

# A Socialist ACTION

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Fifty cents

## Lessons of Nuclear weapons: Greyhound strike A strategy to disarm the warmakers

By NAT WEINSTEIN

The 12,700 members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) voted 7,404 to 2,596 to accept a giveback contract after a month-and-a-half-long strike. The results of the mail-ballot referendum were announced on Dec. 19, 1983.

The terms of the contract were little better than those previously rejected by a 96 percent majority. Steep pay cuts were made retroactive to Oct. 3, when the old contract expired. In addition, Greyhound can now hire new people at a lower wage scale.

According to conservative estimates, the average annual wage of Greyhound drivers will be reduced by about \$2,000. Furthermore, drivers will now contribute 4 percent of their wages to maintain the level of pension benefits previously paid for entirely by Greyhound. There will be no cost-of-living increases until May 1986, and, in cities such as San Francisco, the workweek will be increased to 40 hours—with no increase in weekly pay.

The strike, which began Nov. 3, was provoked by a company demand for concessions estimated to amount to 20 percent. The new contract imposes about 15 percent in wage and benefit cuts.

Nearly a hundred drivers and station employees have been fired for allegedly causing "personal injury or property damage." Thirty-four of those fired—more than one-third of the nationwide total—are members of San Francisco-based Local Division No. 1225, ATU.

Was defeat inevitable?

In a letter to his local membership on Dec. 7, David E. Mix, president of ATU Local 1225, was extremely critical of the ATU top leadership: "The last five days spent in Washington, D.C., were an absolute disaster. . . . [On] the very first day we were told that in order to reach an agreement, we must lower our sights and submit a reduced proposal to the Company. . . . The pressure was definitely on to reach an agreement, regardless of the cost, and I am afraid that the majority of the Council members broke under the pressure and agreed to take this offer back to the membership for a vote and to actually recommend it.

"It is difficult for me to believe that immediately following the day we received a 96 percent rejection on the last offer we are throwing in the towel. I fail to understand [why] at the same time we are having a mass rally in San Francisco, we are in Washington, D.C., giving away the store.

Urging rejection of the tentative agreement, President Mix went on to refute the argument made in a Dec. 3 letter to the membership by the top ATU officials, who maintained that acceptance of the admittedly bad terms of the company proposal was "the only way to save the jobs of our members."

"It appears to be a repeat of the Chrysler and UAW situation," Mix warned. "Approximately three-and-a-half years ago they gave concessions to save jobs. That was just the beginning; they have made concession after concession and

By MARK HARRIS

*The Mobilization for Survival will hold its 7th national conference Jan. 20-22, 1984, to discuss perspectives for the antinuclear weapons movement. Socialist Action staff writer Mark Harris prepared this contribution which we think will be of interest to conference participants and all others active in the movement against nuclear weapons.*

—Editors

The stakes in the struggle against nuclear war are immense. There are some 50,000 nuclear weapons ready for

use in the world today, with the capacity to destroy all human life some 22 times over. As Albert Einstein said, "I don't know what weapons are going to be used in the next war. But I know very well the ones that will be used in the war after that: the bow and arrow."

With this sober realization in mind, nearly five million people took to the streets of Europe's major cities last October in a massive display of opposition to Ronald Reagan's plan for deploying 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Europe. In West Germany alone, where 108 Pershing II missiles will be based,

more than a million people demonstrated on October 23.

Since NATO's decision in December 1979 to base these missiles in Europe, a groundswell of antiwar protest has erupted throughout Europe and the United States. Over a million people gathered in New York City on June 12, 1982, in the largest demonstration in American history, to protest the spiraling nuclear arms buildup. Contrary to Reagan's glib assertion in 1981 that a limited nuclear exchange is possible in Europe, millions of people instinctively grasp the reality that a nuclear war is not "winnable."

The stark truth is that the nuclear arsenal of the United States today equals nearly a million Hiroshimas. From 1970 to 1975 alone, the United States doubled its stockpile of nuclear weaponry. The annual military budget now stands at a record \$257 billion, up 12 percent a year in real terms from the 1980 budget of \$142 billion. Over the next four years Reagan plans to spend a phenomenal \$1.5 trillion on the war budget. Both the Pershing II missile and the MX missile—which is based in this country—are designed as "first strike" weapons capable of launching a nuclear attack that would destroy the Soviet Union's ability to counterattack. The highly accurate Pershing II, with its ability to strike the Soviet Union in four to seven minutes, is perhaps the most dangerous weapon in the American arsenal. These additions to the American arsenal qualitatively up the ante in the arms race and increase the likelihood of a nuclear war initiated by the United States.

This latest U.S. arms buildup confirms once again a basic reality of the arms race—every major advance in nuclear weapons technology has been initiated by the United States. The development of the atomic bomb, hydrogen bombs, intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, multiple warheads, neutron bombs, and now the Pershing II and Cruise missiles all are products of Pentagon ingenuity.

System on last legs

As World War II drew to a close, the United States proclaimed the opening of the "American century" in the most horrific manner with the atomic bomb explosions on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, the expansionist drive of American imperialism quickly ran up against a new mass upsurge of the colonial peoples. The Chinese revolution wrenched literally hundreds of millions of people from the grip of imperialist exploitation and ended the isolation of the Soviet Union. The establishment of workers' states in Eastern Europe (albeit bureaucratically deformed from the outset), the victory of the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions, and the endless succession of mass struggles breaking out periodically around the world (Greece, Iran, Indonesia, France,



4,000 protest Reagan visit in Pittsburgh.

today they have less than 50 percent of their employees. So much for concessions to save jobs."

Labor tops cave in

Like many rank-and-filers, Mix and the layer of union leaders close to the ranks wanted to put up a fight. They were thwarted by the ATU top leadership, which steamrolled the Greyhound workers' bargaining council into recommending acceptance of the takeback contract. The council's Dec. 3 letter gloomily predicted that the company "eventually would have broken this strike and left our members jobless." This set the stage for a demoralized acceptance of defeat by a misled union majority.

This defeatism, typical in the higher echelons of the unions, is not in accord with the real power relation between workers and bosses. Even if ATU President Rosenblum and his colleagues were right in their assessment that the strike could not be won, they would still have been wrong to stampede their membership back to work.

Greyhound was a long way from restoring scheduled service. As a matter of fact, its campaign to gradually restore limited bus service was stopped dead.

Even in main centers like San Francisco and Boston, buses that began to roll through picket lines were virtually empty, and mass mobilizations of strikers and supporters were able to close down all operations on at least two occasions.

Such mass mobilizations could have been repeated and expanded. The labor movement was showing a capacity to respond in solidarity with the Greyhound workers. Many local union leaders and activists saw the Greyhound strike as a focus for rallying labor forces to fight the decade-long assault against their hard-won gains. While the key to a decisive victory in this strike was the strikers' ability to shut down operations, even a serious impairment of Greyhound's schedules could have brought a clear victory to the workers. It goes without saying that it is better to put up a fight than to go down without a fight. In any case, there was plenty of time before it might have become necessary to call off the strike and go back in and the union would have been intact and able to fight another day.

The defeatist outlook of the labor officialdom is founded on the notion

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# ...Strategy for antiwar movement

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Chile, Portugal, etc.) underscore the continued structural crisis of the world capitalist system.

What is misrepresented as "Soviet expansionism" by the U.S. rulers actually reflects a basic reality of world politics—since World War II the historic decay of the imperialist system expresses itself in a continuous series of revolutionary crises on a world scale.

The "free world" includes any regime—no matter how brutally repressive—that guarantees "freedom" for American corporations to profit from the markets, raw materials, and other products of its country. The dictatorships in Chile, South Africa, Turkey, South Korea, El Salvador, and the Philippines (among others) all share the dubious honor of being called a "friend" of the United States by enforcing, through torture and mass repression, the sanctity of free enterprise.

Contrary to the apologists for American foreign policy, it is not the lack of democracy that is at the heart of U.S. hostility toward the Soviet Union and other workers' states, but rather the fact that these countries have abolished capitalism and no longer offer foreign finance capital the freedom to exploit the markets of these nations as they see fit. Washington's saber rattling and weapons buildup is motivated by its well-based fear of the socialist revolution's extension to other countries. This is the principal explanation for American military aggression against Nicaragua and El Salvador, and for the recent invasion of Grenada.

Today a determined effort is under way to mitigate the effects of the Vietnam syndrome which has so hampered the use of the military option by the United States. The initial victory of the Iranian and Nicaraguan revolutions in 1979, for example, found the United States hamstrung, by domestic opposition, from resorting to military force against these countries.

Events of the last few years make very clear the serious extent of Washington's war moves. Carter's aborted "rescue mission" in Iran, the war of attrition against Nicaragua, unyielding support for the death squad government in El Salvador, the invasion and occupation of Grenada, the deployment of the Marines to Lebanon all underscore the determination of American imperialism to drown in blood any struggle that threatens to challenge the eternal glory of the capitalist system.

## The nuclear freeze

Washington's nuclear breast-beating has provoked widespread public support for the antinuclear weapons, antiwar movement. In the United States the latest resurgence of the antinuclear weapons movement took its initial form in the campaign for a bilateral freeze of the

arms race by the United States and the Soviet Union. Ballot propositions in eight of nine states and hundreds of cities have expressed widespread support for the bilateral freeze proposal.

While the proposal appeared at first glance to be equally directed at the United States and the Soviet Union, the great majority of the activists in the movement, as well as the millions who joined the periodic antinuclear actions across the country, saw the freeze as primarily directed against the policies of the U.S. government. This flowed from the simple fact that it is only the United States that threatens to deploy new and qualitatively superior weapons.

Every demonstration for a nuclear

freeze has also shown by its banners, slogans, and speakers a natural tendency to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America, and to counterpose the billions of dollars spent on arms to the lack of funds for jobs and social services.

In the Winter 1983-1984 issue of *New Internationalist*, a theoretical magazine published by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, Brian Grogan, a British Marxist, argues that the bilateral freeze campaign is a Democratic Party trap designed to "channel growing opposition to nuclear weapons and government war policies into a class-collaborationist framework that bolsters illusions in imperialist political rule..." Grogan says liberal capitalist politicians have eagerly jumped on the freeze bandwagon since it "covers up imperialism's responsibility for the nuclear arms buildup" by making any freeze by the United States conditional on mutual moves by the Soviet Union.

But Grogan ignores the fact that the Soviet Union has declared its support for a nuclear freeze. The inescapable logic of the freeze demand then is for the United States, not the Soviet Union, to agree. And it is precisely the U.S. refusal to back off on its plan to deploy the new and more deadly missiles in Europe that guarantees the focus against U.S. policy will deepen.

It is certainly true that the leaders of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign risk derailing the movement through their policy of reliance on the Democratic Party. At their annual conference this past December, they announced a major campaign to support "pro-freeze" candidates in local, state, and national elections in 1984. At the heart of their strategy will be a campaign to replace Ronald Reagan with the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party.

But Grogan misses the boat on the nuclear freeze movement in his effort to reduce it to a Democratic Party maneuver both to take the heat off Washington's "real" war in Central America and to hold the Soviet Union equally liable for the threat of nuclear war.

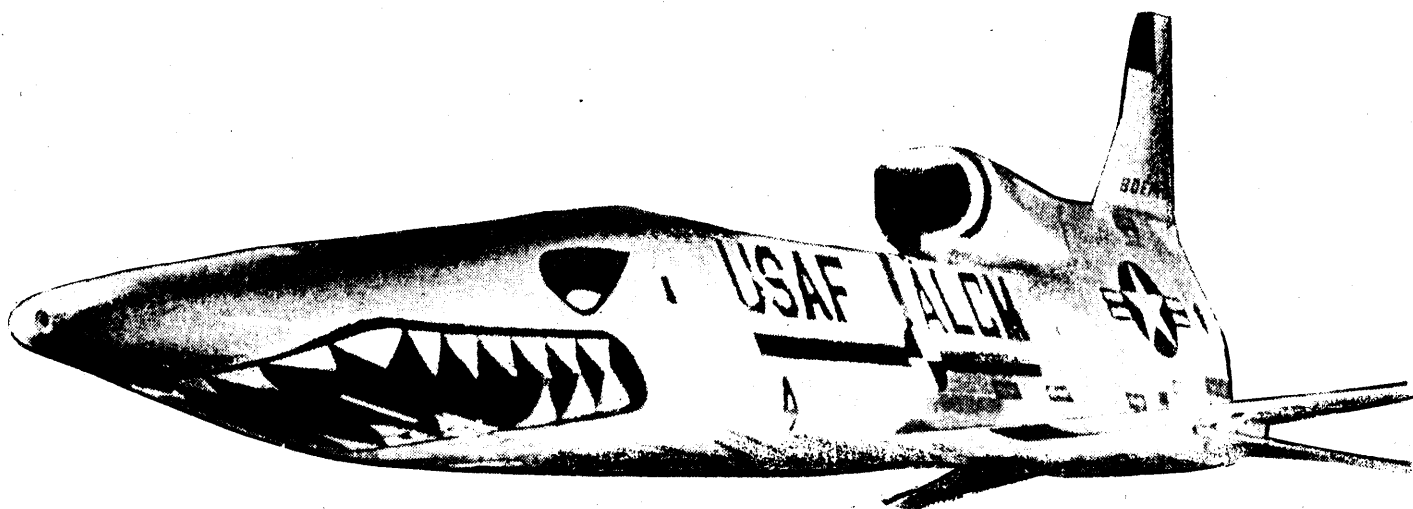
The ability of the antinuclear weapons movement to organize as an independent, non exclusive campaign oriented toward involving the largest number of

people through mass action and mobilization around the anticapitalist demand, "No Nuclear Weapons," directed at the rulers of *our own country* will be the measure of its strength and success.

The ultimate capacity of the movement to find an organizational expression in the U.S. labor movement will also prove to be an indication of its future growth and power.

Democratic Party politicians who claim support for the nuclear freeze understand the extent of popular support for an end to the arms race, but they fear the thrust of an independent mass movement against Washington's war drive.

Wasn't this also the case during the movement against the Vietnam War? When the first demonstration against the war was held in April 1965 in Washington, D.C., the 20,000 demonstrators faced considerable hostility from a large sector of the American population. But the campaign of mass action, demonstrations, teach-ins and student strikes never let up, and the antiwar movement eventually won the hearts and minds of a majority of the American people. The antiwar movement was not only an



instrumental factor in forcing the United States out of Vietnam. It so profoundly altered the political climate in this country that the American ruling class still strains against the albatross of the Vietnam syndrome.

In contrast to Grogan's cynicism, the movement against the war in Vietnam showed the power of masses of people—mobilized in the streets and in broad, democratic decision-making conferences—to win the withdrawal of U.S. troops, and to overcome the maneuvers of forces oriented toward the Democratic Party.

Today with the cutbacks in social services, massive unemployment, attacks on minority and women's rights, and attacks against the unions, the potential power of the antiwar, antinuclear weapons movement is even greater than during the 1960s. While less than 14 percent of the public supported "immediate withdrawal" from Vietnam in 1965, today a large majority not only oppose new U.S. weapons in Europe but are against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Crucial to building a large and powerful antiwar movement today is the need to understand that, far from being a barrier to a more massive movement against U.S. intervention in Central America, the nuclear freeze movement brings that issue to the attention of millions.

## Unilateral disarmament

Despite the formal wording of the freeze resolution for a bilateral freeze, there is an inherent dynamic to this campaign that focuses on the U.S. role in the arms race. It is the United States that is *unilaterally* raising the stakes of the arms race by its relentless military buildup.

When a million people demonstrate in this country against nuclear weapons, isn't the thrust of this action aimed directly at Washington? When citizens in Utah and Montana demand that no MX missiles be placed in their state, isn't this a unilateral demand on the U.S. government? When demonstrators call for "Jobs, not Bombs," or "No Neutron Bombs," isn't this aimed unilaterally at Washington?

Moreover, as Washington continues to

escalate the arms race, the demand for a nuclear freeze will increasingly tend to give way to concrete unilateral demands, such as no new missiles in Europe. Are the supporters of a nuclear freeze ready to "freeze" the now existing Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. Obviously not.

As socialists, we understand that there can be no lasting disarmament, no lasting security from the threat of nuclear destruction until the capitalist system, which has spawned the horrible possibility of nuclear war, is eliminated. But saying this does not make irrelevant the deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. The peace movement certainly earned a victory in 1963 when a ban on atmospheric nuclear tests was ratified. Any and every step toward the disarmament of capitalism is in the interests of the working class. The best way to counter liberal Democrats' intentions to turn the freeze campaign into a petty diplomatic affair in the hip pocket of the Democratic Party is to steer the antinuclear weapons movement toward a clear mass-action perspective challenging every front of Reagan's military buildup

from nuclear weapons to intervention in Central America.

The real dynamic of the antinuclear weapons movement lies in its potential challenge to the "right" of the government to decide the life and death questions posed by the existence of its nuclear arsenal. Speaking to the real concerns of millions of ordinary Americans, the antiwar and antinuclear weapons movement can mobilize a broad mass struggle that will not only throw a wrench into the military objectives of the government but, as more and more people are drawn into political action, deepen the political awareness, experience, and capacity for organization of the majority of working people.

## Soviet Union's role

The Soviet Union, for its part, has declared its support for a nuclear freeze. They have also raised the demand, similar to the call of some European peace groups, for a nuclear-free zone from the "Mid-Atlantic to the Urals." These are positive moves. But there can be absolutely no illusion that the Soviet bureaucrats can be counted on to end the threat of nuclear war.

There is no doubt that the possession of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union

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**Michel Lowy:**

# Interview with Marxist scholar visiting U.S.

*Michel Lowy is a well-known European Marxist who will be speaking in several cities in the United States over the next few weeks (see calendar). He was born in Brazil and currently resides in France. He is best known in the United States for three works: The Marxism of Che Guevara (Monthly Review Press, 1973), The Politics of Uneven and Combined Development (New Left Books, 1981), and George Lukacs: From Romanticism to Bolshevism (New Left Books, 1981). This interview was obtained over the phone by Socialist Action in anticipation of his U.S. tour.*

**Socialist Action: What is your assessment of the current situation in Central America?**

**Michel Lowy:** The present revolutionary process unfolding in Central America is of world significance; it is the most advanced trench of the international class struggle. It is not a confrontation between blocs (East and West), but the struggle of the workers, peasants and poor people of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala to get rid of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, disease, infant mortality, economic and social inequality, and U.S. imperialist domination. It is a struggle for self-determination, and national and social emancipation.

The developments in Nicaragua since the victory of the Sandinistas in July 1979 have followed the logic of permanent revolution: destruction of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois (Somozista) state; arming of the people through the militias; organization and mobilization of the masses (Comites de Defensa Sandinista); expropriation of the Somozistas; and growing inroads on capitalist property; anti-imperialist measures and deepening radicalization towards socialist aims.

At the same time the FSLN has given a rare example of tolerance and humanity: not even the Somozista henchmen were executed after the triumph of the revolution. Today the anti-revolutionary bourgeoisie is allowed to publish its press, *La Prensa*, and to legally organize its political parties which are united in the so-called "Democratic Coordination". What is more important, leftist groups critical of the FSLN, like the two (pro-Soviet) Communist factions, the PSN and the PCN—as well as the ex-maoist MAP—have been legally recognized by the revolutionary government.

The struggle in El Salvador, even more than in Nicaragua before 1979, has the character of a class war between the workers and poor peasants (organized around the FDR/FMLN), and the bourgeois oligarchy represented by the military regime and its imperialist protectors. The same applies to Guatemala, where the Revolutionary Unity (URNG) is supported by a growing mass of the exploited and oppressed Indian populations in its fight against the dictatorship established by the U.S.-backed invasion of 1954. In these two countries, the dynamics and social aims of the popular insurgency—as well as those of its organized Marxist vanguard—point toward a (permanent) revolution combining democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist tasks.

The policy of the Reagan administration during the last few years has been to try to crush the Sandinista revolution through the armed counterrevolutionary groups based in Honduras—mainly composed of ex-Somozista henchmen. It also continues to prop up the military regime in El Salvador by providing millions of dollars, tons of modern weapons and hundreds of advisers. Yet this policy is

proving a fiasco. The danger of a direct intervention of U.S. troops is therefore imminent, particularly since the invasion of Grenada. The cold-war crusaders of the U.S. government are ready to launch a Latin American edition of the Vietnam war. Everything depends now on an urgent and massive mobilization of the public opinion in the whole world, but particularly in the U.S., in order to stop Reagan's war plans against the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador.



Militia women of revolutionary Nicaragua.

**Socialist Action: What is the importance of the new Workers Party in Brazil? Could it become an example for other countries?**

**Michel Lowy:** The Brazilian Workers Party—Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT)—is the most important breakthrough in the history of the labor movement in that country. Brazilian politics have always been dominated by the rivalries of different bourgeois forces. The traditional (Stalinist) left has supported one or another bourgeois faction for the past 40 years. Even today, the various Stalinist parties (pro-Soviet or pro-Albania) are inside the PMDB (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro), the moderate bourgeois-liberal opposition party.

The Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) was formed in 1979 by a group of "new trade unionists" who emerged during the struggles of the 70s, of whom the best known is Antonio Inacion da Silva, "Lula", ex-president of the metalworkers union of Sao Bernardo do Campo (a large industrial area near Sao Paulo). This group discovered, through its own experience in the great strikes of 1978-79, that the workers need an independent political organization, and it took the initiative to constitute it. They were soon joined by peasant unionists, leftist intellectuals, students, Marxist groups, and Christian Socialists. In a certain sense, the formation of the PT was the result of a historical convergence between significant sections of the labor movement and the Marxist intelligentsia, two social forces which until now had followed different if not opposed roads.

The Brazilian Workers Party does not resemble any one of the traditional popular or labor parties of Latin-America: It is neither populist (like Peronism or Vargas "Laborism"), nor Stalinist, nor Social-Democratic. It is a mass party—300,000 members and 1.6 million voters—whose aim is to put an end to the military regime, establish a workers gov-

ernment and build Socialism. It is truly a party of a new kind, which has few equivalents in the history of the international labor movement (the nearest example would probably be the first Independent Labor Party in England at the end of the 19th century).

The PT is in solidarity with every revolutionary struggle in the world, but it refused to follow the discipline of any "Guide State" or so-called "really existing socialism" (USSR, China or Albania)

as the old Stalinist left has always done. This is why it supports both the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua (or the armed struggle in El Salvador) and the fight of Solidarnosc in Poland for the democratic rights of the working class.

A few months ago a national conference of trade unions decided to create—for the first time in the history of the country—a mass national federation of labor: the Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (CUT). This was a decisive step forward in the centralization of the workers and peasants struggle against the military regime. The PT unionists were the main driving force in the foundation of the CUT, which represents 12 million workers.

Revolutionary Marxists, organized around the newspaper, *Em Tempo*, are active inside the PT. They have a significant influence and are loyal and dedicated militants of the party. Their aim is not "entrism" but to help transform the PT into a mass revolutionary party.

Although the formation of the Workers Party in Brazil results from some specific circumstances related to the industrialization of the country and the crisis of its military dictatorship, it may become an example for other countries in Latin America and the Third World, where the workers have been traditionally deprived of any independent political expression, or where a small divided left is unable to link itself to the broad masses of workers and peasants. And why not for the USA as well?

**Socialist Action: What is the political relevance of your book, *The Politics of Uneven and Combined Development*?**

**Michel Lowy:** The aims of this book are simple: a) to give a careful account of how the theory of permanent revolution emerged in Marx and Engels' writings, and then was developed by Trotsky into one of the major instruments of critical theory and action in our century; and b) to find out if this theory is able to

## CALENDAR LOWY TOUR

Jan. 25: **Pittsburgh, Pa.** Allegheny Community College. Call 381-9729 for more information.  
Jan. 26: **Ames, Iowa.** State University of Iowa. 8:00 p.m.  
Jan. 27: **Chicago, IL.** Crosscurrents Hall, 3206 N. Wilton. 8:00 p.m. Sponsored by Chicago Socialist Action.  
Jan. 31: **Ann Arbor, MI.** University of Michigan, Rackham Amphitheater. 4:00 p.m. Sponsored by Latin American Solidarity Committee.  
Feb. 2: **Princeton, NJ.** Princeton University, Corwin Hall. 4:30 p.m.  
Feb. 4: **New York, NY.** Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research. 1:00 p.m. Sponsored by N.Y. Socialist Action.

explain the revolutionary developments in the Third World since World War II.

Since this theory has been largely neglected by bourgeois-oriented scholarship and excommunicated as heresy by Stalinist ideology during the last 50 years, it was more than time to try to re-establish its real content and its relevance for contemporary social movements. An important contribution to this task has been offered already by Ernest Mandel in the interviews published in his book *Revolutionary Marxism Today* (NLB, London, 1979).

My book tries to show that the theory of permanent revolution was largely able to predict, explain and illuminate the "red thread" which runs through the 20th century. What occurred in Russia in 1917 and later in Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam, and Cuba corresponded closely to Trotsky's central thesis: the possibility of an uninterrupted and combined (bourgeois-democratic and socialist) revolution in a "backward", dependent or colonial country.

I also try to clarify the controversial question of the differences between Lenin and Trotsky before 1917. The disagreement between them was not so much on the driving forces of the future revolution in Russia or on the social nature of the future revolutionary power—both agreed it would be the common expression of the workers and peasants, although with different views on the specific weight of each class. The key problem was that of the historical program (or task) of such a provisional revolutionary government. For Lenin it would be: "to clear the ground for a wide and rapid, European and not Asiatic, development of Capitalism..." (Lenin, *Two Tactics*, 1905, *Collected works*, Moscow, 1962, p.49). For Trotsky, "the very logic of its position" would compel such a revolutionary power "to pass over to collectivistic measures". (Trotsky, *Results and Prospects*, London, 1962, p. 232-4).

This is why, in 1905, Trotsky proposed the Paris Commune of 1871 as a model for the Russian Revolution, while Lenin insisted that the Paris Commune failed because it was "unable to distinguish between the elements of democratic revolution and socialist revolution" and should not, therefore, serve as an example for the Russian provisional revolutionary government. In the April Theses of 1917, however, Lenin showed that the Commune of 1871 is the nearest political paradigm for the Soviet Republic that he calls the workers, peasants and soldiers to establish in Russia.

In conclusion, I believe that the main strategic ideas of the theory of permanent revolution have successfully passed the test of reality. As such they are a precious tool in the struggle for socialism and democracy.



# Bosses press attacks on OCAW in oil negotiations

By CARL FINAMORE

Carl Finamore is a steward at the Chevron refinery in Richmond, Calif. He is a member of Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 1-5.

National oil negotiations were extended a few days past the Jan. 8 contract expiration date until company pressure finally compelled the OCAW leadership to agree to Gulf Oil's package—a mere 20 cents the first year and 35 cents the second year of a two-year contract.

OCAW's National Oil Bargaining Council had initially rejected Gulf's first offer of a wage freeze and vetoed all company attempts to downgrade existing work rules. But it eventually accepted Gulf's last proposal, portraying it as a "no concessions" contract which should set the pattern for all OCAW locals to follow.

This pattern-setting agreement, however, means few gains for oil workers. The 1.5 percent wage increase is below the rate of inflation. But it is significant

that the contract appears to be free of the retrogressive work rules which the oil companies made their top priority.

Several oil companies, particularly Shell, Texaco, Mobil, Union, and Chevron, have not agreed to the terms of the Gulf settlement. OCAW has already struck Union Oil in Rodeo, Calif., and has given Mobil strike notice. The union at Mobil may strike anytime if a settlement is not reached. Most units are working with contract extensions while negotiations continue.

One exception is the large Chevron refinery in Richmond, Calif., where union members continue to work without a contract. Management refused to extend the contract and has issued an ultimatum to "accept the company offer or strike."

This stance shows once again that the employers' offensive is not restricted to corporations losing money. OCAW figures show that the 25 largest oil companies have profits four times greater than 10 years ago.

Most of the hold-outs are demanding a wage freeze and/or some workforce reductions. With labor costs accounting for less than two percent of refinery costs, this is a transparent attempt to divide workers and undermine the common wage structure.

## Contracting out and cross-crafting

Two industry proposals on work rule changes are at the heart of the drive to "streamline" refinery operations. They are: contracting out work to non-union companies, and cross-crafting the maintenance section.

Most refineries have always contracted out large-scale maintenance work. But many OCAW contracts have prohibited them from bidding out any work normally done by refinery workers in the bargaining unit. The companies have been violating this clause consistently wherever they can.

The Texaco and Shell contract proposals want the "unrestricted" right of management to contract out bargaining unit work. Chevron and other companies have somewhat different language, but the intention is the same—replace union labor with non-union labor and weaken the strength of OCAW in the refineries.

Cross-crafting is an attempt to displace unionized workers who specialize in one craft. As in the steel industry, the oil companies want to have "jacks of all trades and masters of none." This is a form of speed-up that involves less training and is inherently unsafe. It will also lead to layoffs as fewer people do more work.

## OCAW's potential strength

Twenty-five refineries with OCAW contracts have closed since 1981. Union membership has therefore declined from 150,000 to 120,000 members today. Unfortunately, our union represents only 50 percent of oil workers in this country.

Still, OCAW has had considerable impact on the lives and working conditions of oil workers. For example, the long and bitter 1980 strike won a dental plan. Even without a cost-of-living



clause in the contract, wages have kept pace with inflation.

Nevertheless, our union is still weak. Most refineries are open shop, even outside the right-to-work states. Contracts often have clauses which allow workers to periodically drop their union membership.

As the employers' offensive continues, new members can be won to the union. Where the union launched a "close the ranks" program in the Richmond Chevron plant, membership jumped by 10 percent. By extending this type of organizing drive nationally, the union will be in a better position to resist company assaults.



## ... Strategy for antiwar movement

(Continued from page 2)

has proved a powerful obstacle to the use of nuclear weapons by the United States. And the Soviet Union certainly has the right to defend itself from a hostile capitalist world. But in the long run, as the crisis of the imperialist system deepens, the "balance of terror" will prove to be less and less of a deterrent to an imperialist-launched nuclear war.

The Soviet leaders seek above all to reach some kind of lasting accommodation and understanding with imperialism. They sit on a self-satisfied, top-heavy bureaucracy that desires nothing more than to keep things as they are. But the wish of the bureaucracy to preserve the status quo is perpetually upset by the mass struggles and revolutions that remain a permanent feature of social reality. While the bureaucracy has long given up the struggle for socialism, their power still rests on the planned economy and nationalized production established by the revolution of 1917. Imperialism remains fundamentally antagonistic to the the Soviet workers' state because there are no capitalists in that country!

The only real defense for the Soviet Union is to support the extension of the socialist revolution around the world. But the Soviets place all their cards on secret negotiations and military defense to counter the imperialist threat. The

antinuclear weapons movement around the world is of use to the Soviet bureaucrats only as a secondary adjunct to their narrow diplomatic dealings.

Furthermore, they deny the right of their own people to organize an independent peace movement that could link up with antinuclear weapons groups in the West. Such an international movement against nuclear weapons "from East to West" would strengthen the international struggle against nuclear weapons in every country. This would certainly aid the defense of the Soviet Union. But the Soviet bureaucrats cannot see beyond their own privilege and power, which they maintain by means of a system of pervasive repression.

Joseph Hansen, a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party until his death in 1979, observed in 1977:

"To me it appears quite clear that the Kremlin, by participating in this mindless race, is dealing terrible blows against the defense of the Soviet Union. For no matter how huge the Kremlin's stockpile might be or how accurate its delivery systems, the Soviet Union cannot escape the fate of the rest of humanity once the bombs begin to be exchanged."

In this sense the military defense of the Soviet Union is rather meaningless. Hansen suggested that a revolutionary leadership, by contrast, could begin by

proposing that both sides reduce their nuclear stockpiles to "Armageddon One" where each side would possess the capacity to destroy human life once over. If the Soviet Union began to carry out such a move, one the imperialists could never accept, the political blow to imperialism would be enormous. But such a tactic makes sense only in the framework of an understanding that the socialist revolution in every country is the prerequisite for a peace that can endure through time. It is exactly here where the reactionary policy of the Soviet bureaucracy weakens the defense of the Soviet union from a nuclear attack. As long as capitalism exists the possibility of the world being blown to bits in a nuclear holocaust will remain a grim reality.

Last year an estimated \$660 billion was spent worldwide for military purposes. Capitalism not only threatens the extinction of our species but holds back the full development of our culture and technology. Just a 10 percent reduction in annual military spending could eliminate hunger in a world where 450 million people are undernourished. Another 10 percent would enable 400 million children to attend school in a world where illiteracy now stands at 800 million and is rising. Total reconversion of the world

arms industry, according to the International Labor Organization would immediately create 5.5 million jobs.

The structural crisis of imperialism results from its inherent drive to expand its dominion over ever wider markets, raw materials, and goods of the world economy. The life-blood of the capitalist economy, private profit, is also at the heart of the historic dilemma of the corporation owners. The world economy today is a highly refined, complex system of interdependence rooted in the fundamentally *social* nature of production. Against this reality the private ownership of the principal industries and banks stands as a historical obstacle to the creation of a rational system of planned economy, producing for the human needs of the majority rather than the private profit of a wealthy but marginal minority.

"Socialism or radioactive ashes" is the alternative humanity will face in the years ahead. Socialism is the only way out from the terrifying prospect of nuclear annihilation. The resolution to this crisis will be decided in the course of the momentous class battles working people will confront today and tomorrow. The outcome of this struggle will determine our right to a future.



## Revolutionary Discontinuity: An Answer to Jack Barnes

By CLIFF CONNER

Cliff Conner is a former Associate Editor of International Socialist Review. He joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1967 and was a founding member of its Atlanta branch. A victim of the recent purge of oppositionists, he was undemocratically expelled from the party in December 1983.

When the first issue of the Socialist Workers Party's *New International* came off the press in August, it wasn't just the periodical that was new. An 80-page article by party leader Jack Barnes announced to the world that the SWP has a brand-new ideology as well.

Barnes' article, *Their Trotsky and Ours*, will undoubtedly shock those who are accustomed to thinking of the SWP as "Trotskyist." Its central focus is a scaling down of Leon Trotsky's stature as a leader of the Russian revolution, a refutation of his theory of permanent revolution, and a broadside attack on the international organization he helped to found, the Fourth International.

Barnes acknowledges that "the shift I am proposing is one of the biggest changes in our movement since we first emerged, more than a half century ago, as a distinct political current in world politics. Since that time, permanent revolution in all its meanings has been a guiding concept of our entire world movement, including the SWP." But now, Barnes argues, "Our movement must discard permanent revolution" because "it is an obstacle."

The *Guardian* newspaper gleefully commented on a preliminary version of Barnes' new line that "the SWP has been quietly dropping overboard some of its Trotskyist baggage."<sup>2</sup> Obviously, the party's political opponents have been able to discern that a fundamental revision of the SWP's historical program is underway.

### Finding Lenin

Barnes attempts to justify his theoretical revisions on a number of levels. The most superficial version has it that the SWP is merely "returning to Lenin." Trotsky and his permanent revolution theory, according to this view, represented a wrong turn away from the road of continuity with the Bolshevik revolution. As a corrective, Barnes says, "We launched an intensive reading and study of Lenin's political writings in every branch of the SWP."

"And we discovered a Lenin and a political continuity we had not known."

How was this heretofore unknown Lenin able to lie undiscovered among his collected works throughout more than half a century of the SWP's existence? How could he have gone undetected by party leaders and educators such as James P. Cannon, the Dunne brothers,



Lenin and Trotsky—co-leaders of the Russian Revolution.

John G. Wright, Carl Skoglund, Farrell Dobbs, Tom Kerry, George Novack, Joseph Hansen, George Breitman, and even Jack Barnes himself until just recently?

Barnes has an answer: It was Trotsky's fault. He misled them all.

But in fact, the "Lenin" that Barnes claims to have uncovered anew wasn't hidden at all. The interpretation of Lenin that he now champions has been familiar to our movement for decades. As we shall see, it is none other than the one that Stalin's "theoreticians" developed in order to justify their turn away from Lenin's revolutionary policies.

### Without a Discussion, Without a Vote

As noted earlier, Barnes concedes that his theoretical revision amounts to "one of the biggest changes in our movement" in its history. How did this change come about? Leninist organizational principles—summarized in the formula "democratic centralism"—would require that it could only be accomplished through a thorough discussion and democratic decision of the entire party membership. But in fact, the ranks of the SWP only learned about this revision of our program by reading it in the public press. When dissatisfaction with the new line became manifest, Barnes and his allies launched a purge of dissident members and, in violation of the SWP constitution, cancelled the party convention that had been scheduled for August-1983.

Victims of the purge have included not a few of the SWP's best-known public spokespersons and former National Committee members, such as Peter Camejo (who was the party's 1976 presidential candidate), Frank Lovell, Dianne Feeley, Lynn Henderson, Les Evans, Gerry Foley, Nat Weinstein, Steve Bloom, Ray Markey, and Milton Alvin.<sup>3</sup>

In a category by itself was the disgraceful expulsion of a genuine American working-class hero, James Kutcher, who fought and won one of the most celebrated civil liberties cases against the U.S. government during the McCarthy era. Although he is now 70 years old, attends meetings in a wheelchair, and is virtually physically helpless, he was put

on trial in the SWP on a charge of "violence" for allegedly punching another comrade. In spite of the fact that the "victim" denied being punched, Kutcher was found guilty nonetheless. A month later he was tried a second time and expelled for failing to attend a meeting he had been ordered to attend.

Aside from the correctness or incorrectness of the SWP's new line, it is illegitimate because it has been handed down from above. It has been imposed without a discussion and without a vote, in violation of the democratic norms of Leninist organization that had prevailed in our movement from its inception in 1928 until recently.

### Discarding Permanent Revolution

But the new line's correctness or incorrectness, of course, is the most important question. It is summed up in Barnes' previously cited assertion that "our movement must discard permanent revolution."

This is not a musty historical question of interest only to scholars. It is a challenge to the foundation upon which the party's program stands, and therefore affects every aspect of the SWP's political existence from its long-range strategy to its day-to-day activities.

"Permanent revolution" is a shorthand formulation for a theoretical view of how revolutions unfold in the twentieth century, especially in economically underdeveloped countries. Like all catchy phrases or slogans, its brevity leaves it open to easy misinterpretation. The most vulgar version, promulgated by capitalists and Stalinists alike, has it that Trotsky was a left-wing fanatic with an insatiable appetite for the shoot-'em-up and turmoil of insurrection and hence advocated "permanent revolution."

The straw-man version of permanent revolution that Barnes sets up to attack is less crude, but no less false. In essence, Barnes portrays permanent revolution as a doctrine calling for instant dictatorship of the proletariat, instant socialism, instant abolition of capitalism, instant nationalization of the economy.

To bolster this interpretation and attribute it to Trotsky, both Barnes and

his mentor, Cuban vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodriguez (whose 1970 article *Lenin and the Colonial Question* also appears in the *New International's* first issue), make extensive use of a single sentence extracted from a book-length document written by Trotsky in 1928:

"The third Chinese revolution... will not have a 'democratic' period, not even such a six month period as the October Revolution had (November 1917 to July 1918); but it will be compelled from the very outset to effect the most decisive shake-up and abolition of bourgeois property in city and village."<sup>4</sup>

It would appear from this sentence that Trotsky did, indeed, call for the instant "abolition of bourgeois property." Did Trotsky really believe, as he seemed to imply here, that socialist property relations could be instituted by decree on Day One after the seizure of power? If so, Barnes would surely be correct in his condemnation of this "ultra-left view" of Trotsky's.

But it is impossible to make the case that this one sentence represents Trotsky's ideas of how revolutions are made. It contradicts what he wrote in dozens of other books before and after 1928 and it contradicts what he actually did as a leader of the Russian revolution in its early period following October 1917. Barnes therefore qualifies his judgment by noting that Trotsky's later articles indicate he "no longer held the ultra-left view."<sup>5</sup>

Barnes' larger point, however, is that the 1928 document served as the original programmatic foundation of the Trotskyist movement, and that organized Trotskyism has been tainted ever since by "leftist biases and sectarian political errors" born of Trotsky's momentary lapse.

"In combatting Stalin's rightist errors," Barnes writes, "Trotsky in 1928 injected some leftist errors." How neatly symmetrical: Trotsky on one side balancing Stalin on the other! Imagine someone with Jack Barnes' background passing off Stalin's criminal betrayal of the Chinese and world revolutions as "Stalin's rightist errors"!

(Continued on page 6)

**Editor's Note:** This article by Cliff Conner was written before the latest wave of political expulsions from the SWP which followed the November 1983 SWP National Committee meeting. Since that plenum an additional 50 to 60 people have been expelled.

# ...Answer to Barnes

(Continued from page 5)

In reality, Trotsky's views had nothing in common with the caricature presented by Barnes and Rodriguez; not in 1928 or any other year. Honest accounts of what Trotsky really stood for can be found in innumerable books published by our movement over the past half century. For one example, here is a paragraph from a 1974 article by a prominent party journalist:

"Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution," wrote David Frankel, "simply stated that the capitalist system could no longer carry out the tasks originally accomplished during the capitalist revolutions of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries: land reform, the conquest of national independence for colonies and semicolonies, and the establishment of stable democratic regimes. If the tasks associated with the rise of capitalism could only be carried out through the socialist revolution in the less-developed countries, then there was no basis for a capitalist stage to the revolutions in those countries. This was the theory, advanced by Trotsky in relation to Russia in 1906, that was proved correct in 1917."<sup>6</sup>

Frankel went on to illustrate how Stalin and his allies responded to Trotsky, citing this 1924 statement by Kamenev: "Ignoring the peasantry and not giving any consideration to the decisive question of the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, this theory of 'permanent revolution' places the workers' government in Russia in exclusive and complete dependence on the immediate proletarian revolution in the West."<sup>7</sup>

In this single sentence, Kamenev anticipated by almost sixty years all of the key points of Jack Barnes' arguments against Trotsky, including the notion that Trotsky's sole program was "immediate proletarian revolution." As David Frankel explained, "Trotsky was portrayed as an adventurist intent on involving the Soviet Union in dangerous schemes to extend the revolution."

But this claim, which Jack Barnes echoes with his charge of "leftist biases and sectarian political errors," was a red herring raised by Stalin to obscure the substantive issues in dispute. "The real debate," Frankel correctly concluded, was "between the policy of revolutionary internationalism advocated by Trotsky and the policy of narrow-minded nationalism represented by Stalin and the bureaucracy that stood behind him." Can anyone who has objectively studied the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian revolution deny Frankel's assessment?

## Underestimating the Peasantry

A major theme of attacks on permanent revolution has to do with Trotsky's assessment of the role played by the

peasants in the Russian revolution. "To the extent that Trotsky's strategy differed from Lenin's," Barnes writes, "it undervalued the workers' alliance with the peasantry as a whole...."

Nor was this an atypical mistake of brief duration: "During some fifteen years of activity prior to 1917, Trotsky made important political errors on the agrarian program of the revolutionary proletariat...."

For anyone even superficially familiar with the historical polemics within the international working-class movement, these statements should set bells ringing. The classical Stalinist cliché holds that "Trotsky underestimated the peasantry." That, in a nutshell, is what Barnes is charging, too. And of course, the Stalinists have always posed as defenders of



Lenin's pro-peasant views against Trotsky's anti-peasant heresy.

Barnes is now echoing the accusations leveled by Kamenev that Trotsky erred in "not giving any consideration to the decisive question of the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry." According to this view, Lenin understood that the workers couldn't make a revolution without the peasants' support; Trotsky didn't understand this and urged the workers to go it alone, an ultraleft line that would have led the Russian revolution to defeat.

The historical truth is that no intelligent Marxist—least of all Trotsky—could have conceived of a Russian revolution that didn't involve the majority of the population. Doug Jenness, in a 1970 essay, accurately summarized Lenin's and Trotsky's real views:

"Although Lenin was in total accord with Trotsky's analysis that the capitalist class could not lead the Russian Revolution, before 1917 he believed that the revolution would be 'democratic' rather than socialist, i.e., that it would not go beyond the bounds of bourgeois democracy. In addition, his justified emphasis on the importance of the peasantry in the Russian Revolution led him, in describing the dynamics of the revolution, to put forward an intermediate formula ascribing to the peasant allies of labor a joint leadership role they were unable to assume. He called for a 'democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry' and not, in Trotsky's correct formulation, a dictatorship of the working class supported by the peasantry."<sup>8</sup>

That Trotsky's position had nothing to do with "underestimating the peasantry" was made abundantly clear by two subsequent events: (1) In April 1917, Lenin, too, unambiguously raised the call for a socialist revolution to establish the dictatorship of the working class, and he won the Bolshevik party to that position; and

(2) the October Revolution did, in fact, establish a dictatorship of the working class supported by the peasantry.

## Setting Lenin Against Trotsky?

The differences between Lenin and Trotsky prior to April 1917 do not justify Barnes' attempt to pit the two revolutionists against each other. The founder of our movement, James P. Cannon, responded harshly to an earlier endeavor of this sort by Max Shachtman:

"He (Shachtman) wants to set Lenin against Trotsky, to make a division in the minds of the radical workers between Lenin and Trotsky, to set himself up as a 'Leninist' with the sly intimation that Leninism is not the same thing as Trotskyism. There is a monstrous criminality in this procedure. The names of Lenin and Trotsky are inseparably united in the Russian Revolution, its achievements, its doctrines and traditions, and in the great struggle for Bolshevism waged by Trotsky since the death of Lenin. 'Lenin-

Barnes predicts—and obviously hopes—that the SWP will soon drop the "Trotskyist" tag in favor of "communist." But his rationale—that many of those who "label themselves Trotskyists" are sectarians—reveals a surprising new attitude toward those who "label themselves" communists and Marxist-Leninists.

This latter category represents quite a broad political spectrum, from revolutionary Trotskyists and Castroists to the counterrevolutionary Stalinists in the Kremlin. It also includes the majority of nutty ultraleft groups in this country and around the world. Some of these are pro-Peking, some are "gang of four" partisans, one even holds that Albania is the only truly socialist country in the world, but all are "communists" and "Marxist-Leninists." If you don't believe it, just ask them!

But more serious than the ultraleft sideshow is the attempt to blur the distinction between the SWP and the vast majority of those who "label themselves" communists. To paraphrase Barnes, probably 80 percent of those parties on a world scale that present themselves as Marxist-Leninists—maybe 90 percent—are irreformable Stalinists.

Furthermore, by specifically denying that a Castroist current exists as a distinct tendency in world politics,<sup>10</sup> Barnes also throws the revolutionary leaderships of the Caribbean and Central America into the same pot with Stalinists. By lumping the Castroists and Stalinists together in an "anti-imperialist" front, Barnes by implication portrays the Soviet bureaucrats (not to mention the likes of General Jaruzelski, Kim Il Sung, et al) as defenders, rather than betrayers, of the world revolution.<sup>11</sup>

## What's the Motive?

By now, some perplexed readers may be wondering: Why? What is the motive? Why would Jack Barnes and the group of party leaders around him be interested in destroying the revolutionary party—by jettisoning its program—that they have served throughout most of their adult lives? One clue is to be found in the final section of his article, entitled "Revolutionary Convergence." Another clue is the presence of the Rodriguez article in the same issue.

The SWP leadership's primary aim with its new line is to ingratiate itself with the leaders of the Cuban Communist Party. Barnes apparently nurtures the quixotic notion that the Cuban and

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## Letter to the Editor

San Diego, Calif.  
Dec. 21, 1983

Dear editor,

Just received the first issue of *Socialist Action*. The paper has the look of "professionals at work who know what they are doing." Good balance of material—trade union, PLO, unemployment, Grenadian revolution, *Why Socialist Action* was formed, etc. Well written. Pithy and punchy. This means that the regeneration of the party is beginning. Now we must do everything to ensure that this seedling is watered, fertilized and nourished to give it the strength to grow straight and strong.

Warm comradely greetings for 1984.

Ted and Dot Selander

(Note: Ted Selander was a leader of the Toledo Autolite strike of 1934. He joined the Trotskyist movement in 1935 and was a founding member of the SWP where he remained for many decades.)

Nicaraguan leaders will someday "converge" with him to form a new international revolutionary movement. (Hence the new magazine's name: *New International*.)

By adopting elements of Stalinist ideology and expelling dissident party members, Barnes makes it tempting to leap to the conclusion that he has become a Stalinist. But it is more scientifically accurate to describe his present policies as Stalinist *conciliationism*—an adaptation to Stalinism, and even then an indirect adaptation, via the Cuban connection.

While it is necessary to recognize that the Cuban leaders are revolutionists and not Stalinists, it is undeniable that their political line is distorted by an adaptation to Stalinist ideology.

The Castroists extend their revolutionary solidarity in action to *most* of the oppressed workers of the world—most notably to their co-revolutionists in the Nicaraguan government and to the rebels in El Salvador. But their Marxist internationalism is incomplete. They have failed, for example, to champion the courageous struggle of the Polish workers, and have even provided political support for the Stalinist oppressors in that country.

The degree to which the SWP has adapted to the Castroists can be gauged by comparing the party's "before and after" views on anti-Stalinist struggles in Eastern Europe. In 1974, Fred Feldman wrote that Fidel Castro's support of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia "placed him on the *wrong side of the barricades* in a struggle between the workers and the bureaucracy."<sup>12</sup> But in 1982, commenting on the Cubans' support for the imposition of martial law in Poland, three leaders of the SWP wrote that "the Cubans... believe firmly in the right and duty of the workers in all the workers states to collectively defend their anticapitalist conquests against any attempts to subvert or reverse them. This places the Cubans on the *right side of the class barricades*."<sup>13</sup>

As if Solidarnosc was struggling to "subvert or reverse" Poland's anticapitalist conquests! That was the pretext given by the Stalinists for declaring martial law! Can there be any other interpretation than that the SWP leaders have *switched sides of the barricades* in the Eastern European workers' revolutionary struggle against Stalinism?

The Cuban leadership's mistaken Stalinist conciliationism is not a result of their having been "bought off" by the Kremlin's material aid. If that were the case, they would be conscious counter-revolutionaries, and it would be difficult to account for the internationalism they have displayed in action in aiding struggles from Nicaragua to Namibia.

The Castroists are not *betraying* revolutions, but they make profound errors that flow from their inadequate theoretical viewpoint. According to this outlook, there are only two major forces in world politics: imperialism and anti-imperialism. On one side are the governments, armies and political supporters of the advanced capitalist countries; on the other side is everybody else.

It is this "everybody else" that frequently leads the Castroists into collaboration not only with Stalinist bureaucrats, but also with capitalist regimes in the neocolonial countries. Fred Feldman described one particularly painful example:

"The Cuban leaders enthusiastically backed the regime of Salvador Allende in Chile. During a diplomatic visit to Chile in 1970, Castro urged the workers and peasants to follow Allende's leadership. By putting his great prestige in Latin America on the scales in favor of Allende's class-collaborationist government, Castro helped to disorient the Chilean masses."<sup>14</sup>

It is here, above all, that the theory of permanent revolution comes into conflict with Castroist practice. As noted earlier, the Trotskyist view holds that no capitalist government can play a progressive role today in the class struggle anywhere in the world.

This does not preclude tactical alli-

ances with procapitalist political forces, nor does it demand immediate socialism at the moment the workers take power. But it does rule out giving political support to governments such as those headed by Allende in Chile, Manley in Jamaica, Bouterse in Suriname,<sup>15</sup> or Khomeini in Iran. These are but a few of the bourgeois regimes in which the Castroists have publicly expressed political confidence in recent years. ("There are bourgeoisies and bourgeoisies," explains Carlos Rafael Rodriguez.) Small wonder that Barnes feels permanent revolution to be an obstacle to his convergence plans.

#### Where Is the SWP Going?

The line of the Barnes faction in the SWP and Fourth International can be summed up in two classical Leninist formulations: *opportunism* and *liquidationism*. It is opportunistically forfeiting its principles and politics in hopes of achieving a "breakthrough" in relations with the Cubans; and it aims to liquidate the Trotskyist movement into the Castroist milieu.

Ironically, Barnes himself warned against such a development in a 1974 speech. "We have to describe where and how Trotskyists can go wrong," he said. "It is the only way to avoid repeating the errors." He described how "whole sections of the American and European left adapted to Maoism and Castroism. And the logic of adaptation is to lose our most precious assets: clarity in principles, the transitional approach, and the strategy of constructing a Leninist party."

Furthermore, Barnes explained, "This error leads to dispersing the Leninist organization into some other 'vanguard.' It leads to a search for substitutes for the Leninist party. This false concept always comes down to one simple idea: other forces are bigger, they are heading or have headed revolutionary upsurges, they may not be as pure as we are, but they are an adequate tool. That was Pablo's mistake. It meant a fundamental break with our traditions and theory of party building, a fundamental break with Leninism."<sup>16</sup>

That was Jack Barnes in 1974 unwittingly describing Jack Barnes in 1983. One key reason why the 1983 SWP national convention was cancelled and why internal discussion has been suppressed is that party leaders like Barnes

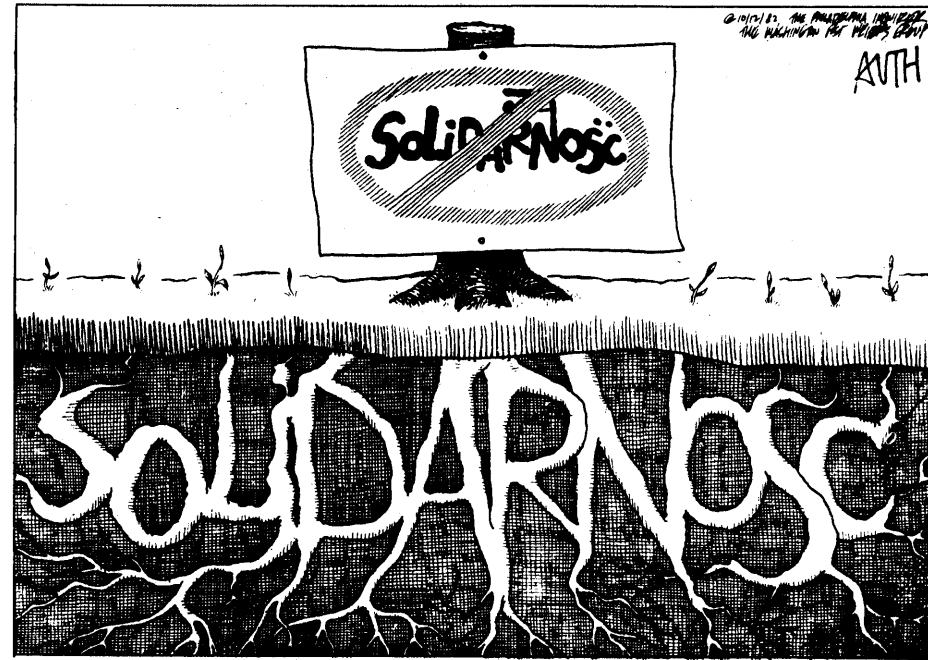


Laura Gray/Militant

STALIN

and Jenness don't want the rank and file to be reminded of their earlier positions, which stand as powerful refutations of their present course. This contradicts the role of a revolutionary party as "the historical memory of the working class;" it has led to a severe case of programmatic amnesia. A party that avoids examining its past cannot hope to provide leadership for the future.

The American Trotskyist movement has represented the continuity of Bolshevism in this country for more than half a century. Having survived the tests and crises of the Great Depression, the Second World War, the McCarthy witch-hunt era, and the Vietnam war, it is now faced with the gravest crisis in its history.



Underground Solidarnosc spreads its roots (DR)

The SWP has already lost more than half of its membership through expulsions and resignations. If Barnes's liquidationism wins out, the SWP will cease to exist as a revolutionary party. The disappearance of the revolutionary party in the world's foremost imperialist power—in the "belly of the beast," as Che Guevara put it—would be a tragedy of historic proportions. The Barnes faction's slide to destruction must be stopped and turned around. Now is the time for all who defend the historic program to come to the aid of their party.

<sup>15</sup>Bouterse, a left-wing demagogue who heads a procapitalist military regime, originally professed friendship toward the Cuban revolution. When it came to light in December 1982 that his government had organized a death squad to get rid of its critics, the Cuban press unfortunately rallied to his defense. Even more unfortunately, the *Militant* followed suit. In the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, Bouterse showed his true colors by turning bitterly on the Cubans, accusing them of murdering Maurice Bishop and planning the overthrow of his own regime.

<sup>16</sup>Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 105-08.

<sup>17</sup>"Our Political Continuity With Bolshevism," Doug Jenness, *International Socialist Review*, April 1982.

<sup>18</sup>*Guardian*, July 14, 1982.

<sup>19</sup>Most of these comrades were framed up on petty organizational charges and expelled. Two were refused permission to rejoin after having been out of the country for a period of time. One resigned in disgust.

<sup>20</sup>*The Third International After Lenin* by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder Press, pp. 184-5.

<sup>21</sup>Rodriguez, writing for a less historically informed audience, allows the sentence to stand as representative of Trotsky's general outlook.

<sup>22</sup>David Frankel, "The History of the Left Opposition (1923-33)" in *The First Three Internationals*, Pathfinder Press, 1974, pp. 123-24.

<sup>23</sup>Robert J. Daniels, *Conscience of the Revolution*, Simon and Schuster, 1969, p. 249. (Source cited by Frankel.)

<sup>24</sup>Doug Jenness, Introduction to *Leon Trotsky on the Paris Commune*, Pathfinder Press, 1970.

<sup>25</sup>James P. Cannon, "Lenin, Trotsky, and the first World War" (December 7, 1940), in *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II*, Pathfinder Press, 1975, p. 128.

<sup>26</sup>"There is no special 'Castroist' revolutionary outlook or political current in the world today. That is a myth we should bury for good.... They are communists."

<sup>27</sup>Lest it be forgotten, it was Barnes himself, in 1974, who explained: "We can expect more and greater betrayals of the world revolution by both Moscow and Peking... that is the historical logic of Stalinism." Jack Barnes, "The Unfolding New World Situation," in *Dynamics of World Revolution today*, Pathfinder Press, 1974, p. 80.

<sup>28</sup>Fred Feldman, "Stalinism and Internationalism (1935-73)" in *The First Three Internationals*, Pathfinder Press, 1974, p. 201. Emphasis added. The entire quotation is of interest:

"Castro's incomprehension of the nature of Stalinism was brought into sharp relief when he supported the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and denounced the movement for socialist democracy as counterrevolutionary. Although Castro made criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy that distinguished his endorsement from those given by hardened Stalinist parties like the vietnamese CP!, this position still placed him on the wrong side of the barricades in a struggle between the workers and the bureaucracy."

<sup>29</sup>Steve Clark, George Novack, and Larry Seigle, "An exchange of Views: How to Aid Workers' Struggle," *Intercontinental Press*, March 1, 1982. Emphasis added.

<sup>30</sup>Feldman, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

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# Peng Shu-chih: 1895-1983

By LES EVANS

Peng Shu-chih, a founding leader of the Chinese Communist Party and later the central figure of Chinese Trotskyism, died in the United States Nov. 28 at the age of 88. (Through an early error in the transcription of his name, he is known to the English-speaking Trotskyism movement as Peng Shu-tse.) In a statement issued in Paris Dec. 7, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, declared: "The Fourth International honors the memory of Comrade Peng Shu-chih as that of a firm defender, until death, of the principles of communism."

Peng Shu-chih was a historic figure of the Chinese Communist movement. No serious history of Chinese Communism omits his name. The *Biographic Dictionary of Republican China*, an encyclopedia of 20th century Chinese political and cultural figures, devotes no less than four full pages to him.

Peng made an indelible impression on friends and enemies alike. Mao Tse-tung, his lifelong political rival and opponent, included an attack on him in 1971 in one of the last public speeches Mao ever gave.

He was born in 1895 in Hunan province. The Kuang-hsu emperor was still on the throne of the oldest monarchical state in world history. A month before Peng's 16th birthday, a nationalist military rebellion toppled the imperial court and dragged China into the 20th century.

Peng Shu-chih was among the first Marxists in China. He was a founding member of the first Communist group in the country, the Socialist Youth League, set up by Comintern representative Gregory Voitinsky in Shanghai in August 1920. A few months later he went to Hunan, where he helped Mao Tse-tung organize the first chapter of the SYL there.

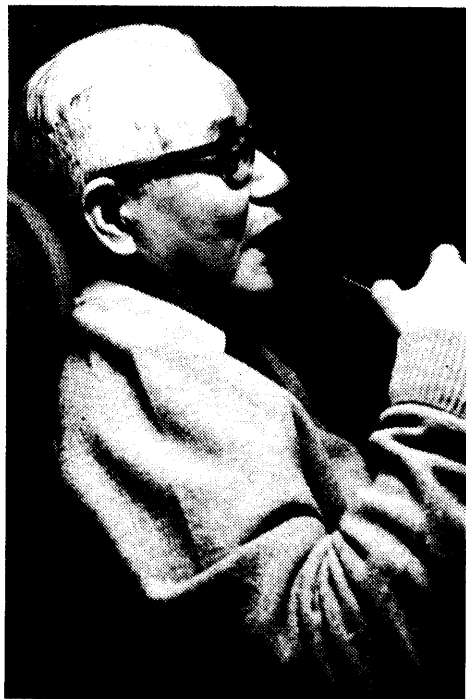
In the spring of 1921 he went to Moscow, where he attended the University for the Toilers of the East. He was elected secretary of the Moscow branch of the Chinese Communist Party, and served as a delegate to the Fifth Comintern Congress. On his return to China in 1924, he rose rapidly into the top leadership of the CCP and emerged as one of the five members of the Political Bureau, which at that time did not include Mao Tse-tung. He became editor-in-chief of both of the CCP's two main publications, its weekly newspaper, the *Guide*, and its theoretical magazine, *New Youth*.

It was in that same year that Shu-chih first met Chen Pi-lan, his future wife and lifelong companion. Pi-lan had been a party member for three years and had already worked in Hunan, in Shanghai, Peking, and Moscow. She was then editor of the magazine *Chinese Women*.

Shu-chih was the first of the Chinese Communist leaders to maintain that the impending revolution in China could be led by the working class. He advanced this position in an article in December 1924, when the Comintern had already declared that the coming revolution would have a coalition two-class character composed of the CCP and the pro-capitalist Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang of Sun Yat-sen.

## The 1927 Revolution

This dispute over the central strategy of the Chinese revolution continued on and off until the defeat of the revolution in the spring and summer of 1927 at the hands of the military generals of the KMT led by Chiang Kai-shek. Peng Shu-chih succeeded in convincing the party's founder and general secretary, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, of his position. They viewed this idea as simply an application to China of the strategy Lenin had employed in making the Russian revolution in 1917, and the debate in China hinged on whether the Russian model was applicable. The Stalin leadership of the Soviet CP, which



Peng Shu-chih in exile—1970.

by that time had begun its retreat from Leninism, argued that Lenin's Russian strategy was not possible in China. They maintained that it was necessary to return to an earlier idea Lenin had employed before he became convinced that Russia was ripe for socialist rebellion: to call for a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, with the Kuomintang assigned to play the role of the peasant component of the coalition.

Throughout 1926 and the crucial spring of 1927, Ch'en and Peng several times reraised their criticism of the alliance with the KMT, calling for the withdrawal of the CCP from entry work inside the Kuomintang. This was not a theoretical abstraction. The Kuomintang held power only in a portion of South China centered on Canton. As its Northern Expedition armies marched northward in the spring of the 1927, worker and peasant uprisings erupted ahead of the arrival of Chiang's troops, posing immediately the question of the relationship between these communist-led insurrections and the bourgeois army. On March 21, 1927, after a previous defeat, the workers of Shanghai, the country's largest industrial city, rose in rebellion and ousted the local warlord government. Shu-chih and Pi-lan told me once that the insurrection was planned in their apartment.

Shanghai under workers' rule had to decide quickly if it would welcome Chiang's troops or prepare to resist. Shu-chih advocated preparation for resistance. The Comintern demanded that the Communists and the trade unionists bury their arms to avoid a "provocation." Chiang entered the subdued city in the first week of April and on April 12 launched a massacre of the CCP and the labor movement.

Between its founding in 1921 and 1927 the CCP had grown from 50 members to more than 50,000. It had taken the initiative in building trade unions which by early 1927 numbered more than 2,000,000 members.

In those years Peng met and worked with the entire central leadership of the Chinese CP and many figures of the international Communist movement who were assigned by the increasingly bureaucratized Comintern to work in China, such as Ho Chi Minh, the future head of North Vietnam. He recruited the future president of China, Liu Shao-ch'i, to the CCP.

After the defeat of the revolution, the Stalin machine sought to make scapegoats of the very leaders who had tried to resist Stalin's fatal policy of compromise. At the August 1927 Emergency Conference of the CCP Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-chih were purged from the leadership.

## The Chinese Trotskyists

Two years later, when they first received copies of some of Trotsky's criticisms of Stalin's line, they realized that they had independently been fighting for the same conclusions. In 1929 they founded the Trotskyist movement in China. They were soon expelled from the CCP and established their own organization.

Many of their comrades were killed by Chiang Kai-shek. Shu-chih along with Ch'en Tu-hsiu and other leaders of the new organization spent five years in Chiang's prisons before they were freed in 1937 after the Japanese invasion of China. Peng's younger brother, Peng Tao-tse, died in the same prison.

Shu-chih's life can be seen in three parts: the years in the leadership of the CCP; the years between 1929 and 1948, as the central leader of the Chinese Trotskyist movement; and his years of exile, in Hong Kong, Vietnam, France, and the United States, when he contributed to the central leadership of the Fourth International.

From 1951 onward, living in Paris, Shu-chih and Pi-lan became leaders of the Fourth International. For the next 32 years, Shu-chih divided his time between his continuing absorption in following and interpreting the socialist revolution in China for his comrades and for the world, and the work of the political orientation of the world Trotskyist movement on other questions. In a steady stream of articles and interviews in which he took the measure of the Maoist leadership, Peng acknowledged the many advances made possible by the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek, but focused on the unresolved problems of socialist construction in China. Above all, this was the problem of the newly entrenched bureaucracy, which stifled the right of ordinary people to make the smallest

decision about their future and met every outspoken dissent with brutal repression.

In the late 1970s, I had the unforgettable experience of working with Peng Shu-chih to collect his post-1949 writings for publication in English. These were issued in 1980 by Pathfinder Press under the title *The Communist Party in Power*. Two volumes of a projected four volume set of his collected works have appeared in Chinese, published in Hong Kong by the October Bookshop. An edition has also appeared in Japanese. At the end of last year, the first volume of his memoirs was published in French by Gallimard under the title *Memoires de Peng ShuZhi—L'Envol du communisme en Chine*, written in collaboration with Claude Cadart and Cheng Yingxiang.

In the last few years, Shu-chih told me, and I am sure others who knew him, that one of his central concerns was the preservation of the unity of the Fourth International. He was pained when Nahuel Moreno and the Argentine Trotskyists left the world movement and he was fearful that further defections would weaken the movement in which he continued to place his confidence.

Like Trotsky, Peng Shu-chih died as an exile, disgraced and reviled in his native country by a government that claimed to represent the socialist future. Trotsky's biographer, Isaac Deutscher, assessing the outcome of the Stalin-Trotsky fight 20 years ago, entitled the last chapter of his work "Victory in Defeat." That optimistic conclusion has yet to be proven for Leon Trotsky's ideas in the Soviet Union. They are in some ways more justified in predicting the judgment of history on Mao Tse-tung and Peng Shu-chih.

In a discussion with Shu-chih last December, he told me that he considered the Chinese dissident movement today to be far more widespread than the Soviet dissident movement has ever been. But more significant, he felt the dissidents to be on a higher level than even the Polish *Solidarnosc*. Most of the more than 100 dissident underground magazines published in the late 1970s and early 1980s openly described China as a dictatorship of the party bureaucracy, not a proletarian state. In Szechuan, three years ago, one of the magazines had begun a study of Trotsky's ideas on the nature of bureaucracy. While the editors have been jailed, the mood of opposition has continued.

For anyone who knows what China was like in the regimented years of the Mao era, these changes lend weight to Shu-chih's opinion. Mao has already been toppled from his pedestal. It is not unreasonable to believe that in the future Peng Shu-chih will be given his rightful place in Chinese history as a founder of the present state and a champion of a socialism that rests on freedom as well as power.

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# ... Lessons of Greyhound strike

(Continued from page 1)

that what is good for the company is good for the workers; that jobs and the general welfare of working people depend on the continued profitability of the company; that sacrifices by workers are inevitable and necessary to maintain jobs in times such as now.

Nothing could be more wrong! The interests of labor and capital are diametrically opposed. What is good for the boss is bad for the worker—and vice versa. When wages go up, profits inevitably go down; and when wages go down, profits are boosted. The drive to lower wages is a drive to raise profits!

## Behind the antilabor offensive

The ongoing assault on wages—to raise profits—is caused by the struggle for survival of different groups of capitalists competing for a larger share of decreasing markets. The least efficient producers go belly-up. Even whole countries whose technology lags behind the average are being forced into a condition of virtual bankruptcy. The only way out for capitalists, as a class, is to cut the share of production that goes to workers—wages—thus relieving the downward pressure on profits.

Sacrifices by workers to rescue failing businesses and save jobs will not help. Concessions will not rescue Chrysler or any other business whose technological level lags behind the rest of industry. On the contrary, the concessions granted to a failing Chrysler Corporation are demanded by their more efficient competitors, like General Motors and Ford. A vicious cycle is thus unleashed: When Chrysler demands more concessions from its workers, the rest of the industry demands similar concessions. Chrysler then has to exact additional concessions, and so on.

In the end, the least efficient company will go down—but not before a demoralizing wave of concessions has depressed all wages and left the working class confused and disoriented by a strategy based on a partnership between Chrysler worker and boss against Ford worker and boss.

The slogan "Buy American," another example of the labor-capital "partnership," is useless as a means to increase sales of U.S.-made products in an effort to save jobs. No such campaign can be effective as long as foreign-made products are significantly cheaper. Worse yet, this slogan pits American workers against European, Asian, and Latin American workers—each nation's workers being asked to outdo each other's sacrifices "for the national interest."

## Divide-and-rule strategy

The idea of labor-capital partnership, embraced by the present leaders of the official labor movement, is inspired and fostered by the bosses. It is the other side of the coin of the capitalist divide-and-rule strategy. It provides the rationalization for pitting worker against worker: white against black, native-born against foreign-born, male against female, and employed against unemployed. It has led to ever greater restrictions placed on the workers' capacity to defend themselves from the employers' incessant attacks on working conditions. In the name of industrial peace, no-strike clauses in union contracts have become the general rule. The no-strike clause prohibits strikes in solidarity with sister and brother unionists, thus forcing the systematic violation of a basic union principle, and outlaws strikes to enforce contracts when they are violated by the employer.

The logic of such no-strike clauses has led to the point where almost every union has been compelled at one time or another to condone the crossing of sister-union picket lines! The good old labor slogan, "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All," has been giving way to the suicidal, "They crossed our picket line, let's cross theirs." This refrain is inspired and

promoted by the bosses through the agency of their class collaborationist labor-lieutenants.

The ultimate tragedy of the myth of a labor-capital partnership is that American workers are sent into foreign lands to kill their sister and brother workers in the name of defending "our" national interests.

## Union democracy stifled

Recent experience in the Greyhound strike sheds light on how a class-collaborationist strategy compels anti-democratic practices. When the voting on the first contract offered by Greyhound was held, for example, it was conducted in local meetings. (At that time the ATU top officialdom were recommending rejection.) This permitted the freest possible discussion of the company's offer, and the contract was rejected by a 96 percent majority. But when the union heads decided to endorse the last company offer, they conducted the vote by a mail ballot. Only the point of view favoring acceptance of the company's proposal (the Dec. 3 letter) was presented to the membership.

A more serious example of the anti-democratic consequences of current union strategy was the virtual absence of strike committees, except where an occasional local leadership or rank-and-file group took the initiative. The simplest strike tasks cannot be effectively carried out without rank-and-file participation in every aspect of organization. This includes discussion and action about making the picket lines more effective and organizing support among the allies of the strikers. The leading national ATU bodies in charge of the strike made no effort to create and activate such democratic strike institutions.

Greyhound strikers, as Local 1225's Dave Mix pointed out, were dismally unprepared for the simplest strike tasks. The responsibility for this rests squarely with the national union leadership. It was only after the rejection of the company offer after the strike began that local ATU members and leaders realized they had better get on the ball and get picketing, fund-raising, hardship, outreach, and support committees going.

But partisans of the strategy of class collaboration traditionally fear organized self-mobilization by the ranks. They are



afraid that once set in motion, the ranks will be difficult to halt. It is no accident that those ATU locals that had begun to mobilize their members in democratic strike committees tended to oppose the last company offer—as exemplified by the stance taken by ATU Local 1225 President Dave Mix.

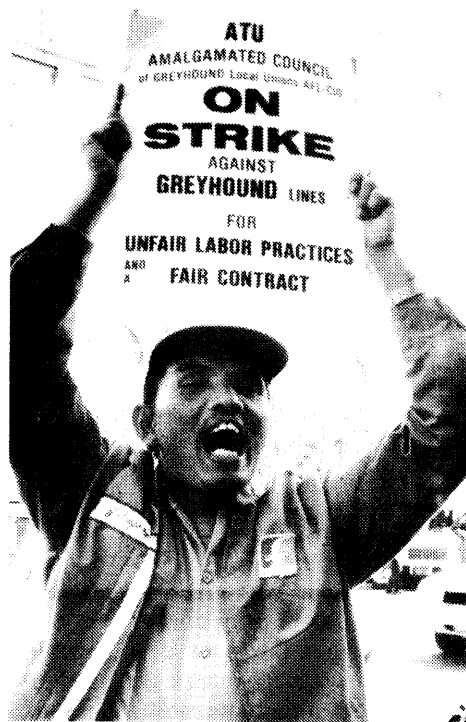
Most of the top union leadership have never led a fight. Most came into control of an existing powerful mass labor movement during the period of relative quiescence in the aftermath of the big rank-and-file mobilizations and sacrifices of the 1930s and 40s. They began to see themselves as heads of businesses and conciliators between the workers and the bosses. Some of them, at least, acted like businessmen to the point of lining their

pockets through their joint control, with the bosses, over the union health, welfare, and pension funds. Even the most prudent bureaucrats avail themselves of lush all-expenses-paid junkets to "business conferences" financed out of health and welfare treasuries. They seem to be hardly aware that the bosses encourage this in order to compromise them and blackmail them into bigger betrayals of their memberships.

When Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa was indicted and convicted for financial irregularities, it sent a cold chill down the spines of many a careless union official in a similarly vulnerable position. They could see themselves going to jail if they decided to put up a fight—not as militant workers' leaders, but as common criminals!

## New leadership will emerge

We are still at the very beginning of a major confrontation between labor and capital. The American workers have been stunned and temporarily paralyzed by the arrogant and powerful offensive



Striker protesting at San Francisco mass rally which stopped buses from rolling.

launched by the bosses. But at the same time, as serious struggles erupt against the bosses' offensive, new leaders are emerging from the ranks. This was evidenced during the Greyhound strike. More and bigger conflicts, stemming from the inherent contradictions in the capitalist system of production, are on the horizon. Many new and talented working-class fighters will emerge.

The built-in contradictions in the capitalist mode of production are compounded by the revolutionary upsurge of the world's superexploited people in the countries dominated by such imperialist powers as the United States. Every underdeveloped country that wrenches itself free of the big banks and corporations aggravates the historic crisis of capitalism. When living conditions are improved in the neocolonial countries, imperialist profits go down.

The new labor leadership will know how to embrace the progressive social causes of labor's allies—exploited and oppressed groups such as the unemployed, women, Blacks, Latinos, youth, senior citizens, lesbians and gays, unorganized workers, professionals, and artisans. It will know how to unite the unions with these allies and lead a force that will prove to be irresistible. This is the core of the strategy of class struggle.

The U.S. labor movement must break with the fiction that a mutuality of interest exists between workers and employers. A national campaign needs to be mounted to bring together those fighters who are conscious of the conflict of interest between the working class and the owners of industry. ATU Local 1225 leaders have already established contact with militant leaders throughout the ATU and are discussing an ongoing rela-

tionship to put into effect the lessons of the Greyhound strike. This is a good beginning.

## Principle of a class struggle program

The underlying principle of a class-struggle program is simple. The labor movement, in the course of its fight to defend its class interests, must win over all potential allies to its side. The labor movement, driven by this necessity, tends to become the champion of all progressive layers of society. This role is in complete harmony with the class interests of workers.

Workers' interests are not in conflict with the interests of any but the capitalists. In the course of its struggle to defend itself, the working class can move ahead and fulfill the revolutionary role assigned to it by history, that is, to lead all progressive forces in society forward to a higher social order based on cooperation for human needs rather than competition for profits. To do this, it must offer working-class solutions to the economic, social and political problems of the day.

Such a program involves putting forward a set of demands that can mobilize working people around their immediate interests. The demand for a reduced workweek with no reduction in pay, for example, would establish the idea that everyone should have a job and that, as productivity increases, all would share in the benefits through an ever decreasing workweek, eliminating layoffs.

Under the system of capitalism, maximizing profits at the expense of human beings who produce all wealth is the highest principle. The sliding scale of hours of work points straight to socialism—a system in which the highest principle is the interests of the vast majority, the working people, not the maximization of profits.

Whether or not working people today are conscious of the need to go forward to a higher level of social organization, more and more workers are conscious of the need to find a way to a winning strategy in the unions. They tend to become conscious that there is an irreconcilable division in society between the owners of all the productive wealth and those who live by their ability to labor. Along with this consciousness, they begin to perceive the bias of all institutions of the state in favor of the employers. Such awareness is heightened during strikes. It was painfully apparent during the Greyhound strike that the strikebreaking police are not impartial guardians of justice; that the antistrike injunction-wielding judges are hostile to strikers; that the politicians, many of whom pose as friends of labor, are in fact its enemies.

In the natural course of things these class-conscious forces in the unions will gravitate together. Most of those who came together from diverse unions to join Greyhound workers in support of their strike, for instance, tend to be of this type. It is necessary, however, to consciously assist this process.

## Independent political action

There are some elementary principles that can serve to unite class-conscious labor forces. These include such ideas as union democracy; independence from all capitalist political institutions such as the Democratic and Republican parties; uncompromising solidarity among workers regardless of union, race, sex, or religion.

The highest expression of such a class-struggle program is the need to build a political organization to defend and advance the interests of all workers and their natural allies in every arena of struggle—whether on the picket lines, in marches and demonstrations in the streets, or in the electoral arena. The perspective of constructing a labor party based on the unions will be an essential part of a class-struggle program for the

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# Abortion rights under attack

By DIANNE FEELEY and ANN MENASCHE

Jan. 22 marks the 11th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. This victory was largely the result of the organizing efforts of a powerful Women's Liberation movement, which emerged in the late 60s and early 70s. The women's movement took up the cause of abortion rights as a key element in the fundamental right of women to decide if and when to bear children.

Since this victory, the right wing, with the indispensable help of Democratic and Republican legislators and the courts, has attempted to whittle down this victory and transform it as quickly as possible into defeat. These so-called right-to-life forces have employed a variety of tactics in their attempts to remold public opinion: sensational blown-up pictures of fetuses and references to fetal personhood, harassment of women who seek abortion, blocking the establishment of abortion facilities, and placing under a virtual state of siege health care facilities that provide abortion. They have introduced into Congress, so far unsuccessfully, various human life amendments that would outlaw abortion altogether.

Their most effective tool to date, however, has been use of a divide-and-conquer strategy, reducing access to abortion by attacking the rights of the most vulnerable groups of women—especially poor women and teen-agers. In this way, large sections of the women's movement could be lulled into remaining demobilized, since they could still obtain abortions, even if other women could not.

## Legislative attacks on access

Since 1976, Congress has voted annually to ban Medicaid funds for abortion with certain limited exceptions. The U.S. Supreme Court in the *McCrae* decision upheld the Hyde Amendment in 1980. Currently, the right wing is attempting to cut off federal funding for abortion even in cases of rape or incest.

At the present time, over six years after the death of Rosie Jimenez, the first woman to die as a result of the cut-off of Medicaid funding for abortion, only 12 states are still funding abortions for poor women. The Department of Health and Human Services has estimated that there are 125,000 serious medical complications and 125-250 deaths per year due to the cutoff of Medicaid funding for abortion (*New England Journal of Medicine* 6/29/78, 9/27/79).

More and more poor women, many of whom are nonwhite, are forced to risk their lives at back-alley abortionists or bear unwanted children.

At its annual conference in October 1983, the Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2) vowed to launch a campaign to restore Medicaid funding to poor women. Such a campaign would be invaluable to pro-choice forces. It would demonstrate the commitment of the movement to defending the rights of the most oppressed women as the best way to defend the rights of all women to abortion.

Over the last several years anti-abortionists have attempted to eliminate coverage for abortions from federal employee's insurance policies, unless the woman's life was endangered. In mid-November the Senate passed the bill by a 44-to-43 vote. Although the bill will be voted on again in February and may fail the second time around, its initial passage indicated the precarious situation on the legislative front, despite continued public support for a pro-choice position. Similar laws have passed, including a bill that denies female dependents of military personnel government funded abortion under most circumstances, and another that prohibits using foreign aid for abortion in family planning programs.

The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled on

a number of attempts to restrict access to abortion passed by state and local legislatures. In 1976, the Court ruled that the requirement for spousal consent was unconstitutional. Last June, in the far-reaching *Akron* decision, the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional provisions like the following:

— All abortions for women more than 12 weeks pregnant must be performed in hospitals. (Such legislation sought to deny women abortions by making them too expensive to finance. Abortions performed in hospitals cost significantly more than does the cost of a clinic visit.)

— So-called informed consent provisions requiring that doctors must provide specific information to women seeking abortion, including showing pictures of

ments for parental consent will only amount to forcing teen-agers to bear unwanted children.

## Physical intimidation

In addition to legislative attempts to restrict access to abortion, the "right to life" forces have carried on a campaign of harassment, violence, and physical intimidation against women seeking abortion, medical personnel, and the clinic facilities themselves.

The latest target is the Feminists Women's Health Center in Everett, Washington. Local feminists opened the health care facility after determining that nearly 2,000 women were forced to leave the county each year to obtain an abortion. Since the clinic opened at the end of the summer, the clinic's phone lines have

right-wingers, who gathered for a rally and prayer vigil. This small victory was soon cut short, however.

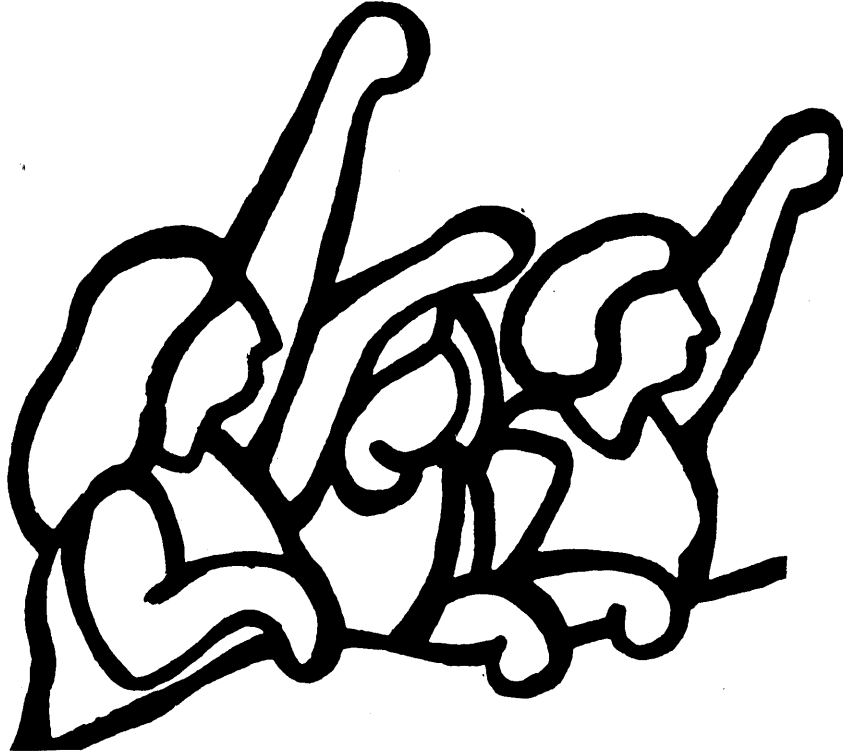
On Dec. 3, a fire destroyed the center's lab and staff room, causing approximately \$40,000 damage. The clinic's response was to pull together a broadly sponsored news conference. The clinic expects to be back in operation within the month. Organizations ranging from the Everett National Organization for Women, Radical Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Washington State National Abortion Rights Action League expressed their support.

## The pro-choice climate

Support for abortion rights grew dramatically with the pro-choice campaign of the women's movement. As recently as 1968, only 15 percent of the population supported a woman's right to abortion. By 1969, the figure rose to 40 percent; by 1971 it stood at 50 percent. Four years later, in 1975, the figure rose to 75 percent. And despite their anti-abortion agitation, the right-wingers have been unsuccessful in reversing this pro-abortion sentiment. Various polls taken over the last several years indicate that people support a women's right to choose by a 75 percent to 81 percent margin.

The legalization of abortion in 1973 made the procedure both safe and much more accessible. Annually, more than a million and a half women chose to have an abortion in the United States. The rate of abortion is twice as high for black women as it is for white women. The majority of those who seek abortions are teen-agers and women over 40—those who experience the highest risk of complications during pregnancy. Legalization of abortion has made abortion available to these women, who have the greatest need to control their reproductive lives. Yet, the attacks on accessibility have placed those rights in grave danger.

Despite majority support for the right to choose, some of this support is "soft." Abortion rights foes have been able to take advantage of backward social attitudes of large sections of the population on such issues as free medical care and teen-agers right to sexuality, to whittle away at legal abortion. And that is why it is incumbent upon the pro-choice movement to defend the right of the most oppressed women and to educate the public about why their rights must be safeguarded.



the fetus at various stages of development. Under most provisions, the doctor must state that the fetus is a "human life." Such legislation was designed to persuade and intimidate women seeking abortions, not to inform them.

— 24-hour waiting periods between the time a woman signed a consent form and the performance of the abortion. (Such legislation imposed a severe hardship on women who had to travel significant distances to the clinic or hospital.)

The Court did, however, uphold a Missouri statute requiring parental consent for minors seeking abortion. This decision was based on the fact that the state provided a procedure known as "judicial bypass" for finding minors "mature" and for determining an "immature minor's" best interests, supposedly giving another option to minors who cannot tell their parents. The effect of this decision is that parental notification or consent statutes will remain intact in 11 of the 18 states that had such statutes.

The effect of these laws on teen-agers can be devastating. Only one in five sexually active teen-agers consistently uses birth control, according to a national study by Johns Hopkins University. When researchers asked teen-agers why they had not sought birth control information, half cited fear of parental discovery as a major reason for delaying their visit to a clinic or doctor.

According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, approximately 39 percent of the 2 million young women turning 14 in 1983 can be expected to have at least one pregnancy while still in their teens; about 300,000 can be expected to have at least one abortion. Approximately 41 percent of all pregnant teen-agers choose abortion. In fact, 30 percent of all abortions are obtained by teen-agers.

In Minnesota in 1981, the year its parental consent statute took effect, the number of abortions obtained by minors was cut by one-third, despite the fact that the statute contained a judicial bypass provision. Clearly, the require-

been deliberately jammed by anti-abortionists.

Each Saturday, when abortions are performed, the right-wingers show up in force. They include the Knights of Columbus, Women Exploited by Abortion, the Christian Coalition, and the Concerned Citizens. They are particularly insulting to the Native American women who support and use the clinic.

Since September, the staff and clinic supporters have mobilized a defensive picket. On Nov. 19, 250 pro-choice supporters were able to out-mobilize the

## ...Lessons of Greyhound strike

(Continued from page 12)

emerging militant wing of the trade union movement.

The capitalist-owned and -controlled Democratic Party cannot be the instrument for mobilizing workers in their class interests. Support to such politicians *compels* the unions to cover up and prettify the antilabor policies of capitalist politicians. The union bureaucrats even adapt to the racist and sexist prejudices of "their" candidates. Sins are portrayed as virtues. The Democrats' enemies are represented as labor's enemies. Their friends are palmed off as labor's friends.

The most outstanding example of the fallacy of the capitalist "friend of labor" was President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The labor bureaucracy, in conning the American workers into supporting this skillful but treacherous capitalist politician, was also compelled to cover up and support racist lynch-law politicians like Lyndon B. Johnson (later also elected president of the United States with labor support). Both Democratic presidents maneuvered the American people into wars to achieve the imperialist aims of American capitalism.

Today we are being set up once again to put political confidence in another capitalist presidential candidate. Openly antilabor Republican President Reagan is utilized to pass off another Democratic political swindler as a knight in shining armor to wage a battle "in defense of labor." All hopes to beat back the current antilabor offensive are placed in a Walter Mondale, or even a Jesse Jackson, both of whom were typically stone silent during the Greyhound Corporation's ruthless attack on working people.

There is no force capable of defending labor's interests except the independent force of labor itself and its real allies. Without such an independent working-class political orientation, there cannot be a consistent fight waged for workers' needs and interests. A labor party, based on the existing union movement, will be a means for uniting all progressive forces and carrying the struggle of the working class forward to a final victory through the establishment of a workers' government.

# The debate over Orwell's "1984"

By ALAN WALD

Thirty-five years ago the British writer George Orwell published *1984*, the classic dystopian novel of a future society run by a ruthless party dictatorship. In this nightmarish book, Orwell's imaginary country of Oceania exists in a state of permanent warfare with two rival superpowers; life has become mechanical and inhuman under the total surveillance of a dictator called "Big Brother"; history books are rewritten and old photographs doctored to accommodate governmental changes in policy; and society is highly stratified with a class of "proles" brainwashed by mass culture at the bottom, and an "Inner Party" elite at the top.

and Podhoretz's claim is that an octogenarian Orwell, if alive today, would be opposed to the antimissiles movement in Europe and a partisan of U.S. foreign policy. Hitchens, of course, has no difficulty in providing plenty of documentation to show that Orwell was vehemently anticapitalist, absolutely opposed to making anti-Stalinism the pretext for imperialist adventures, against nuclear weapons, suspicious of the growing power of the United States, and anti-Zionist.

Yet there is an idealization of Orwell in Hitchens' defense that probably reflects the limitations of the confused social democratic politics he espouses—a reformist outlook incapable of realizing

the ages"—defying conventional notions of genre and characterization in order to dramatize ominous social trends in fascist, Stalinist, and even democratic capitalist societies. However, in Orwell's view, all of these systems tend in the direction of becoming the same "totalitarian" social formation, not unlike James Burnham's prognosis in *The Managerial Revolution* (1941).

Thus the real problem with *1984* as a work of art intended by its author to warn and to educate is that, on the level of social and political analysis, it inspires fear of the future as much as it illuminates dangerous trends in the present. It is true, as Paul Siegel demonstrates in an excellent chapter on Orwell in *Revolution and the 20th-Century Novel* (1979), that by the end of the book the "proles" are depicted as holding out the best hope for the future of humanity. But I believe most readers of *1984* are overwhelmed by a feeling that the logic of social movements advocating party organization, economic centralization, and planning, is toward some sort of "totalitarianism"—a misrepresentation by Orwell that can only leave us unorganized and helpless in the face of the complex and oppressive social forces of our time. Furthermore, in his narrative and imagery, Orwell conflates features of Stalinism into fascism to create what political theorists call a "unitotalitarianism" model, most

structure of the October Revolution [the residue of nationalized industry and planned economy] would be a fascist regime." Nevertheless, he also pointed out that this residue of the Bolshevik-led mass upsurge, which had passed through a period of widespread workers' control and democratic rights previously unknown to the Russian population, meant that the USSR and similar societies had a profoundly contradictory character. In his writing Trotsky provided the most cogent theorization of the USSR's progressive and reactionary features that we have.

In recent scholarship, the most comprehensive defense of Trotsky's ideas on postcapitalist societies is contained in volume II of Ernest Mandel's *Marxist Economic Theory* (1968). In recent political practice, these same ideas have been verified in the struggle of Polish Solidarity to throw out the bureaucratic misrulers of Poland and institute authentic workers' democracy. Furthermore, the experiences of the Cuban Revolution, the Nicaraguan Revolution, and the Maurice Bishop phase of the Grenadian Revolution, also seem to confirm Trotsky's view that social transformations in economically underdeveloped countries are not fated to duplicate the Soviet pattern.

Orwell probably intended to frighten readers of *1984*, but I doubt that he set out to purposely mystify them. That *1984* frequently does mystify is probably a consequence of his own intellectual limitations—outstanding artists are not necessarily competent social theorists—as well as a result of the ideological crisis of the postwar era for radical intellectuals, many of whom have lost their bearings to a greater degree than Orwell. Today we can see that, despite its artistic merits and the original intentions of its author, *1984* continues to lend itself to abuse by a new generation of mystifiers because for many people the world has become a very frightening place. Wars are already in progress in Central America and the Middle East; there is the imminent threat of nuclear holocaust; and a brutal offensive against the standard of living of the U.S. working class is well under way.

But it does not follow that *1984* should simply be rejected as one more fear-inspiring mystification, or that revolutionary socialists should naively try to appropriate Orwell for our cause without confronting the problematical features of his politics. Instead, a special New Year's pledge might be in order for 1984: Marxists should make a greater effort than ever before to reach the U.S. working class with an accurate and intelligible analysis of the nature and dynamic of, as well as the appropriate strategies for changing, the complex social formations of our time.

## BOOK REVIEW

*1984* was intended to be a fantasy; the reviewer who recommended it to Orwell's publisher in London called it a "horror novel." But so much of the social reality of the previous two decades was embodied in the book, especially the brutal dictatorships of Hitler and Stalin and the devastating atrocities of World War II, that many readers took *1984* as a prophecy. Now that the year 1984 has literally arrived, symposia on the book are being held across the country, and leading magazines such as *Newsweek*, *Time*, *New Republic*, and *Harper's* have been running articles discussing ways in which the author's predictions have or have not come true.

As might be expected, the popular press in the United States is using Orwell's book for anti-Communist purposes, amalgamating Oceania with the Soviet Union and other postcapitalist societies that have come to be ruled by bureaucratic dictatorships. More fair-minded commentators, however, know that Orwell, who was ill with tuberculosis when he wrote the book and died in 1950 at the age of 46, was not only a fierce anti-Stalinist but also a committed socialist who left the following death-bed protest against the use of his novel for reactionary procapitalist purposes:

"My recent novel *1984* is not intended as an attack on Socialism or on the British Labour Party (of which I am a supporter) but as a show-up of the perversions to which a centralized economy is liable and which have already been partly realized in Communism and Fascism. . . Totalitarian ideas have taken root in the minds of intellectuals everywhere, and I have tried to draw these ideas out to their logical consequences."

Yet this statement is not without certain ambiguities, such as a tendency to equate Communism and Fascism in a single social category called "totalitarianism." This is why we have in the January and February 1983 issues of *Harper's* the peculiar spectacle of *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz, a neoconservative, and *Nation* contributor Christopher Hitchens, a liberal socialist, debating each other to appropriate Orwell's legacy for their own particular ideological purposes.

The neoconservative case is a bit far-fetched, more a function of the audacity of this influential and well-heeled bunch of right-wingers than of sound scholarly appraisal. The neoconservatives consist mainly of ex-socialists who became pro-Nixon in 1972 and pro-Reagan in 1980. To some extent their ideological mentor is the philosopher Sidney Hook, a one-time revolutionary socialist who, in the 1950s, became a specialist in mobilizing liberal-sounding arguments for reactionary ends. Recently the neoconservatives, organized in the Committee for the Free World, established an "Orwell Press" to propagandize for their ideas,

the often worthy sentiments of some of its adherents. Ever since the Marxist literary critic Raymond Williams published his sharply critical book, *George Orwell* (1971), leftists have had to look more circumspectly at the paradoxical legacy of the novelist. In the mid-1930s Orwell was so committed to a self-styled revolutionary socialism that he took up arms with



the P.O.U.M. militia in Spain; yet at the advent of World War II he switched to a social patriotism so retrograde that he accused left-wing critics of the imperialist war of aiding the fascists. The point is that Orwell was a man of his time, shaped by the complex and contradictory pressures of the 1930s and 40s, and it is a dubious exercise to try to project his final political stance 30 years into the future.

Furthermore, judgements about his personal politics are not decisive for assessing the novel *1984* and its meaning for our time. Anyone familiar with Marx and Engels' predilection for the novels of the reactionary monarchist Balzac over the novels of radical socialist writers of their day, knows that works of art can transcend the particular political affinities of their authors, depending on the quality of the writer's skill, sensitivity, and vision. In the case of *1984* we have a very impressive achievement—as Irving Howe recently wrote, one that is "a classic of our age," even if not "a classic for

famously depicted in Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951). This view, expressed more crudely in the epithets "Red Fascism" and "Comm-Nazi," makes similarities in the political superstructure of radically different social formations the decisive factor in judging their historic nature and future evolution, which is also an ideological underpinning of Reagan's reactionary foreign policy based on a specious distinction between "totalitarian" and "authoritarian" countries.

One of the most useful contributions of Leon Trotsky to contemporary Marxist theory is precisely in the area of disintegrating such ideological specifications as the unitotalitarian model, in order to disclose the authentic character of social formations—past, present, and in the process of consolidation. In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Trotsky did acknowledge that, at least in terms of political structure, Stalin's dictatorship bore a real resemblance to German fascism: "The U.S.S.R. minus the social

## ... Rust bowl

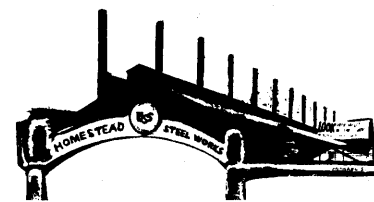
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shop will close or whether they will be laid off. They are usually guided by their most recent experiences—the shock of suddenly finding themselves out of work with nothing in sight.

This feeling of shock has not contributed to militancy at this juncture; rather, it has instilled caution. This is what accounts in part for the failure of the union movement to organize any large-scale fightback operation against the offensive by the government and the employers to undermine the unions and

to lower wages during the past several years, especially since the beginning of this decade and the election of President Reagan.

But the other more important and decisive reason for the failure of the union movement to organize any large-scale fightback is the class collaboration policy of the present union leaders. In addition to offering no class-struggle strategy to fight concessions, they have kept the workers trapped in the political maze of the Democratic and Republican parties. Until the workers find new lead-



ers who can work their way out of this trap, there is little likelihood that a solution to the jobs problem and to rising prices will be found in the union movement.

For the moment, the changes in the economy are providing great gains to the bosses. But the resulting transformations in the conditions of work are also producing a new sense of solidarity among workers, which is necessary for the development of fighting trade union and working-class political leadership in this country.

# Rust bowl of the 1980s

By JACK MARSH

Jack Marsh worked for six years as a millwright at U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago. He was a member of Local 65, District 31, United Steelworkers.

1983 was a good year for bankers and business people but not for workers and minority groups.

Despite the high rate of small business bankruptcies and the constant worries of banking institutions over shaky foreign investments, the U.S. ruling class celebrated "a classical recovery" from the depths of a cyclical economic decline that began in July 1981. Corporate profits rose a whopping 40 percent in 1983 to an annual rate of \$227.2 billion, and that's enough to make them all happy.

Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige said the corporate profits picture "reflects the vigorous pace of economic growth, combined with stepped-up gains in productivity and moderate increases in wage rates." These are the major changes that make the employers and their political representatives most gleeful—rising productivity and low wages.

But they admit some dark spots, cautioning that the future remains uncertain. The big troubles ahead, they say, are growing inflation, rising interest rates, a federal budget deficit for the current fiscal year in excess of \$200 billion, an increasingly unfavorable balance in foreign trade, and a steady flow at year's end of new unemployment claims.

Working people and minorities (including women, who are becoming aware of the economic exploitation and discrimination they are victims of) will not look back on 1983 with the same exuberance as their employers. Workers have not prospered. For them the headlines about economic recovery seem unreal.

It costs more to live than it did a year ago. Millions have used up their unemployment insurance and are subsisting on meager relief checks and food stamps. Many who in better times acquired homes have been dispossessed. The actual number of unemployed remains above 10 million. Of the 100-million workforce there is hardly anyone who does not have a friend, former shopmate, or relative presently out of work—many of whom have been without a job for several months and have no prospect of finding work. There are sections of the country—on the iron range in Minnesota, in the mine fields of Appalachia, and in the mill towns of Pennsylvania—where half the workforce is unemployed.

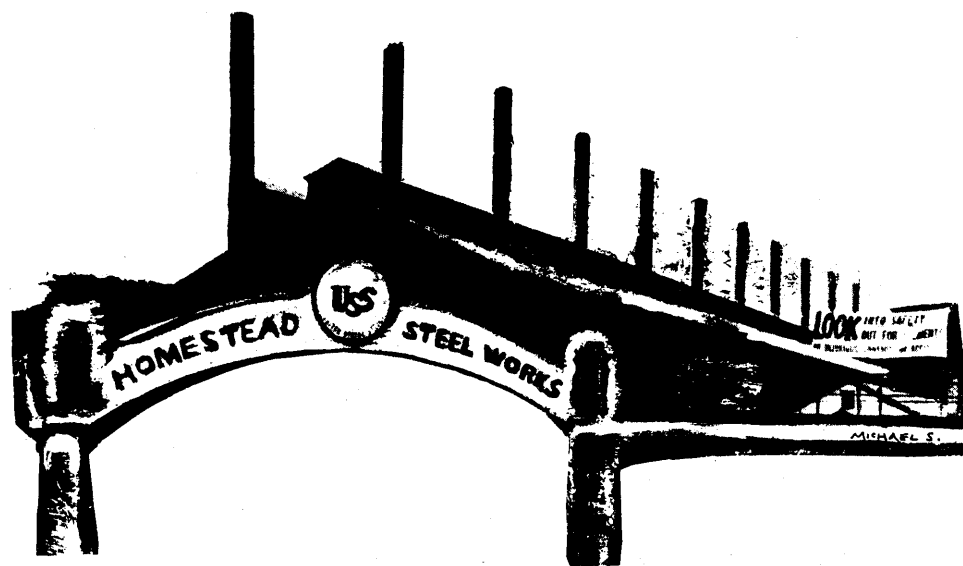
This does not mean that many who were let go when the auto plants and steel mills closed have not found other work. Some have been called back in the auto industry, fewer in steel. General Motors, for example, has recalled 75,000 laid-off workers. This giant corporation now boasts a big gain in profits and has announced that "the American auto industry remains competitive and able to provide secure, good-paying jobs." But GM doesn't say how many jobs will be preserved in relation to projected increases in production.

### Old jobs gone

One of the ways the auto industry plans to remain competitive is through "joint ventures and import agreements" with Japanese and other foreign producers. GM has nearly completed its \$300 million manufacturing venture with Toyota Motor Corp. and plans to reopen its Fremont, Calif., plant under the new joint management. At the same time it announced in December that 50,000

former employees remain on indefinite layoff. When GM's robotized plants are in full operation, the number of cars produced is expected to break all records but the number of laid-off workers may also break records.

Those who have returned to work this year after long periods of layoff discover that the new jobs are very different from those they left when the plants closed. The old jobs are gone forever, as are many of the old plants. The new jobs include combinations where the skilled trades are concerned; making adjustments where the new automated assembly lines are installed; and a new category of computer operators where the fully automated processes have been put into place.



Steel plant at Homestead, PA. More than 15,000 steel workers nationwide are losing their jobs.

Millions of workers are being retrained under these new conditions of work, and they are beginning to gain a new understanding of their relation to production. It is a new stage in the education of the industrial workforce. A look around the industrial scene in Chicago, for example, shows that there are many idle plants such as U.S. Steel South Works, the old Falstaff Brewery, Wisconsin Steel, Pullman Standard Rail Car, Burnside Foundry, Naylor Pipe, Interlake Steel, American Bridge, and Wyman Gordon Foundry. This devastated area extends into Northwest Indiana where many more old ruins stand testimony to the great change. Journalists and commentators now refer to this area as the "Rust bowl of the '80s."

These once productive industrial facilities were alive not long ago with hundreds of thousands of "gainfully employed workers," as we used to say. These workers were mostly members of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America. Few among them ever thought there would come a time when the mills would stand cold and empty. They thought they were fixed for life. Not well fixed, of course, but those in the skilled trades often expressed the mistaken notion that they "had it made" after completing their apprenticeship.

Such illusions are now shattered, along with the old brick shells of the buildings. With the massive unemployment—especially the layoffs in the skilled trades of heavy industry, in auto, steel, rail, mining, oil—the prospect of returning to work or looking for another job is a nightmare for the worker. It is an "employers' market" for the corporations and shoe-string operators alike.

How this affects the worker at the point of production is not much written about, but it is the subject of almost continuous discussion on the job. Formerly in the industrial unions (in the Steel-

workers, for sure) each of the crafts was separate and distinct from all the others, clearly defined by what particular work came within its jurisdiction. There was no crossing of craft lines. The most common slogan among skilled workers in heavy industry for many years was, "That's not my job." For example, a millwright would refuse to take on the task of a pipefitter regardless of how small the task might be. The foreman would almost always call for another worker in the proper trade classification to help when something unexpected developed that required skills other than those of workers already on the job.

This long-established practice has now been almost completely abandoned. The reason is the drastic transformation of

workers, and get nothing in return—except, perhaps, the vague promise that the antiquated operation will not immediately be closed down entirely and forever.

The Rubber Workers union, for example, has negotiated national contracts that establish five trades in plants where 15 were previously employed in making tires and rubber products. Rail unions have agreed to eliminate firemen and conductors, to reduce crew size, and to extend the length of trips. The Steelworkers union has signed contracts in major steel mills that establish "super crafts," and create a new category called "operating technicians." These jobs require workers to perform both electrical and mechanical skills.

In the steel industry these jobs take the form of "circle craft" status. The skilled workers must be tested in six or eight crafts, both physically and mentally. In this way the employer can eliminate older workers with higher seniority by reason of their inability to pass both types of testing, and can force workers who manage to pass the tests to perform multiple jobs. The employers gain by circumventing seniority rights and by crossing and merging crafts. The smaller workforce becomes more efficient, more productive. The rate of productivity rises, profits increase.

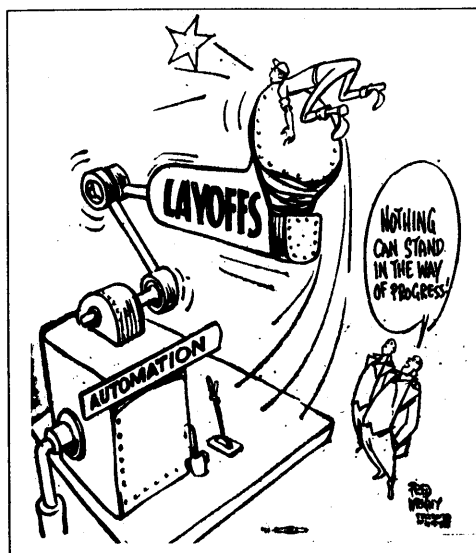
The employers are demanding and getting more work and more careful attention to the quality of the product from workers reentering the job market after long periods of unemployment and layoff. Both union and nonunion shops make these demands and screen all new hires at the employment office and on the job. The applicant must produce proof of experience and recent training as a skilled worker; after being hired, however the worker must perform—otherwise the gate opens and another statistic is recorded in the unemployed column.

The new worker (who may be in middle age and highly skilled in any one of the old crafts such as welding, tool grinding, or pattern making must pay close attention to how all the other jobs outside his or her particular skill are done; otherwise it is easy to get lost and be unable to complete a job assignment. But there is another side to this.

### Changing attitudes

In the new work situation, workers from the ships on the Great Lakes, from the railroads, from steel mills, ore mines, and auto plants are all competing for the same jobs. In doing so, they are becoming increasingly aware that it is virtually impossible to be master of all trades. They are finding out that they are in the same boat in what they recognize is the beginning of the "big change." So these workers must acknowledge their limitations, many for the first time, and they are anxious to help each other. A new sense of cooperation develops. It is necessary to learn from each other and be mutually helpful. This changes the attitudes of all workers of widely different ages and backgrounds. By teaching each other on the job, and in this way helping themselves to overcome their feelings of inadequacy, they acquire a new sense of solidarity.

These early years of the 1980s are a time of great insecurity for most workers in this country. It is a time of change. Workers have no realistic prospect of early retirement, no hope of a job for the rest of their working lives, no way of knowing whether this new factory or



### What tradeoff?

Without being aware of the process that has overtaken them, the union officialdom has succumbed to its pressures and have offered no perspective that could prevent the devastation. They see no way to create or protect jobs except by trying to keep the corporations profitable and competitive, as before. All major industrial unions have made away wage concessions and are negotiating so-called tradeoffs of craft jurisdiction. Why this is called "tradeoff" remains a mystery because the union negotiators agree to combine several crafts under a new classification, accept the resulting reduction in the required number of

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