WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 145 X-523 18 February 1977

Expropriate the Energy Trusts!

The recent bitter winter freeze throughout the Midwest and Eastern U.S. abounds in vivid examples of capitalist irrationality. Close to 2 million workers were laid off due to the "energy crisis"; the pitifully poor freeze to death in New York City's over-priced welfare hotels. Meanwhile the energy monopolies (oil corporations who also control most natural gas supplies and coal production as well) hoard vast pools of natural gas which they refuse to deliver to the hardest-hit areas because the price isn't right.

"We told you so," crowed the London *Economist* (5 February), commenting with arrogant satisfaction on the privations suffered by the American masses. If you don't want to freeze to death, you'd be prepared to pay a ransom, the Tory mouthpiece proclaims, mustering an air of moral superiority despite the wretched disaster area British capitalism has made of its own economy. The sophisticated ~~British have even invented~~ a new word for freezing to death--"hypothermia" is what the British poor die of these days. But the U.S. bourgeoisie is not far behind in this doubletalk. According to the courts, landlords who cut off the heat are merely engaged in "constructive eviction."

The *Wall Street Journal* found a Texas oilman who controls 60 billion cubic feet of proven reserves in the "Richard Milhous Nixon gas sands"; the *New York Times* discovered a single producer, Tillman J. McIntyre, sitting atop 10 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, enough to keep the whole country running for almost 200 days. Yet the interstate pipeline distributors cut off the entire state of New Jersey. "Why should I sell my gas out of state for $1.42 when Texas buyers are waiting in line to pay $2 for it?" asks McIntyre. Why, indeed, should he? It is not the hoarding producers who are acting irrationally--it is the entire capitalist system of production for profit rather than social need that is to blame.

The current energy crisis demonstrates the utter futility of New Deal schemes to rationalize capitalism through regulation. The price of interstate natural gas has been under federal price controls since 1938, yet now the producers claim that profits are too low and so they refuse to deliver and have intentionally cut back on production.

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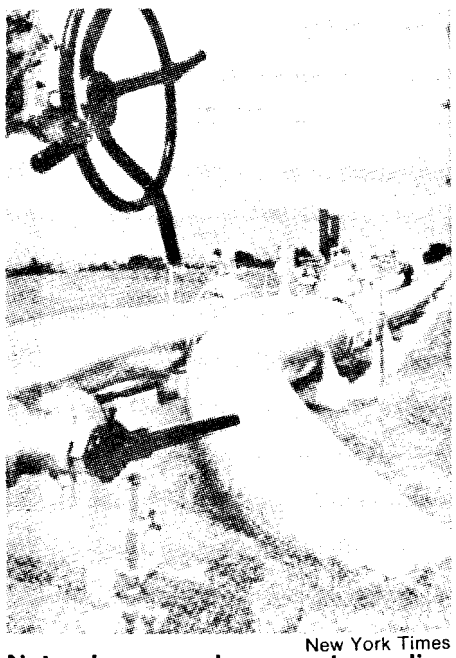

New York Times

Natural gas producers cut supplies causing massive layoffs.

Sauro/New York Times

Assembly line at Mahwah, N.J., Ford plant was shut down as a result of energy shortage.

Abel Flunky Beats Liberals' Darling in Steel Elections

Sadlowski Loses

FEBRUARY 14—With most of the vote tabulated, unofficial tallies indicate that the incumbent United Steelworkers (USWA) bureaucracy led by Lloyd McBride has won a clear victory over the slate headed by challenger Ed Sadlowski. Thus ended what has been labeled the most important union election in America since the 1940's. At AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington, George ("I have never walked a picket line") Meany breathed a sigh of relief, and in Pittsburgh outgoing USWA president I.W. ("no strike") Abel announced that bargaining would proceed as normal now that "irresponsible" elements had been turned back.

During the campaign the big business press and numerous left organizations made Sadlowski out to be a fundamental challenge to the Meanyite "old guard" of labor officialdom. Inveighing against Abel's "labor statemanship" and promising to turn the USWA over to the members, Sadlowski projected a militant image. But, as the Spartacist League repeatedly pointed out, behind the populist rhetoric of the touted "steel rebel" was a program not qualitatively different from Abel/McBride's. In particular, we warned that Sadlowski's appeal to the capitalist courts and U.S. Labor Department against the union is a fundamental betrayal making support to his candidacy by class-conscious workers out of the question.

Arnold Zann

Ed Sadlowski

Figures released by McBride headquarters show that their candidate had 325,000 votes to 238,000 for Sadlowski, with less than 10 percent of the vote uncounted. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 February) projects that McBride will finish with 59 percent of the vote. Sadlowski, although he will probably carry basic steel, did not do well enough to counter McBride's strengh in Canada, the South, smaller shops and non-basic steel sectors of the union. Thus, in his own Chicago-based District 31, Sadlowski had hoped to win by a margin of three to one; instead, the final edge was barely three to two.

Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback has not officially conceded and, consistent with its strategy of relying on intervention by the bourgeois state, has indicated that it may demand a full Labor Department investigation of the elections. However, the margin of defeat is large enough to make it unlikely that anything would come of such a challenge.

McBride's victory means that Abel will conduct the bargaining for a new basic steel contract due to go into effect August 1. Abel would like to negotiate a "breakthrough" contract before he leaves the industry, and USWA officials are talking about a "lifetime job guarantee" scheme that would supposedly ensure workers a minimum number of hours per year on the job.

By all indications, however, this scheme is no less of a hoax than UAW president Leonard Woodcock s "voluntary overtime" plan. Abel, McBride & Co. have indicated that their plan will apply only to workers with higher seniority and might involve a cutback in supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB). Thus, the low seniority workers, who are the ones *most* affected by layoffs, are given no additional—and perhaps less—protection!

The elections demonstrated that there is strong opposition to the USWA International, particularly in the basic steel sector. In the pivotal District 31, with its 120,000 members, Sadlowski's hand-picked successor Jim Balanoff easily defeated four opponents. The maintenance of an oppositional leadership in District 31, as well as the presence of other rifts in the bureauc-

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PART 2 OF 2

On the Class Nature of the USSR

Trotskyism vs. "State Capitalism": From Kautsky to Mao 6

Letters

Paranagua and Pilla Defense

San Francisco, 5 February 1977

WORKERS VANGUARD
New York

Dear comrades,

On 22 January 1977, following their release from prison and deportation from Argentina, Paulo Antonio de Paranagua and Maria Regina Pilla arrived by air in Paris, France. Although understandably exhausted after nearly two years' confinement and torture, the Brazilian surrealist filmmaker and his companion are in good physical condition.

We look forward to the opportunity to present photographs and interviews, on the situation of Paranagua and Pilla since their release, to the U.S. press at an early date. We will soon publish a thorough summary of the development of the case and our experience with it. We are now discussing ways and means to continue working against repression of independent intellectuals around the world. We are convinced that the happy outcome of the Paranagua-Pilla case would not have been possible without the organization of an international protest campaign against the Argentine military regime's policy of arrest, torture, and murder of dissident labor, political, and artistic figures.

First, however, we want to express our real appreciation for the activity of the Spartacist League, *Workers Vanguard*, and the Partisan Defense Committee on behalf of Paranagua and Pilla. While most members of our Group would be reluctant to conceal their disagreement with many political positions held by the SL and defended in the *WV*, the SL and PDC have the honor of being virtually the only left organizations in the U.S. to actively contribute to the fight for Paranagua and Pilla. Specifically, news coverage of the case in *WV* No. 126, dated 24 September 1976, stands out as an exemplary, nonsectarian presentation of the facts in a difficult case. Furthermore, *WV* news coverage was followed up by serious public agitation on the case.

This stands in rather strong contrast to the indifference and routinism with which other left groups greeted our initiatives for joint work. Certain organizations apparently believe it is sufficient, to keep the political record up to date, to "endorse" a defense effort like ours without going beyond telephoned promises of future joint actions that never materialize. Others, whom we believed had something at stake in this case, were content to ignore our repeated attempts at liaison.

However, the main thing at this point is to celebrate the release of Paranagua and Pilla and to prepare ourselves for work on other such cases. In the time to come, we hope the PDC, the SL, and *Workers Vanguard* will continue to act, as they did in the Paranagua-Pilla case, in the spirit and tradition of the International Labor Defense in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Yours fraternally,

Stephen S.
For the Bay Area Group for the Defense of Paranagua and Pilla

Trotskyists Soft on Lewis?

4 February 1977

To the Editor:

The description of your trade union policy made by your correspondent R.C. of Milwaukee sounds pretty accurate to me. In the several years I've been reading your paper I've never noticed that you ever supported anybody in a union election who "doesn't agree with the entire transitional program for a socialist revolution." Apparently both R.C. and I missed a crucial issue of the paper for I now learn from your answer to him that you once, briefly, endorsed something called "the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus," a fantasy conceived by the Revolutionary Socialist League. Well, is that really all you can find in your record of union work to show that you are not ultimatists and abstentionists on principle?

Another difference between R.C. and you deserves comment. R.C. says the smaller a revolutionary group is, the more circumspect should be its trade union policy; you say the opposite. "If anything, a small revolutionary organization—having little social weight and organizational muscle, and with only its program to stand behind—should be even more cautious about engaging in tactical maneuvers like critical support." In other words, the bigger you get, the more flexible you should get. Put another way, when what you say doesn't matter much, spout the whole program; but when you have the ear of the masses and what you say influences events, talk reasonably and cut deals. Do I misread you? I hope I do.

Your history lesson to R.C. is defective. Using your own criterion, I ask you: Did John L. Lewis in 1935 break "programmatically from the class collaborationism shared by all wings of the bureaucracy" of the AFL? Should revolutionists at the AFL Convention that year have supported him against the William Green faction of the bureaucracy? My answers are no[to]the first and yes to the second question. My reason is that despite the reactionary history of Lewis, to bloc with him then was to help along the development of the CIO. It is a standard 1930s SWP reason, and despite your energetic claim to the mantle, I think you know very little about how we thought and worked in those days. Still, I am glad you think "The SWP was entirely correct to bloc with Lewis on the issue of industrial unionism." You didn't reach that conclusion by applying your ultimatist criterion to the case however.

David Herreshoff

WV replies: The letter from R.C. and our reply ("Should Revolutionists 'Walk with Sadlowski'?" *WV* No. 142, 28 January 1977) dealt centrally with the issue of support to Sadlowski. Comrade Herreshoff does not explicitly address himself to this issue, and we do not believe it necessary to replicate the extensive analysis on the Steelworkers election that has appeared in these pages over the past few months.

Nonetheless, the methodology employed by Herreshoff is characteristic of that generally advanced by ostensible socialists seeking to justify their support to Sadlowski. Herreshoff chides us that our Marxist credentials will not be in order until we have duly given "critical support" to a sufficient number of scoundrels like Arnold Miller and Sadlowski. Of course, the SL is prepared to engage in united fronts and extend critical support in both union and parliamentary elections, when such actions are principled and appropriate. In following our press comrade Herreshoff should be aware that we have done so on numerous occasions.

But for Leninists, united-front appeals to opponent organizations, critical support, etc. are tactics *imposed* upon them by their weakness and inability to directly mobilize the workers who follow the centrist and reformist misleaders. Revolutionaries always strive to lead the masses in their own name. That one's ability to carry out maneuvers is dependent upon the real forces at his command is an elementary lesson in strategy which is not the property of Marxists alone; it is a fact well understood by military strategists, bourgeois politicians or run-of-the-mill union bureaucrats. It only bears repeating so often because for many small ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, their Marxism consists solely of a vocabulary of terms like "critical support" and "united front," which (in the guise of "intersecting the class struggle") they employ as an excuse to betray Bolshevik principles.

Herreshoff, who accuses the SL of being sectarian, suggests that when we become larger we will emerge as opportunists. Of course, all workers organizations are continually exposed to the corrosive influence of bourgeois society. However, one can be certain that the small left group that today capitulates to the Sadlowskis and the Millers—not even in exchange for anything real, but only out of fear of being "isolated"—would be totally unable to withstand the pressures brought to bear on a workers organization that did indeed have something tangible to sell out.

In our reply to R.C., we insisted that the SWP's bloc with John L. Lewis on the issue of industrial unionism "in no way constituted generalized political support, however critical, to the Lewis wing of the bureaucracy." Herreshoff says otherwise.

At its 1935 convention in Atlantic City the AFL leadership put forward a motion to authorize the chartering of new union locals, but only if they were organized on a craft basis. Supporters of the Workers Party (at that time the Trotskyist organization in the U.S.) were correct to bloc with Lewis in opposing this resolution. But that in no way constituted political support to Lewis & Co. Let us see what A. J. Muste, who covered the 1935 convention for the Workers Party, wrote at that time:

> "Because there is thus no difference in underlying philosophy but only tactical distinctions between the old guard and the so-called progressives, it was possible, as the *New Militant* predicted, for Lewis to 'attack' Green repeatedly during the convention and then turn around and nominate him for president of the Federation again....
> "The line of policy for revolutionists and for all genuinely militant elements in the unions is not that of an alliance with Lewis-Hillman to wage a mock battle against the corpse of Gompers or the non-entity Green, or the much deflated Matthew Woll, whose ideas, like his oratory, are of nineteenth century vintage. No, the conservative forces in the A.F. of L. today are the Lewis-Hillman forces, the more dangerous because they masquerade as progressive and up-to-date....
> "The militant forces in all of the unions, in every section of the country, in the A.F. of L. generally, must organize on a basis of class struggle, industrial unionism and genuine trade union democracy against the Lewis-Hillman line.
> "The Stalinists with their complete turn to the right in every field devote their energies not to building up a real left wing but actually to playing up Lewis, Hillman, Gorman, et. al. as the genuine article...."
>
> —*New Militant*, 26 October 1935

Today it is not only the Stalinists that present the Millers and Sadlowskis as the "genuine article." It is also the SWP. Scour the pages of the *Militant* and you will find no calls to build a class-struggle alternative to *both* the McBride and *Sadlowski wings of the Steelworkers* bureaucracy. You will find instead numerous instances of uncritical enthusing over Sadlowski. We think it clear that it is not the SL that knows "very little" about the historic traditions of Trotskyism. Nor for that matter is it the SWP leadership, which *consciously* betrays those traditions.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

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WV Photo

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent in Los Angeles busing march last Saturday.

L.A. Demo Protests Tokenist Busing Plan

LOS ANGELES, February 13—Over 1,000 people marched here yesterday in a protest against the Los Angeles school board's refusal to implement a school integration plan for the sprawling L.A. Unified School District.

The demonstration was sponsored by a coalition of liberal groups, including the American Civil Liberties Union, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Integration Project, a local pro-busing group. It was intended as an eminently respectable Saturday stroll in the southern California sun—a media event to pressure the school board and serve as a vehicle for election campaigns of pro-busing politicians.

The spirit of the 1960's civil rights movement and of Martin Luther King was constantly evoked, one sponsor calling the demonstration "the first civil rights march in L.A. in more than a decade." The march was led by local black politicians and clergy, including school board member Diane Watson. One speaker after another attacked the school board, but had no alternatives to offer except pursuing the legal case to the Supreme Court or voting segregationist politicians out of office.

Much of the L.A. left, including the Communist Party (CP), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Labor Party (CLP), had endorsed the march uncritically, and a substantial portion of the demonstrators were supporters of one or another of the left tendencies or their satellites. However, these reformists were granted no speakers at all. The Spartacist League (SL) distinguished itself as the only organized contingent in the demonstration to visibly oppose reliance on the capitalist state in order to achieve racial integration. The SL contingent marched behind a banner proclaiming "No Confidence in the Cops, Board or Courts—For a Multi-Racial/Labor Mobilization to Defend Busing and Extend it to the Suburbs."

School Board Thwarts Integration

The L.A. Unified School District (which includes the city of Los Angeles and a number of small, predominantly working-class, adjacent cities) was first sued for its racially segregated schools in 1963. In the intervening 14 years, the courts and Board of Education have tossed responsibility back and forth, issuing pious pronouncements and vague declarations, and have succeeded in maintaining sharp racial (and class) segregation in the public schools.

Last year the board appointed a 114-person advisory committee, which proposed a large-scale busing plan within the L.A. Unified School District in order to integrate the schools. Rather than accept the proposal of its advisory committee, the seven-person school board adopted its own plan (over the objections of two liberal board members, Robert Docter and Diane Watson) at a meeting this past January 13. The board plan—probably the most cynically tokenistic ever proposed by a major city—calls for the establishment of "specialized learning centers" to which students from segregated schools would be bused for a *nine-week* "integrated experience"!

Even the advisory committee plan falls far short of providing integrated education, however. Busing is necessary to achieve educational integration in most major U.S. cities, including Los Angeles, where racial separation in the schools is based primarily on segregated neighborhoods, a result of the discrimination that relegates high percentages of blacks and other minorities to the lowest-paying jobs and the ranks of the unemployed. But busing must be extended to the affluent suburbs (such as Beverly Hills) to be meaningful.

The L.A. school population is more than 37 percent Spanish-surnamed, and many of these students come from homes where Spanish is the only language spoken. Thus bilingual education is absolutely vital to achieve school integration. Yet Mexican Americans in the Los Angeles area are now worried that the expense of busing will be used as an excuse to cut even the present limited bilingual programs (5,300 students). The labor movement must demand that there be no school cutbacks and layoffs, that seniority rights be defended, additional badly needed teachers be hired and that bilingual and other special programs be extended to all students who require them.

Opposition to busing in L.A. has centered around a San Fernando Valley-based group called "Bustop" which claims 20,000 members and demagogically appeals to parents to "oppose forced busing." Bobbi Fiedler, a leading member of Bustop, is running in the April Board of Education primary election against Robert Docter, a pro-busing incumbent. Fiedler is not only opposed to busing, but has been quoted as opposing bringing children of different social classes together as well (KCET-TV, 13 January 1977).

There is not yet a racist mobilization in Los Angeles on the scale of Boston or Louisville, though there was a limited one-day anti-busing school boycott in the San Fernando Valley last month, and another citywide boycott is being organized for late February or March. Significantly, the Ku Klux Klan was leafletting the anti-busing demonstration at the January boycott. Southern

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Confessions of a Rubber Stamp

On January 14 a host of ostensibly Trotskyist dignitaries got together in a London public meeting to denounce Gerry Healy, the self-styled "anti-revisionist" whose Stalinist-style organizational practices have made him notorious as a gangster and slanderer. The meeting's ostensible purpose was to protest Healy's despicable slander campaign to smear the American SWP's Joseph Hansen and George Novack as "accomplices" of the Stalinist secret police in the 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky (see "Fake Trotskyist Family Reunion," *WV* No. 141, 21 January). The meeting's real purpose was to buttress the assembled revisionists' pretensions to Trotskyism, using Healy as a convenient foil. The hypocrisy of the participants' avowed concern for "workers democracy" was demonstrated when the meeting refused to grant Healy the floor to reply to his attackers.

WV Photo

Tim Wohlforth

But surely the most shameless of all the hypocrites was Tim Wohlforth, who for some dozen years headed Healy's American satellite. As Healy's chosen instrument, Wohlforth happily emulated every corrupt trick in Healy's book, sanctimoniously prating about the "Marxist method" while arrogantly intimidating any and all opposition to his high-handed tinpot despotism and cynical opportunism. He flinched from nothing in his master's service, until at last a denunciation of himself stuck in his throat.

Wohlforth's testimonial to the crimes of Healy was truly heart-rending:

> "I got up in the middle of the meeting and said I disagreed with the proceedings. Which was the hardest thing that I have ever said in my life because of the atmosphere. And yet, and any of you here who have ever been in the Socialist Labour League could understand this, *and yet I ended up, as those who have been in the Socialist Labour League have done and still do, I ended up voting against my convictions*!
>
> "I voted for my own removal; Nancy Fields voted for her own suspension. And then, two minutes out of that meeting, we went back to our cabin with Comrade Slaughter and we told him we disagreed with the way we voted. We just could not say it in front of such a meeting in such an atmosphere." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 7 February

Healyite methods are indeed brutal and debasing. But we would like to remind Wohlforth that, despite the intimidating "atmosphere" which is a hallmark of the Healy-Wohlforth school, there is an alternative to sniveling self-denunciation.

In London in 1966, at a conference of Healy's "International Committee," Healy—in an attempt to guarantee a totally subservient puppet organization in the U.S.—launched a bureaucratic attack on James Robertson, the spokesman for the Spartacist delegation to the conference, for missing a session due to exhaustion and illness. One contemporary account described the incident:

> "(1) He was charged with being absent from a session.
> "(2) He admitted his guilt.
> "(3) A motion was passed demanding that he apologize and admit having committed a 'petty-bourgeois act.'
> "(4) He apologized in an emphatic way for having been absent but refused to acknowledge that he had committed a 'petty-bourgeois act.'
> "(5) The escalation proceeded. Healy, according to Rose J., scored Robertson's absence and his refusal to vote for his condemnation, characterizing it as a 'petty-bourgeois, reactionary act expressing the chauvinism of American imperialism, etc.'
> "(6) Robertson was threatened with expulsion if he did not voice approval of the motion branding him with the alleged class nature of his crime.
> "(7) The dazed man still said, no
> "(8) He was expelled."
>
> —"Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International"

The author of these words was none other than Joseph Hansen, who has now gathered into his revisionist fold the very same Wohlforth who in 1966 joyously echoed the slanderous call of his master's voice to lock up his cherished franchise as the head of American Healyism.

For the loathsome creatures of the Wohlforth ilk, there was never any choice but to vote "against my convictions," pleading the "atmosphere" in extenuation. For the principled Leninist politicians of the Spartacist tendency, there was never any choice but to uphold our convictions, in the terrain of organizational practice as in the terrain of program. Wohlforth was, in Hansen's own words, "a rubber stamp for a Healy." True enough. And despite a decade of denouncing Hansen's revisionism, look whose rubber stamp Wohlforth is now! ■

Why the MEC Is Afraid of the Spartacist League

The leaders of the amorphous Marxist Education Collective (MEC) in New York have a problem. Arthur Felberbaum & Co. would have participants in their "School for Marxist Education" believe that the problem is "how to deal with the Sparts." They should be so lucky. Their real problem is that they have no common political basis for existence—they can't answer revolutionary politics without provoking an immediate split. All the Spartacist League (SL) has done is to present the Trotskyist program that set off the MEC's self-destruct mechanism.

Last week MEC leaders tried to untie their Gordian knot by excluding SL members and supporters from their classes. With this bureaucratic act the MEC honchos hoped to hide from history, avoiding the imperative need to present a coherent Marxist program. But lacking the political muscle to carry out a total exclusion of Spartacists at this time, the MEC executive board instead announced an interim policy allowing teachers to set a limit of "one Spart per class" if they so desire.

To date only two teachers have chosen to act on this decision, and the collective as a whole seems to want to back off from a major confrontation with the SL. Nevertheless, the MEC membership has not repudiated this anti-democratic exclusion. It cannot avoid the issue, nor will we permit it to do so. To let this exclusion stand is to define the MEC as a fundamentally anti-communist political tendency, declared enemies of proletarian democracy.

What Is the MEC Afraid of?

In a leaflet entitled "'Open Marxist School' Closed to Trotskyists," the SL noted that the exclusion confirmed what we have been claiming all along: that the MEC is no "open forum" but contains within it a leadership core with a hidden political program. It is significant that the only teachers who have thus far enforced the exclusion are the MEC's "education director" Felberbaum and his sidekick Stephan Kass. Felberbaum, whose positions parallel those of the pseudo-Trotskyists of Ernest Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the United Secretariat (USec), apparently finds it necessary to shelter potential recruits to his undercover operation from the revolutionary Trotskyism of the Spartacist League.

In order to conciliate non-USec supporters and keep his MEC front going, Felberbaum vociferously denies double-recruiting to the IMT. But as we pointed out in our leaflet on the exclusion:

> "Why is it that the SL's participation in the school has been limited while no similar restrictions have been placed on the Communist Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, or the Socialist Party USA? While the MEC cannot live in the same room with more than one Spartacist at a time, it has no trouble cohabiting with betrayers whose organizations bear the responsibility of sixty years of betrayal of workers struggles. "It is because of its appetites toward the reformist parties, the Stalinists in particular, that the MEC can no longer tolerate in its midst the revolutionaries who expose it. Historically, one of the characteristics of Pabloism has been the organizational suppression of revolutionary factions which fought against capitulationist tendencies in the Trotskyist movement."

The leaflet went on to point out a common attachment to the so-called "revolutionary component" of the Portuguese Communist Party on the part of both the MEC and the Mandelite IMT.

The political intervention of the SL has forced a premature emergence of "closet IMTers" in the MEC leadership, and this, in turn, appears to have exacerbated existing subterranean tensions within the collective, leading to an open clash between Felberbaum and a rightist, feminist current. Among the membership the range of opinion stretches from those who are outraged at the anti-democratic exclusion of the Spartacist League to others who hate all parties so much that they do not want to stop with the SL. The latter would not be adverse to getting rid of the Felberbaum grouping itself, which has now been exposed as involved in dread attempts at a pre-party formation.

The MEC can no longer escape a political reckoning. Felberbaum cannot openly defend his IMT appetites without provoking the collective's disintegration; neither can he disguise his true positions without ceding the floor to the SL. With the cowardly exclusion of Spartacist supporters the MEC leaders have provoked the confrontation they have sought for so many months to avoid. Now they can no longer hide behind vague innuendo and absurd charges of Spartacist "lying"—Murray Weiss is supposedly not a leader of the MEC but only a "respected teacher"; the Chilean musical group which played at the MEC's "Night of Solidarity with Revolutionary Women" was not a rock-and-roll group ("slander!") but a folk group, etc.

Comrades, this is nothing but the most petty corridor gossip. It is a smokescreen to avoid political struggle, while in the backrooms the maneuvering goes on to maintain the precarious "unity" of this unprincipled amalgam. Perhaps the strongest affinity of the MEC for the USec is their common abhorrence of political clarification, which for these armchair "revolutionists" is nothing but a hindrance to their wheeling and dealing.

The Spartacist League has consistently defended the program of revolutionary Trotskyism. This is what earns the hatred of Felberbaum and his clique; this is what makes the SL the only pole for a truly revolutionary regroupment. As for the MEC, so long as it claims to be an "open school" for "Marxist education," we will insist that the norms of workers democracy be applied within it. ■

Economist

Provincial prime minister René Levesque speaking at Parti Québécois rally after election victory last fall.

Quebec Nationalism and the Class Struggle

The following memorandum on Quebec was adopted at the last Trotskyist League Central Committee plenum. It is reprinted from the January 1977 issue of Spartacist Canada.

1. Leninism and nationalism are two fundamentally counterposed political viewpoints. Thus while we struggle against all forms of national oppression, we are also opposed to all forms of nationalist ideology. A socialist world economy will provide the foundation for the gradual disappearance of national antagonisms and the voluntary assimilation of nations.

However capitalism in its period of decay intensifies national oppression and exacerbates reactionary nationalist conflicts. We stand on the principle of the equality of all nations, and support their unconditional right to self-determination. Only by upholding such a democratic guarantee against national oppression and privilege can we combat nationalist ideology and lay the basis for international proletarian unity against capitalism, unencumbered by overriding national antagonisms.

2. For colonies (e.g., Puerto Rico), the right to self-determination can only be expressed through immediate and unconditional independence. In oppressed nations within multi-national states the question of whether or not to *advocate* independence depends on the depth of national antagonisms between the working people of the different nations. If relations have become so poisoned as to make genuine class unity impossible within a single state power, we support independence as the only way to remove the national question from the agenda and bring the class issue to the fore. The Bolsheviks did not find it necessary to *advocate* independence for the oppressed minority nations in Tsarist Russia, yet Lenin did support the call for Norwegian independence from Sweden.

3. The Parti Québécois victory in the aftermath of growing national antagonisms over the language question in both Quebec and English-speaking Canada raises the question whether we should go from supporting the *right* to self-determination for Quebec to advocating its independence. The nationalist sentiment among many sections of the Quebec proletariat has not prevented Quebec workers from taking the lead in many Canada-wide labor actions, the most important being October 14, the first national general strike in the history of the North American labor movement. Except for the petty-bourgeois strata within the labor movement which are the traditional social base of nationalist movements (teachers and civil servants), there has been no discernible trend toward breakaways from the international industrial unions to Quebec nationalist unions. Pre-election polls which accurately reflected the electoral outcome found that only 18 percent of the Québécois actually desire independence. *At this time* we therefore continue our previous policy of advocating Quebec's right to self-determination while opposing independence. Were the question posed *now* in a referendum we would still insist on voting "no" to independence.

But we also recognize that the English chauvinist reaction to bilingualism, combined with manifestations of French-language chauvinism among the Québécois (e.g., Bill 22, the air traffic controllers' strike), indicate that national antagonisms could very rapidly escalate to the point where common class unity could be torn asunder. Although the PQ victory was primarily an anti-Liberal backlash, nonetheless it has already led to growing confrontations between Quebec and Ottawa, confrontations which will probably serve to inflame the existing national antagonisms. Thus our opposition to advocating independence *now* by no means precludes advocating independence in the immediate future (e.g., by the time of the PQ-proposed referendum in two years). Whether the cause of common class unity is ultimately better served within a common state power or an independent Quebec has not yet been subjected to a decisive historic test and outcome.

4. Advocacy of independence would still have the goal of *combatting* nationalist ideology. Independence for Quebec would hopefully lay the basis for unity on a higher level among

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Polish Regime Victimizes Workers Defense Committee!

Der Spiegel

Soldiers guard intersection during 1970 riots.

In the aftermath of the massive demonstrations in Poland last June 25 protesting announced food price increases of up to 70 percent, an estimated 5,000 workers were jailed and many convicted on charges of rioting. Last week, after seven months of international and domestic protests, the government announced a conditional pardon for all those still imprisoned for participating in the demonstrations.

The pardon announced by Prime Minister Edward Gierek, while a relief to the workers still in jail, was at best a grudging concession. It is an insult to the tens of thousands who struck and demonstrated in defense of their living standards in June, now branded as "criminals and hooligans" by the state. Moreover, the regime has made the pardon conditional, leaving release of each individual up to bureaucratic fiat: *if* the workers "show repentance" and *if* the authorities have reason to believe "they would not return to crime" (*New York Times*, 5 February).

Der Spiegel

Edward Lipinski

Der Spiegel

Jacek Kuron

A leading member of the Workers Defense Committee, a group of intellectuals which has protested the victimization of the workers jailed and fired in the aftermath of June 25, called the pardon "a great social victory." But he added, the group will continue to struggle for a complete amnesty and the rehiring of all fired workers at their previous jobs, with no loss in seniority.

Only days after the protests erupted and then died out under heavy repression (see "Behind Polish Workers' June Protests," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976), hastily set up judicial panels were handing out up to 700 sentences daily. While the most common punishment was a three-month jail term and a fine of 5,000 zlotys (about US$200), many workers received harsher terms ranging from three to ten years in prison.

Those arrested or detained for question were reportedly badly mistreated by police. Hundreds and probably thousands have lost their jobs. According to an eyewitness report furnished by the Workers Defense Committee:

> "These people are forbidden to take up work in both state enterprises and cooperatives and even in private enterprises, which are threatened with losing their license should they violate the exclusion. The Warsaw employment office refuses to carry on any talks at all with workers dismissed after June 25."
> —*Der Spiegel*, 22 November 1976

Blacklisted and blocked from financial aid from the government, many have suffered severe personal hardships.

And even now when the Gierek regime attempts to close the book on June 25, it continues to harass the Workers Defense Committee. Organized in September, its originators include several well-known socialist intellectuals. The Committee's assiduous publicity of the victimized workers' plight has been a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy, and certainly it can take at least partial credit for the reduction in jail terms for some workers last fall, as well as for the recent pardon.

Bureaucrats Have No Solution for Economic Crisis

Seeking a truce with the discontented working class, the Polish government is putting up a show of "consulting" the populace, just as it did in the wake of the December 1970 workers revolt in the Baltic coast port cities. Speaking at the Ursus tractor works (a center of the June protests) this month, Gierek claimed: "We are heeding public opinion and there are no problems that cannot be discussed and solved in a democratic way."

But despite its bogus talk of "democracy," the Stalinist regime is faced with a real economic crisis which it cannot resolve in the workers' interests while continuing its policies of bribing the peasantry and keeping up a good credit rating with imperialist financiers through heavy exports of food. The workers who protested at Ursus, Radom and elsewhere were tired of bearing the burden of the bureaucracy's belt-tightening economic policies so that private farmers could reap higher prices and quality meats could be exported to the West for hard currency.

The Gierek regime also claims to be reordering economic priorities. Last month the government announced that in the 1976-80 economic plan investment in consumers goods industries would rise by over 40 percent, while total industrial investment will remain *unchanged*. Additionally an astronomical 12 percent of the national income will reportedly go to subsidize food prices, an almost unheard-of amount (*New York Times*, 21 January). While such a policy might allay mass discontent for the time being, it perpetuates Poland's grave economic situation. Poland now owes $12 billion to Western creditors, and repayments account for 20 to 30 percent of hard-currency earnings (*Business Week*, 17 January). Unless it can increase productivity in the export industry, the Gierek regime will face international bankruptcy, economic retaliation by its imperialist creditors and be forced to undertake extreme austerity measures.

Harassment and Provocation

While the government has been extremely hostile to the activities of the Workers Defense Commitee from the beginning, it has hesitated to jail or deport its leaders. To do so would risk a repeat of the workers demonstrations, which in deformed workers states (such as Poland) immediately threaten the foundations of the regime. Instead it has waged a campaign of harassment, hauling Committee members into police headquarters and detaining them for long periods of time for "questioning." Two members have been fired from their jobs, and others have been beaten, reportedly by plainclothes police, while attending the trials of Radom workers.

On November 3 police raided a Committee meeting and rounded up 14 members of the group. Among those held was Jacek Kuron, author of the open letter to Italian Communist Party leader Berlinguer asking the latter to intervene on behalf of the victimized workers. Again, in December, security police raided members' homes. To cripple the Committee's efforts to sustain the families of those jailed and fired (it has collected and distributed over $13,000), the government arrested at least one member for "illegally soliciting funds."

According to the 13 January *Rouge*, newspaper of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the Polish secret police went so far as to forge a letter to the Workers Defense Committee in the name of the LCR. In addition to grammatical errors, the forged document contains innuendos and slanderous accusations that money supposedly funneled to the Committee has never been accounted for.

But despite repression the Committee has continued its activity. On January 8, a letter signed by 172 Polish intellectuals was released denouncing police brutality against the workers in June and demanding the creation of an independent commission to investigate the "abuses and tortures the whole country is talking about." At the end of the month 22 members of the Workers Defense Committee issued a statement defending the authors of "Charter 77," an appeal for rights supposedly established in the Czech constitution and the 1975 Helsinki accords.

The political views of at least part of the defense committee were shown in a recent interview with Jacek Kuron, published in *Le Monde* (29 January). Kuron was a leader of student protests in Warsaw during the mid-1960's and at the time held that Poland was "state capitalist." Now, according to the interview, he has taken positions close to those of the "Eurocommunist" current epitomized by Berlinguer. Kuron praises Gierek for "knowing how to keep in touch" and encapsulates his own views as calling for a "step-by-step policy" of reforms.

The fact that the Workers Defense Committee has not appealed to the Western bourgeoisies to "aid" victims of bureaucratic repression in Poland is praiseworthy, not only because it makes it more difficult for the regime to dismiss it as simply a mouthpiece for Radio Free Europe and the CIA. More fundamentally, it is necessary to defend the social conquests represented by the overthrow of capitalism in the Soviet bloc states. But to believe that under Gierek or any other "reform" bureaucrat it will be possible to alter the nature of the Stalinist regime is a pipedream. The experience with Gierek's predecessor Gomulka, who was brought in almost directly from jail in 1956 in order to appease the Poznan strikers, should prove this. Only through a workers political revolution—deepening and extending workers revolts such as the 1970 strikes to topple the bureaucracy and establish a regime of soviet democracy—can the East European and Soviet proletariat go forward to socialism.

If the Polish government has hesitated to bring down its full weight on the Workers Defense Committee for fear of provoking a new wave of working-class protest, the imperialists have also treated it much differently than they have other Soviet bloc "dissidents." While Carter leaps to the defense of a Sakharov or the Charter 77 group (see "Dissidents and Cold Warriors," *WV* No. 144, 11 February), there is official silence about the Polish workers protests last summer.

There is a specific reason for this unaccustomed silence: if the protests should be successful in reversing economic priorities, this would endanger payment on the loans which the Polish bureaucracy has contracted for in the West. But beyond this, the bourgeoisie fears that a truly massive workers uprising would not only topple the bureaucracy but soon infect the working class of the West, thus endangering its own class rule. Only by building a movement of international *proletarian* solidarity can the victimized Polish workers be aided.

Drop all charges against June 25 strikers—restore their jobs immediately, with full restitution of pay and no loss in seniority! ■

On the Class Nature of the USSR

Trotskyism vs. "State Capitalism": From Kautsky to Mao

The following is the second part of the introduction to a forthcoming Spartacus Youth League pamphlet which brings together several recent articles from Workers Vanguard *and* Young Spartacus *on Maoist economics, attempts by apologists for the Chinese bureaucracy to explain a supposed "restoration of capitalism" in the post-Stalin USSR, and theories of "state capitalism" generally.*

The Maoist "theory" (actually, dogma) that capitalism has been restored in the USSR is distinguished by its subjectivist redefinition of social classes. Stalin's "socialist state" was supposedly overthrown and replaced by capitalism when the "revisionist" Khrushchev

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came to power and read his famous "secret speech" to the 20th congress of the CPSU. The flagrant idealism behind the idea that capitalism could be restored by a new party chairman and a speech (rather than bloody civil war) is forced upon the Maoists by the fact that the continuity of the Soviet economic system from Stalin to Khrushchev to Brezhnev is empirically indisputable and recognized by everyone else in the world. Likewise, the fundamental similarity between the economic systems of Brezhnev's Russia and Maoist China, despite their sharply different levels of development, is manifest.

Those few Maoist intellectuals, like Martin Nicolaus, who attempt to demonstrate that traditional capitalist institutions and relations have been restored in Brezhnev's Russia must of necessity resort to a total falsification of Soviet economic history. (For an exposé of Nicolaus' endless falsifications, see "How Maoists 'Restore Capitalism' in the Soviet Union," in *WV* Nos. 138 and 140, 24 December 1976 and 14 January 1977.) The Peking bureaucracy and its more cautious followers have chosen the safer course of simply *asserting* capitalist restoration in the USSR rather than trying to prove it.

Halfway intelligent Maoists realize instinctively that in any attempt to empirically demonstrate that socialism existed in Stalin's time while capitalism exists now, their opponents can only win. Consequently, the Revolutionary Communist Party, with Maoist orthodoxy on its side, accuses Nicolaus of revisionism and even Trotskyist methodology because he still identifies capitalism with the dominance of commodity-market relations:

> "Nicolaus' line which states that capitalism is equivalent to the market and socialism equivalent to planning is not a new one. In fact, his line has been the favorite of the Soviet revisionists who claim that their economy cannot be capitalist since it is run according to a plan.... It has also been taken up by the Trotskyites who, in words, stand opposed to revisionism but who have always argued that it is central planning which is the main characteristic of socialism. That is why, despite all their ranting and raving about 'Stalinist bureaucrats,' the Trotskyites still characterize both the Soviet Union and socialist China as 'deformed workers' states,' completely obscuring the fundamental difference between bourgeois and proletarian class rule."
>
> *Communist*, October 1976

The core of the Maoist position is captured in an axiom attributed to the Great Helmsman himself: "the rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." But revisionism can only occur in the realm of doctrines and ideas, while the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is an objectively determined social group: those individuals who own the means of production as marketable commodities. The subjectivism of the Maoist concept of class is nakedly revealed in this quotation from the Chairman.

Although the purest, most exaggerated subjectivist attitude toward social reality is to be found in Maoism, this outlook is inherent in all varieties of Stalinism with its identification of the state with the ruling clique and its dictatorial leader. For Marxists and in reality, the state is a historically given, objective relationship between the dominant economic system (i.e., property relations) and the military apparatus which defends that system. That is why the class nature of the state cannot be changed through a mere shuffling of personnel within the governing apparatus, but only through violent revolution.

In Defense of Marxism

The position that the USSR is "state capitalist" or some other form of exploitative class society cannot simply be dismissed as the ideological expression of opportunist appetites. If the adherents of "state capitalism" include such opportunist renegades as Karl Kautsky and Tony Cliff, among them are also individuals of outstanding personal revolutionary integrity like Amadeo Bordiga and Grandizo Munis.

The nature of the Soviet Union under Stalinist rule is one of the most difficult theoretical problems which has ever confronted the Marxist movement. That proletarian revolution should first triumph in backward Russia, in alliance with a mass peasant rebellion, was itself contrary to traditional Marxist projections. However, Lenin and Trotsky did not consider the Bolshevik Revolution as a self-sufficient, nationally limited event, but as the first act of an imminent Europe-wide proletarian revolution. The subsequent isolation of a workers state in an economically backward country surrounded by hostile imperialist powers was totally unanticipated in the Marxist tradition. And that this country should be ruled for decades by an absolutist bureaucracy through mass terror against the workers and peasants seems to contradict everything Marx or Lenin ever wrote, said or thought about the transition from capitalism to socialism.

It is therefore readily comprehensible that many subjectively revolutionary would-be Marxists balk at the Trotskyist position that the USSR under Stalin and his heirs is a workers state, albeit qualitatively bureaucratically degenerated. However, unless one doctors the evidence (à la Nicolaus), it is not possible to characterize the Soviet Union as capitalist or a new form of exploitative class rule without rejecting one or another fundamental element of classic Marxism, usually the theory of the state.

Der Spiegel

Soviet shoppers line up for goods in short supply. "When there is enough goods in a store, the purchasers can come whenever they want to. When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the Soviet bureaucracy. It 'knows' who is to get something and who has to wait." (Leon Trotsky, The Revolution Betrayed)

Henri Bureau/Sygma

Top Soviet bureaucrats: from left, Nikolai Podgorny, Andrei Gromyko, Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksei Kosygin

Marxism is not a dogma which is impervious to a changing reality. Marxism is both a scientific (i.e., empirically verifiable) analysis and a guide to action (i.e., a political program). How should one approach a major historical development which is unanticipated by, and seems to contradict, evolved Marxist doctrine? On the one hand there are theoretical extensions which preserve the integrity of the Marxist worldview. On the other, there are revisions which necessarily lead to the abandonment of the Marxist program, of a revolutionary proletarian, communist perspective.

Marxian scientific socialism (as distinguished from the utopian socialism of pre-Marxist radical-democratic intellectuals—notably the Babouvists, Saint-Simonians and Owenites) is distinguished by two central propositions. First, socialization of the means of production is not the realization of a moral ideal, but is only possible because capitalism arrests the development of productive forces and must be superseded by a superior economic system. Second, the agency for overthrowing capitalism on a world-historical scale is the organized working class, and the transition period to socialism (a classless, stateless society) is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Trotskyist position that the dictatorship of the proletariat exists in the Soviet Union because the collectivist property forms established by the October Revolution have not been liquidated by counterrevolution is nothing other than a reaffirmation of the central premise of Marxism. The Kautskyan doctrine that the central defining feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat is democratic control of the government by the working masses, or the analogous Maoist-Stalinist notion that it is the proletarian mentality of the ruling group that is key, stands the Marxist dialectic on its head. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a progressive historical stage because it is necessary to create the material preconditions for socialism.

Any serious would-be Marxist who holds that the USSR is "state capitalist" or some other form of exploitative class society must answer the following question: is this form of society a progressive development or is it a historical retrogression from the most advanced capitalism? Only those, like the Bordigists, who maintain the empiri-

Leon Trotsky

cally untenable position that the Soviet economic structure is that of a traditional capitalist economy are absolved from this theoretical responsibility. It is proof of the intellectual shallowness and/or demagogy of the "state capitalist" theorists that they almost never pose the question from the standpoint of the Marxist dialectical conception of history. Instead, the "Russia is state capitalist" literature consists overwhelmingly of sterile terminological scholasticism, vulgar workerism or insipid moralism.

The superiority of the Soviet economic system to traditional capitalism is empirically indisputable. From a backward, largely peasant economy in the 1920's, the Soviet Union has transformed itself (despite massive bureaucratic parasitism and mismanagement) into a modern industrial society. The USSR is the only backward country to achieve such a transformation in the 20th century, the epoch of imperialist capitalism. Furthermore, it is also empirically indisputable that the Soviet economy is free of traditional capitalist cyclical contractions and crises. Industrial production expanded rapidly in the USSR both during the Great Depression of the 1930's and the recent world depression of 1974-75.

Those who maintain that the USSR is "state capitalist" or "bureaucratic collectivist" are asserting that the state bureaucracy can successfully overcome the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production and administer the rapid, steady expansion of productive forces. This profoundly revisionist conception calls into question the progressive character and historical necessity for proletarian revolution and class rule.

Alternatively, the social-democratic position that, because of the suppression of democratic rights by a totalitarian regime, the USSR is reactionary compared to the most advanced capitalist states implies that the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism are utopian fantasies. And this actually is the position of social-democratic reformism, which regards the bourgeois-democratic "welfare state" (as in Sweden) as the highest possible level of social organization.

An Epoch of Progressive Bureaucratic Rule?

No political tendency has explicitly maintained that the Soviet Union is a *progressive* new form of exploitative class society. However, in a certain sense this view was put forward a quarter-century ago by revisionists within the Trotskyist movement. Though its proponents subsequently retreated from such an unabashed apology for Stalinist rule, the liquidationist program of Pabloism was first generalized in the profoundly anti-Marxist proposition of an entire *epoch* ("several centuries") of deformed workers states.

Trotsky maintained that the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy was not a new class because it had no characteristic relation to the means of production, and therefore its rule could at most be nothing but a historical *episode*, ultimately reflecting the belatedness of proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist world. As against the social democrats, Trotsky asserted that a workers state could exist under bonapartist bureaucratic rule, but only as an episode conditioned by the dominance of capitalism on a world scale. The *epoch* of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a *world scale* must represent the direct political rule of the working class (i.e., soviet democracy). Therefore, the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by the proletariat is essential for the transition to socialism.

This Trotskyist position was challenged in the early 1950's by a revisionist tendency within the Fourth International itself, a tendency led by its secretary, Michel Pablo. In his "war/revolution" thesis, Pablo projected the overthrow of world capitalism through the military victory of the Stalinist-ruled Soviet bloc. The democratization of the resulting bureaucratically deformed workers states, held Pablo, would be a process of gradual self-reform, not the result of a working-class political revolution. In effect, Pabloism replaced the epoch of proletarian rule with that of progressive bureaucratic rule:

> "The capitalist regime, having attained its highest stage, is breaking up, decaying, and thus allowing a series of phenomena to appear which fall into the general framework of an epoch of transition between capitalism and socialism, an *epoch* which has *already begun and is quite advanced.*
> "...this transformation will probably take an entire historical period of several centuries and will in the meantime be filled with forms and regimes transitional between capitalism and socialism and necessarily deviating from 'pure' forms and norms." [our emphasis]
> —Michel Pablo, "Where Are We Going?" 1951

Pabloism is actually the positive version of "bureaucratic collectivism." The parallel methodology of Shachtmanism and Pabloism has long been recognized by our tendency. The seminal document of the Spartacist tendency, "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective" (1962) stated:

> "Like the Shachtman-Burnham theory, this [Pabloist] theory denied a revolu-

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Egypt Jails Hundreds of Leftists

FEBRUARY 12—Anwar Sadat has desperately attempted to shore up his shaky regime since the turbulent strikes and demonstrations which ripped through Egypt's cities on January 18 and 19. While lashing out at tiny groups of leftists and clamping draconian "security" measures on the working class generally, the military rulers carried out a selective round-up even among members of the mock-opposition "Left Party" set up by Sadat late last year. Simultaneously, Sadat is leaning more heavily on the support of reactionary Arab monarchies and the domestic right wing.

Sadat is trying to buy time. He canceled the imperialist-ordered price increases on basic commodities which triggered the outbreak but has said repeatedly that such austerity measures remain essential and are still on the agenda. But before he can slash the masses' rations, the Egyptian president must firmly clamp a lid on the seething discontent among the proletariat and urban poor, smash the student left and cut off all avenues for protest by the kept "opposition."

On January 26, the government banned strikes and demonstrations. A few days later Sadat issued a decree making strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations, actions "intended to damage public or private property" and membership in illegal political organizations offenses punishable by *life imprisonment* at hard labor. The draconian measures were put up for a ritual referendum this week. The government unashamedly announced yesterday that 96.69 percent of eligible voters had gone to the polls and 99.4 percent voted to approve the measures!

AP

Troops patrol Cairo street after price riots last month.

Over 1,200 people were arrested during and after the protests. The regime immediately launched a witch-hunt against the left, charging that "known Communists and Communist-led elements" had plotted to burn down Cairo. A key target has been the clandestine Communist Workers Party, which the government claims has ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the South Yemen National Front. Several journalists from government-controlled newspapers and a medical student were arrested and charged with membership in the group and "instigating rioters" (*Times* [London], 22 January 1977). Forty-two people are to be tried by a state security court on charges of subversion, looting, murder and rioting in the town of Maneoura.

Also under arrest are over 100 members of the National Progressive Union, which was created by the government as a means of siphoning off unrest into a "loyal opposition" for last November's bogus elections. Their leader, Khaled Mohieddin, who was one of the colonels in Nasser's Free Officer Corps, complained that his supporters were being used as "scapegoats" by the government. The fact that Mohieddin was allowed to hold a press conference, unprecedented since political parties were banned in 1953, indicates that Sadat is attempting to cow his Nasserite critics rather than smash them. Prominent rightist politicians and religious leaders, however, have called for suppression of the "Progressive Union" and demanded that the fanatically xenophobic Muslim Brotherhood be allowed to form a religious-based party.

While Sadat may not accede to these demands, he must lean more heavily on the Muslim right, in part because of its ties to oil-rich Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states which bankroll the Egyptian war machine. A number of foreign reporters have noted that Sadat has taken no action against Muslim Brotherhood members identified as participants in the January revolt while he has single-mindedly rooted out leftists.

The on-again, off-again alliance of Nasser and his successor with the Muslim Brotherhood is stark testimony to the demagogic balancing act which is endemic to military bonapartism. This ultra-reactionary group played a role in the 1952 upsurge which led to the overthrow of the dissolute King Farouk, joining with the bourgeois-nationalist officers eager to destroy foreign influences and the blatant corruption of the aristocracy. Some of Nasser's colonels (Sadat among them) had been or were members of the Muslim Brotherhood, and it was initially exempted from the ban on political organizations. While it cheered Nasser's early repression against the left (adding the force of its own paramilitary gangs), the sinister fundamentalist religious group was frustrated in its appetite for a share of the power held tightly by the military. It was suppressed in late 1954 after one of its members attempted to assassinate Nasser. Now the Muslim reactionaries are again asserting their strength, offering Sadat an alliance against "atheistic Communists."

The militant workers and students in Sadat's prisons must be defended against military repression. The road to proletarian revolution in Egypt, however, does not run through "left-wing" Nasserism or any brand of Arab nationalism. The Egyptian and Arab masses, like their class brothers in Israel, groan under the weight of bourgeois militarism.

Hebrew and Arab workers alike are periodically mobilized as cannon fodder

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No Solidarity with Transit Cops!

For A Strike Against NYC Subway Cutbacks!

As New York City is squeezed ever tighter by the bankers' camarilla—the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), which is demanding repayment of over $1 billion in bank loans from the financially strapped city—the first signs of open working-class resistance have begun to surface. On February 11, over 3,000 members of the powerful Transit Workers Union (TWU) demonstrated in front of City Hall protesting recent heavy cuts in transit service.

For months the TWU bureaucracy has been under pressure from the ranks, already dissatisfied with their recent rotten contract, whose meager cost-of-living allowance (COLA) is now under intensive attack by the city administration and the EFCB. The inadequate COLA increase won last year was supposed to be paid out of "productivity" increases (speedup), but even that rotten deal was not sufficient to satisfy the bankers' greed.

Now the city has threatened layoffs and a cut in the COLA, the first time transit workers have been directly threatened by an actual reduction in their contract provisions. Although the TWU bureaucracy is trying to win public support through emphasis on subway safety conditions, it is the Transit Authority's latest attack on the union contract that is igniting a militant response from the ranks.

The Transit Workers Union is the city's single most powerful union, with the capacity to shut NYC down tight through strike action. It controls the entire mass transportation system, which millions of workers use daily. Moreover, it is in the subways that the general deterioration of city services has been most immediately felt by the entire New York population. The transit workers are thus in a uniquely powerful position to resist the arrogant demands of Wall Street on the already hard-pressed city unions and to mobilize massive popular support behind them.

In early January Mayor Beame announced heavy cutbacks on subway and bus routes, including reduction of service during non-rush-hour periods, shortening of trains, and closing of many turnstiles and token booths. Also included in the package was elimination during off-peak hours of the express service on the "A" train—running between Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant and heavily used by black workers. In total, the projected cuts were aimed at eliminating some 1,500 to 2,000 jobs from the transit system. At a public hearing on January 5, angry TWU members and subway riders held Transit Authority (TA) members captive for nearly nine hours of denunciation of the proposed cuts. Newspapers and television referred to "near-riot" conditions.

In February, a rash of unusually violent crimes broke out on the trains, and the TWU bureaucracy saw the angle it was looking for to win public support. The union leadership launched a demagogic campaign linking the rising crime rate to cuts in transit personnel and services. It paid for full-page ads in the NYC dailies to highlight recent rapes and muggings of passengers, and the theme of the February 11 demonstration was to call for more Transit Authority cops. Taking a page from the book of the sanitationmen's union—which has historically sought to enhance its "bargaining position" by linking sanitation workers' wages to cops' salaries through establishing "parity" of the so-called "uniformed services"—the TWU tops went so far as to call for giving first crack on transit job openings to laid-off TA cops.

Manning/New York Times

Mayor Beame (seated right) maps out strategy with (from left) governor Carey, counsel Judah Gribetz and city comptroller Harrison Goldin at recent EFCB meeting.

WV Photo

TWU president Guinan addressing transit workers' rally last Friday.

It is, of course, perfectly obvious to anyone who rides the filthy, graffiti-smeared New York transit system that the subways are daily becoming more dangerous, as soaring crime rates accompany the accelerating deterioration of the nation's cities. But cops cannot root out crime on the subways. What is necessary is a militant struggle to unite the entire working class and ghetto masses in a fight against the city's rulers, to win restoration of social services, massive jobs programs and construction and rehabilitation projects. It is the desperate situation of the impoverished and unemployed that breeds the vicious lumpen terror unleashed upon hapless passengers.

It is a fatal illusion to believe that the interests of transit workers and TA cops coincide. The transit police are the hired thugs of management. Their disdain for the passengers was expressed in the 1975 shooting of a teenage youth, allegedly for jumping a turnstile at the time of protests against the fare hike. The TA cops are, like all police, professional *strikebreakers*; they will be the first and most brutal assault troops unleashed against the TWU membership should the union begin to resist the capitalists' austerity measures. There can be no solidarity with these racist enforcers of bourgeois "law and order."

There was a time at the beginning of the "fiscal crisis" more than two years ago that NYC rulers put up a pretense of "we're all in this together" sympathy for the plight of the city's working people. But with the total absence of resistance from the unions and lurid exposures of behind-the-scenes manipulation by profit-hungry banks, everyone from Big MAC mastermind Felix Rohatyn to Transit Authority chairman David Yunich has become increasingly open in his contempt for the population. When Yunich was forced to resign late last year, asked what he would do after leaving the TA, he replied: "I have a beautiful home in Barbados." The bourgeoisie can soak up the sun on Caribbean beaches and escape the wretchedness of New York—for whose massive decay they alone are responsible. The working masses, however, are left to wait for hours in freezing, dimly lit subway stations and dark city streets for the dubious privilege of a long grinding trip home after hours of ill-paid labor.

city, not only among the workers and poor but extending to large sections of the petty bourgeoisie as well, for a militant fight against the banks and corporations who triggered and have greatly profited from the NYC "fiscal crisis." All the experts agree that the city is in worse financial shape now than ever before. Earlier this month the deadline ran out for New York to come up with a repayment plan for the $1 billion due on city notes which have not been converted into MAC bonds. No plan has yet been found, and Major Beame's pathetic hopes for federal aid—based on Carter's vague and cynical campaign "promises"—were dashed immediately after the inauguration, when the White House predictably announced there would be no rise in federal aid to New York.

The NYC labor bureaucracy has been deeply compromised by its heavy commitment of union funds to the banks' rip-off deals. Already in December, arch labor traitor Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME's District 37 was complaining that he couldn't give away any more union funds because "the troops are restless" (*New York Times*, 2 December 1976). When the EFCB again tried to shelve the threadbare teachers' contract negotiated a year ago last September, UFT leader Albert Shanker—who has heretofore been just as pliant as his rival Gotbaum—was finally forced to show a flicker of defiance, and the contract was finally approved.

The TWU has always been treated as a special case by the New York bourgeoisie, which well understands that a work stoppage in the transit system would quickly bring the financial capital of U.S. imperialism grinding to a halt. The TWU leadership under Matthew Guinan and John Lawe has attempted to use the strategic position of transit workers to angle for a privileged position among city labor unions. But despite Guinan's intimation of an understanding behind closed doors with Yunich—under which "productivity savings" would all be made through attrition—all deals are now off and layoffs and cutbacks threaten.

As the bankrupt Guinan/Lawe leadership seeks to fan the flames of racial hysteria and grab hold of the cops' coattails, militants in the TWU must wage a struggle to break with the bourgeoisie's gunmen. The fact that the New York-New Jersey United Workers Organization (supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party) and the Workers League, both of whom distributed literature at the February 11 TWU rally, completely ignored the bureaucracy's dangerous policy of pandering to the cops demonstrates their total inability to provide the class-struggle leadership necessary to smash the bourgeoisie's cutbacks/layoffs offensive.

The Transit Workers Union must take the lead in calling for a citywide strike to restore the jobs of all laid-off workers, to reopen city union contracts to restore past gains that have been taken away and to demand reopening of shut-down hospitals and restoration of slashed educational programs in the public schools. It must fight for the initiation of massive programs of desperately needed public works to create thousands of new jobs. Above all, such a class-struggle program requires dumping the sellout labor bureaucracy and a break of the unions' ties to the parties of capital, winning the ranks to the fight for a workers party and a workers government. ■

Sadlowski...

(continued from page 1)

racy in the aftermath of the bitterly fought election campaign, provides a real opportunity for militants to focus opposition to Abel/McBride's coming contract betrayals. Unfortunately, however, most would-be militant oppositionists in the Steelworkers climbed aboard the Sadlowski bandwagon. Although most of the left did its best to hide the fact, Sadlowski has pledged to respect the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement at least until *1980*. This essentially cripples any opposition, because it means that a demand to reject the contract will not be backed up by a call for a strike.

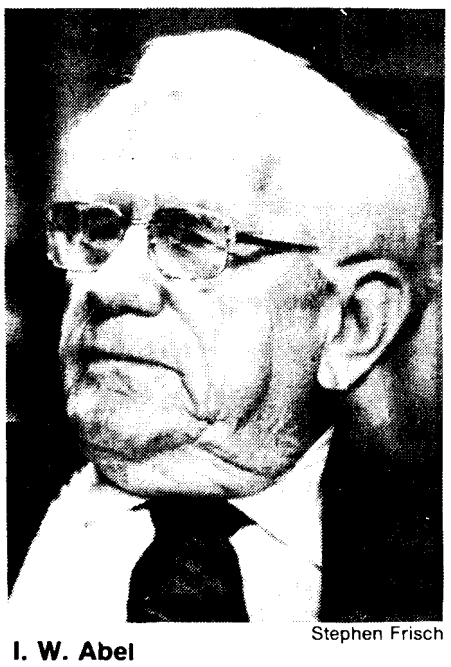
Sadlowski and the Left

The Steelworkers election was an acid test for the American left, the vast majority of which supported Sadlowski. In fact, McBride initially attempted to use this as a reason to redbait Sadlowski. However, the assertion that Sadlowski was a "dupe" of the "reds" was obviously too absurd to maintain. The U.S. left in general and particularly in the steel union is simply too small to pull off such a feat. If anything, it was Sadlowski who "duped" the left—with plenty of cooperation from the "victims."

Consequently, the Abel/McBride forces largely dropped this issue and concentrated on the fact that the Sadlowski campaign was heavily financed by wealthy Democrats, including businessmen. The core of these Sadlowski adherents was a group of veteran anti-communist Cold War liberals led by Joseph Rauh, Victor Reuther and John Galbraith. Sadlowski's politics, in fact, are not "socialist" at all but correspond quite well to those of Rauh & Co.

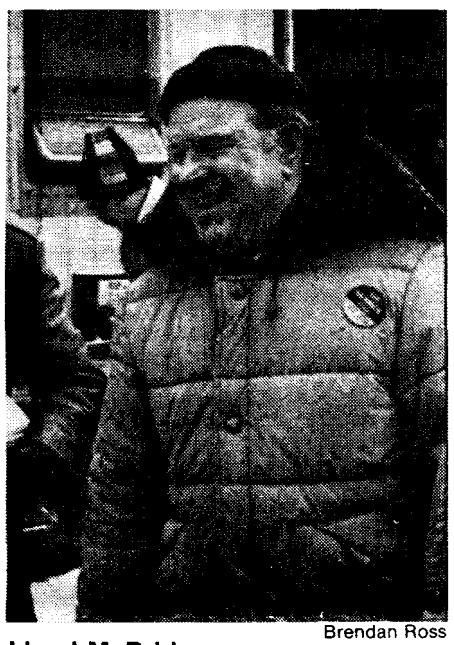
Most of the left spent its time obscuring Sadlowski's obvious ties to these veteran witchhunters. The left organization with the largest concentration in steel, the ultra-reformist Communist Party (CP), continued its long history of support to the anti-Meany liberals in the mainstream union bureaucracy by endorsing Sadlowski. The CP "neglected" to report the widely discussed issue of Sadlowski's financing in its press, as well as ignoring Sadlowski's support to Democrat Jimmy Carter in the November presidential elections. Readers of the CP's *Daily World* might also have been interested to learn that in 1965 the Communist Party supported the insurgent Abel against the "tuxedo unionism" of his predecessor, MacDonald!

Perhaps even more gross in its uncritical support to Sadlowski was the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Having concentrated for years exclusively on the petty-bourgeois radical milieu, the SWP saw the Steelworkers campaign as an opportunity to break into the labor movement as the advisors for a liberal bureaucrat. The SWP had the gall to defend Sadlowski's campaign financing, making the ludicrous argument that it was no different from accepting aid from outside the labor movement during an organizing drive. The SWP was essentially uncritical of Sadlowski and peddled his remarks about Eugene Debs as proof that their darling was in the tradition of class-struggle unionism.



Stephen Frisch

I. W. Abel



Brendan Ross

Lloyd McBride

While somewhat more critical of Sadlowski, the International Socialists (I.S.) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) both ended up in supporting the challenger as a "lesser evil." In extending support, the I.S. cynically noted that "Sadlowski is surely no revolutionary" and that his "program and method are too limited and too bureaucratic to actually accomplish the goals the campaign sets for itself" (*Workers' Power*, 7 February). Even more ludicrous was the I.S.'doubletalking excuse for Sadlowski's bourgeois funding:

> "At present these liberals' reasons for supporting Sadlowski do not directly conflict with rank-and-file steelworkers' interests in using the campaign to build a fighting, democratic union. Sadlowski supporters need not apologize for accepting money from outside liberals, but neither should they have any illusions of what these liberals are after."
>
> —*Workers' Power*, 24 January

It only goes to show, as Stalin once said, that paper will take anything that's written on it.

The two-bit Workers League (WL), despite its ferocious and ludicrous campaign to slander the SWP leadership as GPU agents, ended up with the same line on the Steelworkers elections as the SWP: "[A Sadlowski victory] would, at the same time, be a major defeat for the entire class collaborationist leadership of the AFL-CIO," the WL proclaimed. At the same time that it criticized Sadlowski for backing Jimmy Carter it declared that "A Sadlowski victory would strengthen the ranks of the steelworkers in the coming battles against the employers and the Carter Administration" (*Bulletin*, 8 February).

WV Photo

Steelworkers voting February 8 at Local 1014 hall in Gary.

Nothing Learned Since Miller

In 1972 the Spartacist League wrote: "While the possibility exists, however, for a qualitative altering of the relationship of forces in the labor movement in favor of revolutionary leadership, the fundamental question is whether the bureaucracy will be defeated by communism or renewed labor reformism, i.e., by revolutionists or slicker fakers" ("Trade Union Memorandum," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part III).

The election that year in the United Mine Workers (UMW) pitting the gangster-ridden bureaucracy of Tony Boyle against reformer Arnold Miller was an example of the second possibility. Most of the left (including the CP, SWP, I.S. and the RCP's predecessor) supported Miller, who promised only "union democracy" and called in the Labor Department to get it. Now, four years later, it is obvious that Miller, as the SL had predicted, has proved to be a class traitor no different from Boyle, smashing wildcat strikes and purging communists and other militants from the union.

Sadlowski's politics were fundamentally the same as Miller's. By no stretch of anyone's imagination (except the SWP's!) could Sadlowski be construed as a real or potential opponent of capitalism. His own public positions and statements opposing workers control and nationalization of steel, along with his support to the Democratic Party, made that crystal clear. And his supposed support for the "right to strike" was undercut by his stated willingness to enforce the ENA as long as it remained legally binding.

The most dangerous assertion of his "left" supporters was that Sadlowski believed in "union democracy." Lacking real support in the bureaucracy, Sadlowski made grateful use of the service of ostensible "socialists" in the USWA. But when the heat was on at the USWA convention last August, Sadlowski publicly endorsed union trials for suspected communists.

Moreover, Sadlowski has built his career on government intervention in the union. Labor Department unionism is fundamentally counterposed to class-struggle unionism. Sadlowski's preference for such policies only expresses the fact that he has more faith in the government than in the rank and file. Miller did the same and ended up ramming federal no-strike injunctions down the throats of his wildcatting membership.

Four years after the Mine Workers election, the SL stands alone in its consistent, principled opposition to the Millers and Sadlowskis—the updated version of class collaborationism—as well as to the Boyles, Abels and McBrides—the old guard. In 1972 the bulk of the left supported Miller (with a few exceptions) from outside the industry; this time around would-be "socialist" unionists worked actively in the Steelworkers union to assist Sadlowski. The inability to learn anything from the Miller debacle is a clear indication of the deep gulf that separates such fake-revolutionists from genuine class-struggle politics. ■

L.A. Busing...

(continued from page 3)

California has proved a flourishing climate for right-wing, fascist and paramilitary racist groups, and only those most blinded by liberal illusions can hope that integration will be peaceful.

No Confidence in Courts and Cops!

The school integration/busing fight has become a litmus test for ostensibly revolutionary tendencies on the U.S. left. Several workerist groups, including the Revolutionary Socialist League and Maoist groupings such as Workers Viewpoint and the Revolutionary Communist Party, have taken their capitulation to backward attitudes among the workers so far as to actually *oppose* busing and end up solidarizing with the racist "fightback." The reformist groups which support busing, such as the CP, SWP and CLP, rely on pressure-group tactics and therefore ultimately on the cops, the courts and the federal government.

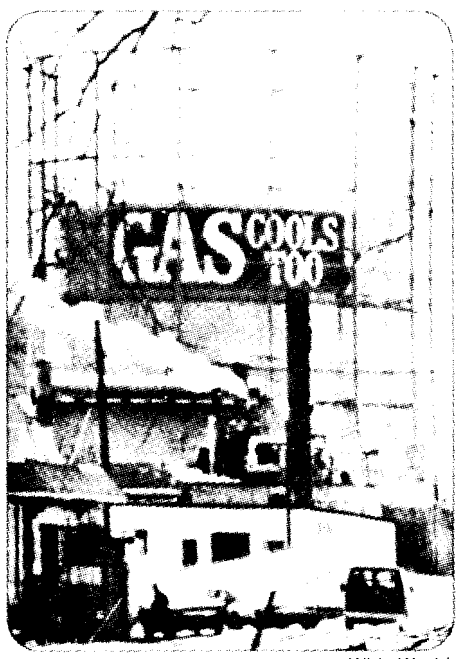
The leaflets of these groups at yesterday's demonstration did not go beyond the most limited demands and had a decidedly narrow electoralist thrust. The SWP's contribution was a leaflet issued for the upcoming April primary in L.A., opining that "*What is needed is a broadly sponsored conference on school desegregation... to plan more massive outpourings*" (emphasis in original). Progressive Labor was buried within its "left-center coalition," the Committee Against Racism, whose slogans were confined to empty platitudes such as "Integration Yes, Segregation No!"

Unlike the liberals and reformists, the Spartacist League has no misplaced confidence that the board of education, the courts or capitalist politicians, liberal or otherwise, will develop and implement a real plan for "quality education." Only a multi-racial working-class mobilization with the organized labor movement at its center can successfully fight for integrated education and defend school children against racist attacks. ■

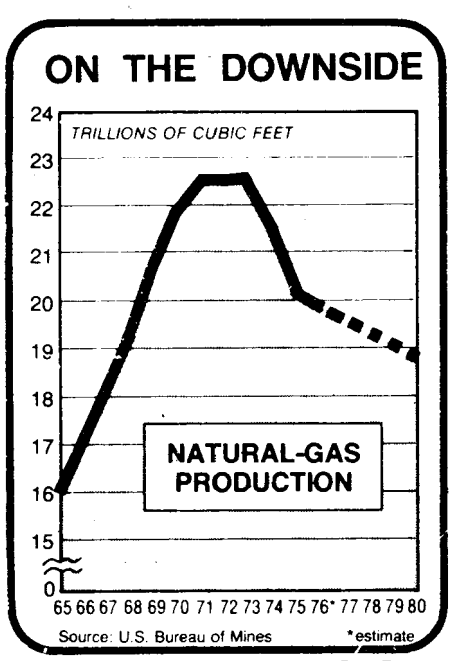
Energy...

(continued from page 1)

Already at the beginning of the 1976-77 heating season industry executives were predicting nationwide shortages, which had previously been masked by two years of economic depression conditions. When this *planned* shortfall—a deliberate attempt by the energy monopolies to build pressure for removing price controls—intersected an unusually cold winter, the result was disaster.



Wide World



Ron Bracco

As production and supplies of natural gas have dropped, prices and profits have taken off.

Yielding to the pressure of the oil giants (who used the last "energy crisis" following the 1973 OPEC price rise on crude petroleum to send their profits soaring), the Carter administration will most likely deregulate natural gas prices this year. This will result in an immediate *quadrupling* (according to conservative estimates) of natural gas prices. The U.S. government will no doubt impose some kind of tax on the "windfall profits" the companies will reap, but this means only that the government gets a rake-off in return for allowing the companies a free hand.

Expropriation, without compensation, of the energy industry is the only way to stop the vicious blackmailing and profiteering of the monopolies! The "energy crises" and "shortages" which periodically cripple the economy are inevitable products of capitalism, resulting from falling profit levels, and will recur so long as the industry is run for private profit.

Probably a large majority of American working people, who do not in general support the socialization of industry, realize that the oil and gas companies are allowing people to freeze to death as part of a squeeze to boost their profits. Millions distrust and even hate the energy monopolists and want to see them destroyed. Regardless of popular hostility toward the energy trusts, however, it is inconceivable that the bourgeois parties of Carter and Ford will nationalize this important, if infamous, section of U.S. capitalism.

Moreover, a nationalized industry administered by the capitalist state bureaucracy will not fully meet the rational interests of the working people. The experience of the British nationalized coal, steel and petroleum industries, as well as of urban mass transit and the post office in the U.S., demonstrates this fact. Thus the call for expropriation of the murderous energy monopolists must necessarily to linked to the struggle for a workers government.

* * * * *

The recent freeze and accompanying "energy crisis" is only in part due to the gas hoax and profit-mongering of the monopolies. It also has something to do with the climate. It would be absurd to talk, as might some primitive workerist in the best Progressive Labor tradition, of "bosses' weather." But capitalism cannot rationally martial resources to meet environmental calamities, or even comparatively slight alterations in the conditions of production.

"Momentary barbarism" Marx called it—when food is dumped while millions starve, when factories stand idle as the masses clamor for jobs. While capitalism in its ascendency reduced the frequency of "natural crises" by fostering vastly technologically improved medical, transportation/communication and productive methods, through private ownership of the means of production it prevents this technical capacity from being rationally organized to meet social needs.

At the same time capitalism ensures a very narrow margin of tolerance for abrupt shifts. Spare capacity is a capital asset. In order to maximize the rate of profit, all capitalists therefore seek to minimize unused capacity and inventories. That is why any significant change in natural conditions—drought or flood, arctic freeze or heat wave—produces under the capitalist mode of production "emergencies" for which adequate preparations and material reserves do not exist.

Just as the bourgeoisie seeks to portray its rule as the natural order of things, it tries to mask its tremendous irrationalities as accidents, "acts of god" and the like. For aircraft and automobiles that are built without adequate protective features there is the "safety crisis." Epidemics in urban centers caused by poverty and deteriorating social services are labeled a "medical outreach crisis." Hunger-producing droughts in economically backward regions are publicized as the "population crisis."

The repeated crises of capitalism, its "momentary barbarism," can be prevented from becoming permanent only through the revolutionary action of the proletariat whose destiny is to create a socialist society, in which man will no longer be forced to crawl before the accidents of gods, the decrees of kings or the anarchy of capital. ■

Times

Executives of seven oil giants faced Senate inquiry in January 1974 after reporting record profits while nation faced severe "energy crisis."

Quebec...

(continued from page 4)

French-speaking proletarians and their class brothers on the rest of the continent. Unlike the left nationalists, we put no stock in the reactionary-utopian strategy of fighting for a "Quebec workers republic" or an "independent socialist Quebec." The achievement of a "Quebec workers republic" is no more conceivable than a "California workers republic." The high degree of integration in the North American political economy ensures that proletarian power will only be consolidated on a continent-wide basis. Joint class struggle, not regional/national parochialism, is the road to socialist revolution in North America. The posing of a separatist road to power for the relatively advanced and militant proletariat of Quebec is particularly criminal, since the Québécois working class could play a leading role in the entire North American revolution.

5. The nationalists' demand for a unilingual French Quebec is inextricably linked to their call for independence. English is the dominant language of the North American political economy, and thus is the primary language of commerce and culture in Canada. Whatever measures may be taken in an attempt to protect the existence of the French language in Quebec, nothing short of total independence can forestall the gradual erosion of the language, and thus of the national identity of the Québécois people. This is the iron law of social history. We oppose discrimination against French-speakers, discrimination which reinforces and inflames chauvinist and nationalist reaction in both the oppressor and oppressed nationalities. But as mankind develops toward a socialist world system, national distinctions erode away. The PQ's stated aim is for an independent Quebec which is heavily reliant on commercial and other dealings with English-speaking Canada and the United States. But an independent bourgeois Quebec which seriously sought to maintain the French language and culture would have to gravitate toward Paris, the economic and cultural capital of the French-speaking world.

6. We adamantly oppose the demand for unilingualism in Quebec—whether it is independent or not—as reactionary and chauvinist. While we recognize and seek to redress the historic discrmination against use of the French language, particularly on the job and at school, we do this by fighting for *equal language rights for all*, not for new discriminatory regulations. Multi-lingualism—the right of every citizen in a multi-lingual state to receive services in any spoken language—is a just and democratic solution to the language question. Unilingualism—"official" status for any single language—is a thoroughly reactionary, national-chauvinist position which places the narrow interests of one nation above the legitimate democratic rights of national minorities. Unilingualism in Quebec would also provide a perfect excuse for the denial of language rights to French-speaking minorities by English chauvinists in other provinces. It would be particularly discriminatory against the hundreds of thousands of non-French-speaking immigrants who have come to Montreal from relatively impoverished Southern European countries. Proletarian unity can only be forged through recognition of equal and democratic language rights for all nationalities.

7. So long as Quebec remains part of Canada, we seek to build a single revolutionary party throughout the country, and oppose the demand for a separate Quebec party as nationalist and Bundist. The Leninist principle is "one state power, one party"—the proletariat's struggle must be directed against the existing government, and not diverted along regionalist lines. For the same reason, we raise the call for a Canada-wide workers party, based on the unions and with a class-struggle program. This does not mean fighting for a Quebec wing of the NDP—an ultra-reformist, English-chauvinist social-democratic party with no historical roots or obvious prospects in Quebec. Rather, it means fighting for a workers party which will achieve a workers government across Canada, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution throughout North America. It is to this task that the Trotskyist League of Canada and international Spartacist tendency dedicate themselves. ■

Egypt...

(continued from page 7)

in the sordid wars waged by their ruling-class oppressors. In the name of "national unity," Zionist and Arab rulers demand that the masses accept rampant inflation and plummeting standards of living. Israel in recent months has been shaken by revelations of high-level graft and corruption. Moreover, in response to widespread strikes in November, the right-wing religious parties began pushing through legislation for compulsory arbitration of walkouts by public employees and port workers.

In war as in the tenuous stalemates that pass for "peace" in the Near East, the main enemy of the proletariat is at home. The construction of Trotskyist parties in Egypt, Israel and the Arab states is necessary to undercut murderous national antagonisms and end class oppression through proletarian revolution to create a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

ILWU Elections...

(continued from page 12)

which once again capitulated to the employers' automation schemes. Today full "A" men consider themselves lucky to get even three days' work a week, while the "pay guarantee" (PGP) which is supposed to maintain earnings has been consistently under-funded by the shippers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). Needless to say, second-class "B" men and other categories have fared even worse.

Most recently, the Local has been

Stan Gow WV Photo

threatened by Bridges' plan to declare San Francisco a "Low Work Opportunity" port, which according to the contract is the first step in seeking "volunteers" to transfer to other ports. As noted in a 7 January "Longshore Militant" election leaflet, "Transfers will be compulsory after volunteers are exhausted and...refusal to transfer means total loss of PGP!" This scheme is clearly designed to set one ILWU local against another in competition for jobs; meanwhile, Bridges has also been pushing to raid other unions for control of waterfront jobs.

Bridges' conscious effort to drive workers out of longshore was underscored by his lauding of a U.S. district court decision last August against a longstanding suit by 82 "B" men. These ILWU members were railroaded out of the industry in 1963 on trumped-up charges of "chiseling" on reported hours of work. In response, social-democratic oppositionist Stan Weir dragged the union into the bosses' courts. After 13 years, the judge finally ruled on August 27, declaring, as reported in the 10 September ILWU *Dispatcher*, that "each of the plaintiffs was deregistered for good and sufficient reason." Bridges hypocritically denounced Weir's unprincipled court suit while crowing about the court's backing for his own backstabbing deregistrations.

The pace of raiding maneuvers has also stepped up markedly in the past few months. The most recent "Longshore Militant" (February 10) reports that "pro-" and "anti-" Bridges forces have once again linked hands to raid the AFL-CIO Ships Carpenters at piers controlled by Joe Alioto, the former S.F. mayor with whom Bridges is closely aligned. According to the "Longshore Militant," the Bridges forces have also set their eyes on jurisdictions traditionally held by other ILWU locals including the warehousemen, ships clerks and walking bosses. The "Longshore Militant" warns, "Such cannibal unionism is *suicidal* since it will rip the ILWU apart and completely destroy maritime union solidarity. Only PMA will emerge a winner" (emphasis in original).

While refusing to break with Bridges & Co. over raiding, the fake oppositionists have attempted to put on a "left" coloration to deal with the current desperate job situation facing longshoremen. Suddenly, the slogan "For a shorter workweek at no loss in pay" is being mouthed by every would-be oppositionist in town. But this does not represent a break toward class-struggle policies by fakers like Larry Wing and Herb Mills, who have capitulated before every Bridges ploy to hamstring strike action.

Thus, for example, Herb Mills boasts in a long campaign leaflet that he would "tie the coast up" to get a six-hour day. However, even though the Local 10 executive board had voted in October 1975 for a motion by Gow and Keylor to oppose all PMA-ordered cuts, to demand full PGP pay and a sliding scale of hours, and to strike to enforce these demands, pro-Bridges and anti-Bridges forces made common cause to keep the membership from implementing this motion. Mills also fails to explain why the Wing camp joined the Bridges gang in derailing a membership vote to strike against the "200 hours test" (a formula to make more longshoremen ineligible for PGP payments) in January 1976.

Mills' fundamental support for capitalism will forever lead him to commit betrayals. The same campaign leaflet says: "I think we can get a six-hour day, not because we're 'powerful' or 'militant', but because the employers would save a whole lot of money by reducing the turnaround time of their vessels and the option of operating any facility around the clock." Mills' willingness to subordinate the interests of the workers to the bosses' profits makes him qualitatively indistinguishable from Bridges & Co.

Larry Wing's personal courage in defending the Local 10 hiring hall against a goon squad attack by Bridges' supporters had catapulted him to the Local presidency in 1975, and his principled refusal to go along with a Bridges/Alioto scheme to raid SUP and MFOW maritime unions later that year

Howard Keylor WV Photo

further enhanced his image in the eyes of the membership. But Wing repeatedly pulled back from directly taking on the shipping bosses and the International leadership. Because his program was limited to the "realism" of the bureaucracy, it led straight to betrayal. Fearing court fines, he called off a Local 10 job action to maintain jurisdiction over Pacific Far East Lines barges in late 1974; while criticizing the rotten Bridges contract that year, he never once called for strike action against it. Finally, to prevent his ouster by Bridges, he took the union to court instead of mobilizing the ranks. This final act of self-destructive betrayal was a logical result of the dead-end of labor reformism: appealing to the bourgeoisie for rescue.

The self-serving nature of the Wing clique, who simply aspire to replace the Bridges machine as the reigning pro-capitalist bureaucrats, is also revealed in their stance on the question of challenging the Bridges "mandate" limiting the number of Local 10 delegates to the critical upcoming caucus and convention. Originally designed by the International officers to restrict the growing anti-Bridges sentiment in Local 10, the rule limiting the local delegation to five was successfully challenged by Wing, Mills and Kaye at the 1973 convention. Today, however, anxious to stifle competition from both the Bridges camp and the militant oppositional policies of the "Longshore Militant," Theriault and Mills are defending the five delegate rule!

In reality, only a perspective and program of consistent class struggle can defend even the most elemental union gains. The out-bureaucrats (now in-bureaucrats once again) of the Wing/Mills stamp are fundamentally committed to the status quo, and thus are incapable of providing a real alternative to the sellouts of Bridges and his flunkies. As the "Longshore Militant" (7 January) noted: "Bridges exposed their cowardice in June 1975 when he challenged their 'opposition' to the present contract by demanding a call for a strike while they slunk silently in their seats."

Of all the candidates, only Gow and Keylor have fought continuously for labor solidarity and militant union action to smash the employers' offensive. Their election victory marks the third consecutive term on the executive board won by supporters of "Longshore Militant." The majority of longshoremen still maintain illusions in either the Bridges forces or the Wing/Mills fake oppositionists; conservative sentiments are fueled by memories of the disastrous 1971 longshore strike which Bridges rode into the ground and the recent defeats of San Francisco city workers and ILWU/Teamsters warehouse strikes. Nonetheless, with the very existence of the longshore union called into question by the accumulated defeats, Gow and Keylor have won an increasing and respected hearing for their class-struggle viewpoint.

The Gow/Keylor program included demands for a coastwide strike to win a shorter workshift at no loss in pay; promotion of "B" men to "A" status; for a break with all the capitalist "friend of labor" politicians, from Alioto to Carter; and for a workers party and a workers government. Gow and Keylor have been the only consistent opponents of raiding, instead demanding joint actions with other unions for more jobs. They also took the lead in building support for the Local 6 warehouse strike among longshoremen last June, and have fought to implement various resolutions for specific boycotts of Chilean and South African cargo as a demonstration of international proletarian solidarity. As the West Coast longshore union faces a critical juncture, this class-struggle perspective is the only road forward for waterfront workers, and the only defense of hard-won ILWU gains against attack by both the companies and the International. ■

"State Capitalism"...

(continued from page 7)

> tionary perspective for our movement and saw in Stalinism the objective expression of the revolutionary forces in the world."
>
> —reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 1

We can provide no better introduction to this pamphlet on contemporary theories of "state capitalism" than Trotsky's classic statement ("The USSR in War," September 1939) as to why an understanding of the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state is essential to a serious revolutionary optimism:

> "The disintegration of capitalism has reached extreme limits, likewise the disintegration of the old ruling class. The further existence of this system is impossible. The productive forces must be organized in accordance with a plan. But who will accomplish this task—the proletariat or a new ruling class of 'commissars'—politicians, administrators and technicians? Historical experience bears witness, in the opinion of certain rationalizers, that one cannot entertain hope in the proletariat. The proletariat proved 'incapable' of averting the last imperialist war although the material prerequisites for a socialist revolution already existed at that time. The successes of fascism after the war were once again the consequence of the 'incapacity' of the proletariat to lead capitalist society out of the blind alley. The bureaucratization of the Soviet state was in its turn the consequence of the 'incapacity' of the proletariat itself to regulate society through the democratic mechanism.... If this conception is adopted, that is, if it is acknowledged that the proletariat does not have the forces to accomplish the socialist revolution, then the urgent task of the statification of the productive forces will obviously be accomplished by somebody else. By whom? By a new bureaucracy, which will replace the decayed bourgeoisie as a new ruling class on a world scale....
>
> "If this war provokes, as we firmly believe, a proletarian revolution, it must inevitably lead to the overthrow of the bureaucracy in the USSR and the regeneration of Soviet democracy on a far higher economic and cultural basis than in 1918. In that case the question as to whether the Stalinist bureaucracy was a 'class' or a growth on the workers' state will be automatically solved. To every single person it will become clear that in the process of the development of the world revolution the Soviet bureaucracy was only an *episodic* relapse.
>
> "If, however, it is conceded that the present war will provoke not revolution but a decline of the proletariat, then there remains another alternative; the further decay of monopoly capitalism, its further fusion with the state and the replacement of democracy wherever it still remained by a totalitarian regime. The inability of the proletariat to take into its hands the leadership of society could actually lead under these conditions to the growth of a new exploiting class from the Bonapartist fascist bureaucracy. This would be, according to all indications, a regime of decline, signalizing the eclipse of civilization.
>
> "An analogous result might occur in the event that the proletariat of advanced capitalist countries, having conquered power, should prove incapable of holding it and surrender it, as in the USSR, to a privileged bureaucracy. Then we would be compelled to acknowledge that the reason for the bureaucratic relapse is rooted not in the backwardness of the country and not in the imperialist environment but in the congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become a ruling class. Then it would be necessary in retrospect to establish that in its fundamental traits the present USSR was the precursor of a new exploiting regime on an international scale....
>
> "The historic alternative, carried to the end, is as follows: either the Stalin regime is an abhorrent relapse in the process of transforming bourgeois society into a socialist society, or the Stalin regime is the first stage of a new exploiting society. If the second prognosis proves to be correct, then, of course, the bureaucracy will become a new exploiting class. However onerous the second perspective may be, if the world proletariat should actually prove incapable of fulfilling the mission placed upon it by the course of development, nothing else would remain except only to recognize that the socialist program, based on the internal contradictions of capitalist society, ended as a Utopia....
>
> "But are there such incontrovertible or even impressive objective data as would compel us today to renounce the prospect of the socialist revolution? That is the whole question....
>
> "Marxists do not have the slightest right (if disillusionment and fatigue are not considered 'rights') to draw the conclusion that the proletariat has forfeited its revolutionary possibilities and must renounce all aspirations to hegemony in an era immediately ahead.... In the years of darkest Russian reaction (1907 to 1917) we took as our starting point those revolutionary possibilities which were revealed by the Russian proletariat in 1905. In the years of world reaction we must proceed from those possibilities which the Russian proletariat revealed in 1917. The Fourth International did not by accident call itself the world party of the socialist revolution. Our road is not to be changed. We steer our course toward the world revolution and by virtue of this very fact toward the regeneration of the USSR as a workers' state." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW Must Defend Bennie Lenard!

Black Worker Victim of Racist Cop Beating in Chicago

CHICAGO--Bennie Lenard, a black member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 in suburban Melrose Park, was beaten unconscious by police on January 31 and thrown unclothed into a freezing jail cell where he was drenched with buckets of cold water. Still hospitalized as a result of this brutal assault, he is now facing a barrage of legal charges besides.

Lenard, a repairman at the International Harvester plant, was plunged into a nightmare of sadistic racism because he had the misfortune to be driving home from work through the virtually all-white suburb when he was struck from behind by a car driven by a white woman. He insisted on calling the police to report the accident, although the woman, who had no driver's license, at first refused. Finally she called from a restaurant while he waited outside.

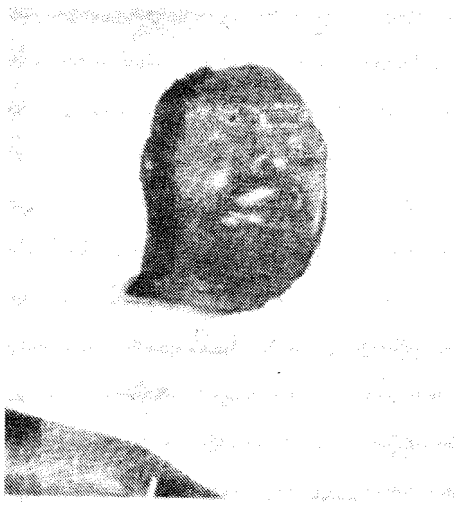
When the cops arrived, they slammed Lenard across his car and beat him unconscious. Several bones in his face were broken and possibly permanent eye damage resulted from the attack. When he awoke in jail, he was booked on charges of assaulting the woman, assaulting the police and illegal possession of a gun, which the cops claimed was found in his car. His wife later protested that "Bennie has never owned a gun" (*Chicago Defender*, 9 January).

The attack on Bennie Lenard glaringly exposes the venomous racism behind Chicago's "law and order" facade. Because he is black, he was seen as fair game by the cops, one of whom boasted as he slammed a nightstick across Lenard's face, "I got me a big, black nigger and I'm going to beat this nigger's ass." The charges he faces are all too familiar when one recalls the Scottsboro case, Delbert Tibbs in Florida and countless other incidents involving black men and white women. Did the fearful white woman falsely accuse Lenard, or did the police simply concoct the assault charges? The result is the same: a racist frame-up.

The day that the racist cop assault on Lenard became front-page news in the *Defender* (Chicago's black daily), Illinois state attorney Bernard Carey said he would launch an immediate investigation, indicating that even government officials consider the case a potentially explosive scandal.

The arrest occurred the day after the last episode of Alex Haley's "Roots" was shown on Chicago television, and Lenard believes the TV show exacerbated the cops' attack on him. His wife screamed when she saw him at the jail. "I didn't even recognize him," she said. "His face was so swollen and he was shaking all over." She also heard police in the station "make sounds like a chicken and scream 'Chicken George! Chicken George!' "—the name of one of the black heroes in "Roots." Lenard believes the cops were "telling me the same thing the white men said to Kunta Kinte in the series." He bitterly concludes, "The only thing they didn't do to me was cut off my foot."

The Chicago-area labor movement must rally behind Bennie Lenard. Only a powerful offensive against this racist frame-up can beat back the increasingly open terrorism against blacks which has been growing in Chicago. Lenard, who has worked at International Harvester for 13 years, has been active in Local 6, where he served as an alternate steward for three years. This UAW local has a record of defending its members against racist attacks—in 1975 it organized a successful defense squad around the home of union brother C.B. Dennis, halting the terror and firebombing by vigilantes who sought to drive his family out of a white neighborhood.



Chicago Defender

Bennie Lenard in hospital bed after brutal beating by cops.

At a Local 6 meeting on Sunday, February 13, a motion was passed calling for the establishment of a Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, to be composed of the president of the Local, the chairmen of the shop committee and the Fair Employment Practices Committee and "all Local 6 members willing to serve and work on it." The motion called for the charges against Lenard to be dropped and full restitution (including financial) for the injuries, loss of income, etc. he sustained. While the Local leadership discouraged use of union funds on Lenard's behalf, a collection of over $400 was taken at the meeting, attesting to the concern of his co-workers.

An amendment to the Local 6 motion, put forward by Norm Roth, a leader of the Communist Party-backed Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, called for firing the policemen who beat up Lenard, on the grounds that there are good cops and bad, and the bad ones should be dropped from the force. Roth did *not*, however, call for jailing the cops or even for their prosecution. To assert that it was only two "bad apples" who were responsible for this atrocity lets the entire state repressive apparatus off the hook, perpetuating the fatal illusion that the police are neutral or can be reformed. "Good" as well as "bad" cops escort scabs across picket lines, jail workers and defend with their guns and prisons the racist status quo of capitalism.

The establishment of an official union defense committee is an important step, but an aggressive defense of Lenard requires the full mobilization of the Local 6 membership and utilization of all resources (financial, legal and otherwise) available to the union. A conviction of Lenard on these trumped-up charges would be a defeat for the entire Chicago-area working class at the hands of these racist thugs. Jail the criminal cops! All charges against Bennie Lenard must be dropped immediately!■

ILWU Elections Show Ranks' Discontent

SAN FRANCISCO—With the results of a two-part election in Local 10 completed on February 11, it is clear that the machine built around outgoing International president Harry Bridges is losing its stranglehold on Bay Area longshoremen. Longtime Bridges henchmen Carl Smith and Joe Mosely were defeated in their bid for top local offices. Four of the five presently certified convention delegates are nominally anti-Bridges, and the traditionally pro-International board of trustees has been tilted against his machine. Both the secretary-treasurer's position and the two business agent jobs will be held by men who are ostensibly "oppositionists."

The main beneficiaries of the anti-Bridges sentiment were forces loosely grouped around former Local 10 president Larry Wing. However, their victory was by no means decisive and there has been no definitive shift in the balance of power in the Local away from the Bridges forces. Disgusted with the role of a number of Wing's cohorts—who have blocked with the International bureaucracy to prevent any mobilization against employer attacks, as well as joining in the attempt to drag Local 10 into a raiding war not only against other maritime unions but other ILWU locals as well—the ranks split their votes.

While pro-Wing retread Herb Mills (who had cowered silently out of the line of fire during the critical political battles of the past year) was elected business agent, incumbent vice president Reg Theriault, a strong Wing supporter, was decisively defeated in his bid for re-election. Wing himself went down to defeat in a bid to recapture the presidency from incumbent Cleophus Williams, who is loosely aligned with Bridges forces. The Local executive board is a toss-up with a majority of the new members not strongly opposed to either of the two bureaucratic cliques.

Significantly, class-struggle militants made definite gains. Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, publishers of the opposition newsletter, "Longshore Militant," were re-elected to the executive board with votes of 307 and 272 respectively, representing an improved standing over last year's vote.

In mid-January balloting for Coast Caucus and convention delegate positions, Gow and Keylor approximately doubled their 1976 showing. With this vote Keylor would have been among the delegates to the crucial upcoming International convention in April, were it not for the fact that in 1973 Bridges arbitrarily cut the Local's representation from ten delegates to five. The 10 February "Longshore Militant" announces an intention to challenge this bureaucratic gerrymandering.

The discontent in the Local 10 ranks is not hard to explain. The continued existence of the longshore division, historically the center of militancy in the union, is being called into question by the decimation of the workforce through automation. With Bridges and International secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt preparing to retire, a section of the bureaucracy wants to hand the ILWU over to the corrupt, dictatorial Gleason leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association.

Bay Area longshoremen have been particularly hard-hit by an accelerating erosion of jobs under the most recent Bridges contract (negotiated in 1975),

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