

# **VANGUARD** newsletter

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## **The 1972 Election Returns**



## **Allende Prepares the Victory of Reaction**



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THE 1972 ELECTION RETURNS - by Henry A. Platsky

The 1972 elections and the campaigns that preceded them have illuminated many of the present contradictions within capitalist society which revolutionary Marxists must understand if they are to succeed in their struggle to build the US section of and the international party of the working class.

While elections cannot be used by Marxists as a precise indicator of the consciousness of the proletariat, they do reveal certain general trends amongst not only the workers, but also the ruling class and middle class layers.

The vote indicates a continuing shift to the right amongst the general population in the US since the defeat of Goldwater in 1964. The petty-bourgeois masses and backward workers, responding with hostility to the struggles of Blacks and other oppressed minorities, to the struggles on campus and against the Indochinese war and to the deepening economic crisis which has resulted in spiraling inflation and the general deterioration in living conditions, especially in the cities, have developed a growing sympathy for the conservative and ultra-right "law and order" movements. This shift gave Nixon his "landslide" victory and with it, a "consensus" for its attacks on the unions and for its "austerity" programs direct-

ed against the most oppressed layers of the population. The working class and ghetto poor have taken the burden of these attacks in wage cuts and in the elimination of vital social welfare programs.

The Nixon Administration has succeeded in forcing its austerity program upon the workers with only minor labor protests, thereby "holding down" inflation (and defending profits) by placing its burden on the backs of the working class. This program and also the Keynesian techniques of budget deficit financing, credit and monetary expansion have succeeded in achieving a temporary restabilization and improvement of the economy. These factors together with the achievement of the US-Soviet-Chinese detent and the expected Indochinese settlement--all accomplished with the acquiescence of the ruling Stalinist Bonapartist cliques--undoubtedly played an important role in reassuring not only the bulk of the ruling class, but also large sections of the

masses as well that Nixon could fulfill the role of a flexible, reasonable diplomat for US imperialism abroad, while producing at least a sense of stability at home.

The lack of a revolutionary leadership in the working class has made itself felt all too strongly in the last election.

Although the workers have been in a restive and fighting mood, the labor bureaucrats and "populist" bourgeois politicians of both the "right" and "left" varieties have been able to divert the workers' anger through either appeals to or by conciliating to racism and by militant posturing for "radical" bourgeois programs such as the McGovern and Wallace campaigns have espoused. While workers are still hostile towards the Nixon administration for its attacks on their unions and wages, a large number who traditionally vote the Democratic "ticket" were not captured by the McGovern forces. The workers were disenchanted by the obvious McGovern appeal to the "radical" petty-bourgeois intelligentsia on the war and the economy, by his lack of any real record of "support to labor"--compared with a candidate such as Humphrey--by the division of the labor bureaucrats themselves largely on the Indochinese war, by the confused and erratic nature of the McGovern camp and by the implicit racist appeals of the Nixon campaign on such issues as busing and welfare.

The role of racism amongst white workers in the elections should not be underestimated. Only the most narrow sectarians could miss the significance of the struggles of white parents in Canarsie and in Forest Hills, the violent protests by whites led by the fascist-like Imperiale against the Black-financed Kawaida towers in the predominantly white working class North Ward of Newark and the success of the Wallace and anti-busing campaigns in such solidly working class states as Michigan. Although white workers are expressing their disgust with the continuing deterioration in social conditions,

the "protagonists" of these whites are Blacks and, in fact, "crime," "welfare-chizeling," etc. have become identified in many white workers' minds with Blacks. Until white workers can understand that these racist stereotypes reflect the manifestations of the special oppression that Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos suffer in the ghettos--a special oppression which has to be fought by all workers in their own interests on the job and in the unions--they will continue to serve as the raw human material for the Wallaces, Imperiales and Nixons.

The lack of class solidarity on the part of white workers and the virulent racism amongst large sections of the white working class has allowed nationalist sentiments to gain some support amongst Black workers. Revolutionists must struggle to unite the class by showing the white workers how their racism plays directly into the hands of the bosses, enables them on the one hand to divide the class and, thereby, to worsen the wages and working conditions of all workers and, on the other, helps sow anti-white attitudes and nationalist illusions in the Black workers and amongst the ghetto masses.

Nixon was able to buy a limited number of Black votes especially, but not only, from elements that had made their fortune with the recent relaxation of racist restrictions within the US. Such diverse figures as Sammy Davis Jr., Jim Brown, the football player and "militant leader" turned government administrator Floyd McKissick, all found themselves in the Nixon camp. The continuing decay in the ghettos accompanied by increased violence have given the "law and order" slogan a limited appeal to some of the middle class elements as well.

McGovern's association with the petty-bourgeois anti-war, feminist and student-protest movements during the campaign further underlines the failure of these movements to sink even minimal roots within the working class. As the crisis of capitalism has deepened, as the need for

a serious working class revolutionary party has become clearer, these movements have burst apart at the seams, with many thousands seeking "divine" protection in the various religious-panacea movements proliferating throughout the campuses and cities of the US. Many thousands of others made their peace with the Democratic Party and found a warm "welcome home" from the liberal politicians whom these radicals once scorned as "sell-outs," "fascists," etc., as exemplified by the appearance of the Yippie leaders Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and Ed Sanders and "militant" feminist Gloria Steinem at the recent Democratic Convention trying to sell their wares at the campaign stalls of one or another of the "radical" liberal candidates. The desertion of these elements from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-promoted "popular front" single-issue campaigns has exposed the SWP as completely bankrupt--as VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and the revolutionary tendencies once within the SWP, the Communist Tendency and the Leninist Faction, have continually pointed out.

The recent series of pitiful anti-war demonstrations sponsored by the SWP-dominated National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) has served to underscore the bankruptcy of the SWP's strategy and the complete incapacity of the SWP leadership. The "Militant" of December 1, 1972 tells the story: in NYC, where demonstrations of almost 100,000 have taken place, it reports approximately 2,000 demonstrators; in Boston, where tens of thousands previously turned out, it reports 500; in San Francisco and the Bay Area, long noted in SWP mythology as the seat of the new "radicalism," some 600 showed up. VANGUARD NEWSLETTER supporters who witnessed these demonstrations have found even these claims somewhat inflated. The SWP refused to raise revolutionary politics within the anti-war movement, refused to fight for a working class orientation and instead insisted on alliances with anyone who was against

the war--even bourgeois politicians who opposed the war simply on tactical grounds ("wrong time, wrong place")--in order to make the anti-war movement respectable and thus to attract more people to demonstrations. Numbers alone, it held, would "pressure" the bourgeoisie and its executive committee into more peaceful ways. The SWP succeeded in attracting petty-bourgeois liberals to demonstrations, but these elements, convinced of the need for "respectability," were perfectly willing to let such respectable types as McGovern carry the "fight for peace" for them into the electoral arena.

While anti-war sentiment has increased amongst workers, the implicit and often overt hostility directed towards the "patriotic" or else "passive" workers from these anti-war forces has made it difficult for all but politically advanced workers to identify with the anti-war and student protest movements. This factor also played a role in keeping workers from the McGovern camp.

An important factor in the illusions and confusion displayed by the US working class in the elections is the historic lack of an independent workers' party in the US with any significant mass base. The recent election results in West Germany, Australia and New Zealand show that the existence of such a party, even with a reformist leadership, can keep workers from voting for the parties of the bourgeoisie. The workers in these countries and in Europe generally, recognize a class line in politics, in comparison with the workers in the US. VANGUARD NEWSLETTER, recognizing the importance that such a development would have in advancing the class consciousness of US workers, has called for an independent workers' party based on the rank-and-file of the trade unions with a program of transitional demands.

On the eve of his victory, Nixon had already threatened to continue his attacks on the living standards of the workers by announcing severe cutbacks in spending for social wel-

fare programs and by fuming against "permissiveness" in US society, The reformist labor bureaucracy has now shown its complete incapacity to lead any serious struggle in behalf of the working class. As the crisis of capitalism deepens, the ruling class will resort to even more stringent measures to curb the working class, destroy its organizations and render it incapable of struggle.

The situation poses the need and, at the same time, the opportunities for revolutionary Marxists to build the revolutionary working class party,

VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE are moving towards a fusion which will lay the foundations for the Leninist and Trotskyist vanguard party. Along with fundamental agreement on perspectives, program and strategy, both organiza-

tions have rejected tactics which substitute work in petty-bourgeois arenas for the task of building a working class vanguard party. Students and intellectuals will be won to a party rooted in the working class. Both organizations understand the need to be involved in working class struggles today in defending its immediate needs while, at the same time, fighting to win its most militant and oppressed layers to a revolutionary socialist program. The working class will turn its back on the parties of the ruling class--Republican, Democratic, Wallacite--only when its own independent class party is organized in the process and as part of the process of building the revolutionary Leninist and Trotskyist party of the socialist revolution.

#### BLACK MILITANTS FIGHT OPPRESSION by David Jones

The developing economic crisis of capitalism forced the bourgeoisie to attack the living standards of the workers through "incomes policies," and cutbacks in social welfare programs. This attack by the capitalist state is felt in the first place and most by the especially oppressed and super-exploited sections of society.

It is necessary for the ruling class to increasingly raise the weapon of racism, the tactic of "divide and rule" in a period in which economic concessions to the working class, Black and white, are no longer possible.

Recently, on the naval carrier, USS Kitty Hawk, Black seamen protesting racism aboard ship were set upon by the "riot squad." The demonstration was dispersed, and twenty-five Black seamen were arrested. In another demonstration against racism 129 sailors--all but a dozen Black--from the Carrier Constellation refused to reboard it at San Diego; nearly a fourth of them being discharged from the Navy. Occurrences such as this have become so frequent that the Navy has had considerable difficulty in executing its imperialist "duties" in Southeast Asia. A Congressional investigation is now under way to investigate the "riots" and also reports of "sabotage and disobedience of orders." The Navy command has attempted to deal with

these situations by direct force, imprisonment and discharge, but to no avail as the racist nature of the command has become all too evident to the seamen, both Black and white. The public exposure of the blatant racism and the threat to the Navy's efficiency has in turn forced Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., Chief of Naval Operations to publicly criticize the Naval Command for not putting into effect the ameliorations in the "hallowed" Naval racist tradition.

More flagrant than these actions of the Navy have been the recent murders of two Black students at the Baton Rouge campus of Southern University. Students there had been protesting, for several weeks, the living conditions at the university and the despotism of its "Uncle Tom" president. The confrontation, in which the students were murdered, on Thursday, November 16, took place at a rally which was demanding the release of three students arrested during a demonstration on the pre-

vious day. At 9:30 AM a group of more than 2,000 students presented their demands to President Netterville; by 10:00 AM Sheriff Amiss entered the campus with his gang of deputized vigilantes armed with everything from shotguns to helicopters and a sixteen ton armored vehicle. Amiss, under the orders of the university president and the state governor, attacked the demonstration, firing point blank into the dispersing students, killing two. The students were forced to leave campus as President Netterville suspended several sympathetic faculty as well as the chairman of the Engineering department.

These acts of racism are not merely phenomena existing independently from the bourgeois society, nor is racism the product of "unenlightened" whites. Racism is a bourgeois ideology enforced by the state in meeting the goals of capitalism. Racism is the method by which the bourgeoisie divides the proletariat by segregating a section of that class and setting it aside for additional exploitation.

In recent years, due to social

pressure of organized Blacks and at a point of economic upsurge the bourgeoisie was forced to grant concessions in the form of social reforms. These reforms were not given because of the desire of the ruling class to eliminate racism, but were tactical considerations advanced in order to appease and soothe dissent among the Black masses. The bourgeoisie today finds it necessary to roll back the gains of the working class as a whole in order to bolster the decaying economy and hits hardest at the Black workers.

Racism is as much a part of capitalism as the creation of surplus value itself. It is therefore impossible for capitalism to solve the problem of racism. Only a unified working class fighting under the banner of the socialist revolution is capable of such a task. This revolutionary unity will only be awakened with the recognition that all manifestations of racism whether directly against workers and other oppressed layers or against students is an attack on the immediate and fundamental interests of the working class as a whole.

#### ALLENDE PREPARES THE VICTORY OF CHILEAN REACTION by Earl Owens

While Chilean fascists and their organization "Patria y Libertade"--with its symbol that appears to be a spider--run rampant in the streets attacking worker militants, President Allende has given his generals the most important posts in his cabinet: Interior, Mining and Transport.

The "Gobierno Popular," otherwise known as the "anti-monopoly people's coalition," led by reformists and Stalinists are preparing the ground for a major defeat for the Chilean working class.

The Allende government refuses to ban the fascists and the Partido Nacional because that action would offend the liberals as well as the army. At the same time, Allende calls for workers' control of the nationalized mines--with participation from the army! On September 19th, Allende reviewed the troops and stated:

"The Army constitutes a legitimate source of pride from all Chileans and of respect from all nations....

The prestige of the Army is increasing every day with its professional perfecting which maintains it on a high level of efficiency."

Famous last words! This is the same army that massacred the miners of the town of El Salvador on March 11, 1966, killing 8 and wounding 40. It is the same army which shot down the workers in the town of Jose Maria Caro in 1962 while the Chilean Air Force bombed the town from above. It is the same army which killed 8 students in Plaza Bulnes in 1946. But the Communist Party (CP) newspaper "El Siglo" on August 5th entitled an article: "Traitors and Delinquents Attack the

Armed Forces." The headline on the editorial page in "El Siglo" for September 19th reads: "Armed Forces: Re-affirmation of Professional Spirit." At the beginning of August, the secret police launched an attack on Lo Hermida, a town of squatters controlled by the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR). One inhabitant was killed and a number were wounded. But for the CP, it was an "ultra-left provocation." While Allende suspended the officials who had authorized the attack, the CP newspaper defended the officials for carrying out their "duty."

On July 7th, a Popular Assembly took place in Concepcion attended by 5,000 workers, peasants and students. Although run bureaucratically (the different party spokesmen took up most of the time with their own speeches), it posed a potentially revolutionary alternative to the bourgeois institutions of Chilean politics. The CP boycotted the Asamblea and proceeded to attack it. The CP theoretical organ, "Plan" said the following on July 31:

"The Communist Party is absolutely opposed to this insane movement. 'It is the work of hot heads,' (CP) senator Volodia Teitelboim has stated, . . . For the present, we would only like to point out that the People's Assembly organized prematurely in Bolivia was the precise reason why the supporters of the coupe behind Banzer were provoked to rise up in arms against the military-people's-nationalist regime of JJ Torres. Without pretending to make a mechanical analogy between the present situation in Chile with that of Bolivia then, the least that can be said is that the unasked for People's Assembly of Concepcion will magnificently serve Chilean reactionaries. . . ."

The CP slogan at its convention was: "Unity, Discipline, Efficiency." Just as in Indonesia in 1965! The Chilean CP is playing the same role as the Indonesian CP with Allende playing the role of Soekarno! The result of this political line was

a blood bath which took the lives of half a million Indonesian workers and peasants.

What is lacking today in Chile is a revolutionary Marxist, a Leninist and Trotskyist party. What was formally the Chilean Trotskyist movement, led by Luis Vitale, was influenced by the United Secretariat and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), liquidated its organization and became part of the MIR.

But the MIR does not oppose an alternate leadership to that of Allende and the CP. Instead, it proposes that the government be forced to the left through direct action and encourages peasants to take over the factories. Although this infuriates the CP (a headline in "Plan" reads: "Enough with the Toleration of the Infiltrated Ultra-Left"), occupation by the workers and peasants are not enough! A political struggle against Allende and the CP must take place. This however, the MIR is unable either to propose or lead since it shares many of the same political ideas as the CP and Allende.

Recently a new Chilean organization identifying with Trotskyism was formed called the Organizacion Marxista Revolucionario (OMR). Together with the Fishermen's Union of Talcahuano, the OMR formed a contingent of 100 at the Popular Assembly and is intervening within the FTR (the confederation of unions influenced by the MIR). However, the OMR is primarily influenced by the Bolivian Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR) and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) which have shown themselves incapable of carrying out a struggle against revisionism and centrism. The OMR is in danger of becoming the left wing of the MIR, proposing more and better Popular Assemblies, leaving out the fight for the Trotskyist program and leadership.

In the newspaper "La Nacion" of Oct. 11th, Allende writes of the ex-President of Mexico, Lazaro Cardenas:

"Personally, I am honored by having been able to count on his friendship and of having received his



support and stimulus in the struggle of the people's Chilean movement which it corresponds to me to lead by decision of the people."

Both Allende and Cardenas have much in common. Cardenas nationalized the Mexican oil fields just as Allende nationalized the copper mines. Cardenas also instituted workers' control without allowing the workers any real control. And Cardenas also talked "Socialism" without disturbing bourgeois institutions. The same party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) which Cardenas headed, is responsible today for police state repression against the workers and peasants of Mexico.

As Trotsky pointed out in his article, "Nationalized Industry and Workers' Management" written in June, 1938, the bourgeoisie of an under-developed country endeavors to maneuver in a Bonapartist manner with the workers and peasants against imperialism to curb its rapacious appetite so long as the working class does not have a revolutionary leadership, so long as the bourgeoisie does not fear a socialist revolution.

The existence of the degenerated and deformed workers' states makes it possible today for the bourgeoisie and its agents to also maneuver with the Soviet bloc and China against the imperialists while attempting to ensure that the masses do not get out of control.

The shrunken stature of the bourgeoisie and the accentuation of the

foremost capitalist contradiction in under-developed countries in the epoch of imperialist decay--the inability of the productive forces to develop under imperialist domination and the resultant worsening of the conditions of the masses--is the fundamental explanation for the proliferation of Bonapartist, military-police regimes of both the "left" and "right" varieties. These regimes attempt to utilize the state to resolve this contradiction, to develop the productive forces, while also making certain that the masses are "bridled."

In Chile, the neo-Mensheviks, particularly the Stalinists in collaboration with other "socialists" including varieties of so-called "Trotskyists," are attempting to keep the masses harnessed to capitalist property relations by limited concessions through the Unidad Popular while prating about a "legal" and "democratic" road to "socialism."

The inclusion of three representatives of the military in the Allende cabinet is meant to reassure the "people" that the Unidad Popular will fulfill its responsibility to the bourgeoisie not to exceed the limits of capitalism. It should be increasingly clear except to the willfully blind, that Allende-Kerensky prepares the disillusionment and disorientation of the masses and--if the bourgeoisie finds that a parliamentary regime is unable to restrain them--the ground for a Korniilov, for a military-police regime of the Banzer-type, if not for an outright fascist take-over,

#### FRED FERGUSON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

✓ VANGUARD NEWSLETTER received the press release which follows dated Saturday, November 28, 1972.

✓ As the Fred Ferguson Defense Committee points out Ferguson, a former member of the Socialist Workers Party and now a member of the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE was fired for the tenth time in five years by the "liberal" Minneapolis "Star and Tribune" on the same day that he and other members of the Pi Channel caucus had organized a "get out the

vote" campaign to defend the right of workers to vote on company time as provided by state law.

✓ In addition to calling for "a Labor Party to fight the parties of the bosses," "Pi Channel," the caucus newsletter of which Ferguson is an editor, also calls for: no government control of the unions and no cooperation with the bosses' payboards; no discrimination because of race or sex; the organization of the unorganized; a cost of living



escalator clause; no contract, no work; a four day, 28 hour work-week; and one big graphic arts union.

[At the time of the 1969 contract negotiations, Ferguson helped organize the "Dollar-An-Hour Committee" which helped win a large wage increase for the printers in the Min-

neapolis Typographical Union.

[The Fred Ferguson Defense Committee is receiving support from other trade unionists in the Minneapolis area who recognize that the firing of Ferguson is part of a ruling class offensive against the wages and living standards of the workers.]

A group calling itself "the Fred Ferguson Defense Committee" picketed the Minneapolis Star and Tribune building for several hours today.

The group comprised of members of a number of area trade-unions including the Minneapolis Typographical Union, was protesting the firing on Nov. 10th of Fred Ferguson, a Star and Tribune employee and long-time political, anti-war and trade-union activist.

Ferguson, the group contends, was fired for the tenth time in five years and that the firings represent the Star and Tribune's attempt to stifle dissent among their employees. Ferguson and a group called the "Pi Channel Caucus" have been organizing employees in the company's composing room. The caucus publishes a newsletter agitating for such ideas as a shorter work week as an answer to widespread unemployment in the printing industry, a labor party, and an end to the wage controls instituted by the Nixon Administration.

The defense group further states that after Ferguson and others in his group organized Star and Tribune employees to violate company policy and vote in the Presidential election Nov. 7th on company time, Ferguson was fired for "working too slow."

(Voting during working hours is

protected by Minnesota election statutes and employers are required to pay their workers for the time lost and not require that they make it up.)

Ferguson said in a statement, "Our union caucus, our union, in fact ALL the workers fighting for decent wages and working conditions beneath the Star's liberal facade will fight for our right to organize. We intend to expose the Star's hypocrisy in defending freedom of expression in their editorial columns while not extending the same rights to their own employees. We refuse to knuckle under to the Star's attempt to carry Richard Nixon's anti-union attack into our shop!"

Mr. Ferguson has worked for a number of newspapers including the New York Times and has held a number of staff positions in the anti-war movement both here in Minnesota and nationally. He is a long-time socialist and political-agitator, and is a former member of the Socialist Workers Party. Further info:

Fred Ferguson Defense Committee  
Arling Brinck, Press Secretary  
(612) 721-1212 or 372-4044

THE RECENT SPARTACIST LEAGUE SPLIT

[We print below a letter from a former member of the Spartacist League (SL), Dave Cunningham, together with the letter of resignation from the SL of Judy Stuart and Bill Moore submitted to us by him.

[Our readers who also subscribe to "Workers Vanguard" will have noted the sudden and unexplained replacement of some of its staff. As Cde. Cunningham explains, these and

others were driven out of the SL before they could even form a faction to struggle for its transformation into a serious revolutionary instrument.

[As Cdes. Cunningham, Stuart and Moore also demonstrate, the Robertson regime is using slander and character assassination--in a manner similar to that used against VANGUARD NEWSLETTER--to try to wall

them off from the SL membership. /The leaflet, "Build the World Party of Trotskyism," was distributed by the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE and VANGUARD NEWSLETTER at the recent convention of the SL. It makes clear the "clique-centralist" nature of the SL which rejected the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE's proposal to enlarge their fusion discussions to

include VANGUARD NEWSLETTER "on the principled basis of the essential agreement of their stated programs" and which broke off discussions for this reason and over its differences on "democratic centralism." The brutal treatment accorded the SL's dissidents should also make clear the meaning that Robertson imparts to this term.7

VANGUARD NEWSLETTER

December 7, 1972

Comrades:

I am submitting the Moore-Stuart letter of resignation from the SL to you for publication.

In their resignation Moore and Stuart mention they are working in collaboration with other comrades who resigned from the SL. This covering letter is intended as the first public statement of those ex-SL members who walked out of the SL between June and November of this year. In addition to several others, those of us who formerly held membership on the higher bodies of the organization included Marvin Treiger, and myself, full members of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee (I am the former editor of the "Spartacist"); George Rep, full CC member (resigned under suspension); Bill Moore, Alternate CC, European liason; Nick Benjamin, Alternate CC, managing editor of "Workers Vanguard," Janet Rogers, National Office Manager, "Workers Vanguard" Business Manager (resigned under suspension); Mirra Morrison, head of SL's principle trade union fraction in the CWA. It is worth noting here that comrades Treiger and Rep were the two principle leaders of the former Communist Working Collective whose "fusion" with the SL in September, 1971, not only produced Marxist Bulletin # 10, "From Maoism to Trotskyism," but which also was the subject of much fanfare in our meetings and publications at that time as proof of the SL's viability.

Factors in our walkout included primarily the recognition that the SL's claim to represent the nucleus of the vanguard party was fraudu-

lent and that instead its major raison d'etre is to function as Robertson's private hobby until such time as he locates another one. Internal opposition to the Robertson/Gordon regime is simply not permitted, as any future critics will belatedly discover in about the same naive manner as we did. At the first sign of any developing political or organizational opposition--or, in our cases, when the regime detected rapidly growing discontent--these incipient oppositions, before they can even become oppositions, are simply ground up piecemeal and spit out.

Those of us who walked out have been subjected in recent months to a campaign of villification and slander within the SL, designed to maintain Robertsonian control over the membership. Initially it took the form of characterizing us as "disloyal," unprincipled combinationists, and Abern-like cliquists in order to complete an amalgam between the discovered critics and Treiger's walkout in June. In recent months, these charges have been escalated clear up to "renegades"--words which historically in the Marxist movement apply to class turncoats, the class enemy, anti-communists. One suspects that a hoped-for by-product of all this ranting and scandal-mongering is that, in recoil against the SL, the "renegade" charge will become a self-fulfilling prophesy ("If that is Trotskyism, then certainly I'm no Trotskyist!")

But of course it isn't Trotskyist.) In this matter, as in so many others, the regime has met with merely another failure.

As prime example of this "political" gutter-wallowing, which no doubt has been passed off to the SL membership as "political struggle," the letter from Judy Stuart which accompanied my copy of the resignation statement (and prompted this letter) contains the following passage:

"The SL has outdone itself and published another internal bulletin, this one with a virulent green cover. It's entitled: 'Further Documentary Material on Moore/Stuart, Treiger, Cunningham....' The best part by a long way is the (National Office) preface, wherein they state that through hearsay (!) they have learned that we (all of us) now deny the validity of the reconstruction of the IV International, democratic centralism, the vanguard party and the transitional program. We are all ex-Trotskyists ready to join the reformist IS/International Socialists. As that is the first page, you can imagine the quality of believability of the other 101 pages. As material (for us) to sell outside SL public meetings, it cannot be beat...."

Now these violent blows are delivered with all the force of a pile-driver, unfortunately, being on the receiving end, I can only note they don't carry the wallop they're supposed to. An there is a simple reason why not; the whole thing is a gigantic bamboozle, aimed not in the first place against us but against the rank and file, who presumably trust the leadership to tell them the truth.

It is impossible to argue against a polemic which admits that it is based on hearsay (if it is just hearsay, why should serious revolutionaries repeat it in the first place?), and it is clear in so doing the regime hopes to leave itself an escape hatch ("well, it wasn't we who said it....") that of course hardly hinders them from racing on for all the

mileage they can get from an absurd fabrication. The only brush with reality in its preface is that definition of the IS as (left) "reformist," with which, to the extent that such a characterless phenomenon can be characterized at all, we agree. We are of course no more "ready to join" the IS than we are ready to join the Labor Committee, SWP, the SL again or the Workers League (WL), and we are really curious as to when the SL intends to identify the source of that nonsensical "hearsay," although we have no intention of holding our breath until they do. My own guess--who can really tell?--is that it is simple "Shachtmanite"--shouting carrying the same patents we're so familiar with in the pages of Wohlforth's "Bulletin"; in this particular case it appears to be an ex post facto attempt to validate the '39-40 analogy (worker-communists vs. petty-bourgeois intellectuals) thrown all over the place this summer, and to dispel any lingering suspicions on anyone's part that the whole thing might have been sucked out of Robertson's thumb for "strategic" reasons.

Space and time are too limited to go into the programmatic differences enumerated above, except to say that in every instance--proletarian internationalism, the Leninist party and so forth, we deny the "validity" of or the SL's capacity for (or interest in) making a serious struggle for any of these. In any case, we have since this summer produced several hundred pages of material, correspondence, drafts, critiques, documents, notes and the like, which answer those and other slanders as well, and these will be forwarded to you as they are put in finished form.

These documents will clearly demonstrate that the SL--like the WL, IS and the various Pabloist/anti-Pabloist cliques cults, etc.--is simply another peculiar plant in the hot house of pseudo-Trotskyism, which stems in the main from the historic divorce of the Trotskyist movement from the working class, a divorce whose origins can be traced to the time of the Second World War and which was completely severed from

the class in the post war years as a result of Stalinist consolidation over the leadership of the working class in Europe and Asia and the bourgeois anti-communist offensives in a period of imperialist restabilization. We would characterize the past year of the SL as its "Wohlforthization"--although certain features of its present degeneration can be traced far before 1971--and we characterize the SL not as Lenin-

ist but clique-bureaucratic centralist.

Certain similarities of our struggle with that of Turner-Fredericks in 1968 will become clear in these documents. As you are aware, I played a prominent role on the other side of that faction fight.

With Communist Greetings,  
Dave Cunningham

SL, PB  
New York

Mainz  
November 17, 1972

Dear Comrades,

Our assessment of the SL, based upon our experiences and thinking over the past few months, leave us with little desire to prolong the association, such as it is.

We believe that the organization known as the SL allows for no political struggle for one's views, that "getting along with Robertson" is the central criteria for membership, and we have no desire to get along with Robertson. Such a membership criteria (sometimes disguised under the rubric "party loyalty," which is an apolitical and fraudulent conception in and of itself) destroys any claim the SL might make to being a revolutionary organization.

In retrospect, our sole mistake in the SL was stifling, somewhat, our reactions to the leadership and thinking that we had to wait for a "principled difference"--it is clear that the leadership of the SL is in itself a question of principle; we were naive to assume that principled functioning could be expected from unprincipled sectarians (of the Healy Wohlforth variety).

In passing, we would like to point out for the benefit of SL minutes that the word "renegade" specifically means class enemy, not Robertson enemy, unless he now believes that he is the whole class. So that you may be accurate, we have no intention of joining the Democratic party or giving information to the CIA.

As to our future plans, we will do our best to destroy the Robertson organization, which should not be very difficult, as we do not intend

to emulate the Robertson-Gordon model and pursue revolution in the indolent fashion of dung-beetles. In this light, we want to state that the politics of our resignation will be brought to the attention of those SL comrades who, though basically honest, were broken. We feel that these comrades, as well as new recruits, having a subjective commitment to revolution, can be won--not through "internal struggle" which the SL makes impossible, but through the conjunction of their own experiences in the SL and our work from the outside. We are developing a full-scale critique in collaboration with other comrades who resigned.

In closing, thank you for a unique learning experience.

Fraternally, Judy Moore  
William Moore

P.S. To clear up any financial matters: any dues computed, especially considering our income, is minuscule compared to the money owed us for mailing in Europe undertaken at the direction of the leadership. (Repayment was promised in July, but is obviously not forthcoming). Further, any such dues can be deducted from the money owed us by ex-Central Committee member Victor V.

# Build the World Party of Trotskyism!

To the Comrades of the Spartacist League:

Although world capitalism is still able at this time to maintain a precarious equilibrium, symptoms of its maturing crisis are accumulating which reassert the basic nature of the epoch as imperialist, as one of wars and revolutions.

International monetary crises, growing imbalance of world trade and payments, uncontrollable inflation and persistent mass unemployment testify to the irreconcilable and intolerably sharpening contradiction between the still developing world productive forces and the limits of the world market. The outbreak of a devastating financial and industrial world crisis can be at best temporarily postponed by state intervention through credit, monetary and fiscal manipulations.

World capitalism attempts to deal with the developing crisis to preserve its mass and rate of profit in the "epoch of imperialist decay" by first "disciplining" the working class through "incomes policies" which place the burden of inflation on its shoulders. The sharpening class struggle requires the capitalist rulers in all countries to increasingly reach for the "solutions" first of Bonapartism and then of fascism.

Increasing inter-imperialist rivalry can only be accompanied by an exacerbation of the fundamental contradiction between the capitalist and collective property relations in the degenerated and deformed workers' states. The imperialist struggle for "spheres of influence" for capital investment, super-profits and raw materials from less and under-developed countries leads inexorably toward a new world war of unparalleled ferocity and unparalleled destruction of the material and human productive forces.

The construction of an international working class Leninist and Trotskyist vanguard party which can prepare and lead the working class to take power at the revolutionary moment becomes an increasingly acute necessity in these circumstances.

In recognition of its responsibility to the American and international working class in fulfillment of this task, the Class Struggle League (formerly the Leninist Faction of the Socialist Workers Party) with the full agreement of Vanguard Newsletter proposed to the Spartacist League that all three organizations be involved in fusion discussions on the principled basis of the essential agreement of their stated programs. How did the Spartacist League leadership react to this proposal? It publicly announced a "fusion" with its five agents who resigned from the Leninist Faction and published the "Declaration of the Leninist Faction" in close proximity to its announcement to give the impression that they were in fact the Leninist Faction, knowing that, in all likelihood, organizational measures by the Socialist Workers Party against the Leninist Faction would follow. That these five were agents is clear from the fact that, while still members of the Leninist Faction, they had attended meetings of the leading bodies of the Spartacist League and had turned over to it documents of the Leninist Faction while denying that they had done so.

In spite of this gross provocation, the Leninist Faction sought to continue fusion discussions. However, the Spartacist League, adamantly refused to consider the inclusion of Vanguard Newsletter in the discussions, insisted on its interpretation of what constitutes democratic centralism and, finally, broke off the discussions.

Under no circumstances will the Spartacist League enter into unity discussions with Vanguard Newsletter. Why not? "Principled" differences exist, it seems, but they are never stated coherently. The Spartacist League leadership will grant that Vanguard Newsletter has not "crossed the class line." It seems also that its differences over the Committee for Rank and File Caucuses which Vanguard Newsletter helped initiate can be either "principled" or tactical depending on which individual Spartacist League leader ventures an opinion.

As to democratic centralism, the Leninist Faction cited the documents of the Communist International in its revolutionary period to prove that public discussions of internal differences regulated by the national sections could take place depending on conditions and provided that unity in action was not hindered. Although the Spartacist League professes to adhere to the first four Congresses of the Communist International, it elevates essentially tactical differences on this question--when, whether and to what extent public discussion can be held--into a "principled" difference. Under its interpretation of democratic centralism, the Spartacist League leadership recently drove out some of its most competent and responsible members who found it impossible to exist in the organization under the stultifying bureaucratic Robertson regime.

The Spartacist League leadership has undertaken a campaign of slander and vilification against Vanguard Newsletter. As the November issue of Vanguard Newsletter has demonstrated, it has even stooped to the fraudulent practice of withholding from publication sections of Harry Turner's letter and the whole of Malcolm Kaufman's letter so as to create the impression that Vanguard Newsletter and the Committee for Rank and File Caucuses fear to engage the Spartacist League in a public forum to air its slanderous charge that David Fender "called the cops."

By its past and present conduct, the Spartacist League condemns itself as a sect, unwilling and unable to build the working class vanguard party of Lenin and Trotsky. Its ultimatic posture that rank-and-file trade union caucuses can only be organized on the full transitional program, that workers cannot be permitted to join the caucuses unless they agree with the full transitional program, ignores the need to win the workers to the full transitional program in and through struggle and, in essence, demands that workers immediately join the Spartacist League. Its ultimatism together with its present emphasis on colonization of the trade unions should be recognized as necessary camouflage to enable it to compete with other ostensibly revolutionary organizations--primarily for the student radical milieu! The emergence of a vanguard party has been delayed for almost a decade by the unprincipled organizational maneuvers of petty egotists and narrow bureaucrats, by the Robertsons, Wohlforths and Healys. We call upon the members of the Spartacist League to oppose the destructive, narrow and unprincipled organizational path which their leaders have chosen.

Fusion discussions between the Class Struggle League and Vanguard Newsletter are continuing. In the process of fusion, the two organizations are undertaking joint cooperative activities in working class struggles and in the radical movement with the clear understanding of the urgent necessity for the construction of the world party of Trotskyism and as a beginning to this end.

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(labor donated)

TERRORISM AND COMMUNISM - Part II by Henry A. Flatsky

Revolutionary Marxists have an obligation to make clear to the advanced workers a class position on terrorism, as stated previously.

After having examined the root causes of petty-bourgeois terrorism, a step towards such a position would be the inspection of the positions of two tendencies which have adopted opposing lines, each one over-emphasizing one aspect of the question and ignoring all others.

The two groups in consideration, the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) and the Workers World Party (WWP), trace their origins to Trotskyism although both do so with some trepidation. The NCLC has only recently given the readers of its press the notion that Trotsky perhaps did make some contributions to Marxism. As Stalinism and its variants, Maoism, Brezhnevism, Titoism, and Castroism become more obviously discredited among revolutionists, a guise of Trotskyism becomes more profitable. In the July 24-28 issue of "New Solidarity," the article entitled "What is Stalinism" defends some of Trotsky's thinking while--in what seems to be the symptom of advanced decay in the thinking of all of the centrist tendencies that have fled from Trotskyism--finds others of his views contradictory and antagonistic. It is not our purpose here to examine the NCLC's confusion on the nature of Stalinism for indeed the contradictions exist only in their minds and not in Trotsky's writings. Our point at present is to compare their position on terrorism with that of revolutionary Marxism, i.e., Trotskyism.

In the Sept. 25-29 issue of "New Solidarity," the front page headline reads "Munich: Arab Crazy's Aid Meir." The article, by Rolf Otto, goes on to claim that the guerrilla action in Munich gave the Meir government the pretext to harden its line against the Arabs. The article then goes on to describe how the terrorist acts have increased the repressive measures by the bourgeois police forces of Europe against not only Arab terrorists

but against other sections of the left as well. However the most careful reading of the article will not elicit exactly where "New Solidarity" stands on Middle East questions. Nor is any mention made of the hypocritical bleatings by the most vicious, ruthless terrorists in the world, the imperialist ruling classes of the US, Europe, South Africa, etc.

While the "New Solidarity" is correct in so far as it is true that individual-terrorist acts give the ruling classes a pretext to further repress all of the organizations of the working class and oppressed, saying just this is not enough. While revolutionary Marxists must make clear their opposition to these tactics, we must make clear to the workers that we support a just cause for which terrorists risk their lives.

Marxists cannot be neutral in defense of such terrorists against the repressive organs of the bourgeoisie. The ruling class is not interested in the defense of innocent people--rather, as the NCLC seems to realize, it uses the actions of the terrorists to justify its own oppression and violence. While the NCLC is kind enough to point out that terrorists have in many ways played into the hands of the ruling class, the NCLC does the same thing by refusing to attack the bourgeoisie's actions against terrorists as hypocritical and in reality, thinly disguised attacks against all revolutionists. While for instance, the NCLC was loud and rambunctious in defense of Angela Davis, one could hardly hear a whisper from it in defense of her co-prisoner Ruchell Magee. Of course, we have nothing in common with the tactic of holding jurors for ransom, just as we cannot defend the tactic of holding innocent athletes or airline passengers as hostages. Marxists, however, understand the feelings of rage and



frustration, and the very real oppression that drove Jonathan Jackson, Ruchell Magee, and others to use such desperate measures, and we Marxists would do all in our power to tear those confused radicals out of the hands of bourgeois justice.

To amplify its own confusion, in the same issue of "New Solidarity" there is another article entitled "Proto-Fascist Tendencies Drifting Together." This article attempts to lump the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) the Jewish Defense League (JDL) and the Italian-American Civil Rights League with the Weathermen and the White Panther Party as representing petty-bourgeois groupings who, according to the article, are moving closer together, ideologically against the working class and its allies. While it is true that all of those mentioned are indeed manifestations of the confusion of the petty-bourgeoisie in the present epoch, it is absolutely incorrect and in fact a violation of working class morality to link the Weathermen to the KKK under the general heading of proto-fascist. The KKK, JDL, etc. are racist-terrorist groups, often acting with the covert encouragement of sections of the ruling class who do not wish to directly involve themselves or the official organs of bourgeois repression in open, blatant violence against Black people, trade unions, or left groups. The Weathermen and the White Panthers on the other hand are subjectively revolutionary-youth who have oftentimes been singled out by the ruling class as the scapegoats for police violence against anti-war demonstrators, etc. It is the elementary duty of proletarian revolutionaries to defend these would-be revolutionary youth from the clutches of bourgeois justice, no matter how mistaken their tactics may be.

One can imagine that were the confusionists of the NCLC alive many years ago, they would have heaped abuse on such "crazies" and "proto-fascists" as Sacco and Vanzetti, the Haymarket Martyrs, John Brown, etc., and with the most "principled" of arguments abstained from the defense campaigns supported by all

serious communists and socialists in their behalf.

The Workers World Party illuminates the other side of this rotten coin. This organization also originated from the Trotskyist movement and broke from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1959. However, within two years of its existence, all mention of Trotsky was dropped from its organ, "Workers World," in favor of praises for new breeds of "revolutionists," e.g., Mao Tse Tung, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, etc. Now in WWP, its Trotskyist past is spoken about in hushed whispers among only the most trusted of members. Of course this is all to the advantage of the WWP leadership. In this way it is so much easier to pass off to its naive following the ludicrous drivel that it writes for Marxism-Leninism.

In an article in the October 6th issue of its paper, entitled "U.S. Mass Murderers Lecture UN on Individual 'Terrorism'," P. Meisner is assigned the most difficult chore of not only correctly pointing out the hypocrisy of US moans about terrorism but of defending the terrorist acts themselves!

Of course, the WWP would not do this too crudely, but it does it just the same. In a paragraph, separated by parentheses, comrade Meisner takes the Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister to task because he, "softened China's line against the US position by stating its opposition to all 'hijackings', 'assassinations', and terrorist acts by individuals or a handful of people divorced from the masses."

As it is usually a blizzard in July when "Workers World" criticizes its heroes in China, this paragraph is significant. First of all, the Chinese statement as paraphrased by the "Workers World" reporter is essentially a correct restatement of the Leninist position on terrorism. The "Leninists" of "Workers World" surely know this. Why then does this restatement of Lenin's position weaken the Chinese statement? Especially since the author admits in a preceding paragraph that China also attacked the reactionary

violence of the US, Israel, etc.

"Workers World" has prided itself, almost since its inception, on its uncritical adulation of everything that it has deemed revolutionary. The "Workers World," for instance, never even managed to squeeze into its voluminous writings on the heroism of the Weathermen, one word of criticism for their self-destructive tactics. Likewise with the Black Panther Party, the "Workers World" simply fawned on the Panthers, not even raising a peep when Panthers attacked and expelled some tendencies as "Trotskyite" at the Oakland Conference for A United Front Against Fascism.

Obviously, "Workers World" feels that criticism of the mistakes of certain groupings hurts the cause of the "socialist revolution"--read Workers World Party. The same author, P. Meisner, waxed indignant in the April 20th edition of "Workers World" when the SWP dared to criticize the Argentinian People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) for its acts of terrorism. Describing the SWP's attacks as examples of "chauvinist arrogance," Meisner conveniently hides from his readers the fact that the United Secretariat, to which the SWP belongs has been in the forefront in politically advocating Guevarist guerrilla operations (while of course criticizing the more crude derivations of this policy). But then again, why give the competition free advertising?

It is bad enough that "Workers World" conveniently forgets the Leninist-Trotskyist position on terrorism in the case of the kidnapping of a hated government official or the bombing of the building of an openly fascist group. It is quite another thing to abstain from criticism when terrorists turn their violence against the masses themselves. A tactic that ignores class division and singles out people for terrorist attacks on the basis of their national origin or religion is nothing short of criminal from the working class point of view and will only succeed in welding the Jewish workers to the politics of the Israeli bourgeoisie. Surely "Workers

World" could make the slightest effort, in even the most mildest of terms, to explain that it is a serious mistake to hold the masses of the oppressor nation responsible for the crimes of its own oppressor! But "Workers World" it seems would, rather bolster its "revolutionary" image amongst the petty-bourgeois nationalists and youth-adventurists, who make up its constituency.

Hopefully, in sweeping away the ideological debris of the ultra-lefts and opportunists, a working class, revolutionary position on terrorism begins to take shape.

I can think of no better summation of the Marxist position on the tactic of terrorism in the revolutionary struggle than Trotsky's own words, written in defense of Grynszpan, a young Jewish refugee from Poland who had assassinated a Nazi official in France:

"In the moral sense, although not for his mode of action, Grynszpan may serve as an example for every young revolutionist. Our open moral solidarity with Grynszpan gives us an added right to say to all would-be Grynszpans, to all those capable of self-sacrifice in the struggle against despotism and bestiality: Seek another road! Not the lone avenger can free the oppressed but only a great revolutionary movement of the masses which will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution."

#### IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

The concluding section of "The Spartacist School of Slender and Character Assassination" and an exchange of letters between Malcolm L Kaufman of CRFC and James Robertson of the SL and also with Harry Turner of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER is postponed until our January issue. As these letters will indicate, we have demanded that the SL meet with us to choose a commission of inquiry and to arrange the details for a public meeting without further delay.

CENTRISM AND THE '72 YSA CONVENTION by Jim Hays

The 12th annual convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in Cleveland marked the further march of that organization and its Socialist Workers Party (SWP) parent toward open liquidation of Trotskyism.

The pitifully small National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) demonstrations on November 18 only showed up the bankruptcy of the SWP policy which relies more and more on the vicissitudes of the middle class protest movements. Now in the face of the open betrayal of the Indo-chinese revolution, some YSA leaders are even talking openly about liquidating the "single issue" NPAC itself.

In case you were thinking that guerrillaism is now dead for the YSA, it was only necessary to attend the session of the convention held to support "African Liberation Struggles" to find that Che Guevara still lives. This meeting also created the reformist illusion that it is possible to stop US corporate imperialism in Africa by sporting a button which says, "Boycott Gulf Oil." The speech of YSA representative Sam Manuel was even more revisionist than that of the two petty-bourgeois Black nationalists that preceded him. Manuel openly declared that "Black students are the most radical section of the Black population in the US." This is a slap in the face of those thousands of Black workers who have been leading militant labor struggles from the Newark Teachers Union to the GM plants in St. Louis and Fremont, California. Van Lierop's film on Mozambique, "A Luta Continua," which was shown as part of this convention session, is nothing but a hymn to FRELIMO Stalinism and bourgeois nationalism. Trotsky's theory that the urban proletariat and only the proletariat could lead real socialist revolutions in colonial countries is rejected in favor of a form of "Long March" Maoism which completely avoids the need for leadership by the Fourth International. Yet the proletariat in backward countries, despite the misleadership of centrist parties like the POR, is con-

firmed this thesis of the Permanent Revolution and as recently as the massive general strike in Bolivia in late November.

In order to cover its move to the right, the YSA leadership was forced this year to put even more restrictions on the left opposition. Leafleting and newspaper sales by opponent socialist groups in the hotel corridors was strictly prohibited, a prohibition enforced by a YSA goon squad. Thus such groups as Youth Against War and Fascism, the National Caucus of Labor Committees, Workers League, VANGUARD NEWSLETTER, and the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE were forced to pay exorbitant fees for literature tables in order to be able to promote their programs at the 1972 Convention.

Left centrist organizations like the Workers League (WL) and the Spartacist League (SL) in spite of their vehement denunciations of Pabloism cannot help but display their kinship with Pabloism. Paul Abbot of the SL, for example, following the middle class "moralism" of the Robertson clique shrilly shouted about his right to pass out leaflets in the hallway. At one point Abbot stopped Linda Jenness and demanded that she intervene with the YSA leadership. Despite the fact that the sectarian SL held to an abstentionist policy and did not support the 1972 SWP campaign in any way, he informed Ms. Jenness that the YSA prohibition on leafleting was "against the spirit of your campaign."

Opportunist illusions in the reformability of the Barnes clique were also spread by the WL through an open letter to the YSA convention in the "Bulletin." The lead editorial of the same issue continues Wohlforth's bankrupt line that George Meany moved to the "left" when he refused to endorse McGovern for President. But the real meaning of this "neutrality"

has just been made clearer with the appointment of Peter J. Brennan, President of the Building and Construction Trades Council, a top New York AFL-CIO bureaucrat, to head Nixon's Department of Labor.

Increasingly the Healyites see their role as one of a left pressure group on the labor bureaucracy. This basic Pabloite relationship is illustrated by the November 27th "Bulletin" which praises Teamster labor-faker John T. Williams for taking up the WL's slogan of a Labor Party at a recent NPAC rally in Los Angeles. It will be remembered that only a few months ago Williams was denounced as a running dog for NPAC by the same newspaper. This article mirrors the "Bulletin's" earlier flip-flops on bureaucrat Stanley Hill (SSEU) and Paul Schrade (UAW).

Even James P. Cannon understood at one point that the fight for a labor party is aimed against the present leadership of the trade unions. In 1954 he wrote:

"The fight for a labor party is bound up with the fight to cleanse the labor movement of a crooked and treacherous leadership, and cannot be separated from it. Those radicals and ex-radicals who are willing to settle for a labor party, leaving the question of program and leadership unmentioned, are simply inventing a formula for their betrayal.

"It is not permissible for revolutionists to pass themselves off as mere advocates of a labor party, pure and simple, like any labor-faker who devotes Sunday sermons to this idea. A labor party headed by the present official labor skates, would be a sitting duck for American fascism. That's the truth of the

matter, and advocacy of a labor party isn't worth much of it leaves this truth unsaid," (Notebook of an Agitator, p. 358)

Since its open apology for the labor bureaucracy cannot stand the light of public criticism, the American Healyites follow the strict policy of banning their political opponents in the socialist movement from even their "public" meetings. So it was at the WL meeting held during the YSA Convention in Cleveland. Two members of the Canadian League for Socialist Action and the Socialist Workers Party itself were excluded. This provoked a walkout of all but one of the nine YSA'ers present, leaving Lucy St. John to talk to a tiny audience of WL faithful. About the only other independent left in the room was a strong advocate for the Men's Auxiliary of the Society for Cutting Up Men!!

As part of the ongoing fusion process VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE (formerly the Leninist Faction of the SWP) sponsored a joint leaflet and literature table at the YSA Convention. The response of the convention delegates was overwhelming. All available Leninist Faction documents and current issues of VANGUARD NEWSLETTER were sold out within a few hours. Many YSAers and independents stopped by the table to sign our mailing list or take out subscriptions to VANGUARD NEWSLETTER and to CLASS STRUGGLE the bi-monthly newspaper of the CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE.

TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR 1972

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## FUNDAMENTALS OF CAPITALIST CRISIS - Part VI

### "Neo-Capitalist" Theory and the Working Class

In her introduction to the pamphlet, Social Reform or Revolution, in answer to the first "revision" of Marxism by Edward Bernstein, Rosa Luxemburg observed that:

"Today he who wants to pass as a socialist, and at the same time would declare war on Marxist doctrine, the most stupendous product of the human mind in the century, must begin with involuntary esteem for Marx. He must begin by acknowledging himself to be his disciple, by seeking in Marx's own teachings the points of support for an attack on the latter, while he represents this attack as a further development of Marxist doctrine."

And so it is with Ernest Mandel, the theoretician of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and his theory of a stage of "neo-capitalism" which has supposedly superseded the "previous" imperialist stage.

Utilizing the same empirical, impressionistic and eclectic method as Bernstein and with even less justification given the advanced decay of world capitalism, Mandel has also found that capitalism is capable of overcoming its fundamental contradictions.

By using the state in accordance with the prescriptions of Keynes on the foundation of the "third industrial revolution," the "permanence of the armaments race" and the industrialization of the under-developed countries, the economy can be sufficiently manipulated to abate and ameliorate capitalist crises, if "not forever," then for the foreseeable future.

As Rosa Luxemburg said of Bernstein, Mandel in a similar fashion also pulls away all three of the fundamental supports for scientific socialism:

"The scientific basis of socialism rests...on three principle results of capitalist development...the growing anarchy of capitalist economy, leading inevitably to its

ruin...the progressive socialization of the process of production...and...on the increased organization and consciousness of the proletarian class...the active factor in the coming revolution."

The most fundamental contradiction of capitalism, we pointed out earlier, is that between the tendency of the productive forces to expand without limit and the limited market which in turn reflects the appropriation of the surplus value produced by the working class by the capitalist class.

Capitalist ownership of the means of production and of commodities expresses itself in anarchy in production. The rise of monopoly capitalism does not abolish this anarchy but raised it to a higher level. As we have already shown, Lenin attacked Kautsky for the petty-bourgeois reformist illusion that:

"'Unevenness and contradictions in the world economy' will be lessened with the rule of finance capital whereas they are increased."

Alongside of the still ongoing anarchy of the earlier free competitive capitalism the struggle between the monopolies within and between nations continues unabated. These struggles resulted not only in devastating crises, but also in two world wars which destroyed the productive forces including human productive forces on an increasing scale. With the vast destruction in the Second World War and weakening of European capitalism, a new division of labor in world economy was organized based on US imperialist hegemony. The scepter fell from the hands of the British into those of the US imperialists, as Henry Luce had predicted. The re-stabilization of European capital-

ism with the help of world Stalinism and the massive influx of US capital allowed American capitalism and world capitalism as well to reap the harvest of a prolonged "prosperity." But Luce's "American century" was to last only a quarter of the predicted period. International monetary crisis which fundamentally reflect the new power relationships within world imperialism and the uneven development and enormous growth of the world's productive forces are now threatening to pull down the whole world financial structure and precipitate a world depression of a dimension far exceeding that of 1929. The struggle for the world market between the US and its resurgent rivals Germany and Japan threatens to end in a third nuclear world holocaust. With the extreme sharpening of world capitalist contradictions, the fundamental contradiction between capitalist and collective property relations between world imperialism and the degenerated and deformed workers' states must also become intolerably sharp. Capitalist anarchy was required to reassert itself and is now visibly reasserting itself on a higher level. But the hiatus, the period of prosperity within the epoch of imperialist decay was taken by Mandel for a "neo-capitalist" epoch in which world capitalism would continue a generally uninterrupted expansion and be able to overcome the resultants of anarchy in production, depressions, by turning them into innocuous recessions.

In postulating a crisis-free capitalism, Mandel also disconnected the motor for the supreme expression of capitalist anarchy, imperialist war. For the "neo-capitalist epoch," the struggle for the world market, for spheres of influence and the exploitation of less developed countries in accordance with the changed productive (and destructive) capacities of the imperialist powers also loses its acuteness. The "permanent arms race" then only functions as an economic "gimmick" to enable capitalism to continue its "long term" expansion. Mandel's conclusions, it would seem, lead directly toward a

Kautskyan "world peace."

Mandel's "permanent technological revolution," although receiving its stimulation primarily from the "permanent armaments race," is essentially Luxemburg's "progressive socialization of the process of production." But now, with state intervention for a "'managed economy'" and "'economic planning'," it instead serves the cause of capitalist stability. Mandel here also is but an echo of Bernstein on the adaptability of capitalism.

And the working class, the "active factor" in the socialist revolution? But the objective necessity impelling the proletarian subjective factor to achieve its historic goal has been eliminated for the foreseeable future, according to Mandel!

Bernstein, in whose footsteps Mandel treads, substituted the "power of persuasion" of "socialist doctrine," an idealist rationale for the materialist foundations of Marxian socialism. Concerned to maintain materialist credentials, Mandel instead manipulates the concepts of Marxism, but thereby also exposes the class base upon which he rests.

The United Secretariat's (U Sec) and the Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) social base, to the extent that it exists at all, is primarily the student-radical milieu. Mandel's "neo-capitalist" theory conforms with and attempts to justify their petty-bourgeois orientation and practice. Mandel is concerned to prove that "white collar" professionals are proletarians. But he ignores the concrete relationship in which many a "white collar" professional receives a salary for productive or non-productive labor and for a "taskmaster" role, as Trotsky noted, and is, in fact, in an intermediate class category, the so-called "new middle class." He also ignores the fact that those who are intellectual workers are generally in the more highly paid and privileged layers of the working class. Mandel also vulgarizes the historic process of proletarianization and pauperization of the petty-bourgeoisie to suit the underlying thesis of all "neo-capitalist" theory:

the working class in the advanced countries has become conservatized by achieving a "middle class" style of life, whereas the new "proletarians" are being radicalized by the relative decline in their privileges. Thus, he simply redefines the proletariat to include the "new middle class" including also a section of its managerial component and, of course, ignores the most oppressed and exploited layers of the working class. His more sophisticated rationalizations become in practice an orientation toward the campus and the now current conception that "students are workers!" It is also expressed in the U Sec's guerrillaist orientation in Latin America opposed by the SWP.

Mandel's call for "structural reforms" to first achieve economic and then political "dual power" is essentially "Marxism" with its teeth removed to make it more acceptable to the bourgeoisie and to its academic servitors whom Mandel so assiduously courts. A case in point is the practical role of Mandel and his paper, "La Gauche," during the

1961 general strike. Mandel posed parliamentary pressure politics instead of the need for an alternative revolutionary leadership and the taking of power. His program of "structural reforms" did manage to win a certain support in "left" bourgeois circles as essentially compatible with Belgian capitalism. Another is his pamphlet, "The Marxist Theory of the State," in which the central revolutionary requirement, the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery by the proletariat for the "conquest of power" is completely omitted.

The first World War and the general crisis of capitalism shattered Bernsteinian revisionism already theoretically demolished by Luxemburg. But every capitalist revival finds "Marxists" of the Mandel type serving up a refurbished model.

As Luxemburg said of Bernstein, "the surprising thing" was not that a revisionist tendency arose in Trotskyism in the aftermath of the betrayals and defeats of the working class with the second World War, but rather its theoretical "feebleness."

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE DEGENERATION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND OF THE CENTRISM OF THE SWP - For a return to the Proletarian Road of Trotskyism  
- Part IV

In February, 1944, a six day European conference was held in France.

One of the points on the agenda of this conference was the unification of three Trotskyist groups in France, to which we referred earlier. This conference attempted to make some criticisms of both the POI and the CCI's positions on the national question. In the "Theses on the Situation of the Workers Movement and the Perspectives for the Development of the Fourth International" we find point 29 which states:

"29. It was, above all, during the present war that the movement of the Fourth International under went the most difficult and decisive test. On the basis of internationalist principles, it had to defend on the one hand, against the infection of the nationalist and patriotic epidemic, which in

the beginning seized the masses, and on the other hand against the terror of the bourgeoisie.

"Under the pressure of the conditions created after the defeat of French imperialism in France and elsewhere, one can notice a certain weakening in the internationalist behaviour of certain sections, especially the French section, which often expressed in its day to day politics the nationalist influence of the petty-bourgeois masses exasperated by the defeat of their imperialist masters.

"The position taken by the French section on the national question, the theses put out in the name of the European Secretariat of the Fourth International, controlled exclusively during this period by the French comrades, represents a



social-patriotic deviation which must be once and for all openly condemned and rejected as incompatible with the program and general ideology of the Fourth International.

"Instead of distinguishing between the nationalism of the conquered bourgeoisie which remains an expression of its imperialist preoccupations and the 'nationalism' of the masses which is only a reactionary expression of their resistance against the exploitation of the occupying imperialism, the leadership of the POI considered the struggle of its own bourgeoisie as progressive, did not at first separate itself from Gaullism and was content with giving it a more 'revolutionary' terminological form. In putting the conquered and imperialist French bourgeoisie on the same plane as the bourgeoisie of the colonial countries, the leadership of the POI took on a completely erroneous conception of the national question and spread dangerous illusions as to the character of the nationalist organizations which, far from constituting potential 'allies' for the revolutionary proletariat, reveal themselves as the counter-revolutionary avant-garde of imperialism.

"In the same way, in starting from the entirely correct point of view of the necessity of the revolutionary party to take part in the struggle of the masses and to tear away large segments of the working class from the bad influence of nationalism, the leadership of the POI allowed themselves to get carried away with dangerous ideological and tactical concessions, and did not understand that the first condition for conquering the masses consisted in the clear revolutionary language of the internationalist class struggle, in opposition to the confused and treacherous language of social-patriotism.

"It is necessary to add, nevertheless, that, if this condemnation of a right-centrist deviation is forced upon us, the Fourth International must equally condemn with

all its energy the 'leftist'-sectarian deviation that manifested itself, for example, in the politics of the CCI in France on the national question, which under the pretext of keeping intact the patrimony of Marxism-Leninism, stubbornly refused to distinguish the nationalism of the bourgeoisie from the resistance movement of the masses. "In condemning the struggle of the proletarian and petty-bourgeois masses for their day to day interests as 'reactionary and nationalist' from the moment that this struggle directed itself against the occupying imperialism and under the cover of petty-bourgeois slogans, sectarianism paralyzes precisely those revolutionary efforts for combatting the nationalist ideology and automatically cuts itself off from the real struggle of the large masses. "Nevertheless, the social-patriotic deviation was, from the beginning, energetically thwarted by the healthy resistance of the revolutionary base of the French section as well as by the rest of the international organization." (Quatrieme Internationale, No. 6-7, April-May, 1944, p.8-9)

If we have taken the time for such a long quote, it is for definite reasons. One is that such criticism emanating from official bodies and leaderships of the Fourth International are quite unique on any question. Second is that while ostensibly criticizing the "social-patriotic deviation" of the French section, the European Secretariat's criticism showed its inability to deal with the origin of the French section's deviation, and lays bare the basis of the Secretariat's own capitulation to nationalism. The criticism does not in any way attempt to investigate or explain why it was that the French section was so influenced by "the petty-bourgeois masses exasperated by the defeat of their imperialist masters." It, on the contrary, makes believe that it was only a deviation of the French leadership while "the revolutionary base" remained healthy and

"thwarted" the deviation. Just how this healthy "revolutionary base" "thwarted" "the social-patriotic deviation" of the French section is not explained. That it did not thwart the "social-patriotic deviation" of the French section can be seen from two sources already mentioned above, both of which appeared after the above criticism was made. The first was the "Open Letter to the President of the Press Federation" printed in issue No. 74 of La Verite, Sept. 30, 1944, and the second is the pamphlet, The Struggle of the Trotskyists under the Nazi Terror, published August, 1945, which also contained a reprint of the "Open Letter." But these are not the only items that can be used to show that the nationalist infection of the French section went deeper than its leadership, as we shall see later on.

The inability of the European Secretariat to make an incisive criticism of the French section is in itself an indication of "the infection of the nationalist and patriotic epidemic which" "seized" almost the whole of the International. The Secretariat criticizes the French section for not distinguishing "between the nationalism of the conquered bourgeoisie...and the 'nationalism' of the masses...." It is true that one must differentiate between the nationalism of the oppressed and that of the "capitalist and his journalist," lawyer, etc. But is this the real content of the Secretariat's differentiation? The Secretariat also criticized the POI for "putting the conquered and imperialist bourgeoisie on the same plane as the bourgeoisie of the colonial countries...." Here we can see the real content of the Secretariat's differentiation. The Secretariat is not criticizing the POI for taking up the struggle for national liberation, but merely for assigning a progressive role to the French bourgeoisie. You see, according to the Secretariat, the national liberation struggle of the French bourgeoisie "remains an expression of its imperialist

preoccupations," and therefore, is barred from playing a progressive role, while on the other "plane" "the bourgeoisie of the colonial countries" can and do play a progressive role in the struggle for national liberation. Here is clearly the theory of the permanent revolution, in essence, applied to the imperialist country of France--which smacks of the more subtle chauvinist positions in the 2nd International during WW I--while the essence of the Menshevik line (Stalinist) is adopted by the Secretariat for the "colonial countries."

The Leninist theory of revolutionary defeatism in the imperialist countries and the theory of the permanent revolution which states that the bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries cannot play a progressive role in the epoch of imperialist decay, are both thrown out the window for an almost pure classical social-democratic position on nationalism.

Elsewhere in the Secretariat's Theses one can corroborate this analysis of their above criticism. The Theses as a whole undoubtedly reflected the growing militancy of the masses, the growth of the partisan movement, and some growth in our own ranks as well. While stating several correct things, such as the task of projecting a "policy to transform the imperialist war into civil war" and condemning the "slogan of 'national insurrection,'" the idea of national liberation is, nevertheless, smuggled in:

"While the proletariat must reject any alliance with its own bourgeoisie, it cannot remain disinterested in the struggle of the masses against the oppression of German imperialism. The proletariat supports this struggle in order to facilitate and hasten its transformation into a general struggle against capitalism,"

and the Theses go on to project entrism into the partisan movements.

(to be continued)