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SPARTACIST

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AFTER THE ELECTIONS

FACING 1967

Ronald Reagan has been elected governor of California, and there is a fluttering in the dovecotes of the Academy and gloom in the buzzard-hatches of the Labor Temples. The impact of the Democratic defeat comes not only from the fact itself but also from its magnitude. Reagan won by almost one million votes, carrying 57 per cent of the electorate and every county except the Democratic-labor strongholds of San Francisco and Alameda, and the politically insignificant Plumas. Not only was Reagan victorious, but so was most of his slate. While the odds in Las Vegas were six to five for Reagan, no one was even quoting odds on the other statewide Republican contenders, so slim were their chances considered to be. Yet the GOP swept every state office except that of attorney-general. The repudiation of the Democrats at the polls was clear, decisive and overwhelming.

Despite the best efforts of both sides to prevent the emergence of any serious issues, three factors emerge as significant in leading to the Democratic defeat. The first of these, of course, is the famous "white backlash," a factor to which the Democrats are eager to attribute their defeat, but which is real nonetheless.

USA of the USA

The existence of this sentiment in California should be no surprise to those not bemused by the state's liberal image. Essentially, California is the USA of the USA. There has been a large immigration from all parts of the country; its agriculture is the ultimate in capitalist farming; it is highly industrialized, relatively prosperous, literate, racist; and it shows an intense form of split-level Coca-Cola culture. The use of the term "backlash" is therefore perhaps unfortunate. It implies that this sentiment has been created *de novo* as a reaction to Black aggressiveness or Black violence. Stokely Carmichael points out correctly that this is not the case; that, rather, "backlash" is a public assertion of a position always held, now challenged for the first time by the civil-rights movement. "Backlash" is the political action of whites struggling to defend the white supremacy they have always cherished. National COPE (Committee on Political Education) thought that the backlash sentiment was prevalent enough among unionists to necessitate a national mailing to trade union members, the sense of which was a call to vote their pocketbooks, not their racist sentiments. Unfortunately for the Democrats, it failed to make a convincing case that the workers' pocketbooks would be served by a Democratic victory. In 1966 racist sentiment in California coalesced around Reagan.

A second factor, claimed by the GOP as decisive for their victory, was a reaction by the petty-bourgeois property owners and substantial sections of the working class to inflationary pressures against their standard of living, especially in the form of increased property taxes. These pressures are associated with the Democrats nationally and with Brown in California. These same elements blame the Democrats chiefly for their allegedly generous welfare program. Since Black people do in fact, and even more in the white middle-class mind, form a large portion of the welfare rolls, the welfare issue gives the white small-property owner a splendid opportunity to combine his racial and class prejudices.

General Malaise

A third factor, the least tangible, and by many denied even to exist, is what can at present only be described as a general malaise and disquietude. This is a feeling that, despite the split-level homes, the high level of employment and general material well-being, something at bottom is wrong with the social order, even for those who, unlike farm workers, Black people and other out-groups, participate fully in it and enjoy its material benefits. Given the Democratic insistence that everything is really just fine, and the inability of the left to give a meaningful articulation to this general malaise, it is not surprising that Reagan's jeremiads have capitalized on this trend. Reagan, at least, knows something is wrong.

Instead of meeting these tendencies, of course, Brown tried to build his campaign around two false issues: Reagan's inexperience and Birch-baiting. (This latter was carried to ridiculous lengths, which, had the roles been reversed, would have led to frantic cries of "McCarthyism" from the liberals. As it was, Reagan wisely left the baiting to Brown, although Communist Party support to Brown was at least as obvious and open as Birchite support to Reagan.)

The national results, also, do not bear out the thesis of a simple white supremacist reaction. True, New York City had its Proposition 14 in the repeal of the

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OUST HEALY!

An Open Letter to Other Supporters of the IC

There is today a gross scandal in the Trotskyist movement, involving charges of an extremely serious nature leveled against the leadership of the British Socialist Labour League (SLL). Because of the political similarity between the Spartacist League and the SLL, and the close organizational relations existing at various times in the past, we feel it our responsibility to make our views on the matters involved clear and unambiguous.

* * *

The content of the charges is revealed in the following letter circulated by Ernest Tate.

"Dear Editor,

"I believe it is a tradition in England that all socialists should be allowed to sell or distribute their literature, without hindrance or fear of violence, outside public meetings. I would like to report an outrageous violation of this tradition to your readers and ask for their assistance in preventing it from happening again.

"As quite a number of people on the Left know, I manage Pioneer Book Service, a large outlet for Trotsky's books in England, and I or some of my friends try to cover most meetings with our literature. On Thursday, 17th November, I went along to Caxton Hall to sell literature outside the Socialist Labour League's meeting on the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution.

"I arrived at 7:15 p.m. and began to sell the *International Socialist Review* and a pamphlet, critical of the S.L.L., entitled "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International." Several people were selling literature. A group of Irish Communists were selling their publication and someone was selling the English *Militant*.

"Initially there was some baiting of me by the Socialist Labour League supporters who were selling the *Newsletter* in the doorway of Caxton Hall, but nevertheless I was not prevented from selling.

"At 7:50, Gerry Healy and Michael Banda entered the hall. A few seconds later Healy came to the entrance and indicated to his followers that I should be removed from the front of the hall.

"I was immediately set upon and physically assaulted by six or seven Socialist Labour League supporters. My literature was knocked from my hands—I was punched and thrown to the ground, my glasses were smashed, and as I lay on the ground I was kicked repeatedly in the groin and stomach.

"After the attack I had to attend the casualty department of Middlesex Hospital and I was forced to stay in bed for the greater part of the next day. At the moment of writing I am still badly bruised.

"The issue is a simple one. The Socialist Labour League Leadership hope by their actions to prevent me selling my literature outside their meetings. They hope to take away my freedom of speech. This attack comes after a number of threats against me and my friends by members or supporters of the Socialist Labour League. At Brighton during the Labour Party Conference, my comrades were physically threatened and prevented from selling our literature. The same was true at the recent anti-war demonstration in Liege, Belgium, where I was threatened.

"I refuse to be intimidated. Neither a Fascist Mosley nor an ultra-left sectarian Gerry Healy who imagines himself to be a Trotskyist, should be allowed to curtail our democratic rights. I intend to be present at the next public meeting of the Socialist Labour League to sell my literature. I ask for the full support from all people on the Left to ensure I do it without interference from the misguided followers of Gerry Healy.

"Fraternally,
ERNEST TATE"

* * *

Following the circulation of this letter among Left and labor circles in England and its reprinting by several radical publications, the SLL instituted legal proceedings against Comrade Tate and threatened publications printing Tate's letter with the same treatment.

"Alighting from Coaches"

That Healy had Tate beaten is not disputed—in fact it is *defended*, as being within the framework of bourgeois "law and order." According to Healy's lawyers, the Tate letter *"described a disturbance on the pavement outside Caxton Hall, where the meeting was being held at which our client was a speaker. The letter states that Mr. Healy indicated to his followers that the writer of the letter should be removed from the front of the Hall and that he was assaulted by supporters of the Socialist Labour League. We are instructed that this is inaccurate. Mr. Healy, in fact, asked a steward to clear the pavement in front of the entrance to the Hall in order to allow passengers alighting from coaches to enter the Hall without being obstructed."*

This grotesque legal language only serves to point up the hypocrisy of a man claiming to be a proletarian revolutionary leader using such a law—from the period when lords and ladies descending from their coaches had the right to smash beggars, petitioners, children and anyone else in their way—against another member of the labor movement.

Healy's legal action was clearly intended to intimidate other publications from printing the letter and to end public discussion of the whole matter. Two of the papers which had printed the letter, the *Socialist Leader* and *Peace News*, issued retractions and paid the costs demanded by Healy.

Perhaps Healy's having Tate beaten might have been rationalized as an uncontrolled individual outburst of anger; but the appeal to "the Queen's Justice" implicates the entire SLL leadership, both in the initial hooliganism and in the attempt to suppress discussion within the workers' movement.

Gangsterism

Such tactics applied internally are not new to Healy. We have not previously spoken of the atmosphere of physical intimidation that surrounded the April London Conference, but it was present. We have since heard well-authenticated accounts of the use by the SLL leadership of calculated violence ("punch-ups") to silence internal critics. We already knew that Healy had developed a technique which destroyed the revolutionary morality of those around him by systematically forcing them to make false confession against themselves. It was for refusing to do this that Spartacist was expelled from the April Conference of the International Committee.

What has now led Healy to employ these tactics *outside* his movement? This summer the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) issued for their own purposes a pamphlet on the April Conference entitled "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International," the one Tate was attempting to sell outside the SLL meeting. The pamphlet consists mainly of correspondence between Spartacist and the SLL prior to and following the Conference. It lays bare—most clearly in Healy's own words—the criminal wrecking tactics he employs within the international Trotskyist movement. In denouncing the pamphlet in the 20 August *Newsletter*, the Political Committee of the SLL stated: *"We shall not hesitate to deal appropriately with the handful of United Secretariat agents who hawk it around the cynical fake-left in England."*

"Outside the Working Class"

Healy has attempted to put a theoretical face on his actions against supporters of the SWP—one similar to that used by the Stalinists in the thirties to justify their gangster attacks on Trotskyists. Then Trotskyists were labelled "counter-revolutionary" and beaten when they attempted to circulate literature explaining what was happening in the Soviet Union. The SLL at a "Special Conference" held 26 and 27 November passed a Declaration on the Socialist Workers Party, printed in the 3 December *Newsletter* and reprinted in the *Bulletin*. The document describes the SWP as *"turning completely away from the working class."* The dispute between the SLL and the SWP is *"a fight between the working class and the servants of the class enemy."* It states: *"We tell the SWP: The days when you could address us as 'comrades' are long since gone. Your political actions have placed you outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class. . . . There can be not the slightest question of your telling us what we must do to re-establish our reputation with you."* At the conclusion of the document appears the statement: *"The issues raised in the Nov. 21st letter by Farrell Dobbs, Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, about what happened at Caxton Hall on the night of November 17th, we cannot discuss at this stage for legal reasons."* Yet even if supporters of the SWP must be cleared from the streets as *"servants of the class enemy,"* the appeal against them to the bourgeois courts is not explained. The Trotskyist movement has always opposed any appeal to the bourgeois state, even against Fascists.

TROTSKY denouncing machine gun attack on him by Stalinist gangsters.

Healy Exposed

The turn by Healy and the SLL leadership to the political methods of the petty bourgeoisie and to the bourgeois courts is not the action of either genuine revolutionists or of "ultra-left sectarians." Such methods have no relation to the formal politics of the SLL, the politics of revolutionary Trotskyism. How is this contradiction to be explained? *We say that Healy is an aggressive and greedy adventurer whose particular politics have changed frequently.* At the present he is claiming to adhere to the revolutionary Marxist program of Trotskyism. Tomorrow his politics will be something else, just as they were only a few years ago when Healy was indistinguishable from the Bevanites in the Labour Party. Furthermore, Healy is an adventurer peculiarly preoccupied with sharp financial deals and with technical and material matters. His Plough Press does heavy commercial work—using his comrades' labor. He believes that "weak" national sections should financially support the "strong" one, i.e., his. Thus in 1961 he took over $1,000 from those of us who were then his supporters in this country in order to make a world tour. The tour never materialized, nor was the money returned or otherwise accounted for. (Copies of the relevant correspondence and cancelled checks would be available to any *bona-fide* workers' investigating commission.) Since then Healy has always sought, successfully, to conduct his relations with comrades in the U.S. at a profit. Churchill once described England as a nation of small businessmen. Healy stands as the left wing of his nation.

Sack Healy!

The persistent adherence by the Spartacist League to the revolutionary principles and program of Trotskyism, to which Healy gives lip service, have twice led Healy to break with and attempt to destroy us. Because of this adherence, the Spartacist League is not now besmirched by the public exposure of the gangster tactics Healy uses. Just as Farrell Dobb's telegram of condolences to Mrs. Kennedy came as a revelation, even to those who were most aware of the deepening revisionism of the SWP, so Healy's outrageous beating of Tate, compounded by dragging the victim before the courts of Elizabeth II's England, is a striking exposure of his and his leading committee's bankruptcy as revolutionists. To the members of the SLL and the other sections of the IC, we say: OUST HEALY!

In the United States the American Committee for the Fourth International (ACFI) has consistently aped Healy. Its members have now individually defended Healy's attack on Tate by saying, "Well, we want to smash Pabloites, don't we?" while the *Bulletin* reprints Healy's cynical statement that questions pertaining to "the events around Caxton Hall" cannot be discussed "for legal reasons." The ACFI members, whose initial weaknesses were exploited by Healy in typical Comintern fashions, are now being made to accept and justify ever greater departures from revolutionary practice. As with Stalin's Comintern, sections that have developed along this path have no inner stamina to resist any threat or any "opportunity" domestically. At the first opportunity we will see ACFI's vaunted "internation-

(Continued Bottom Next Page)

Crisis for Welfare Union

New York City welfare workers face an uncertain future, with their old contract having expired 31 December, and with no new contract in sight. The only thing made clear during bargaining so far is that the leadership of the Social Service Employees Union (SSEU) is hoping against hope that the City will simply offer an "acceptable" contract and that real struggle can be avoided. Thus, though bargaining has proceeded since 3 November without producing agreement in even a single area, the Mage leadership incredibly placed the blame on the *union* ("slowness in presenting our demands") and several weeks prior to the expiration of the contract requested authorization to extend bargaining for an additional month. Then when the City returned to the bargaining table after an insulting walk-out—its response to the first extension — the SSEU leadership requested a *second* extension and actually issued a leaflet praising the City for even engaging in negotiations! Such moves, revealing to both the City and the union's own rank and file a lack of will and confidence at the top, have begun to foster disorganization and loss of confidence below—doubly incriminating to the Mage policy because the initial response of the workers to the consistent arrogance of the City had been one of growing anger and determination to fight.

City's Intentions

Despite the hopefulness and proferred good will of the Mage leadership, there is no reason whatsoever to think that the City will willingly offer an acceptable contract or that all that is involved is working out an "equitable" agreement on wages, caseloads and the like. Rather, a quick review of the City's financial situation and its actions *vis-a-vis* the union over the last two years reveals that the City desires nothing less than the destruction of the SSEU as an effective instrument of labor struggle. At the present it is hoping to accomplish this through either a divided strike or the acceptance by the union leadership of a rotten contract, without struggle and in the hope of avoiding struggle. Either would be equally devastating to the future of the SSEU.

One of the fastest growing sections of the country's labor force is government employment—traditionally poorly or docilely organized. It was the example of the SSEU's militant and successful 28-day strike two years ago which directly inspired vigorous struggles and gains by many other sections of New York City employees, and indeed helped spark similar organizing and strike actions among teachers, nurses, and welfare workers across the nation. Furthermore, the success of the "Committee for Collective Bargaining"—an SSEU-originated alliance of eleven unions of City workers—in halt-

. . . HEALY

alism" (i.e., loyalty to a British clique) change into the most vicious American nationalism.

As for the SWP, it is certainly their right to factionally use against their political opponents this act of hooliganism. However, as Oscar Wilde once pointed out, hypocrisy is the acknowledgement vice pays to virtue. The SWP today is chasing after the same pacifists, Stalinists and middle-class elements who have been and will be guilty of the most serious violence against the working class and its left wing, both directly and through the bourgeois state. However, despite the motives of the SWP, its objective call at the present time for democracy within the labor movement is correct. We concur, only insisting that this democracy be applied impartially to *all* sections of the workers' movement. Furthermore, we are for the defense by any measures necessary of the right of Tate or anyone else within the workers' movement to press their opinions. The legal defense imposed on Tate certainly merits the support of all militants, and contributions for this purpose may be sent to him c/o Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee Street, London, E.1, England.

Trotsky's Method

In addition to the defense of Tate, what can be done to apply the maximum pressure against repetitions of this conduct? Trotsky has offered us an example of how to proceed in his article, "A Case for a Labor Jury—Against All Types of Gangsterism in the Working Class Movement; On the Murder of the Italian Stalinist Montanari." In this emigre quarrel the killer had apparently been victimized by the Stalinists and after resorting to violence he was for a time falsely linked by them to the Trotskyists. The conduct of the Italian Communist Party then roughly corresponds to the SLL's now. The conclusion of the article from the *New Militant*, 5 October 1935, is reprinted here:

". . . The Montanari-Beiso case is important precisely because a conflict on the political plane has led to a supremely senseless act of murder of one emigre by another. In this there lies an ominously serious warning, and it is necessary to grasp its significance in time!

"The matter is now in the hands of the bourgeois law courts. The official investigation is obviously not intended to cast light on the bloody tragedy from the standpoint of revolutionary morals of the proletariat. The prosecution will probably try only to compromise the proletarian emigres and the revolutionary organizations in particular. But the agents of the Comintern will also try to exploit the trial for every vile purpose, as they are obliged to do. The duty of workers' organizations, without any regard for political banners, lies in one thing: *in shedding the greatest light possible on this case*, and thereby, insofar as it is possible, to prevent the repetition of gunplay in revolutionary circles.

"In our opinion, the labor organizations must establish, without any further delay, an authoritative and non-partisan Committee which would go over the entire material, including Beiso's letters mentioned in *l'Humanite*, to examine all the witnesses and representatives of the parties and groups who are concerned or interested in the case, so that the political, moral and personal circumstances in the case be clearly established. This is necessary not only in memory of Montanari, not only to reveal Beiso's real motives, but also to purge the atmosphere of all working class organizations of treachery, calumny, hounding and gun play. Naturally the interests of the case would be best served if the representatives of *l'Humanite* and of the Central Committee of the Italian C.P. were to take part in this Committee. But we may safely predict that they will most certainly refuse: these politicians stand only to lose from an impartial investigation, and much more than would appear on the surface. But the investigation ought not to be wrecked by their refusal to participate. Every honest participant in the labor movement is deeply interested in seeing to it that this abscess is opened which can otherwise develop into gangrene. The tragic case of Montanari-Beiso must be brought before a labor jury."

Workers' Inquiry

In the event that the grip of Healy's clique on the Socialist Labour League is too strong, or Healy's leading collaborators on the International Committee too cowardly, to intervene directly to oust Healy, we think it appropriate to force a workers' inquiry to expose this fraud who disorients and corrupts the Trotskyist movement by posing as a revolutionary leader. ■

ing the implementation of Tri-Partite and preventing the lengthening of summer work hours, and the present alliance of the SSEU and sanitation workers, raises the spectre of a powerful alliance of *all* City workers. The City wants to put an end to these developments and potential developments *now*.

Thus for two years the City has never ceased to harrass the SSEU with provocations and contract violations—constantly testing, probing for weaknesses, trying to wear down and demoralize. The first major try for an overall solution was the City's attempt to impose the so-called "Tri-Partite" agreement, a scheme which would have eliminated the right of workers to representation by organizations of their own choosing, outlawed strikes and made third-party arbitration mandatory by law. Halted in this by a massive demonstration at City Hall by the eleven-union alliance, the City tried to lengthen summer hours, finally pulling back when the SSEU membership took a positive strike vote. Next the City attempted to demoralize welfare staff by letting caseloads rise precipitously. By physically removing excess cases from work areas and refusing to work on them, caseworkers forced the City to abide by contractual limits on workload and hire hundreds of new workers to handle the excess.

Role of Supervisors

Then in November an ominous thing happened. The City won its first major victory against the SSEU, over the election of a bargaining agent by welfare supervisors. Welfare staff is presently divided between two unions: the SSEU, representing caseworkers and related titles, and Local 371 of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—a virtual puppet of the City—representing supervisers and clerks. In the event of a strike by caseworkers, the supervisors are of key importance. Promoted from the ranks of the most experienced caseworkers, supervisors would be able to handle emergencies arising during a caseworker strike. In preparation for the present negotiations the SSEU had been attempting for more than a year to win bargaining rights for the supervisors, who have never had an opportunity to select a bargaining agent. In fact, the majority of organized supervisors are members of SSEU, not Local 371, and the majority of all supervisors have twice signed petitions demanding that a bargaining election be held. The City, determined to keep welfare staff divided until after its test of strength with the SSEU during bargaining, denied elections both times on the most dubious of technicalities. The union, rather than organizing an all-out staff mobilization over this absolutely crucial issue, which directly involves its ability to carry through an effective strike and win gains for staff, instead substituted a militant, but *token*, action by a handful of activists—a week-long "Live In" at the Department of Labor. This action, while no doubt embarrassing to the City, in no way *compelled* it to reverse a tactic fundamental to its projected "Destroy SSEU" strategy. Thus, while the SSEU now goes to court on the matter, staff remains divided during negotiations, and Local 371 implicitly encourages its members to scab in the event of an SSEU strike.

WELFARE RECIPIENTS support case worksrs' demonstration this Jan.

The period of bargaining, when the working conditions and living standards of workers over the next years are being decided, is always a crucial one. This is particularly true in the present case where the survival of the union and the incentive for militant unionism among other sections of government workers is at stake. It is the prime duty of a leadership *to lead*. This involves analyzing the objective conditions and past period to determine what level of struggle will be necessary and educating and organizing the rank and file to carry out this struggle. Having made its analysis and projected the necessary policy, the leadership must proceed with a determination and will to win.

Replace Mage

The conduct of the Mage leadership during the present bargaining (virtually ensuring that, if gains are to be won, a long, difficult strike will be necessary); its indecisive foot-dragging over the past year; its isolation from staff; its lack of confidence in the ability of workers to recognize and fight for their own interests; its preference, rather than relying on the strength of staff, for behind-the-scenes deals with the City; its leap into capitalist politics, despite the fact that most of the officers "know better"—all militate for the removal of the Mage leadership and its replacement by a leadership able, *and willing*, to recognize and fight for the real interests of staff.

The City wants to *destroy* the SSEU. Only evidence that the City faces a serious, determined fight will compel it to "offer" a good contract. Time and again the City has shown that it responds only to force, while on the other hand every signal of weakness has evoked a provocation or insult. Unwarranted offers to extend negotiations do not "give time for better strike organization" but demoralize the rank and file and encourage the City to come forth with such insults as its so-called "Proposed Agreement." This document, put forward as the City's basis for negotiation, proposed to lengthen summer hours, continue unpaid overtime, forbid strikes and work actions, return to pre-contract grievance and transfer policy and remove all limitation on caseload. ("The Employer shall establish appropriate workloads for employees covered by this agreement. Such workloads shall not be physically intolerable or unduly burdensome and shall not require an expenditure of energy or effort which is unreasonable under the circumstances.") It is those signs of unwillingness to struggle which have also encouraged the City to project its next union-busting step—a plan to "reorganize" the Welfare Department by replacing unionized caseworkers with non-union "case-aides"—clients hired at poverty-level wages.

Criminal Split

Unfortunately, just at this crucial period when *real* leadership is so desperately needed, the militant left-wing of the union has suffered a criminal split. The membership has shown that whenever it has been presented with a clear picture of the City's intentions and actions, it has responded militantly; thus, for example, in response to the City's "Proposed Agreement" and walkout, 1,500 workers left their centers to demonstrate their anger at Central Office. A strong and united militant voice, intervening to show clearly the intentions of the City and project a strategy to *win* could rally the membership and lead it forward to real gains—shorter working hours, lower caseloads, a really adequate salary raise, and cost of living "escalators" for both welfare staff and welfare clients. The formation of a *second* left caucus at this time (the "Rank and File" Committee)—a step *applauded* in the pages of the ACFI *Bulletin*(!)—to compete with the existing Militant Caucus weakens and discredits the militants and plays into the hands of the present leadership —*and the City*. Spartacist calls for the principled unity of all left-wing forces in the SSEU in order to lead an effective opposition to the sell-out policies of Mage *et al.* ■

GUEVARISM VS. FIDELISM

Posadas in the MR-13

"The tragic defeats suffered by the world proletariat over a long period of years doomed the official organizations to yet greater conservatism and simultaneously sent disillusioned petty-bourgeois 'revolutionists' in pursuit of 'new ways.' As always during epochs of reaction and decay, quacks and charlatans appear on all sides, desirous of revising the whole course of revolutionary thought. Instead of learning from the past, they 'reject' it. Some discover the inconsistency of Marxism, others announce the downfall of Bolshevism. There are those who put responsibility upon revolutionary doctrine for the mistakes and crimes of those who betrayed it; others who curse the medicine because it does not guarantee an instantaneous and miraculous cure. The more daring promise to discover a panacea and, in anticipation, recommend the halting of the class struggle. . . . The majority of these apostles have succeeded in becoming themselves moral invalids before arriving on the field of battle. Thus, under the aspect of 'new ways,' old recipes, long since buried in the archives of pre-Marxian socialism, are offered to the proletariat."

This was written in 1938, in the "Transitional Program" of the Fourth International, the Marxist-Leninist International founded by Leon Trotsky.

Latin American Bureau

Twenty-eight years have passed since, a new generation formed, and the Latin American Bureau of Juan Posadas, who calls himself a Trotskyist, has embodied the preceding description. Posadas' Latin American Bureau broke away from the Pabloite United Secretariat in 1962, over unrevealed political differences. The Bureau now calls itself the "Fourth International."

Posadas' International tacitly capitulates to the petty-bourgeoisie's denial of revolutionary proletarian struggle. Rather than provide leadership to the proletariat, it serves as a consultant to guerrilla idols like Yon Sosa in the Guatemalan *Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre* (MR-13). The role of the International in the MR-13 gives undeniable proof that Posadas and his followers abandoned the working class of Guatemala—the urban proletariat and banana plantation workers—for a temporary niche in the higher echelons of the MR-13. This action, besides failing to develop revolutionary consciousness in the Guatemalan workers and dismissing that proletariat's need for a party, isolated Posadas' Bureau, making it little more than a sterile sect with populist tendencies.

But the actions of Posadas' International cannot be viewed as isolated events. They were formed by and grew out of post-war social relations and revolutionary shifts. The proletariat could not struggle for state power in the industrialized countries due to the Stalinist Popular Front and subsequent CP betrayals; in underdeveloped countries and in East Europe, the Russian bureaucracy installed or allowed the creation of deformed workers states to act as buffer areas protecting the Soviet Union. To a great degree, the apparent "inactivity" of the world proletariat caused many elements in the Trotskyist movement to capitulate to "Third World" opportunism, denying the tasks and role of the party of the proletariat, whether in the industrialized countries or in the areas dominated by imperialism.

This capitulation to petty-bourgeois opportunism in the Trotskyist movement was reflected in Pabloism in the early fifties. Pabloism almost destroyed, through its unprincipled revisionism, the Trotskyist movement; its main attack centered on the Marxist conception that the only class able to finally destroy capitalist property relations on a world basis is the proletariat. Posadas' International is, in respect to this and other fundamental questions, a remnant of the Pabloite model. Pabloism denied the need for a proletarian party, claiming "no time for it" because the "World Revolution" was "at hand" and because the "radicalized" petty-bourgeoisie of the Third World would view a Trotskyist party with suspicion and hostility. Unprincipled coalitions with Bonapartists and other petty-bourgeois opportunists obliged the Pabloites, as a token of "good will," to liquidate the Trotskyist party. Posadas' International holds dearly to the idea of "a party" but in a purely bureaucratic manner. His position on the party is a *centrist* one: Posadas' practice, in Guatemala, for example, was openly *liquidationist* of the Trotskyist program.

Revisionist "New Ways"

The Pabloites and other revisionists never understood that it was Stalinism which had castrated the Latin American proletariat by subjecting it to Popular Frontism and the "Good Neighbor Policy" of Roosevelt. Therefore, the revisionists preferred "new ways" instead of preparing a defeated proletariat for the struggles of tomorrow.

Many factors have influenced Posadas' variant of Pabloism. The belief that the peasantry was revolutionary as a class without the leadership of the proletariat was confirmed in the eyes of the Bureau, and other revisionists, by the Cuban Revolution. And Latin America, which myth considers "feudal," was certainly a fertile ground for all kinds of opportunist accomodations to Bonapartists and petty-bourgeois peasant leaders who appeared to "compensate" for the "inactivity" of the Latin American proletariat.

This conception—the "feudal" or "semi-feudal" character of Latin American society—is a blind denial of the capitalist economic and social development in the great majority of Latin American nations. This capitalist development, which in Latin America results in permanent underdevelopment, has existed since the Spanish and Portuguese began the exploitation of the continent. The whole economic structure of Latin America is geared towards ruthless exploitation by imperialism, but in a *capitalist*, not a feudal, mode. The peasantry in Latin America, though oppressed brutally by capitalism, is outside the market economy as a class. Thus, this imperialist, capitalist exploitation has created definite relationships of classes in Latin America, where the peasantry, regardless of its numbers, does not play any essential role. The problems of Latin American society can be solved only through a ruthless and defined confrontation of imperialism and its national lackeys by the young Latin American *proletariat* and its allies.

The Rationale

The actions of Posadas' International must be understood as the resultant of post-war revisionism. Posadas' acceptance of the inevitability of nuclear war (and socialism with it!) provides a rationale for abandoning the proletarian struggle and the proletarian party as a Marxist requisite for it. Posadas' inability to realize that Latin America is not essentially a feudal society forces the Bureau to base its revolutionary struggle on the peasantry and the "competence" of petty-bourgeois demagogues like Peron or military heroes like Yon Sosa.

Posadas' group inside the MR-13 was expelled in April 1966 for, according to the MR-13, its arrogance and its dishonest behavior concerning the organization's funds. Posadas' first refused to acknowledge the expulsions and then flatly denied their importance (*Red Flag*, 6 Nov. 1966). Can it

be possible, then, that members of the International will learn anything from the fiasco in the MR-13? We do not think so, at least not so long as the Bureau remains unable to grapple with Posadas' theoretical bankruptcy. His denial of reality will accelerate the Bureau's drive toward an unavoidable death.

Latin American Stalinism

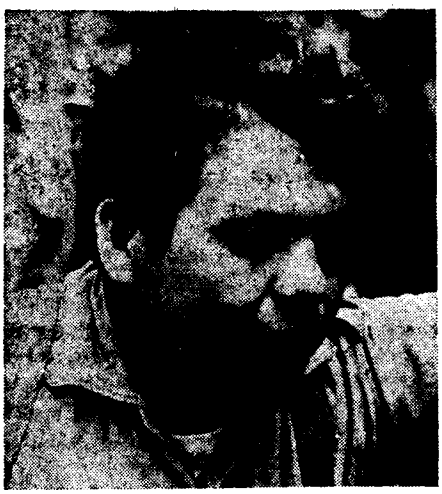
The expulsion of Posadas' section, nevertheless, cannot be dismissed purely on the organizational grounds presented by the MR-13. It is highly probable that the January 1966 Tricontinental Conference at Havana had, under the direction of the Russian bureaucracy, a defined purpose of politically and morally assassinating the MR-13. By attacking the MR-13, Castro aided the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias* (FAR) of Luis Turcios, a guerrilla group controlled by the Central Committee of the *Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo* (PGT). This Stalinist party, as do all Latin American CP's, depends on the Kremlin clique for spiritual guidance.

It is necessary to establish differences between Guevarism and Fidelism, two tactical approaches of Stalinism in Latin America, conditioned by particular situations and needs of the radicalized petty bourgeoisie reacting to proletarian "quiescence."

Guevarism

Guevarism, personified once by Ernesto Guevara, is a tactical recipe which holds that the "peoples' struggle" of the Cuban Revolution (1957-1959) can be applied successfully in the majority of Latin American countries in order to achieve a result similar to the developments in Cuba after 1959—to Marxists, a deformed workers state. Guevarism is, to a great extent, the Maoist model applied to Latin America. In practice, it can disturb, as it certainly has, imperialism's Pax Americana. That is why it has been met with brutal resistance in Peru, where Guevarism provided the inspiration for the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR).

MR-13's intrinsic Guevarism was hidden behind the "theoretical" façade provided by Posadas' section. The program of Posadas' Bureau has many similarities with Guevarism, particularly with the idea that there can be such things as "socialist guerrillas." But in reality the Trotskyist proletarian program cannot be carried forward by a peasant guerrilla movement, so the MR-13 continued to be, essentially, a Guevarist formation. The slogan of "workers and peasants government" was falsified in the typical opportunist manner, by the practical acceptance of either a "two-class party" or a "two-class state." The real face of the MR-13 showed up on many occasions, including the fraternal identification of their movement with the Peruvian MIR. *(Edicion Extraordinaria MR-13*, July 1965.) Though presenting different stages of development, MIR and MR-13 are prototypes of Guevarist guerrilla movements.



Marco Antonio Yon Sosa

Fidelism

Fidelism, on the other hand, opposes a guerrilla movement uncontrolled by the Kremlin and its hirelings in Havana. It does not embody even the end results of the Cuban Revolution, as Guevarism does. Such developments, though highly improbable now in any Latin American nation, might possibly unleash tremendous popular forces against imperialism, thereby unbalancing the peaceful coexistence that the Russian bureaucrats worship. Fidelism betrays the poor peasants and the workers in order to maintain this balance.

The Cuban missile crisis proved the willingness of the Russian clique to sacrifice even Cuba as a pawn in order to compromise with imperialism, just as the Dominican events proved the willingness of the Cuban clique to compromise with imperialism (see SPARTACIST No. 7). More Cubas, orbiting politically toward Russia, would create serious, perhaps unmaintainable, economic drainage on Russian resources.

The purpose of the Fidelist nationalist movements is not to take power from the bourgeoisie, but to establish a "gradual" pressure on "progressive" elements of a given bourgeois government. In Guatemala, the FAR has said that it wants to exact good behavior from "progressives" at the same time that it wages an "irreconcilable" struggle against the "ultra-rightists" of the Guatemalan bourgeoisie. The Stalinist PGT uses the FAR to "blackmail" the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Unfortunately, this has cost the FAR many dead, Turcios perhaps included. A peculiar Fidelist-inspired front, the Chilean FRAP, boycotted and helped defeat its own candidate, Allende, in the 1964 presidential elections, when it became obvious he might win. The Fidelist guerrillas and movements like FRAP are varieties of the Stalinist Popular Front, which was designed to defend Russia by betraying the international working class.

The Enemy — Guevarism

If the "militant" Maoist bureaucracy is the present "embarrassing" enemy of the peaceful partner of imperialism, the Russian bureaucracy, Guevarism is considered the danger in Latin America, where only Fidelism can keep it in check. And this is what the Tricontinental attempted primarily to do. It is not coincidental that in the same conference the Chinese bureaucracy was also viciously slandered by Castro. Though Guevara himself was no longer present (the Cuban bureaucracy, naturally, cannot explain this intelligently), Guevarism had to be attacked publicly, but not openly. Had Castro concentrated the attack solely on the MR-13, his hostility toward Guevarism would have been too obvious in Latin America and the farce too costly for Castro and his Russian mentors. But Posadas' presence in the MR-13 provided the alibi needed by Castro. Castro could, in cynical impunity, call Guevarism in Guatemala "Trotskyism."

The Enemy — Trotskyism

As a secondary purpose, the Cuban and Russian bureaucracies also needed to attack the permanent, irreconcilable and proletarian enemy of Stalinism: Trotskyism. The Russian clique needed to attack because Trotskyism represents its ever-present enemy, reminding them of the bureaucracy's Thermidorian and criminal usurpation in the face of the Russian proletariat. The Cuban hirelings wanted to gnaw at Trotskyism because many Trotskyist organizations had relentlessly been asking about Ernesto Guevara and many of them were hinting that the Cuban bureaucrats had purged him physically after his 1965 African tour, during which he had openly advocated a more militant line.

The Tricontinental was used to eliminate two opposition programs: the first, Guevarism, an immediate petty-bourgeois deviation; the second, the Marxist-Leninist program which Stalinists always try to isolate from any revolutionary, that of Trotskyism.

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CENTRISM AND THE F

Realignments in the In

by L. L

"Centrism and the Fourth International" by Leon Trotsky was first published in The Militant of 17 March 1934. Unfortunately, it has been almost forgotten since its initial appearance, especially since another article by Trotsky with the same title, dated 10 March 1939, was published in the New International of May 1939.

The increasing degeneration of the Comintern culminating in Hitler's victory and the emergence of Stalinism as an overtly counterrevolutionary formation during the Popular Front period marked a new stage in the political struggle, characterized by the crisis of revolutionary leadership. In this context, the overriding necessity for the building of an international party of socialist revolution led Trotsky to launch the struggle for the Fourth International, founded in 1938 on the basis of the Transitional Program. Trotsky viewed the task of the period as a realignment from existing centrist forces through a process of political polarization, resulting from untiring polemics with centrists, propagandizing the Trotskyist program, intervention in the class struggle and the tactic of the united front.

This article was one of Trotsky's first attempts to analyze the dominant characteristics of centrism—the inability to draw "practical conclusions from revolutionary requisites." In the article he outlines a series of tactics toward theoretical clarification leading to the formation of the world party of socialist revolution.

The emergence of Pabloite revisionism in the post-war period and the resulting organizational disintegration of the Fourth International poses for us today the crucial task of rebuilding the international vanguard party through the winning of working-class militants to the program of revolutionary Marxism and the promotion of splits and fusions within the existing radical movement. The bankruptcy of classic reformism and the exposure of the betrayals of the social democracies and the Stalinist parties creates a situation in which the greatest obstacle to the building of a Leninist party is centrism, which becomes a pole of attraction for militants who have rejected reformism and seek a revolutionary transformation of society. These centrist formations evidence the classic characteristics of centrism as defined by Trotsky. The SWP repeats the old opportunist revisions of Marxism and presents them as new theoretical innovations in order to justify its uncritical support of Black Nationalism, bourgeois pacifism and the Cuban bureaucracy, while ACFI, Gerry Healy's American "section," plods along its zig-zag course.

* * *

As we were going to press, we were gratified to find that the comrades of the Irish Workers' Group have just published this article in their mimeographed quarterly journal An Solas, No. 15/16, Autumn-Winter 1966.

1. The events in Austria, coming after the events in Germany,[1] placed a final cross over "classic" reformism. Henceforth only the dullest leaders of British and American trade-unionism and their French follower, Jouhaux, the president of the Second International, Vandervelde, and similar political ichthyosauri will dare to speak openly of the perspectives of peaceful development, democratic reforms, etc. The overwhelming majority of reformists consciously take on new colors now. Reformism yields to the innumerable shadings of centrism which now dominate the field of the workers' movement in the majority of countries. This creates an entirely new, and in a sense unprecedented, situation for work in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism (Bolshevism). The New International can develop principally at the expense of the now prevailing tendencies and organizations. At the same time the revolutionary International cannot form itself otherwise than in a consistent struggle against centrism. Under these conditions ideological irreconcilability and the flexible policy of the united front serve as two weapons for the attainment of one and the same end.

Characteristics of Centrism

2. One must understand first of all the most characteristic traits of modern centrism. That is not easy: first, because centrism due to its organic amorphousness yields with difficulty to a positive definition: it is characterized to a much greater extent by what it lacks than by what it embraces; secondly, never has centrism yet played to such an extent as now with all the colors of the rainbow, because never yet have the ranks of the working class been in such *ferment* as at the present time. Political ferment, by the very essence of the term, means a realignment, a shift between two poles, Marxism and reformism; that is, the passing through the various stages of centrism.

3. No matter how difficult a general definition of centrism, which of necessity always has a "conjunctural" character, nevertheless, we can and must bring out the outstanding characteristics and peculiarities of the centrist groupings originating from the break-down of the Second and Third Internationals.

(a) Theoretically, centrism is amorphous and eclectic; so far as possible it evades theoretical obligations and inclines (in words) to give preference to "revolutionary practice" over theory, without understanding that only Marxian theory can impart revolutionary direction to practice.

Centrist Ideology

(b) In the sphere of ideology centrism leads a parasitic existence: it repeats against revolutionary Marxists the old Menshevik arguments (Martov, Axelrod, Plechanov) usually without suspecting this; on the other hand, its main arguments against the rights it borrows from the Marxists, that is first of all from the Bolshevik-Leninists, dulling however, the sharp edge of criticism, avoiding practical conclusions, thereby rendering their criticism meaningless.

(c) A centrist readily proclaims his hostility to reformism; but he does not mention centrism; moreover, he considers the very definition of centrism as "unclear," "arbitrary," etc.; in other words centrism does not like to be called by its name.

(d) A centrist, always uncertain of his position and his methods, views with hatred the revolutionary principle: *to state what is;* he is inclined to substitute for a principled policy personal maneuvering and petty organizational diplomacy.

(e) A centrist always remains in spiritual depend-

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ence on rightist groupings, is inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunist sins and to color their actions before the workers.

(f) His shilly-shallying the centrist frequently covers up by reference to the danger of "sectarianism," by which he understands not abstract-propagandist passivity (of the Bordigist type) but an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency, organizational completeness.

TROTSKY at Prinkipo in 1931.

(g) A centrist occupies a position between an opportunist and a Marxist somewhat analogous to that which a petty bourgeois occupies between a capitalist and a proletarian: he kowtows before the first and has contempt for the second.

On the International Arena

(h) On the international arena the centrist distinguishes himself if not by blindness then by shortsightedness; he does not understand that in the present epoch a national revolutionary party can be built only as part of an international party; in the choice of his international allies the centrist is even less discriminating than in his own country.

(i) A centrist sees in the policy of the Comintern only "ultra-Left" deviations, adventurism, putchism, ignoring completely the right-opportunist zig-zags (Kuo Min Tang, Anglo-Russian Committee, pacifist foreign policy, anti-Fascist bloc, etc.)[2]

(j) A centrist swears readily by the policy of the united front, emptying it of its revolutionary content and transforming it from a tactical method into a supreme principle.

(k) A centrist readily resorts to pathetic moralizing to cover up his ideological emptiness; he does not understand that revolutionary morality can be formed only on the basis of revolutionary doctrine and revolutionary policy.

Words and Deeds

3. Under the pressure of circumstances the eclectic-centrist may accept even the most extreme conclusions only to retreat from them afterwards in practice. Having accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat he will leave a wide margin for opportunist interpretations; having proclaimed the necessity of a Fourth International he will work for the building of a Two-and-a-half[3] International, etc.

4. The most malignant example of centrism is, if you wish, the German group "Begin Anew" (Neu Beginnen).[4] Superficially repeating the Marxian criticism of reformism, it comes to the conclusion that all the misfortunes of the proletariat follow from splits and that salvation lies in the safeguarding of the unity of the social-democratic parties. These gentlemen place the organizational discipline of Wels and Co. higher than the historic interests of the proletariat. And since Wels & Co. subordinate the party to the discipline of the bourgeoisie, the group "Begin Anew," cloaked by left criticism stolen from the Marxists, represents in reality a harmful agency of the bourgeois order, even though an agency of second degree.

The London Bureau

5. The so-called London (now Amsterdam) Bureau[5] represents an attempt at creating an international focal point for centrist eclecticism, under the banner of which the right and the left opportunist groupings, which dare not choose finally a direction and a banner, try to unite. In this as in other cases the centrists try to direct the movement obliquely along a diagonal course. The elements composing the bloc pull in opposite directions; the N.A.P. (Norwegian Workers Party) cautiously moves towards the Second International; the I.L.P. (Independent Labour Party)—partly toward the Third, partly toward the Fourth; the S.A.P. (Socialist Workers Party of Germany) and the O.S.P. (Independent Socialist Party of Holland)—veering and vacillating towards the Fourth. Exploiting and preserving the ideological amorphousness of all its participants and trying to compete in the work for the creation of a new International, the bloc of the "London Bureau" plays a reactionary role. The failure of this grouping is absolutely inevitable.

Bureaucratic Centrism

6. The defining of the policy of the Comintern as that of *bureaucratic* centrism retains its full force now

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too. As a matter of fact, only *centrism* is capable of constant leaps from opportunistic betrayals to ultra-Left adventurism; only the powerful *Soviet bureaucracy* could for ten years assure a stable base for the ruinous policy of zig-zags.

Bureaucratic centrism, in distinction from centrist groupings which crystallized out of the social democracy, is the product of the degeneration of Bolshevism; it retains—in caricature form—some of its traits, still leads a considerable number of revolutionary workers, disposes of extraordinary material and technical means, but by its political influence is now the crassest, most disorganizing and harmful variety of centrism. The political break-down of the Comintern, clear to the whole world, signifies of necessity the further decomposition of bureaucratic centrism. In this sphere our task is to save the best elements for the cause of the proletarian revolution. Side by side with tireless principled criticism, our main weapon for influencing the workers still remaining under the banner of the Comintern is the further penetration of our ideas and methods into those wide masses, who stand now in overwhelming majority outside the influence of the Comintern.

Adaption to Reformist Maneuvers

7. Precisely now, when reformism is forced to renounce itself, transforming or dyeing itself into centrism, some groupings of *Left* centrism, on the contrary, stop short in their development and even move backwards. It seems to them that the reformists have already grasped almost everything, that it is only necessary not to play with exorbitant demands, criticism, extreme phraseology, and that then with one blow one can create a mass "revolutionary" party.

In reality, reformism, forced by events to disavow itself, having no clear program, no revolutionary tactics, is capable only of lulling the advanced workers to sleep by inculcating in them the idea that the revolutionary regeneration of their party is already achieved.

New Forms of Struggle

8. For a revolutionary Marxist the struggle against reformism is now almost fully replaced by the struggle against centrism. The mere bare counter-posing of legal struggle to illegal, of peaceful means to violence, of democracy to dictatorship now goes beside the mark in the majority of cases because the frightened reformist, disavowing himself, is ready to accept the most "revolutionary" formulas if only they do not obligate him today to a decisive break with his own irresoluteness, indecision and expectant waiting. The struggle with hidden or masked opportunists must therefore be transferred chiefly to the sphere of *practical conclusions from revolutionary requisites.*

Before seriously accepting centrist talk of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" we must demand a serious defense against Fascism, a complete break with the bourgeoisie, a systematic building of a workers' militia, its training in militant spirit, the creation of inter-party defense centers, anti-Fascist staffs, the banishment from their ranks of parliamentary, trade-unionist and other traitors, bourgeois lackeys, careerists, too. Precisely on this plane the main fights against centrism must now be fought. To carry on this struggle with success it is necessary to have free hands, that is, not only to retain full organizational independence, but also critical intransigence with regard to the most "left" offshoots of centrism.

Events Force Realignments

9. Bolshevik-Leninists in all countries must realize clearly the peculiarities of the new stage in the struggle for the Fourth International. The events in Austria and France[6] give a powerful impetus to the realignment of the forces of the proletariat in the revolutionary direction. But precisely this universal supplanting of open reformism by centrism develops a powerful attractive force with regard to left centrist groupings (S.A.P., O.S.P.) which only yesterday were about to unite with the Bolshevik-Leninists. This dialectic process may produce the impression on the surface that the Marxian wing is again "isolated" from the masses. A flagrant delusion! The veerings of centrism to the right and to the Left follow from its very nature. There will yet be tens and hundreds of such episodes on our road. It would be the most wretched faint-heartedness to fear to go forward just because the road is strewn with obstacles or because not all the fellow travelers will arrive at the very end.

The Fourth International

Whether the new opportunist vacillations of our centrist allies will prove conjunctural or final (in reality they will be of both kinds), the general conditions for the formation of the Fourth International on the basis of genuine Bolshevism become more and more favorable. The chase of the "extreme left" centrists after the simply lefts, of the lefts after the moderates, of the moderates after the rights, like the chase of a man after his own shadow, cannot create any stable mass organization: the miserable experience of the German Independent Party (U.S.P.)[7] retains now also its full force. Under the pressure of events, with the aid of our criticism and our slogans, the advanced workers will step over the vacillations of the most left centrist leaders, and, if it should become necessary, also over these very leaders. On the road to a new International the proletarian vanguard will find no other answers than those which have been elaborated and are being elaborated by the Bolshevik-Leninists on the basis of international experience during ten years of uninterrupted theoretical and practical struggle.

Conditions for Success

10. During the past year our political influence has greatly grown in a number of countries. We will be able to develop and broaden these successes in a comparatively short time under the following conditions:

(a) Not to outsmart the historic process, not to play hide and seek but to state what is;

(b) to give ourselves a theoretic accounting of the changes in the general situation which in the present epoch frequently take on the nature of sharp turns;

(c) to heed carefully the mood of the masses, without prejudices, without illusions, without self-deception in order on the basis of a correct estimate of the relationship of forces within the proletariat, to avoid opportunism as well as adventurism and to lead the masses forward, not to throw them back;

(d) every day, every hour to answer clearly to our-

Report from Germany

A SINISTER COALITION

by Bernt Bähr

The two electoral successes of the National Democratic Party (NDP) in the autumn 1966 state elections in Hesse and Bavaria have brought the growth of the radical right wing in West Germany to world attention. At the same time, the rise of the NDP has been to the advantage of the ruling Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU) who now can comfortably develop their own militant nationalism by virtue of the protection from the right which the NDP provides. The slogan, "healthy nationalism," is today once again at home in Germany's ruling parties. The notorious Franz Joseph Strauss, thrown out of office in 1962 in the wake of demonstrations protesting his role in the *Spiegel* affair, and now Minister of Finance, characterized the NDP's electoral success as "the answer to the contempt and ridicule of the German Federal Republic; an answer to all who tried to drag Germany through the mud." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 21 November 1966.)

The Developing Crisis

This radicalization to the right is the result of a deteriorating economic situation and of the consequent political crisis of the ruling parties. The expansion of the West German economy came to an abrupt end in the fall of 1966. Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, the "Father of the Economic Wonder" and of the expansionist phase of West German capitalism, was immediately dumped back into the Bavarian forests whence he came. The government crisis grew over the question of raising taxes to the exclusive disadvantage of the consumer. The CDU refused to counteract the economic stagnation by imposing higher taxes or decreasing military contracts, as this would narrow business profits. The economic situation is now characterized by inflationary price-rises, higher taxes and a decrease in contracts and production. Labor cutbacks, unemployment and sharper wage struggles are the perspectives for the working class. Ten thousand workers have already been laid off in the coal and construction industries, and the automobile industry, particularly the *Volkswagen* concern, has begun to operate on reduced work-time. Thousands of foreign workers are leaving Germany. In the summer of 1966, there were seven job openings for every unemployed worker; by December, this figure fell to one-and-a-half job openings.

The Grand Coalition

More important than the neo-Nazis for the mobilization of reactionary forces is the so-called "Grand Coalition" between the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats. Willy Brandt, once an exile from Hitler Germany in Norway and now Foreign Minister, shakes the hand of his new boss, Chancellor Kiesinger, who was a Nazi from 1933 to 1945. Sitting together today in Bonn are right-wing trade unionists such as Leber, now Minister of Transport, and ex-Stalinists such as Herbert Wehner, to whom the militantly anti-communist and revanchist Ministry of All-German Affairs has been given as "verification" of his loyalty.

In reality, the government, characterized as a transitional coalition, has two tasks. The first is to pass new electoral laws to facilitate the continuation of the two large parties and hinder the development of a new working-class party. The second is to prepare a transition to dictatorship by doing away with bourgeois democracy. Ex-Chancellor Erhard has already cynically projected the coming totalitarian society in his concept of the "formed"—actually *uniformed*—society.

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selves what our next *practical step* must be, tirelessly to prepare this step and on the basis of living experience explain to the workers the principled difference of Bolshevism from all other parties and currents;

The Basic Historical Task

(e) not to confuse tactical tasks of a united front with the basic historic task: the creation of new parties and a new International;

(f) not to neglect even the weakest ally, for the sake of *practical* action;

(g) to watch critically the most "left" ally as a possible adversary;

(h) to treat with the greatest attention those groupings which actually gravitate to us; patiently and carefully to listen to their criticisms, doubts and vacillations; to help them develop toward Marxism; not be frightened by their caprices, threats, ultimatums (centrists are always capricious and touchy); not to make any concessions to them in principle;

(i) and once more: not to fear to state what is. ■

—23 February 1934

NOTES

1. "Events in Austria" refers to the victory of clerical fascism under Dollfus, a serious defeat for the Austrian working class and a revelation of the failure of even the radical Austrian Social Democrats.

2. The Kuomintang was Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist party, organizationally modelled after the Communist Party and supported by the Comintern until Chiang's bloody suppression of the workers in Shanghai in 1927.
The Anglo-Russian Committee was comprised of Soviet trade union officials and English left trade union leaders; its signal achievement was to give cover to the defeat of the English General Strike of 1926.

3. The Two-and-a-half International was an attempt to revive the old Second International, cleansed of its social patriotism, and included the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, a majority of the French Socialist Party, the Russian Mensheviks, the British Independent Labour Party and similar groups.

4. Wels, a notorious right-wing Social Democrat, climaxed his career as a "Socialist" pledging his loyalty to Hitler in the Reichstag.

5. The London Bureau, founded in 1932, had as its most prominent party the ILP of Britain. It functioned through the 1930's as a clearing house for centrism.

6. The "events in France" included the demonstration on 6 February 1934 by 200,000 reactionaries armed with razors and revolvers against the Daladier government, which fell the following day. Six days later, four million French workers came out in a strike.

7. The Independent Socialist Party (USPD), after the 1920 split in which two-thirds of the party fused with the German Communist Party, continued to exist as an independent organization, adhering to the Two-and-a-half International until 1922 when it went back to the Social Democracy.

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The new government is now concerned with pushing through no less than *eighty* revisions in the Constitution in order to make possible the legislation of the so-called "Emergency Laws" *(Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 5 December) which would be the "legal" basis for the dictatorship. For the protection of capitalism a series of anti-strike and anti-union laws are in preparation, along with the prohibition of political opposition, the dissolution of parliamentary democracy, total militarization and political coordination of public life. The bourgeoisie's fear of a general strike is the decisive element of the entire series of laws proposed for legislation. A major purpose of the Grand Coalition is to prevent a broad opposition to the Emergency Laws as well as to provide the two-thirds majority in Parliament necessary for constitutional revision. A creeping coup d'etat has finally become the common goal of the CDU and the SPD. The NDP is being formally excluded for the moment, but nationalism is once again being mobilized by the bourgeoisie as an ideological weapon to be used in the coming struggles against the proletariat.

The Opposition

Resistance to the threat of dissolution of bourgeois democracy is weak and badly organized. Since the prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in 1956, the government has been able to move against any new organization on the left as being "suspected of communist membership"; the limitless extension of anti-communist laws now planned will make the situation of the opposition even worse. Added to this is the twenty-year-long propaganda against the East German state as well as the preservation of revanchist lust for the re-conquest of "the German East."

Since the SPD gave up calling itself a workers' party in the Godesberg Program of 1959 and sought to establish itself as a "party of the entire people" by discarding all goals of socialization, it has gone its reactionary way with determination. Today, in the Grand Coalition, it is ready to make those laws for the bourgeoisie which have the one aim of completely disarming the workers.

A more important but still very weak force of resistance to the Emergency Laws is the German Federation of Trade Unions (DGB). Fear of these laws has caused the DGB to openly declare itself against them. The federation's close connection with the SPD in personnel and in ideology, however, prevents it from allowing any mobilization of the workers through mass demonstrations and protest strikes. Instead, it merely supports the protest demonstrations of university professors.

The East German government and its illegal arm in West Germany, the KPD, support those elements in the SPD, trade unions and pacifist organizations who demand as the most pressing task adherence to the 1949 West German constitution, which the KPD nonetheless had rejected at the time. The determination of the East German government to support a liberal-democratic pacifist program is a major obstacle to the development of a genuine socialist party of class struggle. Thus it has repeatedly declared itself willing to renounce any form of oppositional activity in West Germany and to guarantee the existence of the bourgeois state in the West in return for a "peaceful and friendly" government in the Federal Republic. Only the militant aggressiveness of the West German bourgeoisie with its demands for unconditional capitulation of the East German bureaucracy has prevented this agreement until now.

Student Resistance

In the absence of a revolutionary organization of the working class, the most active oppositional elements today are certain student organizations. Their political analysis connects the incipient economic crisis, neo-fascism and the repressive laws planned by the bourgeoisie to be enacted by the Grand Coalition, with the world-wide aggression of U.S. imperialism and its helper, West Germany. As in the U.S.A., where the opposition against the war in Vietnam and the liberation struggle of the Negroes are seen more and more as parts of the same struggle, in Germany too, the struggle against the threat of dictatorship internally and against West Germany's support of the war in Vietnam are seen as parts of the same oppression.

The isolation of these student organizations from the working class, however, leads to major ideological deficiencies similar to those of the New Left in the U.S.A.: a thoroughly classless approach, the myth about new methods of struggle and new bases of revolt such as those of students, intellectuals or Asian and Latin American peasants and guerrillas, with whom the complacency of the German workers is contrasted.

The Socialist League of German Students (SDS), the strongest and most militant of these organizations, defines its dilemma in the following way: as a student organization which does not recruit workers, the SDS can only be as strong as its impact in the universities. In the absence of a revolutionary workers' party, however, it must also take into account the tasks of such a party without, however, either wanting to or being able to become one itself. Because of its weaknesses, the SDS couples opportunism in domestic issues with an uncritical awe of all that looks revolutionary. For instance, at the October 1966 Conference on "Democracy in crisis," SDS was ready to make every concession to the representatives of the DGB, supporting their liberal-democratic aims and refusing to put forward any socialist alternatives. On the other hand, at the National Congress of SDS delegates held earlier in 1966, the Chinese "cultural revolution" was greeted in the manner of *Peking Review* as "a further step on the path to the communist society."

With the abdication of leadership of the traditional workers' organizations, the increasing unrest among workers and students has been accompanied by the casting about for "new" forms of struggle. The repeated student disturbances in Berlin led to mass arrests but also to calls for student strikes and for founding an "anti-university." Also precipitated was the declamatory proclamation of a "Commune" of anarchist students. But the mobilization of the students' militancy and consciousness towards the crucial task of a resurgence of revolutionary struggle in the German working class is hardly broached theoretically, and has never been attempted practically. Instead, the inclination is rather to try to find the student movement a comfortable alibi; by calling the university a "factory" and the students "workers" one can feel good in the self-proclaimed role of a "proletarian" without having to seriously commit oneself to struggle.

The Tasks Ahead

As long as the students avoid a firm committment to the working class, their aims must be self-contradictory, their activity inadequate and their strength only feeble. Only in unity with the working class can the resistance to the course of the Grand Coalition gain strength.

As a part of the current crisis, the West German bourgeoisie has started a wide-ranging offensive for the destruction of those few rights which the working class was able to win for itself in spite of the Allied military occupation after the Second World War. It is not the NDP which is the main enemy today but rather those who are preparing for a new dictatorship through the Grand Coalition; the struggle against the NDP must be linked with the struggle against fascist tendencies in the government parties; most decisive however is the preparation of the working class itself for the defense and extension of its own rights. The exposure of the SPD to the German workers, particularly by forcing it to take sole power, and the related formation of a Marxist vanguard party still remain the main tasks for German revolutionaries. ■ Trans. by M. D.

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(Continued from Page 1)

Civilian Review Board, a clear expression of the near-fascist attitude of a white population in which bourgeois-aspiring white-collar workers and the privileged working class of Queens are major factors. However, even in Georgia the axe-handle racist candidate was unable to secure a majority of the popular vote. Hard-line segregationists carried the day in Alabama, but lost out in the border states of Arkansas and Maryland. In Dearborn, Michigan, 47 per cent of the voters approved a ballot proposition opposing the Vietnam war, although anti-war forces might well consider the mixed motives that may have been present there before cheering too loudly. In Illinois the defeat of an all-out Johnson man and old-time New Dealer indicates little except that it is a long time since the thirties. Massachusetts sent a Black Republican to the Senate; although no victory for the Black people of Roxbury and the South End, this is scarcely the act of an electorate in the grip of an hysterical anti-Negro spirit.

The chief responsibility for the triumph of the Republicans in California must be laid at the door of Pat Brown and the liberal Democrats. Even judged within their own frame of reference, their leadership has been incredibly bad, or non-existent. Supporting legalistic and token civil-rights measures as long as it seemed profitable to do so, they interpreted the victory of the anti-open-housing Proposition 14 in 1964 as a call for a retreat rather than an offensive against rising racism. Brown's reaction to the Watts rebellion was indistinguishable from that of the Republicans, and he even appointed an investigating committee under super-spy McCone, the same man Reagan now wants to investigate the Berkeley campus. When, in the middle of the campaign, the Hunters Point disturbances broke out, so little was the difference between the two candidates that both agreed to refrain from making a political issue of it. The irony of it all is that, despite these concessions to backlash, Brown remained identified in the minds of the white reactionaries with civil-rights legislation, and they visited retribution on him.

Finally, Brown and his supporters were unable to grasp even the existence of a sentiment of dissatisfaction with The Great Society. The theme of a brochure mailed out by the ILWU in support of Brown (remember when Harry Bridges was a left-wing hero?) carried the headline, "Play It Safe." This was a recurrent theme in Democratic literature and was singularly unresponsive to the mood of the voters. This is, of course, not just a tactical error but a constitutional inability to see the nature of the problem.

The Left's Abstentionism

In this context, the failure of the left to play a positive role in the elections becomes even more striking. Of the pro-Democratic Communist and Socialist Parties, no more need be said. The West Coast Progressive Labor Party (Maoist) abstained from action, falsely counterposing its ever-recurring and ever-failing community organization programs to electoral action. The decisive failure on the left, however, was that of the Conference for New Politics (CNP) forces, whose core was the Berkeley student left. Prior to and through the Los Angeles Conference on Power and Politics, these forces had it within their grasp to organize an alternative write-in campaign which would have broken with Democratic Party liberalism and helped to lay the groundwork for a new labor-oriented party. Even at the LA Conference they decisively defeated the CP and liberal forces and precipitated a walk-out by these pro-Brown elements. Genuine class-oriented independence, however, is not within the perspectives of this formation; thus they sat out the election with a total boycott position in the north and with a partial attempt at a "positive boycott" in the south. On the extreme left of the CNP spectrum stood the Draperite Independent Socialist Committee (ISC), which fought militantly and effectively for a write-in campaign, but without specific class content, at the LA Conference; the ISC, however, has since gone along as the loyal opposition within the CNP and refused support for a socialist alternative.

At this point one would expect the Socialist Workers Party, claiming a revolutionary outlook and the mantle of orthodox Trotskyism, to step into the breach. However, the SWP attempted to play it both ways. The SWP did formally run a write-in candidate. No odder campaign, however, has been seen since the Communist Party ran Browder for President in 1936 while actually supporting Roosevelt. Undermined by their long-standing abstentionist attitude, hampered by their overemphasis on organizational control, trapped by their single-issue position in the anti-war movement, the SWP sabotaged their own campaign, leaving it to Spartacist to raise the question of support to the SWP in various radical organizations. The climax came on the weekend before elections when Spartacists, distributing election literature for the SWP candidates, encountered YSAers, distributing leaflets on the Vietnam war which did not even mention the election. The West Coast member of the Wohlforthite American Committee (ACFI), contrary to the public line of *The Bulletin,* accommodated himself to the CNP and issued a leaflet supporting the boycott.

Class-Oriented Alternative

It would be foolish in the extreme to deny that the GOP victory in California and the nation represents an advance for reaction. What we do most emphatically deny is that the way to fight this reaction is to support the Democratic Party and the capitalist system it serves. That party, serving the same masters as Reagan's GOP, has paved the way for this reactionary victory, and, should it be restored to power in four or eight years, it will do so again, but more conservatively. This is an inherently, organically, constitutionally built-in characteristic of liberal-democratic capitalist politics. It is, therefore, with the independent left that the solution to the dilemma lies. The decisive factor in preserving the impasse and permitting continued rightward drift is the failure of the left to provide leadership toward a serious class-oriented *alternative* to capitalist politics. If the crisis of leadership can be overcome, then an alternative can be presented which can attract support on a mass basis, among Black militants, the working class, the disaffected intelligentsia and even among some of those very elements Reagan camp. ■

—Geoffrey White

Does Soviet Nuclear Shield Cover Hanoi?

AN OPEN LETTER TO ATTACHE ROGOCHOV

On 14 November, Berkeley students picketed Soviet Attache Rogochov in protest over Soviet refusal to effectively defend North Vietnam from U.S. bombings. Spartacists distributed the following leaflet.

Within the limitations of our power, we and many others in this country have acted to oppose the imperialist war the U.S. government (it is not "our" government) is waging against the working people of Vietnam. Now we ask you what your government, with its vast military and economic power, has done in this respect.

The words of your spokesmen in the United Nations and elsewhere are frequently eloquent, but long experience with the beautiful words of our own ruling class has made us look beyond words to deeds. The U.S. Army, Mr. Attache, has a device called Red Eye, which launches heat-seeking missiles at airplanes and can be carried in rough terrain by one man. We are sure that a technology which has produced Sputniks and cosmonauts galore has also mass-produced an analogous weapon. Why are they not in Vietnam, where they could provide critical protection to men and women willing to die in a cause that you profess to support? Why are you sending fifteen-year-old SAM II missiles to Vietnam when you have a plentiful supply of SAM III's, which would provide real protection to the cities and villages of North Vietnam? Why, just when the manpower strain was beginning to have some effect on the U.S., did you propose to withdraw troops from the Berlin area, thus freeing U.S. troops to expand the butchery in Vietnam? Is that not a clear-cut Soviet contribution to the defeat of the NLF? One last question Mr. Attache: for years you have used the threat of your own nuclear weapons system to shield Soviet cities against U.S. nuclear attack. Does this protection extend to Peking? to Hanoi? Does the Soviet nuclear shield cover Hanoi? Your failure so to state and your obscene chase after a detente with the imperialists at the price of other people's revolutions, and ultimately at the expense of the gains of the October Revolution, encourage the U.S. on a road clearly leading to nuclear attack against Chinese nuclear installations and, if imperialist ends cannot be achieved by less drastic means, against targets in North Vietnam. A credible statement by your government that a nuclear attack on the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam or the People's Republic of China would be treated as an attack on the Soviet Union itself would not increase the danger of atomic Armageddon, but vastly lessen it. You accept this logic for the protection of your own cities, why not for those of people whom you unctuously call "brotherers"?

May we suggest, Mr. Rogochov, that you cannot answer these questions in a Marxist or socialist framework because you represent a regime and a social stratum which is the mortal enemy of both. The CCP and the Maoists internationally call you "revisionists" at every turn, but they refrain from a serious social analysis of why this disease has afflicted the first workers state. This is because they themselves represent an earlier stage of the same degeneration. Their criticisms of Khrushchev and Brezhnev—in the name of Stalin—have cut them off from decent socialists everywhere. We, however, suggest that your betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution is not an error, not a failure of nerve, nor any other conjunctural and fortuitous event. We suggest that you represent a bureaucratic social stratum which has usurped the power of the working class and which, in order to hang onto its power and privileges, will and must seek an understanding with world imperialism, at the expense of the revolutionary peoples everywhere, and first and foremost at the expense of your own people. We suspect that you feel much more at ease, Mr. Rogochov, with the retinue of the arch-imperialist Johnson and his intellectual apologists than with real revolutionaries or, god forbid, workers, with whom your only contact is via the chauffeur of your limousine. . . .

We believe, Mr. Rogochov, that the world revolution will triumph, either that or that we will all die together, capitalist, bureaucrat and the people alike. Bu.t we think that this revolution will triumph not through and because of you and your like, but via a road whereon your political carcass will be trampled down alongside Lyndon Johnson's. Can you prove us wrong?

LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

Bay Area Spartacist League
14 November 1966

. . . POSADAS

(Continued from Page 7)

The effects of the Tricontinental were soon felt in Guatemala. Castro had brutally blackmailed Yon Sosa into the arms of the FAR, and Yon Sosa could not defend the MR-13 against the prestige and influence of the Cuban Bonaparte. In April, as we have already said, the Latin American Bureau was expelled from the MR-13.

Overtures from the MR-13 to the Fidelist FAR were to be expected soon after the expulsion of Posadas' section and were reported in September for the first time. (See *National Guardian*, 3 Sept. 1966; *New York Times*, 4 Oct. 1966; *World Outlook*, 25 Nov. 1966.) The MR-13 accepted the Tricontinental resolutions, which were openly anti-Guevarist, and the hegemony of the FAR in the Guatemalan guerrilla movement. Thus was the MR-13 brought into line with Fidelism.

A wave of pessimism and defeatism has hit the Latin American "radical" petty-bourgeoisie after the Guatemalan events, the destruction of the Peruvian MIR and the strengthening of imperialism in the continent. Guevarism is now a routed ideology in many parts of Latin America, where armed struggle has been severely smashed. Posadas' International had adapted itself, in Guatemala, to Guevarism and was therefore severely crippled, along with it, by Castro. Wherever Guevarism tries to appear again, it will have to face the wrath of Fidelism and imperialism alike.

Proletarian Political Program

Nevertheless the program of Guevarism does not represent the concrete socialist needs of the oppressed masses in Latin America, because it subordinates proletarian political program to purely military and tactical maneuvering, as Maoism did in China. It is highly feasible to speak of an inter-Latin-American proletarian revolution, either sparked by the proletariat of small countries like the Dominican Republic, Uruguay or Bolivia, or initiated by the advanced working classes of Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Chile or Mexico, the most industrialized countries in Latin America. This perspective implies the complete political extirpation of Stalinism in the trade unions and of Fidelism and Guevarism in the peripheral revolutionary struggles.

Posadas' cadres, if they do not cleanse themselves of Posadas' opportunism and unprincipled revisionism, will play no part in the building of a Latin American proletarian vanguard, and will have to be extirpated with the political body to which Posadas happens to be attached when the class-conscious Latin American proletariat puts an end to petty-bourgeois philistinism, adventurism and unprincipled revisionism. ■ —Espartaco Staff

. . . BERKELEY

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the ruling class learned especially from the FSM. Objectively, the FSM prepared its own defeat by concentrating student discontent and radicalism on a long, exhausting campus fight which was unable to really affect the ruling class' interests. Although the students won some gains through the FSM, they were unable to maintain and develop a viable link between student radicalism and the class struggle in society. As a result, the students were unable to maintain even their small gains against constant administrative whittling.

Students swelled the ranks of the civil rights movement; they led the anti-war movement. These activities have been directed, and misled, by the liberal-union-Democratic peace coalition, headed by people such as Walter Reuther, Martin Luther King, and pacifist organizations like SANE. This coalition's failure to provide more than token concessions from the ruling class has led in the civil rights movement to the Black Power rebellion, in which the role of white students is so far minimal. The inability of anti-war demonstrations to effect the end of the war has inspired some radicalization of students, but has also caused widespread demoralization. Many students have become frustrated with the failures of these movements to alter the oppressive power structure and with the growing isolation of radicals in a rightward-moving environment.

"Student Power"

This frustration and isolation are reflected within the student movement itself in the form of the "'student power" demand. The radical student today wants a basic alteration in the power structure which has frustrated all his idealistic efforts to change society and alienated him so completely, both on campus and off. Yet student power is an absurdity and a dangerous illusion. While it expresses the increased radicalism of the student movement and registers a well-justified "no-confidence" in the administrative parasites of the knowledge factory, it does not confront or explain the isolation of the movement within an already reactionary society. A "true community of scholars" is a hopeless illusion in a society where the LBJ's and Reagans still hold undisputed sway. Not so much out of fear and intimidation, but out of their own basic interests, the faculty sought to maintain their positions as liberal advisers to the power structure—at the expense of the students. Talk of a radical reordering of power on campus without confronting the need for a revolutionary reordering of society can only lead to impotent reformism (more of those student committees "working closely" with the administration!) or to the equally impotent—and inherently reactionary—personal "out" via the sugar cube.

While growing increasingly radical on campus, the student movement has in fact done little to break its isolation. Though the old "progressive" coalition is virtually broken and widely discredited, its keystone — the Democratic Party—is thoroughly intact. The movement has failed to offer even an exemplary alternative to the two-party trap which gripped the country once again this November. The boycott of the election initiated by dissident reform Democrats still refusing to break with the Party was symbolic of the student movement's abdication of a political role. A socialist alternative, offered by the Socialist Workers Party, went practically unsupported not only by the student movement, but also by the revisionist SWP itself!

Working-Class Revolutionaries

It is false to assume that the student movement can break its isolation by merely seeking "allies" in the labor movement. Workers don't have an interest in turning out to secure judicial review for students. Student radicals cannot change society merely as students because they lack the power. Workers, on the other hand, do have an interest in fighting the bosses; they are continually forced into an endless struggle against the unemployment, inflation and exploitation which are permanent features of capitalist society. Yet it is naive and hypocritical to sit back and expect the workers to "rise," come to the rescue of the students and remake society without revolutionary consciousness and leadership. Students must go to the workers not as students seeking allies and followers, but as revolutionaries, with the understanding that only the working class, because of its unique position as society's producers, has the power to lead a social revolution in modern society. This involves a complete change of orientation, from student radical to working-class revolutionary, and an adoption of Marxism, the ideology of the revolutionary working-class struggle.

It is *only* through the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party that the struggles of students, workers and Black people can be effectively linked. As has happened again and again throughout the history of American radicalism, independent movements that fail to break with the social system and to take the revolutionary path invariably get absorbed by the likes of the Democratic Party. This party must be not "pressured" but *smashed*. It is this party that prevents successful class struggle by keeping the various sections of the working class divided against each other—and all voting Democratic. This is the chief political weapon of the ruling class. Linking the struggles of the oppressed requires revolutionary organization, opposition to the ruling class on a class basis and a political struggle to smash the Democratic Party and the two-party system. Student, union and ghetto fractions need to be built to connect the party with the struggles of the masses, form a base and link the day-to-day struggles of the people.

Spartacist Cadre

As progenitor of such a revolutionary mass party, the Spartacist League conducts exemplary activity to this effect, with working fractions in Harlem, in several unions, and in the deep South. A new generation of revolutionary cadres is needed, however, to strengthen the movement and build it to the point that a full-time turn to mass agitational work will be possible. Much of this cadre must come from the radicalized student movement. Students should orient their thinking to the ideology of the revolutionary working-class struggle and take their radicalism to society in the form of revolutionary politics. ■

Spartacist Local Directory

AUSTIN. Box 8165, Univ. Sta., Austin, Texas 78712. phone: GR 2-3716.

BALTIMORE. Box 1345, Main P.O., Baltimore, Md. 21203. phone: LA 3-3703.

BERKELEY. Box 852. Main P.O., Berkeley, Calif. 94701. phone: TH 8-7369.

CHICAGO. Box 6044, Main P.O., Chicago, Ill. 60680. phone: 281-4296.

COLUMBUS. Box 3142, Univ. Sta., Columbus, Ohio 43210.

EUREKA. Box 3061, Eureka, Calif. 95501. phone: 442-1423.

HARTFORD. Box 57, Blue Hill Sta., Hartford, Conn. 06112. phone: 525-1257.

HOUSTON. Box 18434, Eastwood Sta., Houston, Texas 77023.

ITHACA. Box 442, Ithaca, N.Y. 14851. phone: AR 7-1619.

LOS ANGELES. Box 4054, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, Calif. 90054. phone: 783-4793.

MISSISSIPPI. (contact New Orleans)

NEW ORLEANS. Box 8121, Gentilly Sta., New Orleans, La. 70122. phone: 522-2194.

NEW YORK. Box 1377, G.P.O., New York City, N.Y. 10001. phones: National Office—WA 5-2426; Uptown — 781-8722; Downtown — 447-2907.

PHILADELPHIA. Box 1827, Wm. Penn Annex, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105.

SAN FRANCISCO (contact Berkeley)

SEATTLE (contact Berkeley or New York)

YOUNGSTOWN (contact Columbus or New York)

Fraternal Group

SEATTLE. Freedom Socialist Party of Washington. Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Ave. N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. phone: ME 2-7449.

"STUDENT POWER" OR WORKERS' POWER?

The Berkeley Student Strike

Two years ago, Berkeley students sought to secure their rights of free speech and political advocacy on campus. Now they seek a decisive voice in controlling their university. The 1964 Free Speech Movement revealed the total bankruptcy of the university's liberal administration and its dependence on brute force to maintain its power—but that power was left intact. Now, recognizing that university administrations serve the interests of powerful forces in the society, and not the interests of students and teachers, the students are challenging the authority of the administrators to rule on campus.

At the Berkeley campus, this development arises out of the behavior of the administration, which has become progressively more antagonistic to the students' interests. So far this year, one student was threatened with disciplinary action for the content of his criticism of the administration; another student was disciplined for bringing student aid to the Black ghetto struggle against the racist Oakland school system. On 14 November, Chris Kinder, a young non-student member of the Spartacist League, was arrested under the Mulford Act (passed in 1965 to "protect" the campus from "outside agitators") for handing out leaflets on campus. Finally the administration threatened to ban the noon rallies on the Sproul Hall steps, traditional podium for radical dissent. Campus organizations, political and non-political, banded together in a Council of Campus Organizations (CCO) and gained widespread support from the student body for another free speech confrontation.

Strike Demands

The spark which touched off the strike, however, was another issue: cops on campus. Alameda County deputies, called in by the vice-chancellor, invaded the campus on 30 November to arrest all the non-students in a demonstration against a Navy recruiting table in the Student Union. In a mass meeting that night over 2,000 students voted unanimously to strike the university. The students adopted the following strike demands, which were approved with near unanimity by the crowd of 8,000 to 10,000 which packed Sproul Plaza the following day:

—no cops on campus to "solve" political problems;
—complete amnesty by the university and the courts for all demonstrators;
—privileges for *all* off-campus groups and individuals to equal those of government agencies;
—open disciplinary hearings bound by due process and judicial review;
—effective student representation in formulating a new set of rules for student activity.

The strike won the support of the teaching assistants union, some faculty members and, later, the *Daily Californian*. Few students had any illusions about immediate support from the faculty, but many thought that the faculty would take a favorable stand once the students led the way, as had happened during the FSM fight. It was a serious blow for the students, therefore, when the faculty's Academic Senate came down overwhelmingly against the students in a meeting on 5 December. The faculty declared "'that the strike should end immediately," urging the chancellor not to punish striking students for events only through 5 December. The next day the regents of the university condemned the "disorders," especially those "instigated by outsiders," and declared that all university employees who continued to strike would be fired.

Daily Cal photo by Walt Diangson

CHRIS KINDER, Spartacist League "non-student," is seized by U. C. cops while picketing Russian attaché Rogochov (see page 14).

Strike Recess

By the sixth, the teaching assistants and students decided in separate meetings to call a temporary recess in the strike because of final exams, only days away. Though strike committee surveys in the last few days of the strike indicated about 85 per cent support, the students and assistants were aware of their isolation, both on campus and in society. This awareness gave rise to strong feelings of "community," "love" and even "victory" among the students. The only outside support of any significance had come from the Alameda Central Labor Council, whose executive committee granted official sanction to the striking teaching assistants.

Besides increased radicalization of the students, the main difference between the FSM and the current struggle *is* the isolation. Throughout the current crisis, the administration has sought to divide the movement by emphasizing artificial barriers between "student" and "non-student." On 30 November the administration sought arrest warrants for only the "non-students," and during the strike the administration refused to negotiate with, or have present at the negotiations, any non-student representatives of the strikers, such as Mario Savio.

Isolation of Students

The Spartacist League, in connection with the arrest of Kinder under the Mulford Act, has stressed that isolation of the students is a primary goal of the administration and a point which

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