and workers' movements must take up the possible positions of the South African trade unions on the withdrawal of foreign companies, popularize them and make them an element of their own agitation.

The boycott campaigns must be the means of developing mass mobilization. A boycott campaign should be the chance to show the complicity or passivity of governments, as well as the formal character of their denunciation of apartheid. It is an instrument for education and denunciation which cannot be reduced to parliamentary pressure or to formal demands on the governments concerned.

We support the calls on governments that they impose sanctions against the South African regime. By putting forward these demands, we do not encourage illusions in their capacity or their desire to take effective measures. On the contrary, we urge the workers' movement to fight to impose these sanctions. For this reason, we popularize and call on the workers to take direct action initiatives to prevent the exchange of goods and services with South Africa. Our goal is actions like that of Dunnes Stores in Dublin, where the workers fought a long strike in support of South African Blacks.

2 Support for all those struggling against apartheid and for a non-racial democratic society in South Africa

Solidarity must be carried out in a non-exclusive fashion at the same level for all those who are repressed by the racist regime. Solidarity is organized around concrete tasks. It should not get bogged down in judgements on the political positions of one or the other group when they are in the same camp against the racist regime. International solidarity should be first and foremost in favour of the mass movement and resistance actions led by Cosatu, the UDF, the ANC and, in particular cases, by other social or political forces.

3 Solidarity with the independent trade-union movement

Among the tasks of the solidarity movement, one is particularly important — that of informing and mobilizing workers and their organizations. The existence of an anti-apartheid struggle by a Black working class fighting daily against the state and the bosses should be stressed. Strikes which take place in the branches of the big multinational companies must be reported.

It is therefore necessary to mobilize workers and their organizations in solidarity with the South African independent trade-union movement. In this context, the defence of Cosatu and support for its unions are urgent and decisive tasks. At present, Cosatu represents the highest form of the workers' united front in South Africa and the most solidly organized social sector.

International solidarity must devote particular attention to this form of support. The international workers' movement must establish direct relations with the independent South African trade unions. The formation of Cosatu, which is the authoritative voice of the union movement in South Africa, provides added opportunities for deepening fraternal ties between the labour movement in South Africa and the unions in

every country. Workplace unions and unions in branches of the same multinationals must develop links with their South African counterparts.

Tours of South African unionists must be organized in a unitary fashion. However, they should not only meet trade union leaders but also talk to the rank-and-file. Trade-union fact-finding delegations should be sent to South Africa to meet trade unionists and to bring back information and eye-witness accounts. Appropriate trade union help, popularization of strikes, distribution of the trade-union press and permanent links can be organized, not only to help South African trade unionists, but also to take the solidarity movement to the heart of the workplaces.

Today, the South African independent workers' movement is the standard bearer of a radical anti-apartheid fight. It leads significant struggles against the bosses' exploitation, puts forward specific demands and has important experiences of self-organization and mass democracy. It struggles simultaneously for the disappearance of racial discrimination in society and for the achievement of its own class objectives. It is in this sense that it is taking a more and more socialist perspective.

Meeting of International Executive Committee:

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL LEADERS REAFFIRM VIEW ON SWP EXPULSIONS

by Steve Bloom

A meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International at the end of June reconfirmed the opposition by the leadership of that world party to the anti-Leninist practices of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. A motion was adopted which stated, once again, that those who were expelled by the party leadership during its 1982-84 purge of oppositionists (and who are now organized in the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, Socialist Action, and the F.I. Caucus of Solidarity) should be readmitted, as originally decided by the 1985 World Congress. Also adopted was a motion opposing the exclusionary policy carried out by the party against expelled members—refusing to allow them to attend public events of the SWP, or even to enter party bookstores.

The final wording of these motions depends on an editing process which is not yet completed. We hope to publish them for the information of our readers as soon as the precise texts become available.

International VIEWPOINT

IV is a unique fortnightly magazine of news and analysis of the international class struggle. From South Africa to Central America, Eastern

Europe to the Philippines, IV is indispensable reading for anyone wanting to keep up with events in the world today.

Recent issues have included articles on the last Palestinian National Congress, the South African Communist Party and trade-union movement, Islamic fundamentalism and women in Turkey, the world financial crisis and the recent elections in Western Europe and India. Plus regular news of the Fourth International. Contributors include Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan, Jacqueline Heinen and Alain Krivine.

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4

Free Mandela and all the prisoners

Racist South Africa is a vast prison. Each year thousands of men, women and children pass through the authorities' gaols. Botha has just extended the state of emergency introduced in June 1986, having already achieved a noticeable fall in the political activity of the masses.

Exposing this repression must be one of the central axes of propaganda against the apartheid system.

For twenty-five years large numbers of prisoners have been condemned to heavy penalties for "terrorism", "communism" or "high treason". Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, figures amongst these. Mandela has become a symbol of the victims of brutality of the regime against Blacks and against the ANC. His liberation would constitute, whatever the motivations of the government, a significant event for the mass movement in South Africa.

The danger which the various groups of "vigilantes" — the para-military sections of the Inkatha party and so on — present for the mass movement should also be taken into account. Particular stress should be placed on condemning these new phenomena, since they now form one of the main links in the repressive practice of the white authorities.

The trade-union movement, which had been less affected by the repression than other sectors in 1985, is now one of the main targets of the ruling party. Repression against the rail-workers' strike, as well as the police entry into the Cosatu offices and the bombings of trade-union offices, confirm this tendency. The trade-union leaderships are now directly threatened in order to prevent the normal functioning of their organizations.

In this respect the example of Moses Mayekiso is particularly symbolic. The leader of one of the principal trade unions in the country — the metalworkers in Numsa — he was imprisoned and is now accused of high treason for having led the coordination of neighbourhood committees in the Alexandra township. Condemning the imprisonment of trade unionists is therefore an element to take into account in solidarity activity — particularly in trade-union solidarity actions and in the workplaces.

5

The academic and cultural boycott is a weapon for solidarity. It must not be a constraint.

It is not acceptable for people — artists, intellectuals or sportspeople — to travel to South Africa in the name of the so-called "neutrality" of their professional activities. In many cases it is a genuine objective collaboration with the system, in so far as it normalizes relations with South Africa.

In the same way it is not acceptable for South African personalities, with the same aim or for similar reasons, to go abroad. These practices and the public events that result from them should be condemned. This is one means the solidarity movement can use to expose the racist system.

But this cannot become a total black-out, which would damage the development of struggles and solidarity. Today, the South African revolution is opening to the outside world. It can exercise a strong attraction on all those struggling elsewhere. Similarly, those who are fighting in South Africa seek to know about and discover the struggles of other people and to escape from the damper of South African censorship.

Nothing should be done to limit communications between those struggling in South Africa and those who support them abroad. In order for a revolution to win it is clearly not helpful for the people concerned to be isolated from other struggles, from discussion of ideas and the exchange of experiences.

The ANC has just modified its traditional attitude in favour of a complete cultural and university boycott. This was posing more and more problems given the development of international contacts between progressive South African artists and intellectuals and those worldwide — determined to see and to speak out about apartheid. The principle of a total boycott, usually accompanied with special dispensations under the control of the ANC, could not continue in such conditions. According to the ANC itself, the debate remains open in terms of who is going to decide, and on what criteria.

6

A unitary and democratic solidarity movement, centred on the workers' movement and youth

The international solidarity movement needs to last as long as the revolutionary struggle of the people of South Africa continues. For this to be possible the solidarity movements need to reinforce links with the workers' movement and youth, and to aim themselves principally towards these groups. The solidarity organizations should develop in a direction independent of the projects put forward by bourgeois circles and imperialists. These groups are aiming at resolving the South African crisis at the least cost for capitalist interests.

It is in turning the solidarity movement towards workers and youth and in mobilizing for the defence of workers

and youth in South Africa that it will be possible to stabilize solidarity in the long term. This does not exclude any broad democratic campaign (around the boycott, political prisoners etc.), but above all it is a question of turning the solidarity towards the main social forces of the South African revolution.

This supposes broad and objective collaboration with major church organizations in those countries where they play a major role in spreading to the broadest layers of the population the moral repugnance of apartheid and the justification of resistance to apartheid rule inside South Africa.

But allowing two separate, or indeed, alternative sorts of solidarity to develop should be avoided: one being a general denunciation of apartheid, oriented essentially towards boycott appeals, the release of Nelson Mandela and so on; and the other specializing in support for strikes and trade unions. A division of labour between the different solidarity structures is not excluded, but all actions must be seen in a complementary, and not contradictory or competitive, way.

7 Stop South African aggression against the countries of southern Africa. South Africa out of Namibia!

The Pretoria regime increases military operations in countries like Botswana, Zambia or Mozambique in order to stop all aid to the ANC and all chance of South African activists being able to move freely in the region. It aids and trains military movements in Mozambique (Renamo) and in Angola (Unita). The South African government uses not only its military strength but also its economic strength for this, by threatening these countries with commercial retaliation. It also uses the duplicity of the imperialist governments in these matters, who want reconciliation with the aggressor as much as those suffering the aggression. The solidarity movement must denounce these attacks and solidarize with the peoples threatened by the South African regime.

The international solidarity movement must not lose sight of support for the Namibian population struggling against South African occupation. It must support the right of national independence for the Namibian people, including total sovereignty over the port of Walvis Bay, which is a particularly important stake for the South Africans and imperialism. A specific task of explanation has to be made regarding the situation, and solidarity must be given to Swapo and to the independent

Namibian trade unions that are now appearing.

Fourth International groups should seek to collaborate with others to mobilize condemnation of the apartheid regime's invasions of other countries, its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia, and its backing of counter-revolutionary mercenary groups in Angola and Mozambique. We should counter the anti-Cuban propaganda that is aimed at justifying these acts of aggression, denouncing all demands that Cuba should bow to imperialist pressure, ignore the requests of the Angolan government and withdraw its forces — military and civilian — from Angola.

8 Down with imperialist manoeuvres! The "anti-apartheid bosses are not our friends!"

The international condemnation of apartheid has the distinctive characteristic that participation of imperialist governments, of groups of employers and multinationals is more and more common. This is not due to the "marginal" or "atypical" nature of the anti-apartheid struggle, allowing South African racism to be condemned by "the western democracies" and their liberal circles.

On the contrary, it is due to the scale of imperialist interests in this country and to the growing fear that the South African crisis is turning into anti-capitalist revolution. Some governments and groups of imperialists are therefore looking for a compromise solution that can save the basic interests of capitalism in the country, and demobilize the popular movement. The product of such a scheme, if it were to work, would be the formal de-racialization of the institutions, with the preservation of the basic social and racial inequalities existing today.

The whole popular movement now rejects this perspective. Consequently, this hypocrisy must be exposed and its objectives explained. All the protagonists of this policy have been, including some until very recently, model collaborators with, or accomplices of, apartheid. We should use the same slogan as the South African workers, faced with liberal bosses who sack them and call the police in against the strikes: "The anti-apartheid bosses are not our friends!"

All attempts by governments or bourgeois circles to interfere in the affairs of the South African mass movement, and to try to manoeuvre

and divide it, should be denounced.

9 The role of the sections of the Fourth International in anti-apartheid solidarity

The sections of the Fourth International, principally in the imperialist countries, must consider anti-apartheid as one of their long-term international campaigns. In campaigns and specific support structures they should defend a unitary and non-sectarian conception of solidarity. They should always aim to give a mass character to all initiatives, centred on the workers' movement and youth. They should attempt to integrate the trade union organizations into solidarity structures and campaigns.

Fourth International organizations should participate fully in and build the broadest possible solidarity with the struggle against apartheid, centering on the demands for an immediate break of economic, cultural, diplomatic, trade-union and sporting ties with the apartheid regime. This campaign has special weight in Britain, the US, Australia, New Zealand and other imperialist countries where government ties with the apartheid regime are particularly important and where, as a result, the anti-apartheid solidarity movement has developed significant support.

While supporting every struggle against the apartheid regime and mobilizing solidarity with all victims of repression in South Africa, Fourth International organizations everywhere should particularly seek to develop links with the ANC.

The deepening South African revolution is leading to a clarification of discussions in our movement, and among other international currents in the workers' and revolutionary movement.

It is also being reflected in the inter-related political debates being carried on within Cosatu and other liberation and working class forces in South Africa. These discussions are important for the future of the revolutionary movement in South Africa, and for the ability of its working class vanguard to construct a revolutionary leadership. Familiarizing ourselves with these discussions is part of the preparation for competent participation in this development by our current on a world scale.

In the many countries where the existence of competing committees is harmful, the sections will endeavour to help build united mobilizations.

Finally, they will develop in their press their analysis of the South African revolution, the specific tasks of the South African proletariat and the events taking place, in order to contribute to a better political understanding by all those taking part in the solidarity movement. ☆



THE IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL

What Has Been Revealed

by Tom Barrett

I've been watching the congressional Joint Committee hearings on the Iran-contra scandal on TV rather faithfully, and I've been rather disgusted with the performances I've seen during these several weeks. The people who have been carrying out U.S. foreign policy have used the hearings to propagandize for contra aid, while those senators and representatives who have voted against contra aid have sidestepped the real issues in this affair. The question which the press has been asking, "What did the President know, and when did he forget it?" is not the most important question to be answered. I'm not going to give you any righteous indignation about "dealing with terrorists" or "trading arms for hostages." You won't hear any sermonizing about the need for Congress to be a partner in the process of making foreign policy, nor will you hear any pious denunciations of lying and covering-up by government officials.

Oliver North lied all right, but his questioners did not challenge his serious lies. While they were concerned about what documents he shredded, what papers his secretary Fawn Hall smuggled out of the White House in her lingerie, and who authorized him to do what, the outright lies he told to justify the government's aggression against the people of Nicaragua and many other countries were allowed to pass without the least whimper of protest. To me, the real crimes in this affair may have been perfectly within the law. Whatever profits Richard Secord and Albert Hakim may have skimmed from the arms sales to Iran is far less of a crime than their complicity in the killing of Nicaraguan civilians and citizen-soldiers and in the fueling of the Iran-Iraq war.

I have a suggestion for the Joint Committee: call Elisabeth Linder to testify. I think the American people ought to hear from her what contra aid really means. Let her tell the television audiences how her son died. Then I think we'll start getting to the real meaning of the Iran-contra scandal.

The Iran Initiative

It's important to understand the overtures to the Islamic Republic of Iran and the attempt to trade weapons to get American hostages out, because they expose the fraud of the U.S. government's "antiterrorist" rhetoric and demonstrate quite clearly how far removed Washington's foreign

policy is from anything remotely in the interests of working people. It's especially important to understand it in light of Reagan's latest aggression in the Arab-Persian Gulf.

I'm not going to go into a detailed analysis of the revolution and counterrevolution in Iran here today. What I will talk about is Iran's relationship to the United States, before and after the establishment of the Islamic Republic, because that is central to the "Iran initiative."

Iran under the last Shah reflected U.S. foreign policy in perhaps its purest form. Washington did (and still does) take Iran very seriously. It is a big country, with a population of about thirty million and a thousand-mile border with the Soviet Union. Its oil reserves are estimated to be the world's second largest. It is on one side of the Strait of Hormuz, which is where the Arab-Persian Gulf joins the Arabian Sea—flowing into the Indian Ocean. Any ship passing through that strait is within artillery range from land on either side.

It has been said that the Shah was an American puppet. That is not exactly true. American imperialism has found that working with indigenous bourgeois forces is both more effective and more economical than direct colonial rule. The Shah was their ideal partner: he was intelligent, had strong leadership qualities, and had a vested interest in collaboration with Washington. It was not a relationship in which the American ambassador said, "Jump," and Shah asked, "How high?" It was a collaborative relationship, in which Shah and the American representatives discussed openly how to further their mutual interests, and more often than not Washington deferred to the Shah's judgment.

The problem with that arrangement, of course, was that the U.S. and Shah's mutual interests were completely at odds with the interests of the Iranian people, and Shah's government was a merciless police state. He not only made enemies of the working people, peasants, and students, but also angered rival bourgeois elements and the old aristocracy. A powerful opposition to his rule developed. Even though there were elements within the opposition with whom Washington could have worked, they chose instead to give 100 percent unconditional support to the Shah.

Six months after his ascension to power, Khomeini used the Iranian people's justifiable resentment against the United States to consolidate his own position, through the U.S. embassy takeover and the subsequent hostage crisis. Whatever intelligence assets the United States retained

This article is based on a talk given in New York City on July 23.

after February 1979 were lost in November. North and Poindexter are telling the truth when they say that Iran was a disaster for American intelligence capability and foreign policy in general.

While Ronald Reagan made indignant speeches about terrorism and about sending in the marines—and got himself elected over the supposedly weak and ineffectual Jimmy Carter—the people who formed his administration recognized that they needed to reestablish a beneficial relationship with Iran. They recognized that military action from outside was not going to bring down the Islamic Republic, and that an internal revolution against Khomeini might have results more negative to U.S. imperialist interests than positive. The stage was set for an attempt to establish a relationship, if not with the Iranian government itself, with individuals within it.

The Lebanese Civil War and the New Hostage Crisis

By the time of the Iranian revolution, civil war had been raging in Lebanon for four years. It continues today, now in its twelfth year. From 1968 until 1974 the Palestinian resistance organizations were free to operate within Lebanon. A large number of Palestinian refugees had settled there, and they gained support from some native Lebanese.

Whatever programmatic weaknesses the Palestine Liberation Organization had then or has now, it is objectively revolutionary, and has always posed a real threat to Israel and to the bourgeois Arab regimes. The Maronite Christian leaders in Lebanon, who had political ties with the fascist movements during the 1930s and 1940s, recognized this threat and were the first to act. They sent their private armies into action against the Palestinians in central Lebanon and in Beirut itself. In the southern region, where the Palestinians had been staging raids against Israel, Major Saad Haddad, a Greek Orthodox Christian, collaborated directly with the Israelis in driving the fedayeen from that region. The Israeli defense forces themselves occupied the region from their own border to the Litani River, and left Haddad's forces in control directly north of the Litani.

The indigenous population of southern and eastern Lebanon is predominantly Muslim, but of the Shi'eh sect. During the period of Israeli raids thousands fled to Beirut. But in Beirut there weren't sufficient jobs or housing to absorb the refugees; they became a population of poverty-stricken slum-dwellers, a social tinderbox. Furthermore, though the Shi'i of southern Lebanon had not had good relations with the Palestinians, they quickly grew to resent the Israeli occupation of their land. At the same time, the Shi'i had the highest birthrate of any community in Lebanon, so that by today they are the largest single religious group. So—the largest group in the country is also the poorest group, and in addition a large number of them have been driven from their homes by an occupying army. In 1979 they were inspired by the Iranian revolution.

Shi'eh has been the dominant religion in Iran since the sixteenth century, but before the 1979 revolution the religious leaders had never held state power. Inevitably, Shi'i groups have arisen in Lebanon which are attempting to copy the Iranian experience. They look to Khomeini as their leader. These fighters are not afraid to die. They are not afraid of the marines, of the battleship *New Jersey*, of aerial bombing, nor of capture and execution.

Among the tactics they have used is the kidnapping of American citizens, putting the U.S. into a no-win situation. Washington's problem is this: the American people are not willing to commit to the kind of war it would take to defeat the Shi'i militants. To the majority of Americans, Lebanon is not worth dying for. The Shi'i fighters put it to the U.S. squarely: either get out or your nationals will suffer.

It should be understood that these Shi'i militants are not direct agents of the Islamic Republic of Iran. They don't get orders from Tehran. Khomeini's authority over them is a moral authority. *This is in direct contradiction to Ronald Reagan's rhetoric about Iran through his entire administration.* He has accused Iran of being a terrorist state, and has called for "ostracism" of Iran from the "community of civilized nations." That has been a smokescreen from the beginning.

Contradictions Facing Reagan

The Reagan administration had two problems to face: First, the American hostages in Lebanon were and are a serious political liability. They have been held longer and treated more harshly than were the hostages in Iran. Reagan's policies have been just as ineffectual in bringing them back as were Carter's in the Iran situation. Second, Washington needs a friendly government in Iran, and the overthrow of Khomeini is the least likely way to get one. Khomeini is eighty-seven years old, and a struggle for succession is probable when he dies. The U.S. government very clearly would like to play a role in that process and insure an outcome favorable to its own interests.

The Iran initiative was put forward to address these two problems. What actually happened was this: in early 1985 Oliver North, working with Richard Secord and his business partner Albert Hakim, contacted Iranian officials through Israeli intelligence agents and arms dealers. Their offer was to provide Iran with weapons to prosecute its war with Iraq in exchange for Iranian influence on the Shi'i fighters in Lebanon to release the American hostages. This was again in direct contradiction to Reagan administration rhetoric about "no concessions to terrorists." Furthermore, he had been urging other imperialist governments not to provide weapons to Iran.

The comedy of errors which ensued was truly stranger than fiction. An Iranian arms merchant, Manuchehr Ghorbanifar, identified by Admiral Poindexter as an Israeli agent, misinformed Iranian government officials about the capabilities of the

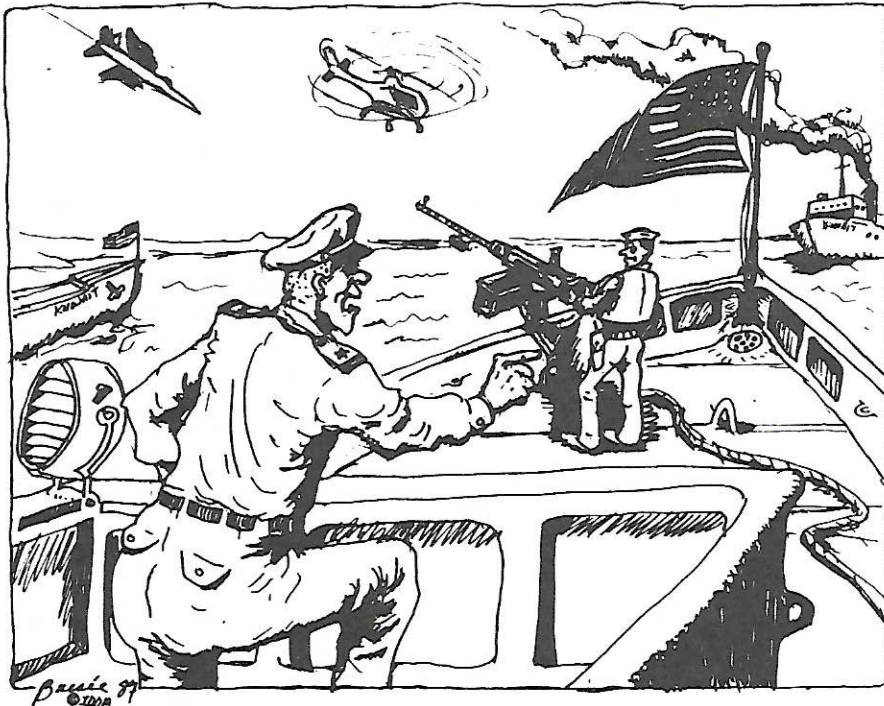
Hawk anti-aircraft missiles. In addition, Israel, acting as the middleman in the transaction, delivered an outdated model of the missile. The Americans marked up their price substantially, the Israelis still more, and on top of that Ghorbanifar added a 100 percent markup. However, Iran still received a price list of American weapons directly from the Pentagon! (They had never been removed from mailing lists after the Shah's overthrow.) You can imagine how upset they were.

A Covert Operation Brought to Light

Three hostages, Robert Jenko, Benjamin Weir, and David Jacobsen, were released during the 1985-

Edwin Meese launched a Justice Department investigation of the whole affair. The Justice Department's seriousness is open to some question, however, for Oliver North has testified that even as Justice Department agents were in his inner office gathering evidence, he was in the outer office shredding it.

Shultz and Weinberger, both of whom served in the Nixon administration, knew the dangers of a cover-up, and felt that it would be better to sacrifice National Security Adviser Admiral John Poindexter and his staff member, Oliver North, and hopefully avoid a "long national nightmare" like the Watergate scandal. In so doing, however, they made one possible overstep: the Justice Department appointed a special prosecutor, who made Oliver North the target of a criminal investigation. He



"Look sharp sailor! Remember, you're defending U.S. oil profits."

1986 period; immediately upon Jacobsen's release, a leaflet appeared in Tehran publicizing the American arms sales. The information in this leaflet was then reported in a Lebanese newspaper, and thus to the world. The story was public. Within days of this leak it came to light that the profits from the huge markups on the arms prices were being used to finance the Nicaraguan contras as a way of circumventing legislation cutting off contra aid—the now famous Boland Amendment.

Reagan's most important cabinet officials—Secretary of State George Shultz, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and Attorney General Edwin Meese—began a furious effort to limit the political damage. Shultz and Weinberger issued righteous denunciations of "trading arms for hostages," and

had been willing to "take the fall" politically and resign, but he was and is not willing to go to jail.

Under grants of immunity he and Poindexter have revealed a sordid network of weapons and money, of all kinds of unsavory characters, whom we are supposed to believe are working for "democracy." They have revealed what more conscious elements among the American people have known all along—that Ronald Reagan's "antiterrorist" rhetoric, which has led to outright acts of war against Grenada and Libya and threatens outright war against Nicaragua and Iran, which has led to the deaths of thousands of people, is a fake and a fraud. A year and a half ago the United States was selling weapons to the same Iran against which it threatens war today.

Contra Aid—in Nicaragua and Throughout the World

The biggest crimes—and the biggest lies—in this whole affair concern contra aid and, by extension, the entire counterrevolutionary foreign policy of this imperialist government. When Eugene Hasenfus was shot down running weapons to the contras we began to get a glimpse of a secret network of spies, arms dealers, mercenaries, drug dealers, and other assorted gutter-rats working with the CIA and NSC on behalf of the contras. Some of them were veterans of the Bay of Pigs; others had been involved in the Watergate break-in in 1972.

Then, when the Iran-contra scandal broke, we began to get an even clearer view. We saw supposedly private corporations, such as Southern Air Transport, which was paying Hasenfus, and Lake Resources, which was the actual company handling both the arms sales to Iran and the diversion of profits to the contras, carrying out U.S. foreign policy and in fact carrying out acts of war completely behind the backs of the American people—ironically, in the name of "democracy."

This kind of activity is not new. During the time I visited Iran in 1974 I observed multinational corporations and private citizens implementing a policy of political support to the Shah, a policy which was never discussed or debated, to my knowledge, by any elected officials. The *Pentagon Papers* revealed that this same kind of activity took place with respect to Vietnam, both in Vietnam itself and in this country, and ultimately led to war. The Sandinista leaders are quick to point out that U.S. support to counterrevolutionary activities in their country began almost as soon as Somoza had been overthrown, while Jimmy Carter was president.

The supposedly antiadministration Democrats let Oliver North tell his lies without the least hint of challenge. As an example, he and his colleagues spoke of the contras as "humble *campesinos* volunteering to fight for democracy in their homeland." Well, most of the contra foot soldiers are drafted at gunpoint. The usual contra method of operations is to attack a village and force the able-bodied young men to join them—then kill the rest and burn the village. And what are contra targets—Sandinista regular troops armed with the latest Soviet weaponry? No, they go after peasants attempting to harvest the coffee crop; they hunt down schoolteachers bringing literacy to areas where education is unknown; they murder engineers and technical workers, like Ben Linder, who are attempting to pull Nicaragua out of underdevelopment.

What is truly ironic is that the contra leadership does not share the true-believer North's passionate devotion to the cause. A lot of the money sent supposedly to buy beans, bandages, boots, and bullets has actually gone to finance luxurious lifestyles in Miami for these would-be oligarchs. North knows it, and in the Joint Committee's evidence are letters which North wrote complaining about it. The fact is, the contra leadership doesn't give a good goddamn about free-

dom or democracy. They are interested in power and money, and their friends in Washington have assured them that they can have plenty of both if they do the dirty work for U.S. imperialism.

The biggest crime is that real people are getting killed. Working class American youth are getting killed, and for what? Civilians, in Nicaragua, Lebanon, Libya, and many other countries are getting killed, and for what? The senators and congressmen, supposedly our representatives, haven't asked that question, and they won't.

The Fight Against Intervention in Central America

What should our response—as workers, as opponents of imperialist war, as socialists—be to the Iran-contra scandal? First, there should be a united front effort to stop U.S. intervention in Central America, including aid to the contras, and similar efforts to stop U.S. war moves throughout the world, especially in the Arab-Persian Gulf. With all of its weaknesses, the anti-intervention movement has had an effect. Even pro-contra legislators, such as Rep. Dante Fascell of Florida and Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire have acknowledged that the American people in their great majority *oppose* contra aid. We have to keep that message coming across loud and clear through massive street demonstrations such as the one that took place on April 25.

By using the revelations of the congressional hearings to explain how U.S. foreign policy is used against the interests and moral values of working people, we can make the anti-intervention movement stronger; we can make the demonstrations against U.S. intervention bigger; we can bring into them more and more workers who can use their economic power against war, and young people who will be called upon to fight in the event of an invasion of Nicaragua by Washington.

The Fight for Real Democracy— the Fight for Socialism

As I mentioned, we don't have democracy in foreign policy—or really anywhere else for that matter. Why do you think it is that none of these senators and congressmen—who supposedly represent us—have been asking questions which really go to the heart of this scandal? It's because they *don't* represent us.

The fact is, however, that since Vietnam the American people have gotten the crazy idea that they ought to have some say over when this country fights a war. The mass demonstrations of the Vietnam period and today are the result of that, and these are very important. But mass demonstrations are only a step toward political power. By themselves they are *not* political power. And political power is what working people need. How can we get it?

I mentioned that there was no one on the Joint Committee asking the questions which need to be asked. However, in the Canadian Federal Parliament, there is a member who is asking probing

(Continued on page 13)

NEW TROTSKY ARCHIVES DISCOVERED

by Marilyn Vogt-Downey

A new depository of papers of Leon Trotsky and his son and closest collaborator Leon Sedov has been discovered at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University in California. It consists of correspondence, reports, manuscripts, and notebooks filling 74 boxes and including 35 folders of photographs.

These papers are only a small part of a much larger collection of documents and papers of the European and Russian socialist movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries constituting the Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection that Nicolaevsky sold to the Hoover Institution in 1963. Very useful information about the contents of these materials and their history is contained in an April 1987 *American Historical Review* article by two Hoover Institution archivists, Dale Reed and Michael Jakobson. In addition, Michael Jakobson has compiled a 120-page inventory that names each item, identifies and dates it, and indicates whether and where it has appeared in print.

These Trotsky-Sedov papers consist of drafts of more than 500 books, articles, and circulars as well as 2,700 letters from the 1928-38 period, but mostly from 1929-36. Over two-thirds of the letters are to or from Leon Sedov.

Trotsky papers are known to be deposited in two major locations: the Houghton Library of Harvard University and the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam. Some letters of Trotsky's are also located in several other collections: for example, the Max Eastman Papers at the Lilly Library of Indiana University. The Harvard papers are the largest collection. The 17,500 letters in the formerly closed section, which was opened to the public in January 1980, were roughly one-third of the collection. It contained 3,000 letters from the pre-1929 period alone, more than the entire Hoover collection.¹

The papers in the Houghton Library are those Trotsky took with him from his exile in France to Norway in June 1935 and what he wrote and received until his assassination in August 1940. Trotsky's wife, Natalya Sedova, subsequently added to these archives some documents and writings of Trotsky's and Sedov's that she received from European and various other sources following World War II. Trotsky made the arrangements with Harvard to sell these materials just months before he was murdered. Most of the materials were transported to Harvard in the fall of 1940.²

These newly found materials at Hoover appear to be Sedov's—papers that remained with him when Trotsky moved to Norway and those Sedov subsequently accumulated.

The largest volume of these new materials (almost 44 of the 74 boxes) is speeches and writings by Trotsky. More than 60 percent of this (about 28 boxes) is drafts of the *History of the Russian Revolution* (1931). Among these are three boxes of unpublished drafts and fragments, including the draft of an unpublished chapter of the *History* entitled "The Compromisers," and fragments elaborating on various circumstances: for example, the conditions created by the revolution in numerous regions outside Petrograd. There are manuscripts of *What Next?* (1932), *The Only Road* (1932), and *War and the Fourth International* (1934); portions of drafts of *My Life* (1930), *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), and *Stalin's Crimes* (1937). There are also drafts for *The Young Lenin* (1936) and *Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence* (1941), although according to Reed and Jakobson more extensive materials relating to these two works are in the Harvard collection.

The office files of the Left Opposition's Russian-language journal *Bulleten Oppozitsii* (Bulletin of the Opposition—BO) are included in the Hoover Institution's papers, and a large por-

COMING NEXT MONTH:

New Developments in the USSR

There are indications that glasnost—the new policy of "openness" introduced in the USSR by Mikhail Gorbachev—will bring out important revelations about Stalin's crimes and improve the atmosphere for rehabilitating more of the Bolshevik Party leaders and cadre he murdered. A less falsified version of the early years of the revolution is beginning to emerge, little by little. For example, the Soviet government daily, *Izvestia*, noted on July 12 that the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution was only several months off. It launched a column, "Thus We Began," and its first feature, "The First Government," lists the Bolshevik leaders who were assigned posts in it. Included is "L.D. Bronstein (Trotsky)," and for the first time in nearly 63 years his name appears with none of the usual slanderous adjectives or comments. Moreover, the article identifies all the figures who composed the government as having been "self-sacrificing revolutionists."

In our next issue Marilyn Vogt-Downey, translator of the Baitalsky memoirs, will give an account of developments like these in the Soviet press.

tion of the remaining materials in this section of Trotsky's speeches and writings is drafts of articles that appeared in the *BO* and elsewhere from 1929 to 1940. Of the 500 or so drafts, roughly 60 have never been published.³

There are more than 18 boxes of Trotsky's and Sedov's correspondence. Among the 530 or so letters sent by Trotsky, 254 are to Sedov (1931-33). Fifty-two letters are from Sedov to Trotsky. There are 171 letters from Natalya Sedova to Sedov (1931-37) but only eight letters from Sedov to Natalya (1931-37). Of the 2,700 letters, 1,500 are from Sedov to third parties. Only 23 of Trotsky's letters and only one of Sedov's are listed as having ever been published.⁴

The Sedov material is of particular interest. Since Trotsky's freedom to travel and function publicly were severely restricted by bourgeois governments during his twelve years of enforced exile outside the USSR, Sedov's collaboration was vital to Trotsky's ability to continue his extensive political work. Sedov's work was key to the publication of the *BO*, facilitated the activities and collaboration of the Left Opposition internationally, made possible Trotsky's research, and maintained Trotsky's contacts abroad. Sedov's extensive correspondence with such Left Opposition collaborators as Walter Held (42 letters), Rudolf Klement (32 letters), and Victor Serge (17 letters) will undoubtedly provide some valuable insights into Sedov's thinking, his methods, and the political challenges he shouldered.⁵ The record of the Left Opposition's history will surely be deeply enriched by all these materials.

The Hoover Institution materials also include passports and some other official papers as well as manuscripts, reports, and correspondence of collaborators and supporters. Among these are 46 reports by Soviet officials who came abroad (1929-34) and visitors returning from the USSR (1931-37) concerning conditions inside the Communist Party and the Soviet government or about conditions in the USSR in general.

The emergence of these papers after nearly 50 years leaves one wondering why they remained unknown for so long. Since the history of the archive's journey is a reflection of the turbulent history of its creators, for the moment we can only speculate how these papers ended up where they did.

Expelled from the Soviet Union in 1929 by the bureaucratic rulers in their campaign to crush the Marxist opposition to their self-serving policies, Trotsky spent the rest of his days tirelessly exposing the counterrevolutionary policies of the Soviet ruling caste. As these policies led to an ever-increasing number of defeats for the working class movements not only in the USSR but internationally, Trotsky and Sedov—who accompanied his parents into exile—stepped up their efforts to organize the Left Opposition within the USSR and abroad. They strove to maintain the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the twentieth century and the tradition of the Bolshevik revolution of Octo-

ber 1917 that had so enriched revolutionary Marxism. Under the most trying of circumstances in exile, unwanted by bourgeois governments and slandered and attacked by the corrupted Communist parties abroad, with their nearest collaborators either broken, arrested, or murdered by the Stalinist bureaucracy, they never ceased writing, organizing, exposing. The papers generated by these two giants of twentieth-century Marxism provide an invaluable arsenal of experience, ideas, analyses, and lessons for those today who seek to continue their cause. Trotsky's and Sedov's concern that their papers—"the archives"—be kept safe is a recurring one throughout the exile period. The archives were a record of their past and later would be their defense against the monstrous charges leveled against them at the infamous Moscow trials of 1936-38.⁶ "To the end of his days," Trotsky's biographer Isaac Deutscher states, "Trotsky was to remain almost as much concerned about the safety of his archives as about the safety of his own person."⁷

In December 1935, Trotsky sold his papers from the civil war years (1917-23) to the Institute for Social History in Amsterdam. This Institute was established in 1935 by a Dutch Social Democrat and professor named Nicolaas Wilhelmus Posthumus as a place where the documents of the European workers' and socialist movements could be preserved from destruction and dispersal as the fascist armies advanced.

The Institute was forced to evacuate its archives to Oxford, England, in 1939 and the fascist occupiers closed its doors. It did not reopen until 1951.⁸ Posthumus retired in 1952 (and died in 1960) and in 1964 the publication of *The Trotsky Papers (1917-1922)* commenced.⁹

Boris Nicolaevsky was associated with this Institute. Nicolaevsky was a Menshevik who, according to Isaac Deutscher, had been an associate of the Marx-Lenin Institute in Moscow.¹⁰ He left the USSR in the 1920s. In 1936, he was the manager of the newly opened Paris branch of the Amsterdam Institute. Nicolaevsky's link to the Institute may be his link to these papers.

Nicolaevsky came to the United States in 1940 and he must have made arrangements to transfer with him or to him the contents of the Dutch Institute's Paris branch. This could be the bulk of the Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection. In 1963, he sold his collection to Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace with the stipulation that he would remain curator until his death and that his widow, Anna Bourguina, would remain curator after he died. Nicolaevsky died in 1966. "While researchers have used the Nicolaevsky Collection extensively and recognized it as an outstanding source of manuscript materials on modern Russian history, it was only after the death of Bourguina in 1982, and after the acquisition of grant funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities, that the Archives staff could undertake arrangement and description of the materials."¹¹ It is due to this work that

the contents of the Trotsky-Sedov papers has become known.

According to Dale Reed and Michael Jakobson, neither Nicolaevsky nor Anna Bourguina ever made known the existence of these papers, nor did Nicolaevsky's several letters to Natalya Sedova up until 1959 ever mention that these papers were in his custody.¹²

In Sedov's possession after June 1935, when Trotsky was forced out of France and moved to Norway, would have been, according to Reed's and Jakobson's assessment, Trotsky's civil war writings and some other papers dated 1917-23 (which were soon to be sold to Posthumus), some of Trotsky's correspondence in exile (1929-35), some of Trotsky's other manuscripts and writings, to which were added some of Trotsky's writings while he was in Norway (June 1935-December 1936). Sedov would also have had all his own archives, which would have included the records of the secretariat of the International Left Opposition, of which he was a central figure, the office files of the *BO*, for which he was consistently responsible, as well as his own correspondence.

After Sedov's death on February 16, 1938, no one stepped forth to report to Trotsky the full disposition of all the papers in Sedov's possession. Trotsky expressed a great deal of concern over these. He requested cooperation from the French authorities because the French police had confiscated all of Sedov's belongings from his apartment following his death; from Jeanne Martin des Pallieres, Sedov's companion; and from Trotskyists and friends in France, in an effort to have all the Paris archives assembled and shipped to him under conditions of absolute secrecy.¹³ Nothing appears to have ever come of this. However, after World War II, Jeanne Martin did obtain Sedov's materials from the French police and send them to Natalya.¹⁴

The disposition of the bulk of Sedov's papers—the Paris archives, as Trotsky referred to them—seems to have remained unknown to Trotsky and Natalya and all those supervising the deposit of archival materials at Harvard.

These newly discovered papers have helped shed some new light on this subject, because now at least some of these materials have resurfaced. Moreover, information contained in the papers helps correct our knowledge of events and perhaps points to some avenues by which the papers ended up where they did. In the process, we can get a better idea of the fate of some other archival materials.

In the fall of 1936, after the first Moscow trial, Sedov's and Trotsky's concern over the safety of their archives increased. These documents were vital in factually disproving phony evidence used at the show trial to sustain the false charges. In addition, they feared the GPU would try to steal or destroy the archives. Trotsky wrote to Sedov about this on October 10, 1936, and expressed his concern that Sedov find a safe place to deposit them. He suggested the Amsterdam

Institute or a similar American institution. Trotsky referred in this letter to an offer by Posthumus to buy all his archives and in a letter of December 2, 1936, he says he had refused Posthumus's offer.¹⁵

Concern for the archives' safety was heightened further in November 1936 when a portion of the archives that had been deposited by Sedov with Nicolaevsky at the Paris Institute was stolen.

Here is Isaac Deutscher's account of that incident:

"In the first days of November, Lyova [Sedov] and Etienne delivered a number of files at the Paris branch of the Institute, at 7, rue Michelet. . . . The transaction was made tentatively, as an experiment; the bulk of the archives, including the most confidential papers, remained with Etienne.

"No sooner had the files been delivered . . . than a burglary was perpetrated there, on the night of 6-7 November, and some of the files were stolen. At once the suspicion arose that this was the GPU's work. The burglars had left untouched valuables and money they had found and carried away only Trotsky's papers—who but GPU agents would have done that?" Only four people had known of the deposit—Sedov, Etienne, Nicolaevsky, and Lilia Estrin.¹⁶

Lilia Estrin, who joined the Left Opposition supporters in Paris, helped Sedov in the publication of the *BO* and was also apparently employed in 1936 by Posthumus's Institute as Nicolaevsky's assistant.

Trotsky and his supporters appear to have been right when they suspected Stalinist agents. Etienne, whose real name was Mark Zborowski, was an agent of Stalin who had secured Sedov's trust and was his closest day-to-day collaborator in Paris, reporting every move of Sedov and other Opposition supporters to Stalin. Testifying before a United States congressional investigation in the 1950s, Zborowski confirmed the GPU's responsibility for the theft of these documents.¹⁷

The account Deutscher related was essentially Trotsky's general understanding about the conditions surrounding the theft as he described it, for example, in January 21, 1937, in "A New Moscow Amalgam" in response to the new trial of "Trotskyists" being prepared in Moscow.¹⁸

These newly discovered papers have added some new information to the story. Included in these papers are seven French police reports relating to the November 6, 1936, Institute theft based on information provided by Nicolaevsky, Estrin, Etienne, and Sedov. Oddly enough, this information squares with Sedov's account in "Memoire pour l'instruction," the very source Deutscher used to provide a contrary report.¹⁹

Because of Trotsky's and presumably his own concern for the safety of the archives, Sedov had arranged with Nicolaevsky to deposit some of the archival materials at the Institute. He left some materials at Etienne's flat and others with Lilia Estrin at her flat. However, it was not in early November that the first part of the papers were delivered to the Institute but late September:

"On 28 September, Sedov and Zborowski [Eti-
enne] wrapped the papers in Estrin's apartment
into fifteen bundles, and, the day after, Estrin
and Zborowski transported them to 7, rue Michelet.
The papers remaining in Zborowski's custody were
to follow in due course, and on 6 November, Sedov
and Zborowski agreed to transfer them the next
day. However, on the night of 6 November, Nicola-
evsky's offices were burglarized and the fifteen
bundles of Trotsky archives were stolen."²⁰

Nicolaevsky claimed not to have examined the
materials during the five weeks they were in his
office. He only stated that they probably weighed
about 80 kilograms (176 lbs.). Sedov gave the only
account of their contents. "In an oral statement to
the French police, Sedov said that the materials
dated from 1931 and 1932 and consisted of newspapers,
correspondence of Trotsky with Maurice Parijanine
and Andres Nin, drafts of articles by Trotsky, and
other unspecified documents said to be of historical
interest only." He later modified his account somewhat,
emphasizing the newspapers as the bulk of the content.

Subsequently, according to the French police
report of Sedov's testimony, "on 7 November, 1936,
the day after the burglary, Sedov rushed to Zborow-
ski's apartment and transported the papers there
to the home of Gerard Rosenthal, Trotsky's French
lawyer. The next day, they were evidently sent on
to Amsterdam where they remain."²¹

There is no evidence that Trotsky knew about
the September transfer or about the November 7
transfer apparently intended for the Amsterdam
Institute via Rosenthal. Since the first part of
the account is corroborated by Sedov elsewhere,
there is no particular reason to assume that the
second part is not true. However, although Rosen-
thal was one of those whose aid Trotsky solicited
March 1, 1938, in an endeavor to assemble all the
Paris archives, Rosenthal appears to have made no
mention of these papers to Trotsky. Did they reach
Amsterdam? The contents and whereabouts of this
second portion of papers remain unknown. According
to the *AHR* report, beyond the materials published
in *The Trotsky Papers (1917-22)* "the description
of other Trotsky papers in Amsterdam has yet to be
made public."²² Further details are needed to fill
this information gap. Rosenthal may have, unknown
to Sedov, entrusted the materials intended for
Amsterdam to Nicolaevsky, a natural intermediary,
and Nicolaevsky may have failed to complete the
transfer and kept them in Paris.

Since all of the 254 letters from Trotsky to
Sedov in the Hoover collection predate the Novem-
ber 1936 theft, and the last letter from Sedov to
Trotsky is dated September 25, 1936, it could be
that Sedov himself delivered part of his archives
to Nicolaevsky just prior to the September 28
transfer under conditions of the strictest secrecy
and may have continued to do so despite the theft
of the 15 bundles from the Institute (of the 1,985
letters to and from Sedov in these Hoover mate-
rials, 926 are dated after the November 6 theft).

Two authorities on Trotsky's writings—Pierre
Broue, editor of the French edition of Trotsky's

writings, *Oeuvres*, and the late Jean van Heije-
noort, who was Trotsky's secretary from 1932 to 1939
—assisted the Hoover archivists in the processing
of some of these new materials. It appears that one
category of items long missing from the archives
has surfaced. These are Trotsky's letters to Sedov,
1931-33. When Trotsky was moving from Turkey to
France in July 1933, Sedov removed from the crates
of archives the folders containing his correspon-
dence with Trotsky while Sedov was in Berlin, and
the folders containing correspondence with French
and German Trotskyists. Although the French govern-
ment had granted Trotsky an entry visa, "the French
police presented an element of uncertainty." Sedov
put these folders in a safe place, but they never
found their way back into the archives.²³ The 219
letters written by Trotsky to Sedov during that
time would appear to be at least part of those
missing letters. (There are no letters in these
new papers from Sedov to Trotsky dated 1931-32.)

Where is the missing correspondence between
Trotsky and Andres Nin? Of the "hundreds of let-
ters" Trotsky remarked he had exchanged with the
Spanish revolutionist, only 28 are now available.
Three are in the Harvard archives and 25 letters
from Trotsky to Nin (all but one dated 1931-32)
are now in the Hoover findings. There are none
from Nin to Trotsky. These and other missing mate-
rials may well be in the KGB archives in Moscow,
part of the GPU's "present to Stalin" to celebrate
the nineteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolu-
tion.²⁴ Perhaps through the "glasnost" policy of
Stalin's heirs, along with the rehabilitation of
Trotsky, Sedov, and the other victims of the Mos-
cow trials, these and other suppressed writings
of Trotsky and his cothinkers will be made avail-
able for public scrutiny.

The link between Lilia Estrin and Nicolaevsky
may also provide an explanation for Nicolaevsky's
possession of these papers. Lilia was a close
friend in Paris from 1936 of David J. Dallin, a
Menshevik supporter, who like Nicolaevsky left the
USSR in the early 1920s. The association between
Dallin, Nicolaevsky, and Estrin, who was Nicola-
evsky's colleague at the Institute, evidently
continued after they left France and came to the
United States in 1940, where Dallin and Estrin
married. Dallin and Nicolaevsky were close collab-
orators in the 1940s, coauthoring at least two
books on the USSR, and Nicolaevsky contributed
articles to the right-wing Social Democratic *New
Leader* magazine, where Dallin was for a time on
the editorial board. It seems obvious that Estrin
could have deposited whatever she had of Sedov's
and/or her papers with Nicolaevsky sometime after
Sedov's death, since as a collaborator with both
Nicolaevsky and Sedov she would have had the best
access to information relating to both. After all,
of the 77 items in this newly discovered material
dating from after Sedov's death, 63 of the 67
letters are to or from Estrin; and the *BO* files
would have been in her possession. Perhaps Estrin
turned over all the Sedov-Trotsky papers she had to
Nicolaevsky after they were both in the United States

or combined them with Nicolaevsky's archives when he moved them here. But Estrin never indicated she knew of this section of the papers either to Trotsky in response to his letters of inquiry or to his collaborators after Trotsky's death.

However or whenever these important materials made their way into the Nicolaevsky collection, there

is no doubt that even though they remained unknown to the movement for nearly 50 years, it is good news that they are at last available. Those interested in receiving an inventory may do so by writing to: Archives, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford, California 94305-6010. The materials will soon be available on microfilm. ■

NOTES

1. See van Heijenoort, Jean, "The History of Trotsky's Papers," The Harvard Library Bulletin, July 1980.

2. Ibid.

3. Reed, Dale and Michael Jakobson, "Trotsky Papers at the Hoover Institution: One Chapter of an Archival Mystery Story," American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 2, April 1987, p. 365.

4. "Lev Davydovich Trotskii, Lev L'vovich Sedov, A Register of Their Papers in the Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection in The Hoover Institution Archives," prepared by Michael Jakobson, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 1987.

5. Held sent Sedov 52 letters, Klement sent 65, and Victor Serge sent 57.

6. The defendants in the three main Moscow trials (August 1936, January 1937, and March 1938), including all of Lenin's closest collaborators from the revolutionary period, were accused of crimes such as treason and sabotage and were executed. The only evidence against them was their forced confessions. These trials heralded a far-going extension of the bureaucratic caste's political counter-revolution, which decimated the ranks of the party. Hundreds of thousands were shot or sent to die in forced labor death camps. Trotsky and Sedov were chief defendants in absentia; they were convicted and sentenced to death. Sedov died under suspicious circumstances on February 16, 1938, in Paris and Trotsky was assassinated by a GPU agent in Mexico on August 21, 1940.

7. Deutscher, Isaac, Prophet Outcast, Oxford University Press, Oxford, England, 1980, p. 349.

8. Writings of Leon Trotsky, Supplement 1934-40, ed. by George Breitman, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1979, p. 933.

9. The Trotsky Papers (1917-1922), ed. and annotated by Jan M. Meijer, 2 vols., The Hague, 1964 and 1971.

10. Deutscher, op. cit., p. 348.

11. AHR, p. 363.

12. Ibid., p. 375.

13. Writings Supplement 1934-40, p. 759-61.

14. AHR, p. 374.

15. Writings of Leon Trotsky (1935-36), p. 440 and Writings Supplement 1934-40, p. 727.

16. Deutscher, op. cit., pp. 348-49.

17. Cited by David J. Dallin in New Leader, March 19, 1956, pp. 9-10.

18. Writings of Leon Trotsky (1936-37), p. 124.

19. Deutscher, op. cit., pp. 348-49. Dale Reed has kindly provided me with the text of this portion of Sedov's "Memoire pour l'instruction."

20. AHR, p. 369.

21. Ibid., pp. 372-73.

22. Ibid., p. 364.

23. Van Heijenoort, op. cit., p. 293.

24. Dallin, op. cit., p. 10.

(Continued from page 8)

questions about Canadian involvement in counter-revolutionary activities in Central America. His name is Dan Heap, and he is assigned by his party as its Central America critic in Parliament. He belongs to the New Democratic Party, a party organized by and responsible to the Canadian trade union movement. I believe working people in the United States could elect representatives to Congress who truly represent us—but only if we get together to form a new political party, a labor party, which answers to us. We have to stop electing "friends of labor" and start electing just plain "labor."

However, even with a labor party, the political cards are stacked against us. The government is a lot more than Congress and the president—it is the vast bureaucracy, the military, the courts—and a great many of the activities of American imperialism are not carried out through government at all, as the Joint Committee hearings have revealed. In order for us to have genuine democracy—workers' democracy—in the United States, we need a government which workers themselves bring into existence. That's going to require a fight, because the bankers and businessmen who hold power now will never recognize the majority's right to extend democratic control over the basic functioning of society.

What we need now, and unfortunately what we don't have now, is an organized leadership which can explain what needs to be done for working people to win political power, organizing each small step towards that goal, and winning the most dedicated and clear-thinking people to its ranks. The Fourth Internationalist Tendency's reason for existence is to work towards the creation of that leadership—a revolutionary party; I would be lying to you if I said that it was an easy and painless process. However, sometimes we get lucky, and an opportunity comes our way on which we can capitalize. The exposure of the Iran-contra affair is one such opportunity. It has given us a lot of information we can use, to educate on the undemocratic and criminal nature of U.S. foreign policy, to agitate for effective strategies to put a stop to them, and to organize a broad, powerful movement which can make it increasingly difficult for Washington to make war, in Central America or anywhere else. It's through a step-by-step process of educating, agitating, and organizing that we can ultimately take the power away from the bankers and businessmen and establish a *real* democracy, one in which an Iran-contra scandal would be impossible. ■

SOME QUESTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

by Rafael Sabatini

The Young Socialist Alliance held its 25th national convention in Chicago last May 23-25. Reporting on the gathering, the June 5 edition of the *Militant*, the weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, called the convention a "resounding success." A cursory glance at some of the figures reported in the *Militant* might appear to support that contention. Five hundred sixty-nine "students, workers, and other young people and guests participated in the convention" and representatives of a variety of progressive and revolutionary international organizations sent delegations or messages. The evening before the convention began, 600 people attended a rally sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) which has recently won a landmark suit against the FBI and other government cop agencies for decades of illegal covert operations against the SWP and YSA. The convention delegates heard and approved—apparently unanimously—three reports including a "summer tasks and perspectives" to guide the political work of the YSA in the coming period.

However, a closer look at the breakdown of these figures and the proposals for future work laid out in the tasks and perspectives, as well as other aspects of the convention, reveals much about the YSA and the SWP today, suggesting that perhaps the YSA convention wasn't such a "resounding success" after all.

According to the *Militant*, of the 569 registered participants, only 194—about a third of those present—were actually members of the YSA. Forty-two students registered as guests "as well as a number of SWP members." One can safely assume that apart from the 236 YSAers and student guests, virtually all of the remaining 333 were older SWPers mobilized from around the country to attend the convention.

The *Militant* reported with apparent satisfaction that only 31 percent of the outgoing national committee was reelected. This supposedly reflects a recent influx of new YSAers into the organization. While the YSA is to be commended for the high percentage of Blacks, Latinos, and women elected to the national committee, only four high school students and two members "who have recently left college" were elected to the leadership body. This means that *there are no college students* on the YSA national committee today. As great pains are generally taken to assure that the national committee reflects the actual composition of the organization, there are solid grounds to suspect that there are very few college students in the YSA today.

Yet, over the last two years, many U.S. campuses have virtually exploded with militant actions around such issues as opposition to apartheid in South Africa and U.S. intervention in

Central America and the Caribbean. The anti-working class offensive of the bosses and their government has also found expression on the campuses as racist elements, emboldened by reactionary policies, have physically attacked Black students at several campuses including such traditional radical centers as the University of Michigan, Columbia University in New York, and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. In response, students at all of these campuses have organized actions to fight these racist attacks.

Lack of Campus Orientation

The lack of college students in the YSA today reflects the absence of serious, sustained political work on the campuses. There has been a complete failure by the YSA to link up with and help give direction to the struggles that are taking place—activities that would assuredly help the YSA win the best and most conscious, energetic youth to revolutionary socialism. A revolutionary youth organization, enjoying the political and material aid of a party with the traditions of the SWP, could expect to recruit widely from the campuses today. Instead, that field has been ceded to other left currents which lack the kind of revolutionary program on which the SWP and YSA were founded or their history of revolutionary activity. A program that connects the mass struggles of today—for example the fight against U.S. complicity with apartheid—to the larger questions of capitalism, socialism, and the revolutionary transformation of society, in a transitional way, is sorely missed on the campuses today.

Anybody familiar with the history of the party and YSA who has recently seen a literature table of the SWP-YSA cannot help but be struck by the huge percentage of literature dealing with "third world" anti-imperialist themes and the relative lack of the Marxist classics—precisely such as *The Transitional Program* or other works by Leon Trotsky. The composition of these literature tables accurately reflects the political approach of the YSA and the party at the present time. They have adopted a brand of "lowest common denominator" progressive politics, which no doubt helps recruit a few who have radicalized around these issues, but cannot help to educate them—or others—in the genuine theory and program of Marxism.

It is of course correct for the SWP-YSA to champion struggles taking place today, and distribute information about them on their literature tables. However, if the young people attracted to the YSA for its support of these causes are not

educated in Marxist theory and politics, they will never become proletarian revolutionary leaders. It is, in fact, likely that most of them will be lost to the organization after a relatively brief period of activity unless they really begin to study and absorb the history, program, and theory of the proletarian revolutionary movement.

Preconvention Discussion

In spite of the slight but discernible upturn in the U.S. class struggle, especially around issues that young people have been most conscious of, there wasn't much interest shown in these problems by YSA members during the written preconvention discussion period. In fact, that discussion, by itself, shows us that the YSA is going through a severe crisis. Only two discussion bulletins were published with a total of nine articles. None of these discussed current developments in the class struggle of interest to young workers and students. Five of them were reprints of old material, or organizational items originating from the YSA national office. This stands in sharp contrast to the kinds of preconvention discussions which took place when the YSA was a growing and healthy organization, full of young rebels bursting with ideas which they wanted to share with their comrades through the medium of the internal bulletin.

Tasks and Perspectives

Convention delegates approved six points as part of a "summer tasks and perspectives" report. These were: building the Linder family tour, aiding the fund drive of the PRDF, expanding the sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* (no mention was made of the *Young Socialist*, the YSA's own paper), distributing Pathfinder books, participating in the SWP summer schools, and building and attending the Socialist Educational and Activist Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, August 8-13. All of these are of course good and worthy activities for a revolutionary youth organization, but *each and every one of these six points are primarily internal SWP-YSA affairs*—requiring only the organization of their own membership to carry out. Even the Linder family tour and the PRDF campaign, which are of wide significance to workers and students, are hardly a sufficient response to real developments in the class struggle—such as the growth of mass sentiment against U.S. aid to the contras. There was no overall political approach to this or similar phenomena developed by the YSA leadership.

YSAers might ask themselves, given this fact, whether the questions of political rights and the fight against aid to the contras would have been included in the T&P report at all had the SWP and YSA not had specific links with PRDF and the Linder family? While it is true that these tasks and perspectives were presented as the "summer" orientation for the YSA—a period when campus, antiwar, and even union activity are generally at a low ebb—the May convention was the logical

moment to orient the YSA membership so it could try to influence the movement to the best of its ability to help bring about the kinds of coalitions which could sponsor big campus and antiwar actions in the fall.

Nobody attending the huge antiwar, anti-apartheid demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco last April 25 could fail to notice the participation of large numbers of high school and college students. Those actions both reflected and helped reinforce wide opposition to U.S. foreign policy—in Central America and the Caribbean, and Southern Africa. Most realize that further actions will be necessary in the near future. These are even more urgent given the increased propaganda opportunities provided the Reagan administration by the recent "Iran contra-gate" hearings. Unfortunately, not all the forces that participated in the April 25th coalition agree on the desirability of another round of antiwar actions this fall. If such actions are to occur, a concerted effort must be made to keep together or reconstitute the April 25th coalition and win support for the necessary perspective. If the YSA and the SWP were to throw their not inconsiderable resources into such a campaign, the chances for another round of militant antiwar actions would be considerably bolstered. Unfortunately, this idea was totally absent from the YSA's "tasks and perspectives."

Roots of the Crisis

There are many founding members of the YSA who are still active in revolutionary politics today. They and others who were familiar with the YSA in the '60s and '70s, as well as current members who know something about that period of their organization's history, might very well ask themselves how, after more than 25 years, the YSA that played a big role in the civil rights movement and especially the movement against the Vietnam war has been transformed from a dynamic revolutionary youth organization into a small, inward-looking organization with about a tenth its former membership and a drastically reduced influence in all areas. Much the same questions could be asked about the SWP.

Objective conditions certainly played their role. The contours of the international class struggle, profound developments in the capitalist world economy, along with the tremendous social and political pressure on a small revolutionary organization in the citadel of world capitalism, all put strong negative pressure on the development of any revolutionary current. But it would be too easy—and inaccurate—to chalk up the decline of the SWP and YSA to such objective factors alone. Rather, the political and organizational course taken by the SWP leadership over the last few years is largely responsible for the crisis that the SWP and YSA find themselves in today.

Most new YSAers are probably unaware of some very important recent history of their organization and the SWP. They may not know that in the early 1980s the Barnes leadership in the SWP broke

rather abruptly with the Trotskyist principles and program on which the party (and later the YSA) were founded. When other members and leaders questioned these innovations, they were subjected to gag-rules and intimidation. A national convention—the highest decision-making body of the SWP—was canceled, thus denying those who disagreed with the new policies their basic democratic right to discuss their views with the party as a whole. All this was rationalized through organizational innovations which broke with the party's Bolshevik heritage. Between 1982 and 1984, well over 100 SWP and YSA members and leaders, including founding members of the party and YSA, were shamelessly expelled on trumped-up organizational charges. Hundreds of others quietly resigned, demoralized by the course that their party had taken.

The abstentionist (perhaps "propagandist" would be the more descriptive term) and sectarian policy that the SWP leadership has forced on the YSA, the complete lack of any real internal political life or discussion, are the fruit of these developments. If members of the YSA allow themselves to look honestly at this process they will find that the process of degeneration of the SWP since the 1981 party convention has led to a situation which stifles all dissent and independent rank-and-file initiative. This reality of party life has simply been reproduced in an extreme and caricatured form within the youth. That should not be surprising. A continuation of this process will inevitably mean the death of both the YSA and the party as genuine revolutionary organizations.

The Fourth International

Though convention delegates heard and approved a report on "Communism Today and Forging an International Revolutionary Working-Class Leadership," many of those who have joined the YSA in the recent period may not even have heard of the Fourth International. Yet the SWP was a founding section and remains in fraternal solidarity with that world organization. Founded in 1938 with the goal of continuing Lenin's and Trotsky's fight to build a revolutionary International with mass proletarian parties in every country, the FI has sections all over the world—from Mexico to Japan.

While serious revolutionaries must acknowledge—and learn from—the revolutionary currents in Central America and the Caribbean, the Fourth International remains the only international political movement that has a correct theoretical and practical understanding of the dialectical interrelationship of all three sectors of the world revolution—the struggles in the advanced industrialized imperialist centers, the "backward" semicolonial "third world" countries dominated by imperialism, and the bureaucratized workers' states.

Many sections of the FI are affiliated with dynamic revolutionary youth groups, which energetically intervene in and often help to lead struggles affecting youth in their countries. Youth

belonging to FI affiliates in Mexico and France have recently played big roles in the successful mass fights of students in their respective countries to resist government austerity programs aimed at undermining the modest state support given to university education. It would have been both logical and inspiring to YSAers to hear firsthand accounts of struggles from representatives of these fraternal organizations. Yet, neither they nor most other groups affiliated to the FI attended the convention. This was due to the "selective internationalism" practiced by the supporters of the Barnes leadership toward those with whom they have political differences. Only cointinkers of the international Barnes faction within the FI came to the convention—either because others weren't invited, or because they chose not to come given the hostile atmosphere generated by the Barnes faction toward the rest of the FI. YSAers did not have the opportunity to discuss and socialize with representatives of other revolutionary youth who are part of a common world movement.

The appeals of those expelled from the SWP and YSA were upheld at the 1985 World Congress of the Fourth International. That congress, where SWP leaders were afforded the democratic right to present *their* views, voted *overwhelmingly* to demand that those expelled in the party leadership's political purge be immediately reinstated into the SWP—with the full rights and obligations of membership. Today—over two years after that congress and affirmations of that decision at two subsequent meetings of the International leadership—the SWP has done *nothing* to abide by these decisions. Instead, the party leadership has invented a number of groundless charges against the expelled opposition in order to cover up their undemocratic maneuvers. Worse yet, they continue to enforce the antiproletarian "exclusion policy" which bars most of those purged, along with anyone belonging to two of the organizations founded by the expelled, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency and Socialist Action, from attending public SWP events or even entering SWP bookstores. (The exclusion policy was recently lifted for members of the Fourth Internationalist Caucus of Solidarity.) This practice has also been widely condemned by leadership bodies of the FI.

In the wake of their 25th convention, YSAers should ask themselves whether such dishonest and undemocratic policies have advanced the political objectives of their organization. Wouldn't the YSA benefit from some discussion and differing opinions regarding, for example, the YSA's abstentionist policies on the campuses and in the mass movement as it exists today? Wouldn't allowing comrades with political differences to remain members of the party and the YSA add to the strength and experience of those organizations? Wouldn't a reversal of the expulsions contribute in the long and short run to our common goal of building a revolutionary party that will help to lead the exploited masses of the world in overturning the horrors of imperialism and the build-

ing of a new society based on universal peace and solidarity?

In an effort to advance this goal the F.I.T. publishes the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* and its members are active in class struggle activities. We would like to be able to fight alongside

all of those who remain members of the SWP and YSA, in a united, *democratically* centralized revolutionary Marxist movement in the U.S.A. That would advance the interests of the party and of the youth, as well as those of all working people in this country. ■

ISRAELI DEFENSE CAMPAIGN: Lea Tsemel Speaks in New York

by Bill Onasch

U.S. and Israeli supporters of democratic rights and the Palestinian cause joined forces recently in New York City to publicize and build support for Michael Warshawsky and the Alternative Information Center who continue to face harassment from Israeli authorities.

Lea Tsemel, the well-known Israeli defense attorney who often defends Palestinian victims of Israeli repression, spoke to a weeknight audience of over 100 people, including many young people from Arab countries, at Columbia University June 30. Tsemel was in New York as part of a delegation from Israel testifying at the United Nations. The week before she had participated in a panel discussion at the Village Gate, a nightspot in Greenwich Village, attended by over 150 people.

Speaking at the Columbia meeting in front of a large banner that read "Defend Victims of Israeli Repression," Tsemel explained the plight of the AIC, the legal translating and news service which—as has been reported on in the last few issues of the *Bulletin IDOM*—was raided by Israeli security forces on February 17. In that raid AIC personnel were arrested and its doors padlocked. Though the other staff members were released within several days, the center's director, Michael Warshawsky, a well-known Israeli left-wing figure and a leader of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Israeli section of the Fourth International, was held in solitary confinement and denied access to reading and writing materials for two weeks until he was released on bail—largely as a result of an international campaign on his and the AIC's behalf. No trial date has yet been set.

Tsemel, who is married to Warshawsky, and Berta Langston of the U.S. Committee to Defend Michael Warshawsky and the Alternative Information Center who also spoke about the AIC, pointed out that in spite of the confiscation of their printing equipment the AIC newsletter, *News From Within*, has continued to publish despite these considerable obstacles. AIC activists are trying to raise the more than \$20,000 they have incurred for legal fees and the replacement of equipment. They have appealed to all those who defend the AIC's rights to continue their activities to aid in this

effort. Towards this end, those at the meeting donated \$187.00.

Tsemel also focused her remarks on the plight of Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories 20 years after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan River. She described how even the most elementary democratic rights were denied to Palestinians. Many Palestinian workers, she explained, were particularly affected by the Zionist policy of denying them the permission to reside within the areas controlled by Israel. These workers often live in squalid conditions on the Jordanian side of the Israel-Jordan border and are forced to spend up to half their daily wages on expensive taxis for the return trip from Israel. This same policy has effectively divided thousands of innocent Palestinian families who are prevented from reuniting with those living within Israel for all but a brief period annually.

In the discussion period that followed, questions were raised concerning the Israeli antiwar movement, the proposals for a Middle East peace conference, and other questions concerning political repression in Israel today. One woman, who identified herself as a Palestinian, praised Tsemel for her courageous defense of Palestinian rights in such a hostile environment. She also pointed out that while Israeli occupation of the West Bank is now in its 20th year, the Israeli settler-state as a whole is now 40 years old, and the repressive role that Israel plays is not limited to the occupied territories or even Lebanon and the rest of the Middle East. It extends throughout Africa, Latin America, and the rest of the third world as well.

The meeting was hosted by the Arab club at Columbia. Preparations and publicity for the meeting were made by the Committee to Defend Michael Warshawsky and the AIC. Members of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, Solidarity, and Socialist Action are all participating in that defense committee and worked to make the meeting a success. The Socialist Workers Party was asked if its members would join the effort to build the event, but hung up on representatives of the defense committee when the party was contacted by phone. No one from that organization was present. ■

VANGUARD PARTIES

by Ernest Mandel

To approach the problem of parties, party-building, and the necessity of the revolutionary vanguard party, is to point to the peculiarities of a socialist revolution (or if you do not like the word "revolution," a socialist transformation of bourgeois society). The socialist revolution is going to be the first revolution in the history of mankind which tries to reshape society in a conscious way according to a plan. It does not go into all the details, of course, which depend on concrete conditions and on the changing material infrastructure of society. But at the very least it is based on a plan of what a classless society has to be and how you can get there. It is also the first revolution in history which needs a high level of activity and of self-organization of the whole toiling population, that is to say, the overwhelming majority of men and women in society. It is from these two key features of a socialist revolution that you can immediately draw a series of conclusions.

You cannot have a spontaneous socialist revolution. You cannot make a socialist revolution without really trying. And you cannot have a socialist revolution commandeered from the top, ordered around by some omniscient leader or group of leaders. You need both ingredients in a socialist revolution: the highest level of consciousness possible, and the highest level of self-organization and self-activity by the broadest possible segment of the population. All the problems of the relations between a vanguard organization and the masses stem from that basic contradiction.

If we look at the real world, the real development in bourgeois society for the last hundred and fifty years (more or less since the origin of the modern labor movement), we again see this striking contradiction. It helps us overcome one of the main disputes about the working class and the labor movement which has been going on a long time, and which is right in the middle of the political debate today. Is the working class an instrument for revolutionary social change? Is the working class integrated in bourgeois society? What has been its real role for the last hundred and fifty years? What does the historical balance sheet tell us about these questions?

This article is reprinted from the Mid-American Review of Sociology, 1983, Vol. VIII, No. 2:3-21. In its introductory note that journal explained that "this is a substantively unaltered version of an address delivered at the Marx Centenary Conference—'Marxism: The Next Two Decades'—held at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, March 12-15, 1983."

The only conclusion you can draw from the real historical movement is that by and large, in day-to-day life, what Lenin called trade union consciousness dominates the working class. I would call it elementary class consciousness of the working class. This does not lead to permanent, day-to-day revolt against capitalism, but it is absolutely essential and necessary, as Marx pointed out many times, for an anticapitalist workers' revolt to occur sometime. If the workers do not fight for higher wages, if they do not fight for a shorter workday, if they do not fight for, let us say it in a provocative way, day-to-day *economic* issues, they become demoralized slaves. With demoralized slaves you are never going to make a socialist revolution, or even to acquire elementary class solidarity. So they *have* to fight for their immediate demands. But the fight for these immediate demands does not lead them automatically and spontaneously to challenge the existence of bourgeois society.

The other side of the story is also true. Periodically, the workers *do* revolt against bourgeois society, not by a hundred, five hundred, or a thousand, but by the millions. After all, the history of the 20th century *is* the history of social revolutions. Anybody who denies that should read the history books again, not to mention the newspapers. There has been hardly a single year since 1917, and in a certain sense since 1905, without a revolution somewhere in the world in which the workers participated in a rather important way. It is true that they did not always constitute the majority of the revolution's combatants. But that is going to change because the working class has become a majority in society in practically all the important countries of the world. So periodically, the workers *do* revolt against bourgeois society, as the statistics of the last twenty years in Europe attest. There was a real workers' challenge against the basic setup of capitalism in 1960-61 in Belgium, in 1968 in France, in 1968-69 in Italy, in 1974-75 in Portugal, partially in Spain in 1975-76. And what was going on in Poland in 1980-81, if not a challenge against capitalism, was certainly a challenge for socialism. So this is a completely different picture from a permanently passive, integrated, bourgeoisified working class. More than 45 million workers have actively participated in these struggles.

The conclusion you can draw from these characteristics is that you have an *uneven development* of class activity and an *uneven development* of class consciousness in the working class. Workers do not strike every day, they cannot do that the way they

function in the capitalist economy. The way they have to live by selling their labor power makes that impossible. They would starve if they would strike every day. And they certainly cannot make revolution every day, every year, or even every five years, for economic, social, cultural, political, and psychological reasons which I have no time to spell out. So you have a cyclical development of class militancy and class activity which is partially determined by an inner logic. If you fight for many years and the fight ends with grave defeats, then you will not start fighting at the same level or a higher level the year after the defeat. It will take you some time to recuperate; it might be ten years, fifteen years, or even twenty years. The opposite is also true. If you fight during some years with successes, even medium successes, you get momentum to fight on a broader and broader scale and on a higher and higher level. So we have this cyclical movement in the history of the international class struggle which we could describe in detail. Very closely combined with that uneven development of class militancy is an uneven development of class consciousness, not necessarily a mechanical function of the first. You can have high levels of class activity with a relatively low level of class consciousness. And the opposite is also true. You can have relatively high levels of class consciousness with a lower level of class militancy than one would have expected. I am talking, of course, about class consciousness of broad masses, of millions of people, not class consciousness of small vanguard layers.

Coming out of all these basic conceptual distinctions we can conclude the necessity of a vanguard formation nearly immediately. You need a vanguard organization in order to overcome the dangerous potential brought about by the uneven development of class militancy and class consciousness. If the workers would be at the highest point of militancy and consciousness all the time, you would not need a vanguard organization. But, unfortunately, they are not and cannot be there under capitalism. So you need a group of people who embody a permanently high level of militancy and activity, and a permanently high level of class consciousness. After each wave of rising class struggle and rising class consciousness, when a turning point arrives and the actual activity of the masses declines, consciousness falls to a lower level and activity falls to nearly zero. The first function of a revolutionary vanguard organization is to maintain the continuity of the theoretical, programmatic, political, and organizational acquisitions of the previous phase of high class activity, and of high working class consciousness. It serves as the permanent memory of the class and of the labor movement, memory which is codified, one way or another, in a program in which you can educate the new generation which then does not need to start from scratch in its concrete way of intervention in the class struggle. This first function, then, is to assure a continuity of lessons drawn from the accumulated

historical experience, because that is what a socialist program is: the sum total of the lessons drawn from all the experiences of real class struggles, real revolutions, and real counterrevolutions in the last hundred and fifty years. Very few people can cope with that and nobody, absolutely nobody, can cope with that *alone*. You need an organization, and given the world nature of this experience, you need both a national *and* a worldwide organization to be able to constantly assess that sum total of historical and current experience of class struggle and revolution, to enrich it by new lessons coming out of new revolutions, to make it more and more adequate to the needs of class struggles and revolutions going on right at this time.

There is a second dimension. It is the organizational dimension, which is really not solely organizational, but is, in reality, also political. Here we come to that famous question of centralization. Revolutionary Marxists stand for democratic centralism. But the word centralization is not to be taken in the first place as an organizational dimension, and in no way whatsoever is it essentially an administrative one. It is political. What does "centralization" mean? It means *centralization of experience, centralization of knowledge, centralization of conclusions* drawn out of actual militancy. Here, again, we see a tremendous danger for the working class and the labor movement if there is no such centralization of experience: this is the danger of sectorialization and fragmentation, which does not enable anyone to draw adequate conclusions for action.

If we have women militants engaged only in feminist struggles, if we have youth militants engaged only in youth struggles, if we have students engaged only in student struggles, if we have immigrant workers engaged only in immigrant worker struggles, if we have oppressed nationalities engaged only in oppressed nationalities' struggles, if we have unemployed engaged only in unemployed struggles, if we have trade unionists engaged only in trade union struggles, if we have unorganized, ununionized, essentially unskilled workers engaged only in their own struggles, if we have political militants engaged only in election campaigns or in the publication of newspapers, and if each of them operates separately from each other, they operate only on the basis of limited and fragmented experience and they *cannot* (for basic, I would say, epistemological reasons) draw correct conclusions from their own experience. They have fragmented struggles, fragmented experience, fragmented partial consciousness. They only see part of the whole picture. The conclusions which they come up with will be, you can say *a priori*, at least partially wrong. They cannot have an overall, total correct view of reality because they see only a fragmented part of that reality.

The same thing is true, of course, from an international point of view. If you concentrate only on Eastern Europe, you have a partial view of world reality. If you concentrate only on the

underdeveloped, semicolonial, dependent countries, you have a partial view of world reality. If you concentrate only on the imperialist countries, you have a partial view of world reality. Only if you bring together the experience of the concrete struggles conducted by the real masses in the three sectors of the world (which are also called the three sectors of world revolution), then you have an overall, correct view of world reality. That is the big advantage of the Fourth International, because it is an international organization, which has comrades actually fighting, not only theoretically analyzing, in all these three sectors of the world, and it is concretely related to the struggles in all these three sectors of world revolution. This superiority is not due to the great intelligence of leaders of the Fourth International. It is just due to that elementary centralization of concrete experience of struggles on a global scale, added to a correct historical program.

That is what centralization is all about. It means that, I would not say the best because that is exaggerated, but at least *good* fighters in the unions, *good* fighters among unskilled workers and the unemployed, *good* fighters among oppressed nationalities, *good* fighters among women, youth, and students, *good* anti-imperialist fighters, *good* fighters in all these sectors of actually militant, oppressed, and exploited people in each state and on a world scale, come together to centralize their experiences in order to compare the lessons of their struggles on a statewide and worldwide scale, draw relevant conclusions, examine and reexamine in a critical way at each stage their program and their political line, in the light of the lessons to be drawn out of all these experiences, in order to have an overall view of society, of the world, of its dynamics, and of our common socialist goal and how to get there. That is what we call, in our jargon, a correct program, a correct strategy, and correct tactics. Given the uneven development of class consciousness, and the uneven and discontinuous level of class activity, this cannot be done by the masses in their totality. To believe otherwise is just a utopian and spontaneist daydream.

This can only be done by those people who claim for themselves the terribly "elitist" merit of being active in a more permanent way, in a more continuous way, than others. That is the only quality they claim for themselves, but it is a quality which is proven in life. And all those who do not have that quality also prove it in practice by ceasing political activity. All those who do have that quality, however, continue to fight even when the masses periodically stop fighting, do not stop developing class consciousness when the masses do (anybody who challenges this right challenges an elementary democratic and human right), continue to elaborate politics and theory, and constantly attempt to intervene in society in a permanent and continuous way. Out of that "merit," however modest and limited it is, grow a series of concrete and practical qualities which then con-

stitute the basis for the justification of a vanguard organization.

As I said before, there is a real contradiction in the relationship between a vanguard organization and the broader masses. There is a real dialectical tension, if we can call it that, and we have to address ourselves to that tension. First of all, I used the words "vanguard organizations"; I did not use the words "vanguard parties." This is a conceptual difference I introduce on purpose. I do not believe in self-proclaimed parties. I do not believe in fifty people or a hundred people standing in Market Square beating their breasts and saying, "We are the vanguard party." Perhaps they are in their own consciousness, but if the rest of society does not give a damn about them, they will be shouting in that marketplace for a long time without this having any result in practical life, or worse, they will try to impose their convictions on an unreceptive mass through violence. A vanguard organization is something which is permanent. A vanguard party has to be constructed, has to be built through a long process. One of the characteristics of its existence is that it becomes recognized as such by at least a substantial minority of the class itself. You cannot have a vanguard party which has no following in the class.

A vanguard organization becomes a vanguard party when a significant minority of the real class, of the really existing workers, poor peasants, revolutionary youth, revolutionary women, revolutionary oppressed nationalities, recognizes it as their vanguard party, i.e., follows it in action. Whether that must be ten percent or fifteen percent, that does not matter, but it must be a real sector of the class. If it does not exist, then you have no real party, you have only the nucleus of a future party. What will happen to that nucleus will be shown by history. It remains an open question, not yet solved by history. You need a permanent struggle to transform that vanguard organization into a real revolutionary vanguard party rooted in the class, present in the working class struggle, and accepted by at least a real fraction of the real class as such.

Here we have to bring in another concept. I said before that the class is not permanently active and permanently on a high level of class consciousness. Now I have to introduce a distinction. The *mass* of the class is not, but the class is not homogeneous, not only because there are individuals who are members of different political groupings, at different levels of political awareness, under different influences of bourgeois ideology, but also because it has a differentiation going on within its own massive framework. There is a process of social and of political differentiation going on in the real working class all the time. There is a mass-vanguard distillation going on in the working class during certain periods. Lenin wrote a lot about it; Trotsky wrote a lot about it; Rosa Luxemburg, surprised as some of you may be, wrote a lot about it. People who have the

ambition of being active in building revolutionary organizations, as I am, can give you the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of these vanguard workers in their own countries. It is not a mysterious question. It is a practical problem. Who are these vanguard workers in Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, West Germany? They are those who are leading real strikes, who are organizing trade union militant oppositions, who are preparing mass demonstrations and mass struggles, who are differentiating themselves from the traditional bureaucratic apparatus.

It is both a social differentiation and a political differentiation, although one can discuss the exact weight of each element, which is not identical in each situation. But the layers as such are very real. The dimension of the layers are different in different periods. The "Revolutionary Obleute," as they are called in Germany, of the trade unions and the big factories of Berlin who were leading the November 1918 revolution and building the Independent Socialist Party, who afterwards moved to the Communist Party when the left wing of the Independent Socialist Party fused with the Communist Party at the Congress of Halle, were a very concrete layer in German society, not only in Berlin, but also in many of the industrial areas of the country. Everybody knew them, they were not an unknown quantity. They were tens and tens of thousands of people. If you look at the vanguard of the German working class fifteen years later, say around 1930-33, this layer had strongly decreased in number, but it was still there.

If you study Russia, you see the same thing. In 1905, everybody knew these people. They were those who were leading the strikes, the real mass struggles at rank-and-file levels against the czar. They were, in their majority, outside of Social Democracy before 1905, tended to come to Social Democracy during the 1905-06 revolution, and again partially left the party (Mensheviks as well as Bolsheviks) in the period of reaction. They reentered politics and grew on a massive scale in 1912 and especially with the beginning of the February 1917 revolution, and then, the majority of them were absorbed by the Bolshevik Party after April 1917, after the Bolshevik Party took a straight and clear line for "All Power to the Soviets," that is to say, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

One can discuss whether the Bolsheviks became a vanguard *party* in the true sense of the word in 1912-13, or only in 1917. I would tend to say that they became that in 1912-13; otherwise it would have been very difficult for them to grow as quickly as they did in the spring of 1917. But that is just a point of historical analysis. The real notion is that of the *fusion in real life* between this vanguard layer of the working class, the real leaders of real struggles of workers at factory and neighborhood levels, of women's struggles, of youth struggles, of national minority struggles, and the political vanguard organization. When that fusion has taken place, at least in part, you have a real vanguard party, recognized

as such by a significant minority of the class. It will then become a majority probably only during the revolutionary crisis itself, on the condition of following a correct political line. If you do not have that fusion, you have only the nucleus of a future vanguard party, you have a vanguard organization, which is a precondition for that fusion at a later stage.

Then comes a third dimension: the self-organization of the class. Self-organization of the class goes through different forms at different stages of the class struggle. The most elementary self-organizations are trade unions. Then you have mass political parties at different levels of consciousness, bourgeois labor parties, independent labor parties, and revolutionary workers' parties. Only under conditions of revolutionary crises do you have the highest level of self-organization; this is the Soviet type of organization, which is to say, workers' councils, people's councils, call them what you want, popular committees.

Why do I say highest? Because they engulf the great majority of the workers which generally, under nonrevolutionary conditions, you find neither in trade unions nor in political parties. Direct self-organization through a workers' council type of self-organization of the class is the highest form, not because I have a theoretical or ideological or moral or sentimental predilection for them—which of course I have—but for the simple, objective reason: they organize a much higher percentage of the workers and the exploited masses. Under normal conditions, unrestricted by bureaucratic apparatuses and leadership, they should organize up to 90 to 95 percent of the exploited masses, which you *never* find in trade unions or political parties. So they are the highest forms of self-organization.

Furthermore, there is absolutely no contradiction between the separate organizations of revolutionary vanguard militants and their participation in the mass organizations of the working class. On the contrary, history generally confirms that the more conscious and the better you are organized in vanguard organizations, the more constructively you operate in the mass organizations of the working class. This means that you have to avoid the theoretical underpinnings of sectarianism, that you have to respect workers' democracy, socialist democracy, soviet or workers' councils' or popular councils' democracy, in a very thorough way. But this being said, there is no contradiction whatsoever. Again, the only right you claim for yourself inside the unions, inside the mass parties, inside the soviets, is to be a more devoted, a more energetic, a more dedicated, a more courageous, a more lucid, a more self-denying *builder* of the unions, *builder* of the mass parties, *builder* of the soviets, defender of the general interests of the working class, without attributing to yourself any special privilege towards your fellow workers, except the right to try to convince them.

Our stance for working class democracy, for socialist democracy, for socialist pluralism, is based

on a programmatic understanding that there are no contradictions between the interests of communists, vanguard militants, the working class, and the labor movement in its totality. There are no conditions in which we subordinate the interests of the class as a whole to the interests of any sect, any chapel, any separate organization. It is out of a theoretical understanding of that truth that we can fight enthusiastically, that we can fight with devotion and with deep understanding for the workers' united front, for a policy of unification of all different tendencies of the labor movement and the working class for common goals, because we believe that the victory of socialism is impossible without the victory of the fight for these common goals.

There is also a basic theoretical underpinning of this stance. We do not believe that Marxism is a full, final doctrine, dogma, or *Weltanschauung*. We do not believe that the Marxist program, which embodies the continuity of the experience of the actual class struggle and real revolutions of the last one hundred and fifty years, is a definitely closed book. If you would believe that, then the best revolutionary Marxist would be a parrot who would just read by memory, or expect the answer having fed all the lessons into a computer. For us, Marxism is always open because there are always new experiences, there are always new facts, including facts about the past, which have to be incorporated in the *corpus* of scientific socialism. Marxism is always open, always critical, always self-critical.

It is not by accident that when Marx was called to answer the question in the drawing room game "What is your main life *dictum*?" he gave as the answer, "De omnibus est dubitandum" ("You have to doubt everything"). This is really the opposite attitude of the one which is so often stupidly and foolishly attributed to Marx, that he was building a new religion without God. The spirit to doubt everything and to put into question everything that you yourself have said is the very opposite of religion and of dogma. Marxists believe that there are no eternal truths, and no people who know everything. The second stanza of our common anthem, *The Internationale*, starts with the wonderful words, in French:

Il n'y a pas de sauveur supreme
Ni Dieu, ni Cesar, ni tribun,
Producteur sauvons—nous nous memes
Decretons le salut commun.

In German it is even clearer:

Es rettet uns Kein hoh'res Wesen,
Kein Gott, Kein Kaiser, Kein Tribun
Uns aus dem Elend zu erlosen,
Konnen wir nur selber tun.

Only the whole mass of the producers can emancipate themselves. There is no God, no Caesar, no unfailing Central Committee, no unfailing Chairman,

no unfailing General Secretary or First Secretary who can substitute for the collective efforts of the class. That is why we try simultaneously to build vanguard organizations and mass organizations.

You cannot trick the working class or "lead" the working class to do something which it does not want to do. You have to convince the working class. You have to help the working class understand collectively and massively the need for a socialist transformation of society, for the socialist revolution. That is the dialectical relationship between the vanguard party and the mass self-organization of the working class. And that is why, for us, socialist pluralism, the debate, even when it takes an unhealthy and unhappy form of factionalism and bickering which gets on the nerves of all serious militants (I completely sympathize with them, because it is largely a waste of time), is an unavoidable price to be paid for keeping up that self-critical process. If nobody is, in advance, in possession of the whole truth and nothing but the truth, if each situation has always to be reexamined in a critical way against new experiences of working class struggle and of real revolutions, then of course you *need* criticism, you *need* the confrontation of different proposed solutions, you *need* variants. It is not a luxury just in order to be truthful to an abstract formula of workers' democracy. NO! It is an absolutely essential precondition for making a victorious revolution which will lead to a classless society.

Revolution is not a goal in itself. Revolution is an instrument, like a party is an instrument. The goal is building a socialist classless society. Everything we do, even today, even with shorter term perspectives like leading the masses in their day-to-day struggles, can never be done in such a way that it conflicts basically with the longer term goal which is the goal of self-emancipation of the working class, and self-emancipation of all the exploited, by building a classless society without exploitation, without oppression, without violence of men and women against each other. Socialist democracy is not a luxury but an absolute, essential necessity for overthrowing capitalism and building socialism. Let me give two examples.

We understand today the functional aspect of socialist democracy in postcapitalist society (the societies of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam, and Cuba). Without socialist pluralistic democracy you cannot find correct solutions for the basic problems of socialist planning. No party can substitute for the mass of the people to determine what the mass of the people want as priorities in the form of consumption, the division between the consumption fund and the investment fund, between individual and collective consumption, between the productive and unproductive consumption fund, between the productive and unproductive investment fund, and so forth. Nobody can do that. Again, to believe otherwise is a utopian daydream.

And if the mass of the people do not accept your choice of priorities, no power on earth, even

the biggest terror of Stalin, can force them to do the one key thing that you need to build socialism: have a constructive, creative, and convinced participation in the production process. There is one form of opposition that the bureaucracy has not succeeded in crushing. It is becoming bigger and bigger: the opposition which expresses itself by not caring about what is going on in production. You know the famous joke they tell in Eastern Germany: The journalist comes to a factory and asks the director: "Comrade manager, how many workers are working in your factory?" He answers, "Oh, at least half of them." This is reality in all the bureaucratized so-called socialist countries. No terror can overcome that. Only socialist democracy can overcome that, only pluralism, only the possibility of the mass of the producers and the consumers to choose between different variants of the plan which conforms the most to their interests as they understand them.

Socialist democracy is not a luxury and its need is not limited to the most advanced industrial countries. It is true of China; it is true for Vietnam. It is the only way to rapidly correct the disastrous effects of grave mistakes of policy. Without pluralism, without a broad public debate, without a legal opposition, it might take 15 years, it might take 25 years, it might take 30 years before you correct those mistakes. We have seen the historical record and it shows the terrible price the working class has to pay if you take such a long time before you correct your mistakes.

Mistakes in themselves are *unavoidable*. As Comrade Lenin said, the real key for a revolutionary is not that he avoids making mistakes (nobody avoids making mistakes) but how he goes about correcting them. Without internal party democracy, without the right to demonstrate, without the non-

banning of factions or parties, without free public debate, you have great obstacles in correcting mistakes and you will pay a heavy price for this. So we are absolutely in favor of the right to different tendencies, full internal democracy, and the nonbanning of factions or parties.

I do not say the right to factions, because that is a false formulation. Factions are a sign of illness in a party. In a healthy party you have no factions; a healthy party from the point of view of both the political line and the internal party regime. But the right not to be thrown out of the party, if you create a faction, is a lesser evil than being thrown out and stifling the internal life of a party through excessive forbidding of internal debate.

It is not an easy question, especially in a proletarian party. The more revolutionary vanguard organizations are rooted in the working class, the less is their number of students and other nonproletarian members (I do not say that it is bad to have students or intellectuals; you need them, but they should not be the majority in a revolutionary organization). The more workers you have in your organization, the better you are implanted in the working class, the more likely you are to come up with the concrete problems of the class. Within that general framework is to be placed the functional nature of a vanguard organization for the class struggle, for the revolution, and for building socialism. You should never forget that there is a strict dialectical interrelation between the three. Otherwise we get off the track and we do not fulfill the historical role which we want to fulfill: to help the masses, the exploited and the oppressed of the world, build a classless society, a world socialist federation. ■

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NOTEBOOKS FOR THE GRANDCHILDREN

by Mikhail Baitalsky

11. I Saw My Homeland

Our Vili was not yet a year old when we took him to the small town of Chernovo to leave him with his grandmother. Over time my parents had become reconciled to the fact that I was not a doctor but a Komsomol worker.

Much had changed in the small town. My father had long ago bid farewell to commerce. First he was the manager of an agricultural cooperative storeroom, and later he became a member of the Jewish collective's warehouse which was located in the largest room of my father's house. There stood sacks of flour and sugar. The children had long since stopped drinking sweetened tea and mother pestered father to get four lumps of sugar from the storeroom, one piece each. Father answered:

"To steal four lumps or four bags—what's the difference? That bags are more noticeable? I am drinking tea with salt, and so will the children."

After a while, the cooperative announced the sale of sugar. Mother came for her pound. The salesman looked at her with amazement. He could not believe that my father was such a fool. Most likely he thought this was Jewish cunning.

It was one or the other: either my father was clever at adapting himself and began to work for a living in order thereby to further his and his children's careers, or he could no longer stand his former line of work. However, I did not try to prove anything to my investigator in 1950. He did not want to understand. He triumphantly entered into the record that I was the son of a merchant. This was the least harmful of my crimes.

While the investigator was recording his notes, I fantasized, trying to imagine the investigator in my father's place in front of those bags of sugar. What would he have done? And what would my old man do in his place today? It is amazing what thoughts enter your head while your investigator is busy with the creative job of inventing your various crimes!

During one of the interrogations I recalled that my father often used the Ukrainian words "plush job." I openheartedly shared this recollection with my interrogator. He got very angry.

The Jewish collective in Chernovo had an intricate name "Third Work": my father thought it up. Is it possible he read the work of Roger Bacon written eight centuries ago?¹ The collective farm arose in 1922, the first collective farm in the Isaev rural district. Former merchants and craftsmen took up the plow. The first self-taught tractor driver on the first tractor in our area was my younger brother. A crowd of young kids and old men from both streets of the small town—the Ukrainian

In 1977, a manuscript totaling hundreds of pages arrived in this country from the Soviet Union—the memoirs of Mikhail Baitalsky, who was in his middle 70s at the time and living in Moscow. His work consists of a series of nine "notebooks" which describe his life as a Ukrainian Jewish revolutionary militant. He narrates how, as a teenager inspired by the October revolution, he joined the Communist Youth, tells about his participation in the Red Army during the Civil War years that followed 1917, his disenchantment with the developing bureaucracy under Stalin, and his subsequent experiences in Stalin's prison camps.

To the very end of his life Baitalsky remained devoted to the ideals of the October revolution. He says that he is writing "for the grandchildren" so that they can know the truth of the revolution's early years.

The first installment and an introduction by the translator, Marilyn Vogt-Downey, appeared in Bulletin IDOM No. 36, December 1986.

and the Jewish—ran along behind the tractor. The profits from the collective farm were small at first. The tractor was expensive; it was imported and had to be paid for.

But the collective existed and did not want to fall apart. My old man heard so many jokes! People could not believe it kikes planting grain, and a whole lot of them! The collectivized economy was taking its first steps; there were yet then very few collective farms. In fact, this was taking place seven years before the collectivization of agriculture in the USSR.

To travel from Odessa to Chernovo with a baby was a complicated trip. To get from the railroad station to the small town you had to find a passing horse cart—this was still the preautomobile age. Halfway there, we had to stop to feed the horses, and Yeva took out of her pack a primus to cook the little one's cereal. The old women came running to look at the strange machine on which you could cook. In 1925, in a village less than 55 miles from Odessa, they had never yet seen a primus stove. This plain ordinary fact can appear inconceivable to our grandchildren, who know about the cosmos, rockets, and television.

What a pang I felt in my chest as the cart thundered across the hollow-sounding, rickety boards of the Isaev bridge. The horses neigh gayly, sensing home is near. And here is the well from which my brother and I so often carried water

home—there were few wells in Chernovo, particularly on the upper street.

And have I not been away from my hometown for a long time without once looking back? What is "native land" without capital letters? To understand is not complicated: the place where you were born, a dusty street, an old meadow that flooded during the thaw, a quiet stream, and the white building housing the school next to the church. But Native Land written with capital letters should say to people that it is something more than simply a thousand geographic points, enlivened by the white buildings of the schools and churches. And whoever loves it, loves its meadows and its tundra but also suffers for this tundra, which has swallowed up without a trace the remains of their friends from their Komsomol youth days.

It is necessary to tell the children and grandchildren as precisely as possible about us. In the era of mass media with radio, newspapers, and TV, a word repeated without interruption has a huge importance. It is a means for mass education and is testimony to its own results. Just as rarely as we used the word "love," that rarely did we use the words "native land" and "Soviet patriotism." The latter in general exists since the Great Patriotic War [World War II]. In the Short Course History of the AUCP(B), for many years the official and only textbook of party history, you will not find these words—it was written in 1938.

We were proud of the Soviet land in our own way: we were proud that it was the cradle of world revolution and the successor of the Paris Commune, with its egalitarian principles. But that Polzunov had invented the steam engine we did not know.

12. Friendship with Grisha

Grisha Baglyuk was a red-haired, broad-shouldered, uncomely lad. From the first moment I got to know him, which was on the first evening I arrived in Artemovsk, I noticed how loudly he laughed. And from the first day, I noticed how trusting he was, just like a child.

Grisha belonged, as the current expression goes, to an old worker dynasty of pure-blood miners. At the age of twelve, he went into the mines, beginning as a sledder. In those days, the coal was conveyed from the face of the mine to the haulage-drift in sleds. Children were harnessed to the sleds. The sledders dragged their loads right along the ground, which the miners call the bottom of the face.

To Grisha befell a difficult childhood that even in tsarist times few experienced. His father had six children, and he was left alone to look after them after his wife died. According to the children, she was an exceptional woman: kind, quiet, diligent, and of rare intelligence. When she died, the youngest daughter was three and the eldest thirteen. Friends persistently advised the widower to remarry so that there would be someone to look after the children. And he did.

Machekha brought with her a son, a grown boy

* * *

Arriving at my native town, I found my mother half gray, but as before hardworking and tireless. My father was obviously displeased at my early marriage. Many years later he admitted to me that he took an instant dislike to Yeva. She did not have the sense at that time to offer him a chair. We did not stay long in Chernovo and, leaving the child in his grandmother's care, we returned to our work.

Molodaya Gvardia increased its runs and attracted up-and-coming literary figures: Kirsanov, Batrov, and several others. We published a thin book of Komsomol choral songs. Maryusa Yelko wrote most of them. The Odessa Young Communists sang her songs for a long time. The tradition to gather in the club turned out to be a firm one in Odessa.

Many songs in the book were dedicated to the Chervona Cossacks, the name of the First Equestrian Corps, which the Komsomol in Ukraine sponsored. Vitaly Primakov was its commander. In 1937, he was one of the first victims among the commanders of the Red Army. Not only Primakov, but all the Chervona Cossacks suddenly disappeared from the history of the revolution. Yet there was no finer hero nor cavalry corps!

Molodaya Gvardia was closed after *Komsomolskaya Pravda* began publication, and in the local newspaper *Izvestia* began to print a youth page. But I asked to be sent wherever the Central Committee needed me, and I was sent to the Donbass, to Artemovsk.

already able to drink; and the terrible years for the orphans began.

The father left for work before daybreak and returned late at night. All day Machekha gave the children not a scrap of bread: live as you please!

The oldest daughter could not bear it and went off to become a servant. Grisha, the second oldest child, took upon himself the care of the younger ones. He was only twelve years old. In the winter he worked in the mine and in the summer he worked as a shepherd. In Ukraine, shepherds are fed by all the village, each in turn: today one landlord, tomorrow another. Grisha kept all the food he got in his shepherd's purse, the large linen bag his little sister had sewn for him. "Let the sun always shine!" goes the children's song of today. But the children of the miner Nikita Baglyuk waited for it to hurry up and set. By sunset, the shepherds are driving the flock to the village, and Grisha brings home his purse of earnings.

The desire for justice lives in the heart of each of us from a very early age, until life treats us to something that seems to quench our thirst, but more often than not is only deceiving it. In Grisha's heart, the desire for justice

burned tirelessly, even though life treated him to many a deceitful potion—yes, he endured many, many injustices.

Grisha used to be angry and sad as well, but his unchanging internal joy of life, filling him to the brim, would soon overflow, and he would laugh again—not laugh but roar.

Loud laughter seemed to me a sign of smugness, insincerity, impudence. But not Grisha's laughter. It pleased and infected everyone. It was impossible to find a grain of smugness in Grisha or a grain of insincerity. There was a little noticeable impudence—our usual Komsomol coarseness was very stylish then. Grisha's laughter did not conceal his essence, his soul, as is the case with the bad sort of people, but exposed him entirely. He laughed Homerically in the strictest sense of that word, with the laughter of a young Homeric demigod, aware of his own inner strength and his ability to endure any injustice of fate. But in real life, the exploits of Heracles end far more tragically than they did in the ancient myth.

The sledder profession gave Grisha a stooped back. But his soul remained unbent. The most difficult thing in the world for him was to maintain a conciliatory silence toward sleazy behavior.

At the time we became acquainted, he was already working on the editorial staff of a newspaper. During his childhood, he had only gone to school until his mother died, and after that learned everything on his own. He joined the Komsomol when he was about 17 and began to write articles for a newspaper and poems for himself. The editorial staff recognized his talent and took him on. Whatever he wrote, he wrote from the heart.

"Listen," he said to me. "People who have never experienced hard work will very likely be unable to express this: It can be pleasant to do anything. You forget everything else, even to eat. But turn the nicest job into something you have to do, and it is not nice any longer. One has to experience this oneself. I will learn to write properly, and I will write a book and tell everything."

Grisha must have seen into the future. Several years passed and work was found for him at which he could test the correctness of his thinking. The offspring of the proletariat—miners, printers, metalworkers—were reformed by labor with thieves and recidivists. The newspaper *The Miner*, published without an address and forbidden distribution outside Vorkuta, did not use the word "camp." There were no camps! They went under the pseudonym "the economic institution headed by Comrade so and so!"

The chief of one of these economic institutions until the mid-1950s was a comrade by the name of Kornev. He devoted himself totally to his work, and his enterprise overfilled its plan month after month. High above the headframe of the mine shone a red star, the honorary sign of a vanguard mine. The newspaper *The Miner*, our exclusive organ of our vanguard society, awarded THE PEOPLE (that

is what the prisoners were called in its secret dialect) monthly praise. On top of that, Kornev himself was awarded a monetary prize: his monthly pay, and more. His salary plus his northern latitude increment was the equivalent of the salary of fifteen or maybe twenty textile workers in Central Russia.

Kornev supposed with perfect logic that the basis for fulfilling the monthly plan was the unwavering fulfillment of the daily quota in every section and in each brigade without the slightest exception, no matter what. Half the brigade could get sick or die, it didn't matter. Fulfill the plan! This is the most sacred thing a Soviet citizen can do. The Plan! And there will be no self-indulgence or things left for tomorrow. The Plan! Now could he really be wrong?

And if in any section THE PEOPLE, soaked to the bone, hoisted themselves to the surface without making three or four trolley loads of the shift's quota, then by telephone (they reported to Kornev at home any time of the day or night since he dedicated himself fully to the cause of socialism!) came the order: "Send them back down."

They lower them back down into the mine. They'll meet the quota. Then they'll come out.

Call the convoy and dispatch it to the residence zone!

Tramp to your barracks, dry your footcloths and rope shoes. *The Miner* summons society to follow the example of these vanguard workers.

Many people, besides the Kornev kind of quotas, have their own personal, permanent quota that has been voluntarily adopted. To it one devotes every minute of one's life. We believed, we made mistakes, and again restored our confidence, keeping a dream in the very depths of our conscience: do not die before you do something that is important for all the people—something that is exceptional, courageous. Grisha did not have a chance to realize his dream; let his death prove to people what he did not manage to express during his life.

* * *

When Yeva arrived in Artemovsk, we four (Grisha had just married) got an apartment together. No, it was not a communal apartment with chance neighbors. We could have lived separately but we wanted to live closer to one another. The apartment had three rooms, and we transformed the middle room, the biggest one, into a common dining room. And almost every evening our friends—many friends—gathered there.

We joined the printers' cell, which united the Komsomol members of the editorial and typography departments of the Donbass newspaper of that time, the *All-Union Stoker*. The kids had created a variety show collective, "Blue Workshirt." The youth of those years took a great interest in it. Blue Workshirt presented poems, songs, and small skits at the trade union club. We did not have a separate Komsomol club. Boris Gorbатов wrote the

majority of Blue Workshirt's poems. He wrote them quickly and they were not bad at all. He came to our apartment (someone called it "Madame Baglyuk's Salon") alone, without a favorite girl, if you don't count the Muse of Poetry. Grisha loved both the Muse and his young wife. Kostya Goroshka loved Manya, and the other kids loved other girls from our cell.

The printers' club was not like my old club in Odessa in all ways. We did not go there every day but only on days of meetings and performances of "Blue Workshirt." The other evenings the circle of friends gathered at our place. And we were united above all by Grisha, and also by literature.

We did not read aloud, although Boris would read his or someone else's poetry. He read superbly. We conducted no organized discussions, so you sat, talked, and drank tea with thick round rolls. Drinking bouts were already then beginning to retake their nearly lost position. We stipulated there be no drinking in our home—Grisha, who grew up in a settlement where drinking was a hopeless problem, could not stand vodka. We did not need it.

Grisha's infectious laughter shook the windows. We did not know about radios. The gramophone had not yet received definitive rehabilitation. We did not know how to dance; not even could we all sing. But the guys and girls came back again and again. No one dragged them or had to persuade them.

One time Borya read "Grenade" to us. In my memory no other poem has found such immediate unanimous and sincere recognition. In "Grenade," Svetlov struck a chord that had resounded most in our hearts since the first days of the revolution,

a virtual anthem to internationalism and to the worldwide victory of workers and peasants.

Grisha did not read his poems to us. Generally speaking, he wrote without fanfare. Not one of his poems celebrated the pick or shovel, but the pick did serve as the prop for the talent of many fledgling Donetsk poets. However, the idea of describing work never left him, and we often talked about this. He would certainly have portrayed an institution where the boss is Kornev.

In addition to seeing the unusual in the ordinary, a genuine writer is distinguished also by fearlessness. Of course, an admission of cowardice is unpleasant to readers and to oneself. And a person writing little by little manufactures a certain psychological screen from self-rebuke and his "internal censor" gets a new name: responsibility, sense of necessity, conviction, and other such high-sounding words. And it is that same internal censor, that same customary caution, that does the searching.

Grisha was not one to write a novel like Azhaev, but was never able to utter one false word and never wanted to. He spoke only the truth. He began with this as a worker-correspondent. And with this he continued, becoming a writer. And this led to his death. ■

[Next month: "Days and Evenings Without Romance"]

NOTES

1. Roger Bacon (1214-1294), English scholastic philosopher and scientist. His three most important works, written 1267-68 for Pope Clement IV, were the Opus majus, the Opus minor, and the Opus tertium.

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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LEFT

The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1980s, by Alan Wald. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. 440 pages, \$32.50 cloth, \$12.95 paper.

Reviewed by Paul Le Blanc

With this big, detailed, and fascinating book, Alan Wald depicts the promising beginnings and then the sad, often ugly degeneration of a large number of very influential people. Through a remarkable feat of intellectual archeology and historical reconstruction he has brought to light many things that they had preferred to forget, and—worse—he has judged them from the standpoint of their own youthful ideals. Many will hate him for it. His important, provocative book will be the target of venomous attacks from the most articulate defenders of the status quo.

Wald's Achievement

The book itself, however, is not venomous. It is a sustained, thoughtful, fairly balanced account of a substantial body of prominent intellectuals who have bulked large in the cultural and political life of our country. Their geographical center has been New York City, and their political center was once the left end of the socialist spectrum. Almost all of them gravitated rightward. Some, despite a disillusionment with revolutionary politics, did not entirely abandon their earlier beliefs. But most became very effective ideologists for American capitalism.

Here are some of the people discussed in Wald's book: Lionel Abel, Hannah Arendt, Daniel Bell, Saul Bellow, James Burnham, Elliot Cohen, Lewis Coser, Midge Decter, F.W. Dupee, Max Eastman, James T. Farrell, Leslie Fiedler, Clement Greenberg, Louis Hacker, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Sidney Hook, Irving Howe, Harold Isaacs, Alfred Kazin, Hilton Kramer, Irving Kristol, Seymour Martin Lipset, Eugene Lyons, Dwight Macdonald, Mary McCarthy, John McDonald, C. Wright Mills, William Phillips, Norman Podhoretz, Philip Rahv, James Rorty, Harold Rosenberg, Meyer Schapiro, Delmore Schwartz, Philip Selznick, Herbert Solow, Ben Stolberg, Harvey Swados, Diana Trilling, Lionel Trilling, Edmund Wilson, and others.

Counting the names, one finds enough to constitute a couple of fair-sized branches of the Socialist Workers Party. But these were "skilled intellectuals" (in the respectful words of Max Shachtman, who considered himself only "semi-skilled"). These prolific academics, artists, writers, and critics have been among the foremost figures in the American intelligentsia over the past four decades. They include people who have helped set the tone for a diverse range of influential, opin-

ion-making publications: *Partisan Review*, *Commentary*, *Dissent*, the *New Leader*, *National Review*, the *New York Review of Books*, as well as *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, *Business Week*, even the *New York Times* and *Readers Digest*. One of the few things these publications have in common is that they are hostile to revolutionary socialism. Yet, with few exceptions, the people listed above were associated with an ostensibly revolutionary "anti-Stalinist left" in the 1930s, in some cases well into the 1940s. Even those who personally had not been involved in revolutionary politics absorbed the sensibilities of those who had. "Today's younger generation of intellectuals," wrote Harold Rosenberg in 1965, "consists of the late arrivals to the generation that made its appearance as American 'Marxists' and which has lived its entire life with Marxism (including, of course, anti-Marxism) as its central theme and interest. Without Marxism this generation is not only dull—it is nothing. It does not exist." (p. 3) But it tended to be Marxism of a particular kind.

Wald notes that, "simply put, without Trotskyism there would never have appeared an anti-Stalinist left among intellectuals in the mid-1930s." There was, of course, the anticommunism of mainstream liberals and conservatives, but this had minimal intellectual attraction when capitalism was in shambles during the Depression decade. The Stalinist politics of the Communist Party—which pointed to a "future that works" in the USSR—*did* exert a considerable influence among intellectuals, but many of the more perceptive came to see it as an authoritarian and nonrevolutionary movement. There was also the pale social democratic radicalism of the Socialist Party and Social-Democratic Federation, but "Trotskyism made it possible for these rebellious intellectuals to declare themselves on the side of the revolution (as opposed to the side of the Social Democrats who had just then succumbed to the Nazis without resistance), and yet also to denounce Stalin from the left as the arch-betrayer of Lenin's heritage." (p. 6) Not all of them were actually Trotskyists, but their initial contributions came out of a left-wing subculture in which the Marxism that Trotsky represented was a vibrant component. These initial contributions, whatever their limitations, were exciting and showed great promise. They contained elements which could have enriched American Marxism and advanced the struggle for socialism.

Almost without exception, however, these revolutionary-minded intellectuals were dislodged from their Marxist orientation. There were the pressures of World War II, generating support for a capitalist war effort in which imperialism donned anti-fascist garments; soon after, there was the high tide of Cold War anticommunism, in which opposition to Stalinist totalitarianism became a

justification for imperialist aggression and witch-hunts at home. The prosperity and economic opportunities of the post-World War II period also made the socialist vision seem considerably less compelling to many upwardly mobile ex-revolutionaries. Some went much further in renegeing on previous commitments than did others. But Wald sums up the trajectory of most in this manner:

The behavior of the New York intellectuals is suspect because of the hastiness with which Marxism was entirely abandoned in the absence of a viable alternative theory of society; the falsification of past history so as to erase the revolutionary anti-Stalinist tradition; the blind spot exhibited in regard to U.S. imperialism; the dissipation of militant anger against domestic racism and class exploitation; and the gross insensitivity to the costs of the McCarthyite witch-hunt. Moreover, there is a direct line of continuity between many of the New York intellectuals engaged in the [CIA-funded] American Committee for Cultural Freedom and subsequent right-wing developments culminating in the neoconservative campaign of the 1970s against affirmative action and feminism, coupled with a new cultural elitism and a foreign policy somewhat to the right of Ronald Reagan. These are aspects of the New York intellectuals' behavior in the 1950s that give credibility to Rahv's charge that the liberal anticommunism of the time was the ideological rationale for *embourgeoisement*. (pp. 309-310)

There have been several studies of the New York intellectuals, but none of the others are written with the political sensibilities and sophistication which Wald brings to his work, and no other book provides such a thorough and well-documented account of this phenomenon. He draws on innumerable interviews, vast quantities of correspondence, the internal bulletins of left-wing groups, aging articles and pamphlets and books, more recent memoirs and secondary studies, as well as illuminating fictional works by James T. Farrell, Mary McCarthy, Tess Slesinger, and others. What's more, he deeply cares about the story he tells, and he clearly wants it to strengthen a "Marxist political practice" which preserves what largely evaporated in the outlook of those he has studied: "a rigorously internationalist perspective; an uncompromising revolutionary vision of social transformation; activist affiliation with authentic counterinstitutions; and a determination to view the world from the standpoint of the oppressed groups in society." (p. 373) The questions which he grapples with continue to be alive in our own time, as many 1960s radicals shift rightward during the "big chill" of the '80s—most notorious being such figures as David Horowitz, Ronald Radosh, and Susan Sontag, whose stories Wald also tells. To the extent that we can comprehend previous defeats, we can more easily transcend them.

Wald's book is also important because it tells the stories of some who didn't go along with the reactionary drift—those who sharply rejected "neoconservatism" (Coser, Howe, Kazin), those who partially returned to their previous radicalism (Dupee, Macdonald, McCarthy, Rahv, Selznick, Wilson), and those lonely few who were partially successful in holding on to a critical-minded radical orientation throughout (Mills, Swados). More than this, he tells at least some of the story of those who remained revolutionary socialists—particularly the Trotskyists in and around the Socialist Workers Party, which "managed to chart an honorable course through the difficult World War II and Cold War years avoiding the Scylla of Stalinism and the Charybdis of imperialism better than any other American radical group of its time." (p. 309) It is one of the great strengths of Wald's book that he compels the reader to take this seriously and that he seeks to explore the ideas, personalities, and experience of American Trotskyism. *The New York Intellectuals* will therefore stand (along with Wald's other two books, *James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years* and *The Revolutionary Imagination: The Poetry and Politics of John Wheelwright and Sherry Mangan*) as an important source for those who want to learn more about the revolutionary movement in the United States. It is precisely here, however, that revolutionary Marxists will find issues which merit critical attention.

Errors, Problems, and Ambiguities

Writing such a massive study on such a complex topic is bound to result in at least some inaccuracies. Wald, himself, aware of this, tells us: "while I have gone to unusual lengths to check and recheck facts with numerous participants in the events discussed, as well as with a variety of scholars, I will happily acknowledge any legitimate corrections of the historical record. I apologize in advance for any errors that remain." (p. xii) There are inevitable minor inaccuracies which don't substantially alter an interpretation—for example, the mention of the German Marxist and dissident Communist August Thalheimer as "Ernst Thalheimer" (p. 306). Far more important are errors or questionable judgments which are entwined with major interpretations. Related to this, sometimes it is not clear what is Wald's own political perspective regarding certain key questions. In part this is a result of the nature of his study: attempting to reconstruct in a coherent narrative the actual outlooks of so many different people while striving for a fair-minded balance. Also, one suspects that the author does not want to lose the reader by a strident explication of his own politics, and that he may also be stretching his formulations to make essentially Trotskyist judgments palatable to a primarily non-Trotskyist audience. Nonetheless, there are ambiguities which—perhaps—reflect ambivalences.

An example is Wald's attitude toward Leninism. On the one hand, his attitude appears to be posi-

tive. He criticizes the conservatized New York intellectuals who "seized on the fact that Leninism and Stalinism had a sequential relationship and certain superficial similarities, conveniently forgetting their earlier belief that the former was in essence a negation of the latter." (p. 268) He applauds a 1943 polemic against Sidney Hook by Meyer Schapiro, "a genuine independent, but a classical Marxist nonetheless, struggling to keep a Leninist view alive under difficult conditions." (p. 216) He approvingly quotes Philip Rahv's essentially Leninist criticism of the "new left" of the 1960s: "it has failed to crystallize from within itself a guiding organization—one need not be afraid of naming it a centralized and disciplined party, for so far no one has ever invented a substitute for such a party—capable of engaging in daily and even pedestrian practical activity while keeping itself sufficiently alert on the ideological plane so as not to miss its historical opportunity when and if it arises." (p. 370)

On the other hand, as Wald himself points out, neither Schapiro nor Rahv were members of a Leninist party at the time, nor were they trying to build one. They were abstract Leninists—a contradiction in terms, since the truth is concrete, as Lenin always insisted. The ambiguity deepens when we turn to Wald's discussion of concrete Leninism in his chapter "Cannonites and Shachtmanites." Cannon and Shachtman, the foremost leaders of American Trotskyism, led two counterposed factions in the Socialist Workers Party of 1939-40, which subsequently split into separate organizations, the Cannon majority maintaining the SWP and the Shachtmanites establishing the Workers Party. Two of the key issues in the split were how to analyze the USSR and how to organize a Leninist party. On the first question Wald tends to side with Cannon (and Trotsky), but on the second question he tells us: "To some degree Shachtman's position was more in accordance with the practice of Lenin's party than Cannon's." (p. 184) What's more, he is impressed with "the usefulness" of Shachtman's "application of Leninism to conditions in the United States" (p. 192). He quotes the SWP position: "The Socialist Workers Party wants an integrated, homogeneous party, based upon a common program and common methods of thought and work. The Workers Party wants an organization of diverse tendencies, a federation of factions where any anti-Marxist innovation is assured a friendly hearing." (pp. 183-184) But according to Wald: "The Bolshevik Party, which was considered a model by both Cannon and Shachtman, was a battleground of different tendencies and factions which issued their own public newspapers, at least before the civil war. . . . Cannon was deathly afraid of his party's becoming a 'talkshop' rather than an instrument of action. He believed that the construction of factions, while constitutionally permissible, almost always brought a party to the point of a crisis that could lead to a split." (p. 184) Cannon, Wald seems to imply, was too rigid, while Shachtman exhibited a more Leninist flexibility.

Some of the problems with this interpretation are indicated by Wald himself. The Shachtmanites' organizational prescriptions, if adopted by the SWP before the split, "might have led to the very paralysis that Cannon most feared." (p. 185) What's more, by the 1950s Shachtman's organization was "poorly organized, demoralized, and rightward drifting" (p. 192) while the SWP survived as a relatively cohesive revolutionary group. Although Wald complains that it was an "iron cage of orthodoxy" (p. 295), he also writes that it was not qualitatively less democratic than Shachtman's organization (p. 185). What is one to make of all this? What does Wald himself make of it?

In a prefatory note Wald expresses "regret that there is inadequate space to develop concretely the political perspective I espouse as an alternative to that of the social democratic figures in the closing chapters, Irving Howe and Harvey Swados. . . ." He refers us to "further elaborations of my general perspective in two essays appearing just as this book goes to press: Robert Brenner's 'The Paradox of Social Democracy: The American Case,' in *The Year Left* (1985), pp. 32-86, and Ralph Miliband and Marcel Liebman's 'Beyond Social Democracy,' in *Socialist Register 1985/86: Social Democracy and After* (1986), pp. 476-89." This further complicates matters. Brenner's essay is a critique of social democracy which seems to be in harmony with Leninism, while the Miliband-Liebman essay includes an explicit critique and rejection of Leninism. (For a review of the latter, see *Bulletin IDOM* No. 35.)*

It's necessary to add that Wald's brief description of the Bolsheviks under Lenin is grossly oversimplified. A democratic organization it surely was, but the two truly *factional* conflicts before 1917—between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, and between Leninists and Bogdanovites—led precisely to the kind of paralysis and eventual splits which Cannon anticipated in later faction fights. More than this, while the Mensheviks claimed to favor "democratic centralism" no less than the Bolsheviks (it being the Mensheviks, after all, who introduced the term into the Russian movement), the way they practiced it was more akin to Wald's description of the Shachtmanites. I think a careful study of Lenin's organization would support Cannon's and Trotsky's contention that the SWP was closer to the Bolshevik model.

There are other interpretations in *The New York Intellectuals* which raise similar questions, for example Wald's discussion of the Cochran-Clarke faction of the early 1950s. There is also a serious inaccuracy in his discussion of how the SWP dealt with the new international realities after World War II. He writes:

*In an article in the November-December 1986 issue of *Against the Current*, Wald seems to reject "going beyond Leninism," making his unqualified endorsement of the Miliband-Liebman essay especially puzzling.

Trotsky had theorized that only an authentic Fourth Internationalist party, consciously based on the International's Transitional Program (the founding programmatic document, written in 1938), could lead a social transformation, except under a rare set of circumstances in which a non-Trotskyist leadership might be forced to carry out a revolution against its will. Faced with this contradiction between theory and reality, the Trotskyists were posed with four alternatives: they could abandon building the Fourth International and organizations such as the SWP; they could correct, update, and adjust Marxism and Trotskyism in light of the unexpected phenomena; they could attempt to demonstrate how all the post-World War II social transformations actually *did* occur according to Trotsky's pre-1940 perspectives; or they could deny that authentic revolutions had occurred in the aforementioned countries [i.e., China, Yugoslavia, and other states of Eastern Europe]. . . . The fact that the SWP began with the fourth alternative and moved slowly to the third shows an admirable caution that was far superior to impressionistic theorizing. . . . But the fact that they stopped at the third alternative without progressing to the second suggests that they feared to stray too far from the formulas of Trotsky even when, in this instance, material reality called for a more rigorous analysis. (pp. 296-297)

In writing this, Wald ignores the work of Joseph Hansen in developing the "workers' and farmers' government" concept precisely for the purpose of correcting, updating, and adjusting the Trotskyist analysis in light of these unexpected phenomena. Wald may not be satisfied with the manner in which Hansen did this (on page 302 he accuses him of "overconfidence and arrogance"). Regardless of the extent to which Hansen's innovation was satisfactory or problematical, one must recognize that it existed and that it was accepted by a majority of the SWP—thereby throwing into question Wald's characterization of the party. (See Steve Bloom's useful introductory survey, "Four conceptions of the workers' and farmers' government," *International Marxist Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Spring 1987.)

Whatever disagreements or corrections one might want to offer, it is to Wald's credit that he recognizes the centrality of American Trotskyism to the story which he has to tell. And in telling the story he has much to say about the history and ideas of the Trotskyist movement. More, he offers interesting, critical-minded, yet fairly sympathetic portraits of James P. Cannon, George Novack, John G. Wright (Joseph Vanzler), and others who were part of the movement. One wishes he had given similar attention to other Trotskyists whom he mentions fleetingly or not at all, but this is a book about the New York intellectuals, not about

American Trotskyism. Nonetheless, it seems destined to become one of the standard works on both.

A Question of Seriousness

In 1947 James P. Cannon wrote a scathing essay entitled "The Treason of the Intellectuals," dealing with the same people who are the focus of Wald's book. "Time was," he wrote, "when it seemed that a section of the American intelligentsia, quartered in New York, was at long last preparing to emulate that renowned band of educated people in western Europe and old Russia who so bravely revolted against the spiritual stagnation and decay of bourgeois society, abandoned their own class in disgust and contempt, formulated and popularized the socialist doctrines of the proletariat, and placed themselves at the head of its emancipation struggle." A comparison of the New York intellectuals with the revolutionary intellectuals to whom Cannon referred is a sobering one, which raises questions about how seriously we can take the subjects of Wald's study. "The American intellectuals didn't simply step out for a rest, like tired warriors nursing their wounds after a hard campaign," Cannon observed. "They quit before the fight really got started." (*Notebook of an Agitator*, 1958, pp. 158-159)

Take the example of Sidney Hook, who grew up in a largely Jewish working class socialist milieu in New York, debated Marxism with his high school teachers, was active in a Communist youth group in 1919-23, helped translate Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* in 1927 (the same year he got his Ph.D. from Columbia University), and in the following year went to Germany and then to the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow to advance his studies. In 1933 he broke with the Communist Party after the publication of *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx. A Revolutionary Interpretation*, a clear, sophisticated, stimulating (if problematical) book, which, as Wald notes, "should be recognized as a breakthrough in the development of Marxism in the United States." (p. 127) Very close to Trotskyism in this period, he became a leader of the short-lived American Workers Party, whose central figure was A.J. Muste. In 1934-35 Hook was one of the prime movers in facilitating merger of the AWP with the Trotskyists' Communist League of America. In his memoirs *Out of Step* (1986, p. 202) he explains why he wanted the merger:

an increase in our strength from the additional forces, most of them trained Marxists; the evidence that some of the leaders of the CLA were charismatic figures, active in the labor movement; the organizational economies; the American reorientation of the CLA, revealed by a willingness to accept the AWP conception of workers' democracy. These were good reasons, but the real cause of my desire to see the organizational marriage was my resolution to drop out of political activity.

This was on the heels of the Minneapolis and Toledo general strikes led by the Trotskyists and Musteites, respectively, and on the eve of the rise of the CIO. Radicalism was spreading throughout the United States, and while fascism had recently triumphed in Germany, potentially revolutionary events were beginning to unfold in France and Spain. But while he continued to express opinions on such things, even in 1935 Sidney Hook had other priorities. It was certainly Hook's right to concentrate more of his energies than ever, in this momentous period, on advancing his career in academe (he was about to assume the chairmanship of the Philosophy Department at New York University)—but this suggests that he was made of different stuff than the revolutionary intellectuals whose ideas he explained so glowingly in his books and articles of this period. And he was one of the more serious ones!

Perhaps more typical was Mary McCarthy's fictional portrait of a bright left-leaning intellectual who gets caught up in the Trotsky Defense Committee at the time of the Moscow purge trials. A pragmatist, he also "considered himself a Marxist, but he saw that the Marxists were never going to get anywhere until they stopped deluding themselves with theory." Yet he himself was not quite a man of action. "He longed to act, he told himself, yet the vague enormity of his situation furnished an apparently permanent excuse for inaction. He believed he was waiting for an issue big enough to take a stand on, but now all issues seemed flimsy, incapable of supporting his increasing weight. In a curious way, his ego had become both shrunken and enlarged; his sense of inadequacy had made him self-important." His own material circumstances were quite comfortable, and he felt committed to maintaining that life-style; his attempt to rationalize this could not "cover the abyss between the theory and the practice. He decided, at last, to let the abyss yawn, and in the course of time he fell into it." (*The Company She Keeps*, 1970 edition, pp. 241, 227, 175-176)

As Wald shows, some of these intellectuals—for example, Herbert Solow—*did* act, joining and playing a role in the organized Trotskyist movement. But few were to devote much time as activists before breaking away, often impatient with the insufficiently "revolutionary" qualities of the organization, sometimes indignant over one or another tactical disagreement, but also more often than not quickly abandoning revolutionary politics altogether. For example, by the late 1930s Herbert Solow was writing anti-Communist exposes for the *American Mercury*, and by the 1940s he was the editor of *Fortune* magazine.

Not all of the people discussed in *The New York Intellectuals* fall into these categories, but

many seem to. At times one wonders if the initial revolutionary pronouncements of such people should be taken seriously. What a person does should have more weight than what he or she says. Many who appear to be revolutionary-minded are not revolutionaries. One must do more than read, think, talk, and write. Perhaps this is why Trotsky urged that the students and young intellectuals of the newly formed SWP stop talking simply to each other and to other intellectuals, but rather—as a requirement for membership—go out and recruit workers, be assigned to assist union and industrial fractions, and seek to integrate themselves into the struggles and organizations of the working class. Certainly the very need to make this suggestion (and the fact that it was resisted) indicates a difference between the New York intellectuals and the great revolutionary socialist leaders of western Europe and old Russia to whom Cannon referred.

To understand what happened to the "anti-Stalinist left" from the 1930s to the 1980s one must also understand what happened to the American working class, giving more attention than Wald does to the interrelationship between the two. Many of the intellectuals were outsiders, unable or unwilling to establish more than superficial contact with the class which their theory told them was the key to the future. Others came from working class families, but—having no inclination to romanticize the poverty and hardship of working class life in that period—many of these felt a compulsion to escape, to somehow find something better for themselves. All of this connects to the old question: "Why is there no socialism in the United States?" What would have happened to these intellectuals if there had been a self-conscious and radical mass movement of the working class, with its own vibrant socialist counter-culture, such as existed in pre-Hitler Germany and old Russia? Would this have been enough to deepen their Marxist commitments and to inspire the revolutionary contributions which they seemed capable of? The question can be turned around: What would have happened to the American working class if all these revolutionary-minded intellectuals had committed their lives to bringing such a movement into being? If they had done this and stayed the course, is it possible that efforts to build a revolutionary wing of the workers' movement would have been more successful? At the very least, wouldn't revolutionary Marxists of a later time have had more to build on?

The answers to all the questions are not provided in Alan Wald's book, but *The New York Intellectuals* does offer a wealth of information and ideas. It stands as a substantial and serious contribution to the history of the American left. ■

ROSA LUXEMBURG AT THE CINEMA

Rosa Luxemburg, a film written and directed by Margarethe von Trotta. In German and Polish with English subtitles. Released by New Yorker Films. Running time: 122 minutes.

Reviewed by Rafael Sabatini

Margarethe von Trotta's 1986 film, *Rosa Luxemburg*, has generated broad interest among U.S. audiences in the months that it has played here, both among the general public and those who identify with Luxemburg's socialist values. In West Germany where the film was made, there has even been more interest in, and controversy over, its treatment of Luxemburg—the Polish-born, Jewish, revolutionary socialist leader of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Second International in the years before and during the First World War.

Due to the particular historical experiences of their countries, particularly the presence of mass workers' parties and a class conscious proletariat with a rich revolutionary heritage, films dealing with politico-historical themes often spark particularly passionate debate in Germany and other European countries. For example, Polish director Andrej Wajda's French-language *Danton* in which French revolutionary leader Georges Danton was favorably portrayed at the expense of the popular Maximilien Robespierre—leader of the Committee of Public Safety during the radical phase of the French Revolution—sparked a debate of such proportions that Socialist President Francois Mitterand personally intervened.

Rosa Luxemburg is one of the most widely misunderstood historical figures in Germany today. Yet her memory continues to stir much passionate, though often confused, debate both in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) where she and Liebknecht are buried, and in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). Vilified and hated by the right for her Marxist views and Jewish origins, hated and feared by the Stalinists who were later to subvert the revolutionary principles on which she and Liebknecht founded the German Communist Party (KPD), and considered an embarrassment to the Social Democrats who were directly responsible for her murder, she has become a symbol of sorts among many left-wing German youth. She is also a negative symbol to the extreme right. As late as 1962, the same Captain Pabst that carried out her murder and that of Liebknecht felt confident enough of the deed to boast about it while enjoying the legal protection of the Statute of Limitations.

German Cinema

Apart from its considerable political and historical interest, *Rosa Luxemburg* is a major work of contemporary European cinema. German cinema has long been considered among the world's finest. Von Trotta's use of lengthy shots set in

deep, dark, somber tones—which are particularly appropriate given the period portrayed—along with the careful attention paid to the psychological comportment of the main protagonists, places *Rosa Luxemburg* solidly within that tradition. Barbara Sukowa, the West German actress who played Rosa Luxemburg, received the award for best actress at the 1986 Cannes film festival.

The importance that von Trotta attached to historical detail and accuracy enhances both the artistic value of the film and its contribution to the revival of interest in Rosa Luxemburg. Many of the supporting actors were apparently selected at least partially on the basis of their physical resemblance to the characters they portrayed. Viewers that have seen pictures of the major figures of prewar German Social Democracy will readily recognize figures such as Karl Liebknecht and Karl Kautsky. The actor that played August Bebel—one of the seminal figures in the German workers' movement—was a dead-ringer for the real Bebel! Central European audiences will especially appreciate the linguistic realism of the film which was shot in Polish and German. In several scenes, Luxemburg and her comrade/lover Leo Jogiches carry on conversations in which one speaks Polish and the other responds in German.

Personal and Political

The attention given to aspects of the personal life of Rosa Luxemburg has been the object of some debate amongst socialist critics of the film. A review in the *Militant* newspaper, for example, complained that too much attention was paid to this—as if the film was designed for a party conference and not mass consumption.

The May-June issue of the socialist magazine *Against the Current* takes a more balanced approach to the question of Luxemburg's quest to resolve the contradiction between her desire for a personal life and her life as a revolutionary leader without relinquishing either. *ATC* commends von Trotta for dealing with the question, but makes the point that the film gives the erroneous impression that such a contradiction is more or less insurmountable.

While it would be unfair to evaluate the quality of this film on the basis of its fidelity to the ins and outs of politics in the German SPD, the Second International, and Luxemburg's role in them, von Trotta's film benefits from her obvious familiarity with these questions. In spite of several significant omissions and the questionable portrayal of certain subjects, the film does manage to show how many of these debates were embodied in the person of Rosa Luxemburg. This helps to give the film a special appeal—beyond its considerable aesthetic value—to those interested and familiar with this crucial period in the international workers' movement.

The German Revolution

Perhaps it was due to temporal limitations and a desire to avoid some of the more controversial aspects of Luxemburg's career that certain key aspects of her ideas and of the 1918-1919 German revolution were largely or totally omitted. There was no discussion, for example, of Luxemburg's controversial differences with Lenin and other Bolsheviks on the national question. Luxemburg believed that all nationalism was an obstacle to international class solidarity and the socialist revolution as opposed to Lenin's position that the championing by *all* workers of the right of oppressed nations to self-determination *advances* the socialist revolution.

A more glaring omission is the virtual absence of references to the 1917 Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution which established the world's first workers' state and opened up a period of (unsuccessful) revolutionary struggle throughout Europe. Yet strangely enough, von Trotta's Luxemburg makes several references, even in the midst of the Spartacus revolution, to the Russian revolution of 1905. As Luxemburg made a quite trenchant criticism of the Bolsheviks' role in the Russian Revolution, perhaps this omission is a desire to avoid further complicating the already crowded historical stage with yet another acerbic debate.

Other elements of Luxemburg's life which are not dealt with in the film include the anti-Semitic, anti-woman prejudices she encountered—even within the socialist movement. Apart from these sins of omission, von Trotta's historical treatment of Luxemburg can really only be faulted on the basis of her treatment of Luxemburg's strident antiwar views and activities. Unfortunately, these appear more like pacifism than like the revolutionary socialist convictions she actually held. But even here, the script has Luxemburg on at least one occasion speculating that perhaps the war could be "transformed into something great"—an opaque reference to the revolutionary defeatist position held by revolutionary socialists such as Lenin.

These criticisms aside, von Trotta's sophisticated treatment of the political dynamics of several of the questions taken up in the film further demonstrates her considerable dramatic instincts and historical acquaintance with the material. For example, Karl Kautsky, a collaborator of Engels and an effective proponent of authentic revolutionary Marxism in the early days of the Second International is shown gradually transformed from a proletarian internationalist to a "centrist," and finally to a social-chauvinist supporter of the war. Kautsky was also one of the chief critics of the Bolsheviks' leadership of the Russian Revolution.

Another example of the attention that von Trotta pays to historical detail occurs when Luxemburg appears outside the German parliament—the Reichstag—on the fateful August 1914 evening when war credits were approved with the support of the entire SPD delegation. One social-chauvinist depu-

ty remarks that one would be a fool not to respond to the provocations of a thief and barbarian—echoing the justification of many Social Democrats for their shameless support of the imperialist war. "Progressive" Germany with her fine culture and her highly organized workers' movement, they argued, must defend herself from the eastern despotism of the czarist empire.

The German Workers' Movement

Some of the more interesting parts of the film deal, though not in great detail, with aspects of the German workers' movement and the SPD—the largest component of the Second International and by the end of the nineteenth century the largest political party in Germany. There are scenes showing Luxemburg and others speaking to meetings of Social Democratic workers in smoke-filled taverns with steins of beer in front of them. Many SPD locals of the day held their meetings in the working class taverns of sympathetic tavern owners. Friedrich Ebert, who was to become a leader of the right wing of the SPD, began his career as such a tavern owner. These scenes were in sharp contrast to the elegant settings where SPD leaders, including the left-wing leaders like Luxemburg, held their meetings, balls, and dinners. At such a *soiree* Bebel remarks to Luxemburg that perhaps the day will come when the SPD majority will hang Luxemburg and her ilk. Though Bebel, a leader of the centrists in the party, died before the war's end, his remark accurately foreshadowed the SPD's responsibility for the deaths of Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

When it was apparent that Germany had lost the war and the monarchy would have to go, General Ludendorff, chief of staff of the German high command that had assumed near dictatorial powers by the end of the war, organized the transfer of power to the SPD whose peace overtures would most likely be accepted by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson and other Allied leaders. Having assumed governmental responsibility, SPD leaders Scheidemann and Ebert proclaimed the Republic and sought to defend it not only from the extreme right-wing *freikorps*—units of newly disbanded German army units opposed to the Republic—but from revolutionary sailors, soldiers, and workers who attempted to push the revolutionary situation to its conclusion and take power as had their Russian comrades. When, in late 1918 and early 1919 massive street demonstrations in Berlin and other cities threatened to do just that, Scheidemann, Ebert, and Noske directed *freikorps* units to attack these demonstrations and finally murder Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

Many theorists of the day, both bourgeois and socialist, tried to explain how, given its Marxist origins, the SPD could become a reformist organization with such a large and faceless bureaucracy. Marxists found part of the answer in the theory of the "aristocracy of labor," which holds that the superprofits of colonial exploitation had allowed the ruling class to "buy off" a section of the

working class with the crumbs of these profits. This layer, it was held, was reflected in the right-wing leadership of the workers' movement.

Robert Michels, a Social Democrat who later became a strident supporter of Mussolini, advanced the theory of the "iron law of oligarchy" in his 1911 book *Political Parties* which used the SPD as a paradigm. His theory holds that antidemocratic, conservative tendencies are inherent features of any and all large-scale organizations. In a pamphlet about the "labor aristocracy" written during the war, Gregory Zinoviev, a close collaborator of Lenin and later a leader of the Third

International, attacked this cynical theory although unfortunately he failed to present a systematic critique of it.

These are only a few of the elements of the rich life of Rosa Luxemburg touched upon by von Trotta in her film. The effective way in which so many of them are raised—if not definitively answered—will no doubt contribute to the renewed interest in Luxemburg and her times.

In *Rosa Luxemburg*, Margarethe von Trotta has succeeded in the difficult task of balancing political and historical themes with the subtle demands of creative filmmaking. ■

ACADEMIC McCARTHYISM

No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities, by Ellen W. Schrecker. Oxford University Press, New York, 1986. 437 pages, \$20.95.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

As the United States emerged from World War II, several hundred college professors were questioned about their politics by congressional committees in the decade or so after Hiroshima. These academicians differed in their political ties. A few were members of the Communist Party while most were ex-Communists who had become disillusioned with the party but who continued to support the same causes and movements as the party. There was also a small number of persecuted academicians who never had any history of party membership. Most of the teachers/scholars refused to cooperate in the inquiries. While a few were cited for contempt by congressional committees, the vast majority were punished by the universities which employed them. Some professors were censured or placed on probation; others were fired from their jobs and then blacklisted in their attempts to gain other teaching jobs.

One of the most useful points raised by Ms. Schrecker is her analysis of the elusive concept known as "academic freedom." She points out that what came to be called "academic freedom" was a vague doctrine that was never intended to protect the nonconformist or "radical" professor. Colleges and universities have always placed rather close limits on the amount of political activity in which a professor in their employ could engage. However, until the Cold War, while radical academicians might be harassed or fired for a specific act, they were rarely victimized because of their party affiliations or former affiliations.*

In some cases fired college professors were able to obtain other teaching posts after only a short stint of unemployment, but most did not and

some never taught again. As professors were subpoenaed by congressional committees, they often took the Fifth Amendment either as a matter of principle or to avoid giving information about friends or colleagues. After facing congressional committees, these left-wing teachers returned to their respective colleges to face disciplinary action. On a number of college campuses, the dissenting academicians were fired with the approval of faculty committees which either disapproved of their politics or their use of the Fifth Amendment.

There are two principal weaknesses in this otherwise fine study. To begin with, Ms. Schrecker often views the victimized professors in a very uncritical fashion. The impact of the witch-hunt on their lives was tragic. However, one can only wonder how these academicians reacted to federal prosecution of members of the Socialist Workers Party or of other independent left-wing organizations out of favor with the Communist Party and the major organizations of the Popular Front. The record is sadly very clear that Communist Party members or sympathizers correctly protested their own persecution but were often unwilling to do so for Trotskyists or independent militants who were critical of the Communist Party.

Finally, Ms. Schrecker seems to be surprised that the American university conducted itself no better than other American institutions in its unwillingness to challenge the Cold War political consensus and the wave of witch-hunts and firings that accompanied it. There is really little reason for shock. While the university has often promoted itself as a sanctuary of dissent, the 1950s demonstrated that the academy is more concerned with promoting rather than questioning the dominant values and policies of American society.

Nevertheless, *No Ivory Tower* is a fine study of the impact of McCarthyism on the careers of several hundred teachers in some of the major universities of the United States. ■

Mark Weber lives in Cleveland, Ohio. As a librarian at the University of Evansville in the 1970s (formerly Evansville College), Weber did research on the summary dismissal in 1948 of a young philosophy instructor by the Evansville College president because the teacher was active in supporting the presidential campaign of Henry A. Wallace.

*The major exception was the investigation of the Rapp-Coudret Committee of the New York State Legislature in 1940. The investigations resulted in the firing from jobs in the New York City colleges of 31 professors who were then or had been members of the Communist Party.

Correction

Readers of the article by Tom Twiss and myself entitled "A New Trend in Soviet Studies: 'Stalin Wasn't So Bad, Trotsky Wasn't So Good'" (*Bulletin IDOM* No. 42) should be alerted to a minor error and may be interested in some additional information.

The error is on page 19, where we inadvertently list Donald J. Raleigh as "David." In addition to his own study *Revolution on the Volga: 1917 in Saratov* (1986), Raleigh has helped to make the work of some of the more interesting Soviet historians accessible to the English-reading public in the journal *Soviet Studies in History*, which he edits.

The new trend which we are discussing in our article is surveyed by Sheila Fitzpatrick herself in "New Perspectives on Stalinism," *Russian Review*, October 1986. In the same issue of that journal Fitzpatrick's article and the trend as a whole are subjected to critiques by Stephen Cohen, Geoff Eley, Peter Kenez, and Alfred G. Meyer.

Paul Le Blanc
Pittsburgh

Julius Snipper

I want to inform readers of the *Bulletin IDOM* about the death in Cleveland from heart failure, on July 25, of Julius Snipper. He was 46 years old and had been awaiting a heart transplant.

Julius was the son of Ann and Mitt Snipper, both of whom were expelled during the Barnes leadership's purge of oppositionists from the SWP at the beginning of 1984. Julius, who joined the party in Los Angeles in 1964, remained a member until his death.

Messages should be sent to Julius's wife, Lynn Edmiston, 1710 Middlehurst #6, Cleveland Heights, OH 44118.

Jean Tussey
Cleveland

Portrait of Duncan Ferguson

Another portrait of an artist and revolutionary by Alan Wald was recently published in the Spring 1987 issue (No. 19) of *Pembroke Magazine*. It is of Duncan Ferguson (1901-1974) whom many of us worked with in the Socialist Workers Party.

In this essay Duncan's life as a youth and then sculptor of some renown is portrayed with facts about him little known to us. His many years of activity as one of the cadre of the SWP take up six pages of this 23-page article. The excitement of work and activity in the revolutionary movement,

in defense committees, in union work, in the party, with rich and lively discussion on formulation of policy in branches, committees, conventions, when democracy was the hallmark of the Socialist Workers Party, is not easily translatable. But the meticulous work of interviewing comrades, friends, and family has resulted in the illuminating picture that emerges of Duncan Ferguson, man, artist, and revolutionary.

Wald's essay can be ordered by sending three dollars to *Pembroke Magazine*, Box 60, Pembroke State University, Pembroke, NC 28372.

D.B.
New York

SWP Leaders in Industry?

When I first bought the *Militant* and heard what members of the SWP were saying about working people I was glad to hear it. It seemed to me that trusting working people made sense. I was tired of lawyers and businessmen and generals always being our leaders in Washington and in the state government.

But the longer I listened to the SWP members—especially the leaders—the more I began to wonder if they had the same experience I did as a working person. I didn't understand, for example, why teachers in a union would leave to be garment workers.

Could you please tell me, in what job or industry did the leaders of the SWP get their experience? Especially Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tom Leonard, Fred Feldman, and Cindy Jaquith?

Thank you.

Name Withheld
New York

In Reply

We cannot answer about the work history of every individual who plays a leadership role in the SWP or who writes for its publications. Of the five you mention, only Tom Leonard, so far as we are aware, has any significant experience in industry. Many secondary party leaders got industrial jobs as part of the turn, but their perspective had such instability (moving from city to city and job to job according to the whim of the moment) that it has been difficult for them to appreciate the actual attitudes of their coworkers. It is worth noting that the central leaders of the party—including Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters—have spent their entire lives either as students or as workers for the party apparatus.

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EDITED BY NAOMI ALLEN AND SARAH LOVELL

This book about George Breitman consists of talks and messages delivered at a memorial meeting held for him in New York on June 7, 1986, and several messages from a June 1 memorial meeting held in Los Angeles. The contributions are from his friends, relatives, political associates, political opponents, and those who knew him from his writings alone. They present, in their aggregate, a partial political and personal biography of his ideas, his activities, his character, his style, his relations with others.

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