

SPARTACIST



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EURO- REVISIONISTS TAIL STALINIST BREAKAWAYS

As a revolutionary leader he is worse than worthless. But as a political weathervane he is almost unerring. Yes, Ernest Mandel, that internationally renowned guru of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), certainly is a master at bending with the shifting political winds in the European left.

During the heyday of New Left adventurism Mandel presented the USec as the true embodiment of the heritage of "Che." Along comes the pre-revolutionary crisis in Portugal and Mandel was to be found providing a left cover for the arch-Stalinist Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) of Alvaro Cunhal. And when Eurocommunism replaced Portugal in the headlines Mandel became the self-appointed lawyer for that arch-enemy of the Kremlin-loyal Cunhal: premier Eurocommunist Santiago Carrillo of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE)!

Such posturing might be regarded as a farcical burlesque if it weren't so positively obscene. Here is Mandel eulogizing "Che" on the tenth anniversary of his murder while at the same time prettifying the Eurocommunists, who truly hate the memory of Guevara because the martyred guerrilla still remains an inspiration to their "far left" opponents. One wonders whether the consummately

cynical Mandel even felt a twinge of shame when Italian Communist Party (PCI) leader Paolo Bufalini told the PCI central committee: "I would have given Guevara a medal for heroism and simultaneously condemned him to death for indiscipline" (quoted in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 7 May 1978). That's how the Scheidemanns and Noskes of Italy today pay tribute to the idealist Stalinist adventurer uncritically lionized by the Mandelites.

But Guevara is dead now, as are many of the subjectively revolutionary Latin American youth who tragically followed the line of the professor from the Louvain and actually "picked up the gun." There is a cynical adage from American courtroom parlance which applies to Mandel: the lawyer always goes home.

Mandelite tailing after Eurocommunism did not fall out of the sky. The shift from enthusing over the heroic adventurism of a "Che" to apologizing for the pro-imperialist parliamentary cretinism of the Eurocommunists is consistent with Mandel's twenty-five year history of Pabloist impressionism on the question of Stalinism. This liquidationist revisionism which organizationally destroyed the Fourth International in 1953 was succinctly stated (a rare virtue for the Pabloists, who clothe their

abrogation of Marxism in bombast) in a document entitled "The Rise and Decline of Stalinism" which the Pabloist "International Secretariat" adopted at its rump "Fourth World Congress" in 1954:

"In countries where the CPs are a majority in the working class, they can, in certain exceptional conditions (advanced disintegration of the possessing classes) and under the pressure of very powerful revolutionary uprisings of the masses, be led to project a revolutionary orientation counter to the Kremlin's directives, without abandoning the political and theoretical baggage inherited from Stalinism.... This perspective—namely not an organizational disintegration of the mass Communist parties, but rather a disintegration, molecular for an entire period, of the bureaucratic relations which extend from the Kremlin down to the ranks of these parties—is essential for determining the forms of intervention by our movement in this process in order to make it evolve in a direction favorable to revolutionary Marxism."

—reprinted in *The Development and Disintegration of World Stalinism*, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) "Education for Socialists" Bulletin (March 1970)

The "forms of intervention" have indeed varied: from deep entrisms into the mass reformist parties of Western Europe during the 1950's and 1960's, to the futile search for the elusive "new mass vanguard" outside of the "bureaucratic apparatuses" of the workers movement following the 1968 May events in France, to attempting to broker a lash-up of the "far left" that could act as a left pressure group on the popular front. But the thrust continues to be liquidationism: to find a substitute for the proletariat organized by its conscious vanguard under the banner of the Fourth International in resolving the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

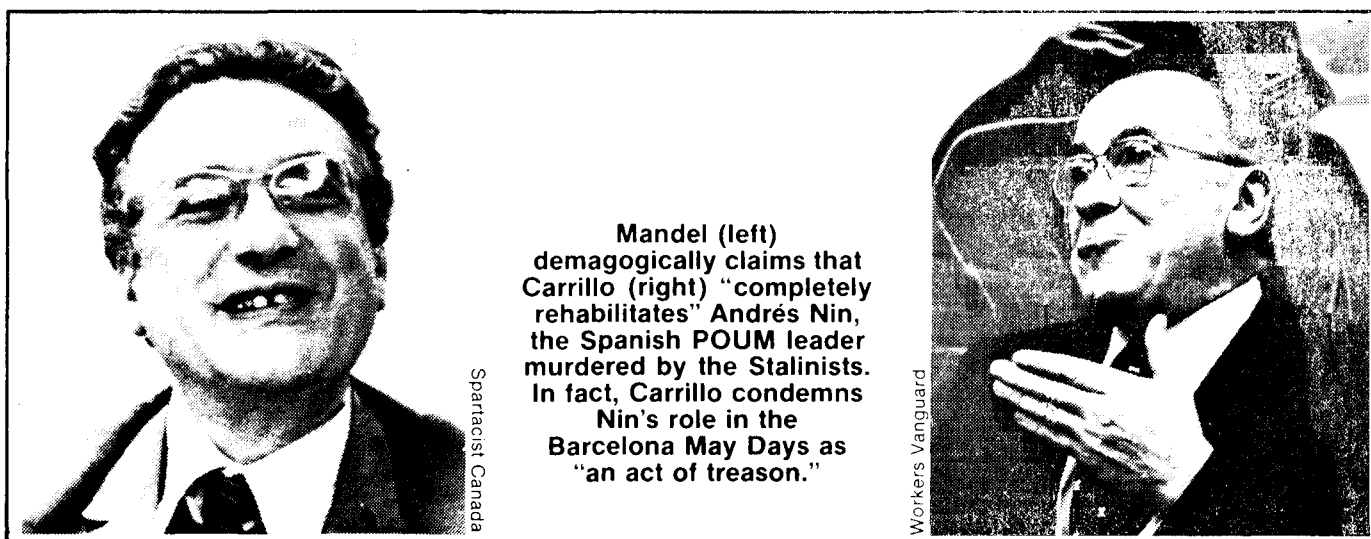
In the past the Pabloists have tailed those Stalinist bureaucrats, whether in Havana, Hanoi or Lisbon, who could be portrayed cynically as resolute opponents of U.S. imperialism. But with their positive orientation to Eurocommunism the Mandelites are now tailing CP tops who desire to break down barriers to Washington. Mandel's endless maneuvers aimed at conjuring up a "new mass vanguard" lead him to follow the shift to the right in radical petty-bourgeois opinion. Thus the Mandelites have crawled back to the "bureaucratic apparatuses" which they spurned only yesterday; and from there to tailing popular

frontism and becoming apologists for the pro-NATO Berlinguer, the pro-monarchist Carrillo, and the pro-*force de frappe* Marchais.

Arising in the context of the anti-Soviet "human rights" offensive of U.S. imperialism, Eurocommunism represents the attempts of the CP leaderships to prove both to their "own" bourgeoisies and to Washington that they can be entrusted with ministerial portfolios and seats in the councils of NATO. These parties' much-touted "independence" from Moscow and their shedding of even the pretenses of Marxist and Leninist phraseology (to which they decreasingly paid lip service) clearly represent shifts to the right by the major mass Communist parties of Western Europe. The European-based U.Sec majority must therefore discern some kind of "progressive dynamic" in the thoroughly reformist parties which betrayed the French strikes of 1968 and the Italian strike wave of the following year.

The emergence of Eurocommunism has provided a rallying point for diverse political tendencies with appetites to pressure the CPs from the left and from the right. Mandel has obvious opportunist appetites to broker a grand regroupment of left social democrats and pro-Eurocommunists—all along appealing to the "far left" to join his fake "Fourth International" and get in on the action. His scheme was quite clearly revealed last May when the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), mainstay of the Mandelite U.Sec majority, hosted a big fête featuring French Communist Party (PCF) historian Jean Elleinstein, French Socialist Party leader Gilles Martinet, an official delegation from Carrillo's Spanish Communist Party, Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyusheh and two so-called "progressive" officers, a retired French general and an admiral, Admiral Sanguinetti, who ran in the March elections on the SP ticket, defended French colonial butchery in Indochina and Algeria and praised the "democracy" of Hitler's Wehrmacht! Of course, on this platform the LCR kept mum about such fundamental Trotskyist positions as class opposition to popular fronts and unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. Instead, LCR spokesman Bensaïd concentrated his remarks on echoing the attacks of the Eurocommunists on the "model of the Soviet revolution" and posting the

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Mandel (left) demagogically claims that Carrillo (right) "completely rehabilitates" Andrés Nin, the Spanish POUM leader murdered by the Stalinists. In fact, Carrillo condemns Nin's role in the Barcelona May Days as "an act of treason."

Spartacist Canada

Workers Vanguard

"cohabitation" of the "democratic" institutions of bourgeois dictatorship with "proletarian democracy" after the revolution.

Capitulation to the popular front has led the Mandelites to orient toward the *rightist* currents in Western European Stalinism as well as their social-democratic would-be allies. "Euro-Trotskyism"—as the Mandelite line was so aptly dubbed by that Spanish prophet of Eurocommunism, Fernando Claudín, at the May I.C.R. fête—represents a significant social-democratization of the USec majority. Its adaptation to Eurocommunism put the centrist Mandelites on a rightist, anti-Soviet course which led to a genuine though limited narrowing of differences with its main factional opponent within the USec, the viscerally social-democratic American Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

To date the most synthetic presentation of the USec majority's line on Eurocommunism is the recent book by Mandel entitled *From Stalinism to Eurocommunism* (1978). Its key chapter is "Three Facets of Eurocommunism," which first appeared as an article in the Mandelite international journal *Inprecor* (its English-language edition now "incorporated" into the *Intercontinental Press* of the SWP).

In this article Mandel musters his quite considerable powers of obfuscation to portray Eurocommunism as a phenomenon whose basic political character remains to be determined but which is pregnant with revolutionary possibilities. Eurocommunism is here described as a "contradictory" phenomenon. But Mandel does *not* mean contradictory in the sense used by Trotsky, namely, that with their decisive passage into the camp of reformism in 1933 the CPs became *bourgeois workers* parties not qualitatively different from the Social Democracy.

Rather, Mandel portrays Eurocommunism as contradictory in the sense of political schizophrenia. It supposedly has three "facets"; one is not so good, but the other two are fraught with revolutionary implications. In relation to their own imperialist bourgeoisies the Eurocommunist parties are said to be moving to the right. But with regard to the Soviet bloc and their own restive ranks Mandel claims that Eurocommunism is a progressive, indeed even "objectively revolutionary," force.

Of course, Mandel cannot deny that the Eurocommu-

nists are seeking an ever greater integration within their "own" bourgeois order. His article begins on a seemingly orthodox Trotskyist note: "More than anything else Eurocommunism represents a codification of the rightward evolution of the West European Communist parties since the Seventh Congress of the Comintern." Moreover, he admits that "the decisive factor" motivating the CP leaderships is the attempt "to overcome parliamentary isolation, and to link up with Social Democracy and the 'liberal' bourgeoisie."

But for Mandelite "dialectics" there are two sides to every contradiction: that which exists in reality and that which exists as an objectification of opportunist appetite. Thus this high priest of Pabloism writes:

"From the historical standpoint, however, Eurocommunism is not simply a confirmation of the (further) rightward turn of most of the West European Communist parties. It also represents a right turn under particular conditions, *new in and of themselves*. First, it is occurring during a period of rising and sometimes stormy upsurge of mass struggles in Southern Europe, which has bordered on pre-revolutionary and revolutionary situations." [emphasis added]

But "from the historical standpoint" popular frontism was precisely a product of "rising and sometimes stormy" class polarizations and conflicts. What were the "particular conditions" prevailing in Spain and France in the mid-1930's, and in Italy and France immediately after World War II, if not "stormy"?

What Mandel seeks to obscure is that Eurocommunism is the product of the *defeats and betrayals* of the "sometimes stormy upsurge of mass struggles in Southern Europe," especially Portugal. And here Chile should be added where even Mandel is forced to acknowledge in "Three Facets" that for the Eurocommunists:

"The old 'wisdom' of Social Democracy was affirmed: avoid a comprehensive test of strength with the bourgeoisie. When the exacerbation of class contradictions and the polarization of political forces in the context of a pre-revolutionary situation leads to such a test of strength, then the political conclusion drawn from this 'wisdom' is simple: curb the mobilization of the workers, even if this divides the toilers and demobilizes entire layers of the proletariat. The successful application of this line can lead only to the victory of counter-revolution."

The fall of Allende convinced Berlinguer's PCI that the Chilean Popular Unity government had been "too radical" and had too narrow a base of *bourgeois* support. So the Italian Stalinists rejected seeking a popular front with a liberal minority of their own bourgeoisie in favor of a coalition with the dominant ruling-class party, the staunchly anti-Soviet, pro-American Christian Democrats. Moreover, Berlinguer's party recognized that the final arbiter of the "historic compromise" resided not in Rome but in Washington. Hoping to forestall an Italian Pinochet, the PCI decided it should not bid for direct governmental participation without first securing the support or at least the benign neutrality of American imperialism.

Portugal in the spring and summer of 1975 was the sharpest, most important conflict between Stalinism and Social Democracy in Western Europe since the height of the Cold War in the 1950's. After the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) toppled the right-wing Caetano dictatorship in the spring of 1974, Cunhal's PCP pursued a policy of support to left-nationalist military bonapartism.



Portuguese Stalinist chief Cunhal.

Paris Match



At the height of the prerevolutionary crisis in Portugal the Mandelites tailed the left-talking section of the bonapartist bourgeois officer caste (left), while the SWP reformists cheered the anti-Communist mobilizations spearheaded by the Portuguese social democrats who were funded by the CIA (right).

When Mario Soares' Socialist Party won a large plurality in the April 1975 Constituent Assembly elections, it demanded a strong government led by itself to suppress the conditions of "anarchy." In order to stay in power the left-MFA/PCP Fifth Provisional Government was forced at the time to tolerate the workers commissions, neighborhood commissions and soldiers committees. In the summer of 1975 Soares' Socialists, fully and actively backed by U.S. imperialism and West European Social Democracy, moved to overthrow the Fifth Provisional Government in order to suppress these embryos of dual power and to eject the pro-Moscow PCP from office.

The increasingly violent conflict between Soares' Socialists and Cunhal's Communists produced a deep rift in the European Stalinist movement. The Italian and Spanish CP leaderships were greatly upset when the left-MFA/PCP regime did not turn power over to the social democrats after the latter won the Constituent Assembly elections; moreover, they were embarrassed by the ideological justification for this course coming out of Lisbon and Moscow. The *founding* document of Eurocommunism—the joint statement of principles by Berlinguer's PCI and Carrillo's PCE in July 1975—was expressly designed to *dissociate* these parties from Cunhal's PCP and its Kremlin backers.

Unlike the Italian and Spanish CPs, Marchais' PCF was sufficiently conservative to defend Cunhal, a stance that proved quite damaging to its popular-front politics in France. The French Communists came under heavy fire from their popular-front partners for their line on Portugal; for a time this issue even threatened to split the Union of the Left.

Just as Berlinguer learned from the 1973 Chilean coup that the PCI should ally with the dominant bourgeois party, so Marchais drew the lesson from the fall of the left-MFA/PCP regime in September 1975 that the PCF could not extend its influence in opposition to a strong social-democratic party, behind which stood U.S. imperialism. In November Marchais journeyed to Rome where he and Berlinguer issued a declaration of principles similar to the PCI/PCE statement in July. Cunhal's hapless fate pushed

Marchais into the Eurocommunist camp.

Just as the incipient civil war in Portugal deeply polarized the world Stalinist movement, so it almost split the USec into its main component parts: the Mandelite centrists and the reformist SWP. Characteristically, the USec majority tailed the left-bonapartist/Stalinist bloc. The Mandelite Liga Comunista Internacionalista went so far that in August of 1975 it signed a formal agreement supporting the program of the Fifth Provisional Government, in effect entering a short-lived popular front with the left-MFA/PCP regime.

On the other side, no event revealed the social-democratic, anti-communist nature of the American SWP more starkly than the 1975 Portuguese crisis. In the name of "defending democracy" the SWP cheered the CIA-funded Socialists as they spearheaded the rightist mobilization against the Stalinists, the "far left" and the embryos of revolutionary dual power. The SWP's "State Department socialist" line on Portugal was a key factor in its fusion with

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the Shachtmanite anti-Soviet-defensist Revolutionary Marxist Committee in 1977. The positions of the Mandelites and SWP on Portugal in 1975 would literally have placed them on opposite sides of the barricades.

Terminological Chicanery

Although Mandel speaks about the "social democratization" of the West European CPs, his actual purpose is to argue that the Eurocommunist parties stand to the left of the present-day social-democratic parties. In the first essay of his book Mandel puts his cards on the table for all to see:

"But we have never said that the Communist parties are in the process of being transformed into the miserable Social Democracy of Helmut Schmidt, Wilson-Healey-Callaghan, or Mario Soares. What we have underscored are the evident parallels with the evolution of classical Social Democracy of 1910-30, which should not be confused with contemporary Social Democracy."

The deliberate confusionism in this passage is so many-sided, it is difficult to sort out. To begin with, the periodization of "classic Social-Democracy" from 1910 to 1930 is sheer invention on Mandel's part. The social-democratic movement underwent no definitive change in 1910 or in 1930. It did, however, undergo a qualitative change in 1914 with the outbreak of World War I, when the International fragmented into hostile, social-patriotic parties.

As Mandel well knows, the Leninist-Trotskyist tradition regards pre-World War I Social Democracy as a *centrist* current vacillating between revolutionary and reformist politics. To assert that Eurocommunism is analogous to early Social Democracy is equivalent to asserting that these parties are centrist.

By identifying Eurocommunism with Social Democracy in the period from 1910 to 1930 Mandel avoids dealing with the question of the popular front. However, a decade before Kautsky formulated what Mandel portrays as the doctrinal forerunner of Eurocommunism, classic Social Democracy indeed confronted "popular frontism" in the form of Millerandism. When in 1899 the French Socialist

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Under slogan calling for "Victory of the Entire Left" Pabloists are billed with the MRG, the bourgeois Left Radicals.

Alexandre Millerand entered a bourgeois cabinet, he anticipated the principal expression of reformism in the imperialist epoch in bourgeois-democratic countries with mass parties based on the labor movement. After an initial softness toward Millerandism, the Bebel/Kautsky leadership of German Social Democracy definitely rejected socialist participation in a capitalist government.

In his 1908 book *The Road to Power* Kautsky stated:

"Whoever looks upon the Socialist party as a means of freeing the proletariat, must decisively oppose any and all forms of participation by that party in the ruling corruption. If there is anything that will rob us of the confidence of all honorable elements in the masses, and that will gain us the contempt of all those sections of the proletariat that are capable of and willing to fight, and that will bar the road to our progress, it is participation of the Socialists in any coalition or 'bloc' policy."

This passage marks pre-War Kautskyism on the question of socialist entry into bourgeois governments as qualitatively to the left of *all* Stalinist parties since 1934-35 and the USec majority!

Since 1934-35 the Stalinist parties have not been intrinsically (as distinct from conjuncturally) to the left of the social-democratic parties. As Trotsky wrote after the Seventh (Popular Front) Congress of the Comintern in 1935: "Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social Democrats except the traditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn" ("The Comintern's Liquidation Congress," *Writings*, 1935-36). In the Spanish Revolution and Civil War (1936-37) the Stalinists stood on the far right wing of the "popular front" coalition as the most implacable enemies of proletarian dual power. In 1937 the Stalinists toppled the popular Socialist leader Largo Caballero because he was insufficiently ruthless in suppressing the revolutionary workers led by the anarchists and the centrist POUM.

And Spain was not unique in this regard. As Mandel himself noted, in 1945 the Kremlin and its British followers advocated that the Labour Party continue its wartime coalition with Churchill's Tories. Clement Attlee and Ernest Bevin rejected this Stalinist line. Within the



Der Spiegel

French Pabloists yearn for a return to the halcyon days of the Union of the Left.

framework of reformism the British Labour government of 1945-51, which nationalized a number of major industries and introduced socialized medicine, was far to the left of the present-day Italian Communist Party, whose program of economic austerity and "law and order" aims at reversing the economic gains made by the working class since the "red autumn" of 1969 and strengthening the repressive state apparatus. On key issues in Italian political life (the 1974 divorce referendum, the Moro kidnapping) Berlinguer's PCI has been to the right of the Socialist Party of De Martino/Craxi. Likewise, in the Chilean Unidad Popular government the CP constituted the far-right-wing defender of the bourgeois order.

By the time Mandel finishes dealing with the first "facet," Eurocommunism comes off looking not all that bad. Then Mandel settles down to saying what he really wants to say: since Eurocommunism has aroused illusions in the West European and to a certain extent East European working class and among intellectuals, therefore it is more potent and relevant than Trotskyism. Mandel maintains that when they criticize the Kremlin and make noises about workers democracy, the Eurocommunists are not making overtures to their own bourgeoisie or to U.S. imperialism but in fact are responding to pressure from the proletariat. It is a classic case of the prophet pretending that it's the mountain and not himself that's doing the moving.

Here then is the key passage in "Three Facets" and indeed in the entire book *From Stalinism to Eurocommunism*:

"As we have already shown, the main reasons for the tactical turns of the Eurocommunists during past years have related to electoral policy: the aim is to overcome a specific obstacle to reaching voters (and trade-union sympathizers to some extent). From this standpoint, the Eurocommunists' criticism of the repressive policies of the Soviet bureaucracy can in no way be designed to win bourgeois or 'upper middle class' votes. . . . In other words: the growing criticism of the Soviet bureaucracy is a concession primarily to the West European working class itself and not to the bourgeoisie. . . .

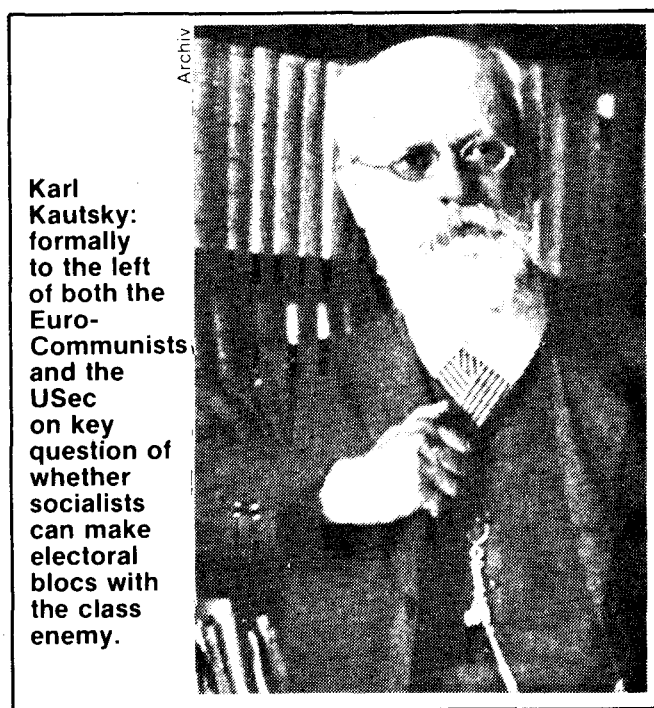
"Under these conditions [of militancy in the CP ranks], the Eurocommunists' criticism of the Kremlin is in large part not a concession to bourgeois ideology and influence within the working class, but a concession to the anti-bureaucratic components of the average consciousness of the combative layers of workers, which is now undoubtedly much stronger than it was in the past." [emphasis in original]

To begin, one is struck with how Eurocommunism, which had just been described as the latest stage in the "gradual social democratization" of the CPs, suddenly gets reduced to mere "tactical turns" adopted to "overcome a specific obstacle to reaching voters." But most astounding is how Mandel flatly denies that the Eurocommunists' criticism of Soviet bureaucratism and repression of dissidents has anything to do with their enthusing over "pluralistic democracy."

Berlinguer, Marchais and Carrillo are not such parliamentary cretins to really believe that their gaining entry into the government simply requires an electoral bootstrap operation. Berlinguer doesn't need to back the Charter 77 group in Czechoslovakia to hold his working-class constituency. He does so to gain the votes, as it were, of the Christian Democratic leadership, the Vatican hierarchy, the Italian general staff and last but not least the U.S. State Department and Pentagon.

Social democrats and liberals always talk about the "democratization" of Soviet society, a soft formulation of the call for capitalist restoration in the USSR. Does this mean that Willy Brandt or George McGovern are responding to the "anti-bureaucratic components of the average consciousness of the combative layers of workers"? Even at the height of the Cold War no American leader—not Truman, not Eisenhower, not Dulles—openly advocated reestablishing the "free enterprise system" in Stalinist Russia. The popular ideological slogans of imperialist anti-Sovietism have *always* been "democracy versus dictatorship," "the free world versus totalitarianism," "human rights versus police state repression."

The hostility toward the USSR among American, West German or British workers is not based on positive loyalty to the capitalist economic system, on a desire to see General Motors, Siemens or Imperial Chemical take over Russian industry. The anti-Soviet attitude of social-democratic workers in Western Europe and the more backward



Karl Kautsky: formally to the left of both the Euro-Communists and the USec on key question of whether socialists can make electoral blocs with the class enemy.

workers in the U.S. in part derives from the belief that parliamentary democracy is better than the Kremlin's dictatorial regime and in part from nationalist ideology. Everyone, except a few right-wing neanderthals, knows that the West European working classes can only be rallied behind NATO against the Soviet Union in the name of "socialist democracy," now including its Eurocommunist version.

A Basket Full of Dissidents

If Portugal forced the West European CPs to choose between Kremlin-loyalism and social democracy, then the August 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe provided the concrete link between Eurocommunism, U.S. imperialism and the Soviet dissidents. Especially important in this regard was the so-called "Basket Three" agreement, the pledge of various

continued on next page

democratic rights (free movement of ideas, information, persons) which U.S. imperialism extracted from the Kremlin in return for formally recognizing the latter's sphere of influence in East Europe.

American policymakers like Kissinger had a dual purpose in pressuring the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy to commit itself to "Basket Three." Since the Kremlin would obviously not carry out "Basket Three," the U.S. could exploit this in mobilizing "democratic" public opinion for its drive to ultimately reconquer the USSR for capitalism.

Secondly, Washington strategists hoped (though probably didn't expect) that "Basket Three" would encourage the development of a pro-Western oppositional movement in the USSR, composed of types like Andrei Sakharov. In fact, U.S. imperialism did succeed in establishing the organizational framework for the mainstream soviet dissident movement in the form of the Helsinki monitoring groups.

Especially because the Soviet government signed the Helsinki Accords as a symbol of détente, the West European CPs' willingness to criticize Soviet violations of "Basket Three" freedoms became a key imperialist yardstick for measuring their independence from Moscow. Most of the prominent Soviet dissidents whom the Eurocommunists defend are involved in the Helsinki monitoring groups. In one sense the Italian, French and Spanish CPs have become Helsinki monitoring groups for the Helsinki monitoring groups.

The Helsinki Accords, linking détente to bourgeois-democratic rights, shaped the very terminology of Eurocommunism. Thus, the November 1975 PCI/PCF statement of principles repeats in large measure the "Basket Three" agreement. The document coming out of the June 1976 East Berlin conference of European Communist parties, essentially a concession by the Kremlin to the Eurocommunists, reads very much like the Helsinki Accords, a paean to détente.

Eurocommunist spokesmen constantly link their criticisms of the Kremlin to professions of loyalty to their own and to other "democratic" imperialist states. For example, in a famous interview with *Corriere della Sera* in 1976 Berlinguer explicitly linked his opposition to Kremlin repression, in particular its invasion of Czechoslovakia, to his desire to build a "socialism with a human face" under the aegis of NATO. Asked whether "socialism with freedom is more achievable in the Western system than in the Eastern one," Berlinguer replied quite bluntly: "Yes,

certainly: the Western system offers fewer constraints" (*Italian Communist*, April-July 1976).

In 1977 when the PCF changed its line and came out for a French independent "nuclear deterrent," Marchais reasserted his Eurocommunist independence of Soviet Russia: "If there were aggression against France by the Soviet Union, which is unthinkable, we would be the first to defend the national territory" (*New York Times*, 24 September 1977). Does Mandel believe that Marchais' statement of anti-Soviet French-defensism is "a concession to the anti-bureaucratic components of the average consciousness of the combative layers of workers"? We don't know, for in the 200 pages of *From Stalinism to Eurocommunism* this well-known statement by Marchais is not mentioned, nor are similar embarrassing (for Mandel) statements by other Eurocommunist leaders.

Carrillo, in particular embarrassing (for way to laud Carter's "human rights" campaign. When the PCE was legalized in April 1977, Carrillo attributed this to the moral influence of Carter's "human rights" campaign. And again, when Mr. Eurocommunism visited the U.S. in the fall of 1977, he thanked Carter for his right to speak freely in America, obvi-



Finlayson/Fortune

Eurocommunists appease NATO hoping to avoid the fate of Dubček.

ously implying a contrast with his treatment in Russia. After crossing a campus workers picket line Carrillo began a speech at Yale University: "If I'm speaking here today, it is essentially due to the human rights policies of president Carter which made possible this visit" (quoted in *L'Espresso*, 27 November 1977).

But undoubtedly the most striking instance of Eurocommunist support to Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign was the Shcharansky case last July. Unlike the Soviet dissidents Yuri Orlov and Aleksander Ginzburg, who were tried at the same time, Anatoly Shcharansky actually was *guilty* of a crime against the military defense of the Soviet Union. He gave information about secret military research to an American journalist connected with Pentagon intelligence agencies (a fact subsequently admitted by the Pentagon and the liberal media).

Carter chose to make the Soviet prosecution of Shcharansky a *casus belli* in his renewed Cold War offensive. The West European CPs duly took their cue from Washington. The PCI protested the prosecution of Shcharansky on the front page of *L'Unità*. But Marchais went even further. In a mass demonstration in Paris, French Communist leaders marched arm-in-arm with

Avital Shecharansky, an extreme right-wing Zionist associated with the fanatical, fascistic *Gush Emunim* sect in Israel. At this demonstration a Soviet flag was burned and among the slogans carried was "Hitler, Stalin, Brezhnev, the Same Struggle." PCF central committee member Henri Fiszbin explained his party's participation in this anti-Soviet demonstration as a "reaffirmation of our passionate attachment to democracy, not only in France but anywhere in the world" (*Le Monde*, 13 July 1978).

If Mandel portrays the Eurocommunist defense of Soviet bloc dissidents as progressive, it is because he would have us believe that all oppositional movements in the Soviet bloc are progressive, forces for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy:

"The political conflict in the USSR and the People's Democracies pits the bureaucracy against the toiling masses and not against the imperialist bourgeoisie. When the Eurocommunist leaders commit themselves (insufficiently) against the bureaucracy in this struggle, they place themselves on the side of the masses and not on the side of imperialism."

Is the reactionary religious fanatic Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, who denounces the American people for not destroying North Vietnam, then a legitimate spokesman for "the toiling masses against the bureaucracy"? What about the liberal cold warrior Andrei Sakharov, who calls for U.S. economic blackmail against the Soviet Union? Or the Zionist Vladimir Slepak, who sought to organize the large-scale emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel?

It is empirically indisputable that the mainstream Soviet dissidents look to Western imperialism as a champion of their cause. As previously noted, most of the Soviet dissidents defended by the West European CPs were involved in the Helsinki monitoring groups. In its documents written for internal consumption the USec concedes that the opposition to Stalinist bureaucratic rule in the Soviet bloc contains reactionary elements. Yet the USec explicitly denies that even the pro-imperialist dissidents represent a current that poses a danger to the gains of the collectivized economies of these states. According to the draft resolution which the Mandelites have drawn up for their "Eleventh World Congress,"

"The predominant feature of the emerging opposition movements in Eastern Europe and the USSR is their

commitment to civil liberties. They have been marked by a diverse political composition and the inclusion of nonsocialist and non-working-class ideologies....

"While a restoration of capitalism is still possible in these countries, the motive forces for such a restoration are not to be found among anti-socialist ideologues inside the civil rights movement, but primarily in the ingrained aggressiveness of international capitalism and the imperialist powers....

"Anything that fosters a rise in working-class self-organization, self-confidence, and ability to develop independent political action, helps tip the scales in favor of political revolution and proletarian democracy—not restoration of capitalism."

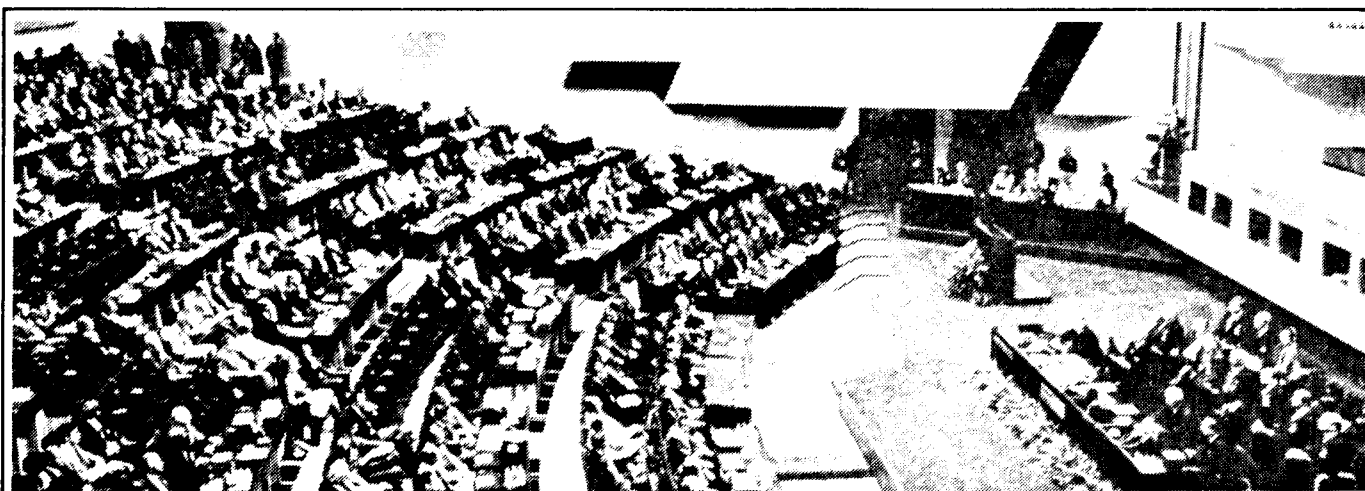
—"The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International," *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XV, No. 5, July 1978

In other words, the "nonsocialist and anti-working-class" elements in the dissident movement are allegedly insignificant both numerically and in their relation to world imperialism. And, to the extent that they are able to carry out their program, these elements end up objectively serving the proletariat.

If taken seriously, such positions imply a fundamental revision of the Trotskyist theory of Stalinism. First, to believe that the possibility of capitalist restoration has been completely eradicated within the boundaries of the Soviet Union and that the only threat to the gains of the October Revolution comes from, in the words of Mandel, "ingrained aggressiveness of international capitalism and the imperialist powers" is to embrace precisely the *Stalinist* dogma of "socialism in one country." Under the cloak of "anti-Stalinism" the Pabloist position actually rejects Trotsky's indictment of the Stalinist bureaucracy based on its contradictory role. On the one hand, the bureaucracy rests on the social gains of the October Revolution; on the other, Stalinist bureaucratic rule preserves and even engenders forces within the degenerated and deformed workers states that pose a threat to the social conquests of the property transformations.

Mandel passes in silence over the only real mass organization in the Soviet bloc that presently stands outside the control of the bureaucracy and constitutes a potential threat to it: the church. Mandel can smugly dismiss the ravings of a Solzhenitsyn, but the reactionary

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Nogues/Sygma

Helsinki Summit, 1975: USec paeans to "socialist democracy" echo "Basket Three" concessions which U.S. imperialism wrung from the USSR.

“Fragile Unity” in German USec

Where Pabloism Has Led the GIM

The leaflet translated and reproduced below was distributed last spring by the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* to a conference of the *Gruppe Internationale Marxisten*, German section of the *United Secretariat (GIM)*. As one of the smaller and more provincial of the European sections of the *United Secretariat (USec)*, the *GIM* has often been peripheral in the international clique/faction fights of the *USec*. Some aspects of the history of the *GIM* mentioned in this leaflet therefore require identification and explanation.

In 1951-52 a Yugoslav-financed liberal Stalinist party, the *UAP (Independent Workers Party)*, was formed in West Germany. Responding to the international Pabloist euphoria over Tito, the German section entered this formation, which briefly enjoyed rapid growth. But with Tito's rapprochement with Western imperialist powers around the Korean War, Yugoslav funding for the *UAP* ended—and the “party” experienced a quick and ignoble end. The German Pabloists under the leadership of Georg Jungclas then submerged for nearly two decades into the rightward-moving German social democracy.

Deep entrism in the SPD, the USec “German section”

(which had no official name) scarcely intervened in the youth radicalization of the late 1960's. By 1968-69 the official *USec* section had reversed its orientation in order to tail the student movement and had developed a strategic perspective based on the supposed revolutionary potential of the “red university.” During this period *Was Tun* (which is now the central organ of the *GIM*) was published as the would-be journal of the West German *APO (Extra-Parliamentary Opposition, the name by which the German New Left referred to itself)*. A deep split occurred with much of the youth leaving to publicly establish the *Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands (IKD)* in 1970. The split was in a leftward direction but was partial and essentially an empirical rejection of the Pabloist policies. Several other splits quickly fragmented the *IKD* leading to the existence in Germany of unstable and competing left-centrist groupings which claimed to be anti-Pabloist. Liquidation in the Social Democracy and equally unfruitful submergence in the New Left have thus dominated the history of the German Pabloists.

The dominant clique in the GIM, centered now on Winfried Wolf, has remained in the direct continuity of this

For a Trotskyist Perspective!

It's no secret that the *GIM* is in a crisis. Largely liquidated public work, the turnover in membership, a dwindling press run of *Was Tun*, boycotting their own policies and fighting out of differences outside the organization are only surface manifestations of a general stagnation.

The crisis of the *GIM* is political. It is the product of Pabloist methodology—seeking a substitute for the Leninist-Trotskyist party, which as a cadre party must be built: “from the top down” on a firm programmatic basis and rooted in the working class. Instead, the *GIM* tries to find some other, “quicker” way to gain mass influence. It searches for “new vanguards” which will spontaneously come to revolutionary insights and into which the *GIM* can integrate itself in order to give them the last little push to the left: in short, those “unconscious Trotskyists” whom the Pabloists have been trying to find in all parts of the world for a quarter of a century now.

The path of the German section/*GIM* has led through the Titoist *UAP* and more than 15 years of “integrationist entrism” within the *SPD* right up to the “new mass vanguard”/“new workers vanguard”—only to one blind alley after another, to the destruction of cadres, demoralization and cynicism.

In the draft [*USec*] document, “The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe” [1972], Mandel predicted “the decisive battles” in about “four or

five years.” Today this perspective, which was based on the “new vanguard,” has been proven to be the wrong track—just like Maitan's remark in 1968 that “the International will be built around Bolivia” and his confidence a year later that the next [*USec*] world congress might indeed be held in the seat of power in La Paz. In the late sixties the *GIM* failed to intervene with a revolutionary program and instead tailed after and sought to be “part” of the movement. Now the *GIM* has been left sitting high and dry after the *APO*-swamp dried up in resignation and adaptationism.

The old “new mass vanguard” is dead. There has to be a new substitute for the party: will the “Socialist Weekly” conjure it up? Or *Socialist Trade-Union Politics*? Or the famous factory work of the “Faction”?

The sundry tendencies/factions/swamps of the *GIM* are searching for their vanguards in seemingly counterposed quarters. There's no real right/left polarization, however. The dominant clique around Winfried Wolf sees its prospects in a quasi-entrism orientation toward a left social-democratic milieu that's moving to the right (*SB, SOAG, etc.*), spiced up with a few cynical, burnt-out ex-Spartacusbunders and anti-AKW [nuclear power] freaks as a field for mass intervention. The projections for a “Socialist Weekly,” the “socialist alternative” to fill “the political vacuum to the left of the *SPD*,” the “movement” for a “fourth party”—all this is simply a warmed-over version of the [old orientation toward the] “new mass vanguard,” which now has become older, flabbier, more hostile to communists. It's obvious that the model is the *Socialist Challenge* of the *IMG*. We applaud [*IMG* leader] Tariq Ali's candor when he stated: “We of the *IMG*

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past, looking for some part of the New Left or social-democratic left to tail. In recent years these aspirations have been directed toward the Socialist Bureau, a left-reformist grouping on the SPD periphery with some influence among trade unionists and in the intellectual milieu around Frankfurt, as well as toward left-talking groups in the SPD youth.

On the other hand, oppositionists have pushed some variation of a narrow workerist orientation against the petty-bourgeois leadership. Around the "Tenth World Congress" of the USec (February 1974) the Kompass Tendency (German component of the international Third Tendency whose most prominent international figure was the Italian Roberto Massari) called for an orientation to the working class, embraced the American Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) legalist rejection of the majority's pro-guerrillaism and impressionistically characterized the SPD as a "bourgeois party." In late 1974, however, the majority of the Kompass dissolved into a bloc with the Wolf clique to form the new GIM majority.

More recently, the Proletarian Faction has emerged as the main organized opposition to the GIM leadership. The ProFra orients to the most backward layers of the proletariat and calls for liquidating Was Tun in favor of an even less political journal which will supposedly appeal to the workers. The ProFra, which views the SPD as purely bourgeois and the trade unions as hopelessly bureaucratic, is an extreme syndicalist tendency which has abandoned

even the pretence of carrying programmatic politics (let alone Trotskyist politics) to the proletariat. The Zwischen-sumpf (literally: Intermediate Swamp), as the name implies, wavers between the other two tendencies, calling for more trade-union work and defending the extreme federalism produced by the GIM's extended political crisis. The pro-SWP tendency in the GIM has been traditionally small.

The Wolf group is currently seeking to emulate the British IMG's (International Marxist Group, British section of the USec) Socialist Unity hodgepodge, attempting to launch a "socialist weekly" as a centrist/left-reformist propaganda front with the Socialist Bureau and left social democrats—while simultaneously capitulating to the "Green" environmentalists, whom they "critically" supported in recent elections in both Hamburg and Hesse. The leadership group has also produced a token issue of a trade-union oriented journal with a minimal program, Sozialistische Arbeiterpolitik, in an attempt to undercut ProFra criticism.

Since the TLD leaflet was distributed the GIM has held its national conference. Its only "achievement" was the bureaucratic expulsion of a comrade who alone had waged a principled opposition to all the unprincipled cliques and swamps in the GIM.

Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands
January 1979

"The GIM Has Not Yet Fallen Apart"

EDITOR'S NOTE: Reprinted below is a resolution that the Central Committee of the GIM adopted unanimously (with one abstention) on 9 July 1978. The document is translated from a recent GIM internal bulletin (OIB No. 151, 20 July 1978). It quite graphically reveals just how deep the German Pabloist organization has sunk into the mud at the bottom of the latter-day Menshevik swamp. Here the cynical leaders of the GIM call upon the USec to appoint "a person generally regarded with trust" (a tall order indeed!) to play a bonapartist role in keeping the squabbling factions/cliques/swamps of the GIM together in some semblance of a national organization. A classic case of the cure being no better than the illness!

CALL FOR UNIFYING THE ORGANIZATION

Despite at times violent political conflicts the GIM has not yet fallen apart. While this fragile unity may rest on the realization that left to their own resources splinter groupings cannot arrive at any political perspective for the long run, nonetheless the fundamental common basis that still exists must be underlined. It consists of the following points:

- Membership in the Fourth International, defense of its theory and program
- Evaluation of the state of capitalism as a whole and of West German capitalism in particular

A conception of the GIM as a revolutionary organization overwhelmingly not anchored in the working class, an organization which must prepare a revolutionary mass party and which currently faces the task of transforming itself from a group whose main activity is propagandistic into one which creates a base for itself. The members and sympathizers must be trained for work in mass movements, in particular in the working masses. Agreement on the necessity of working out a concrete program for revolutionary politics in the BRD.

Abandoning the orientation toward the left-radical camp and a turn toward centrist currents.

The extant differences of opinion are of a tactical and not of a principled nature. Were it otherwise, then the GIM would be an unprincipled bloc: its falling apart would then liberate its parts from the need for crippling concessions to one another. The most important differences are:

All currents call for primary orientation toward factory work. But large parts of the organization do not put this abstract credo into practice, either because they do not take this task seriously enough, or see only limited practical possibilities at present or in the short run consider other tasks more important. The evaluation of the trade unions and various questions of tactics in the plants have been sharply disputed. This is also true of political initiatives aimed at the factories and trade unions, such as the Aktionskreis Leben [Quality of Life Action Groups]. While the decision on this question was adopted unanimously in the CC, only parts of the organization have carried it out.

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From the Archives of Trotskyism

Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald



It is with great satisfaction that we publish for the first time in English this moving and historically important document. The "Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald" is a programmatic manifesto by cadres and sympathizers of the Trotskyist movement who survived the Nazi concentration camp.

Neither fascist torture nor Stalinist persecution broke these comrades' political courage.

Originally written in German, the declaration was issued a little more than a week after Buchenwald was liberated in April 1945. Its third section was printed in a 1946 issue of *Neuer Spartakus*, the first German-language Trotskyist press published after the war. This part of the document was reprinted in October 1974 in *Die Internationale*, journal of the West German Pabloists. More recently, two different French translations of the full text have been published. One appeared in the *Bulletin* (No. 10) of the Centre d'Études et de

Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux (CERMTRI); the second in *Critique Communiste* (No. 25, November 1978), journal of the French Pabloists. Our translation is from the original German text, which was obtained from the CERMTRI archives in Paris. This introduction is largely based on the prefaces to the text which appeared in the CERMTRI *Bulletin* and *Critique Communiste*.

The "Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald" was the collaborative work of four comrades: the two Austrians Ernst Federn and Karl Fischer, Marcel Beaufrère and Florent Galloy, French and Belgian Trotskyists respectively. Like many other German and Austrian Trotskyists, Federn and Fischer were seized by the Nazis even before the outbreak of the second imperialist war. Both were first arrested for their revolutionary activities in Austria in 1935. Federn was released but Fischer and other Austrian Trotskyists were imprisoned and tried in Vienna in 1937. Sentenced to five years' imprisonment, they were released in the amnesty decreed on the eve of the German annexation of Austria in February 1938 and escaped to Belgium and later to France. Federn was arrested again in 1938, sent to the Nazi camp at Dachau and later moved to Buchenwald.

Many of the Trotskyist cadres who were to join Federn at Buchenwald spent the first years of the war clandestinely organizing among German workers and soldiers under the Nazi occupation. Their internationalist struggle made the scattered Trotskyist cells the

Above:
"Workers Song": detail of a drawing done in Buchenwald.

target of not only the Gestapo but also the Stalinists.

Marcel Beaufrère was typical of those Trotskyist militants whose clandestine work was punished by the Nazis with imprisonment in the death camps. In and out of prison since 1939, when he had first been arrested for "provoking disobedience in the army," Beaufrère worked closely with Marcel Hic, who had succeeded in regularly publishing *La Vérité* right under the Nazis' noses. In September 1943 Beaufrère was assigned to head up the Trotskyist cell in Brittany, where the underground paper *Arbeiter und Soldat* was printed and distributed among the German armed forces. Despite fierce repression (in October 1943 the Gestapo caught and shot some 65 members of the cell, including 30 German soldiers and sailors), Trotskyist propaganda in German continued to be produced in great quantity (with press runs as high as 10,000 copies) and disseminated as late as August 1944. Beaufrère was finally arrested in October 1943, tortured and then sent to Buchenwald.

Many of the Trotskyist militants active in this work did not live to read the document produced by the Buchenwald comrades. Marcel Hic survived Buchenwald only to perish at Dora in 1944. Robert Cruau, the 23-year-old militant who headed the Trotskyist cell in the Wehrmacht at Brest, was arrested in 1943 and, according to the *Critique Communiste* introduction by Rodolphe Prager:

"A little after his arrest Robert Cruau faked an escape in order to get himself killed. He wanted to be certain not to talk and he was the primary target of the interrogators."

And Abram Leon, gifted author of the still definitive Marxist work on the Jewish question and leader of the Belgian Trotskyist cell in the Wehrmacht, was arrested in June 1944 when he arrived in the Charleroi region to assume control of the clandestine work among the miners, which covered some 15 mines and included publication of *Le Réveil des Mineurs*. Tortured by the Gestapo, Leon was exterminated in a gas chamber at Auschwitz at the age of 26.

Despite the Nazi terror, the Trotskyists in the concentration camps sought to continue fighting for their revolutionary program. Several accounts testify to the heroism and courage of the Trotskyist cell at Buchenwald. According to an interview which Beaufrère gave to an iSt representative in January 1979, when the Nazis were preparing to abandon Buchenwald to the approaching Allied forces, the camp commandants broadcast over the loudspeaker system an order for the prisoners to assemble. Recognizing that a final round-up and execution of the Jewish inmates were very likely in the offing, Beaufrère and his comrades immediately began to urge the inmates not to report for the assembly and to get the political prisoners to give their identifying red emblems to the Jews, who were forced to wear yellow stars on their uniforms. An almost certain mass slaughter of Jews (and perhaps communists as well) was thus partially averted.

The political authority which the Internationalist Communists earned within the camp played no small role in their survival. As was the case at other Nazi camps, at Buchenwald the Trotskyists lived under the constant threat of assassination by the Stalinists, who in most cases controlled the clandestine military apparatuses formed in some camps. According to the interview with Beaufrère, the French Stalinist cell at Buchenwald recognized him as a Trotskyist upon his arrival in January 1944 and vowed to kill him. Elsewhere, Trotskyists were indeed murdered by the Stalinists—for example, Pietro Tresso (Blasco), a leader of the clandestine Trotskyist organization (the PCI), "disappeared" after a Stalinist-organized raid freed some 80 resistance fighters from Puy, a Nazi camp in France. At Buchenwald the French Stalinists used their administrative positions as trustees to assign Beaufrère to a task that would almost certainly lead to his death. Beaufrère was saved from this "death warrant" by the active solidarity of the German and Czech Stalinist cells, eventually also gaining the support of the other cells (which were organized along national lines), including the Russian group.

What enabled Beaufrère to gain the sympathy and respect of these Stalinist cadres was in no small measure the anti-chauvinist stand of the Trotskyists. Evidently many of the German and Austrian Stalinists were repelled by the anti-German chauvinism of their French CP "comrades." (At the time of the Allied "liberation" of France *L'Humanité* ran headlines such as "Everybody Get a Kraut!")

After his arrival in Paris in 1945, Beaufrère recounted for the French Trotskyist press

continued on next page



Marcel Beaufrère



Ernest Federn

the impact of the Buchenwald declaration on the German Stalinists:

"Some old German Communists came to find our Trotskyist comrades [in Buchenwald], Beaufrère recounted on his return to Paris, and said to them, the hour has come, you must publicly show yourselves, and they asked for a preliminary political discussion. A text of our German comrades which declared us in favor of a soviet German republic had a profound impact on the german Communist comrades, who asked to keep in touch with the Trotskyists."
—*La Vérité*, 11 May 1945, quoted in *Critique Communiste*, November 1978

The Buchenwald declaration is not without its weaknesses. From the standpoint of Trotskyism the manifesto contains formulations on the questions of the USSR and the Fourth International that are fuzzy if not simply ambiguous. Thus, while the Soviet bureaucracy is referred to as a caste, the declaration avoids characterizing the USSR as a degenerated workers state. It quite explicitly puts a question mark over the future evolution of the regime and nowhere calls for the unconditional military defense of the USSR.

Likewise, while "IV International" appears at the end of the document in parentheses, the Fourth International and Trotskyism are not mentioned in the text. Rather, the declaration states that "a new world revolutionary party" remains to be created.

These were not hasty formulations but the result of much discussion. Beaufrère and

Fischer held widely divergent positions on the class character of the USSR and on the Fourth International. Even before the war, Fischer had adopted a "state capitalism" analysis of the USSR and his group had grown increasingly aloof from the Fourth International.

The Buchenwald declaration represented a compromise. Karl Fisher explained in a 29 May 1946 letter to his comrades in Paris.

"It was composed jointly by Federn, Marcel Beaufrère, Florent Galloy and me. In regard to Russia and the Trotskyists I had to enter into a compromise, otherwise nothing at all would have come out."

—quoted in *Bulletin of the CERMTRI*, No. 10

It should also be noted that the Declaration rather categorically predicts the imminent eruption of major inter-imperialist rivalry between the U.S. and Britain. Such a projection, of course, was very soon revealed to be false. However, the issues involved were not new; in the mid-1920's Trotsky already analyzed the bases for future Anglo-American inter-imperialist rivalries. But at the close of World War II the U.S. was clearly emerging as the hegemonic imperialist power.

Even with these weaknesses, the Buchenwald declaration on balance is a principled and powerful statement of revolutionary internationalism, an affirmation of revolutionary optimism in the capacity of the communist vanguard to lead the resurgent proletariat out of its crisis of leadership and toward the conquest of power.

* * * * *

I. The International Conjunction of Capitalism

In the wake of the second imperialist war Italy, Germany and Japan have lost their stature as great imperialist powers, while that of France has been severely undermined.

The imperialist antagonisms and conflicts between the USA and Great Britain dominate the conjunction of world imperialist politics.

At the beginning of this world war Russia emerged from its isolation and today confronts the task of politically and economically consolidating its military successes in opposition to the appetites of the victorious imperialist powers.

Despite its enormous efforts China remains a pawn of the great imperialist powers, an inevitable consequence of the victory of the Chinese bourgeoisie over the Chinese proletariat.

The unanimity so ostentatiously displayed at the international imperialist peace conferences is intended to dupe the masses by concealing the antagonisms inherent among the capitalist powers. However, coinciding military interests vis-à-vis Germany cannot prevent the explosion of the antagonisms in the Allied camp. To these antagonisms must



Above: Trotskyist press in France appealed to the ranks of the German army on a proletarian-internationalist basis

be added the inevitable crises and the social tumult of the decaying capitalist mode of production.

A precise analysis of the international situation using the methods of Marxism-Leninism is the indispensable precondition for a successful revolutionary line.

II. The International Situation of the Working Class

This development renders it possible for the German proletariat to rapidly recover from its profound defeat and to again place itself at the head of the European working class in the battle for the overthrow of capitalism. Isolated by the failure of the revolution in Europe, the Russian revolution has taken a course which has led it further and further away from the interests of the European and international proletariat. The policy of "socialism in one country," at first just a defense of the interests of the ruling bureaucratic clique, today leads the Russian state to carry out a nationalistic policy shoulder to shoulder with the imperialist powers. Whatever the course of events in Russia may be, the international proletariat must cast off all illusions regarding this state and with the aid of a clear Marxist analysis realize that the presently ruling bureaucratic and military caste defends exclusively its own interests and that the international revolution cannot count on any support from this government.

The total military, political and economic collapse of the German bourgeoisie opens the road to liberation for the German proletariat. To prevent the restabilization of the German bourgeoisie, facilitated by imperialist antagonisms, and to establish workers power, the revolutionary struggle of the working class of each country against its own bourgeoisie is necessary. The working class was deprived of its revolutionary leadership by the politics of the two international workers organizations, which actively fought and sabotaged the proletarian revolution that alone could have prevented this war. The Second International is a tool of the bourgeoisie. Since the death of Lenin the Third International has been transformed into an agency of the foreign policy of the Russian bureaucracy. Both Internationals actively participated in the preparation and prosecution of this imperialist war and therefore share responsibility for it. To attribute responsibility, or partial responsibility, for this war to the German and international working class is only another way of continuing to serve the bourgeoisie.

The proletariat can fulfill its historic task only under the leadership of a new world revolutionary party. The creation of this party is the most pressing task of the most advanced sections of the working class. International revolutionary cadres have already come together to construct this world party in the struggle against capitalism and its reformist and Stalinist agents. In order to carry out this difficult task there must be no avoiding the issue through the more conciliatory slogan of a new 2-1/2 International. Such an intermediary formation would prevent the necessary ideological clarification and would sap revolutionary will.

III. Never Again a 9 November 1918!

In the imminent pre-revolutionary period what is necessary is to mobilize the working masses in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and to prepare the construction of a new revolutionary International that will forge the unity of the working class in revolutionary action.

All theories and illusions about a "peoples state" or a "peoples democracy" have led the working class to the bloodiest defeats in the course of class struggle in capitalist society. Only irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist state—up to and including its destruction and the construction of the state of workers and peasants councils—can prevent similar new defeats. The bourgeoisie and the uprooted petty bourgeoisie brought fascism to power. Fascism is the creation of capitalism. Only the successful, independent action of the working class against capitalism is capable of eradicating the evil of fascism, along with its root causes. In this struggle the hesitant petty bourgeoisie will join forces with the revolutionary proletariat on the offensive, as the history of the great revolutions demonstrates.

In order to emerge victorious from the class battles to come the German working class must struggle for the implementation of the following demands:

- Freedom of organization, assembly and the press!
- Freedom of collective action and the immediate restoration of all the pre-1933 social gains!
- Total elimination of all the fascist organizations!



Marcel Hic



Karl Fischer

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Trotskyist Perspective...

(continued from page 10)

consider ourselves to be neither a revolutionary party nor the nucleus of the revolutionary party" (*Was Tun* No. 189). That statement is correct and quite applicable to the GIM.

Well, how does someone with these political appetites evaluate the relative electoral success of the Bunte Liste and the Grüne Liste [the Colored and Green Tickets: the slates of eco-politicos who ran in the last state elections in West Germany]? A tricky question! Perhaps the Bunte Liste might be the "socialist alternative"?—even though the "Socialist Alternative" [the abortive electoral rotten bloc of fake lefts which the GIM attempted to broker] originally had been projected as an alternative to the Bunte Liste. Indeed, the initial reaction of many GIM comrades to the shameless class-collaborationism of the KB [Communist League, "Gang of Five" Stalinists who uncritically promoted the Colored and Green Tickets] was impotent disgust, and early on one could even hear terms like "mini popular front." Yet when the hour of truth—election day—approached, GIM members and sympathizers were told that they were free to vote for the Bunte Liste. And after the elections Anna Armand testified that, for "herself" anyway, the old "Pabloist reflex," drilled-in for decades, was still working as fast as ever: "Tail 'em!" How 'bout a *Bunte Weekly*, then? Nope, there's already one, and with 64 pages to boot, even if it comes out only bi-weekly [namely, the *Arbeiterkampf* of the Communist League]. Our suggestion: why not just add to the [GIM] masthead the missing but well-recognized question mark: *Was Tun?* [*What is To Be Done?*].

The "Proletarian Faction" [ProFra] is anything but a left opposition. It only buries itself in liquidation into the "virginal" proletariat and throws overboard any claim to fighting for a communist program. The ProFra has simply focused its impressionism on a different "sector of intervention": the factory. ProFra might believe that it's doing something new; but the liquidationist politics of Pabloism have not always been predominantly student oriented. For example, the entry into the Italian CP (where [Usec chief] Maitan's group disappeared politically and organizationally for 20 years) wasn't dissolution into a *sociologically* petty-bourgeois milieu. And finally, when Mandel helped sell out the Belgian general strike of 1960-61, he had the support of his section, consisting in its majority of "tested trade unionists." Since ProFra has no intention of fighting for a revolutionary program in the factories, it is only one more barrier to the development of class consciousness within the proletariat.

Both—the "majority" and the "faction" alike—are in complete agreement on one thing: that the Transitional Program has no relevance whatsoever for factory and trade-union work. One need only compare "Our Principles" in the unnumbered initial issue of *Sozialistische Gewerkschaftspolitik* [*Socialist Trade-Union Politics*] with the "let's-get-going" platform for Degussa [a chemical plant near Frankfurt]; not a trace of even an oh-so-watered-down version of a program of transitional demands. And these brotherly enemies agree on still another issue: like Mandel they are ready at any time to drop the "label of the Fourth International" within "24 hours."

The "Intermediate Swamp," so appropriately self-named, is nothing but the crystallization of disgruntlement without any perspective. It neither wishes nor is able to be an alternative to the GIM leadership. It doesn't want to take responsibility for the organization, and its oppositional stance is merely an excuse for pursuing parochial local "arena work." It "struggles" (if at all) only to maintain the circle spirit within the GIM. Subjectively revolutionary elements will not find any alternative in this collection of local cliques. The "Intermediate Swamp" is the result of the bankruptcy of the international Third Tendency at the time of the [Usec] Tenth Congress, of the necessarily unsuccessful attempt to construct an international tendency between Pabloism and Trotskyism. The bloc, "in principle" unprincipled, in the GIM between the KT [Kompass Tendency] and the part of the IT [Internationalist Tendency of the Mandelites] around Winfried Wolf and Hülsberg in 1975 marked this development and was the beginning of the present crisis.

The Two-and-One-Quarter International

What is still holding the GIM together as a federated bloc, albeit with difficulty, is the at most ornamental label, "Fourth International," and the vague claim to Trotskyism. Yet the Usec is just as heterogeneous and rotten as the GIM, having long ago given up the attempt to struggle internationally for a unified political conception. In our article, "Forward to the 2 1/4 International" (*Kommunistische Korrespondenz* No. 21) we gave extensive examples to demonstrate that the present threadbare unity between the centrist Majority (Mandel, Krivine, Tariq Ali & Co.) and the reformist SWP above all depends on the current absence of divisive international issues that would cause the various factions to clash, as occurred over Portugal and Angola in 1974-75. SWP leader Barry Sheppard's subsequent admission that "at one point" Usec supporters in Portugal "would have been on opposite sides of some actual barricades" only shows how the rapprochement between the erstwhile opponents depends on a gentlemen's agreement not to discuss which side of the barricades was the right one at that time.

And the same is true of just about every other issue where Mandel and Hansen at one time used their theoretical knowledge to scourge the other's particularly gross betrayals with pseudo-orthodox arguments. Until recently

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considered reformist even by many supporters of the IMT and KT, the SWP has once again won acclaim from its onetime critics on the basis of its new orientation toward trade-union work. But trade-union work without revolutionary program and based on adaptation to left bureaucrats, such as friend-of-Carter Sadlowski, only means that the SWP is sending tendrils of its reformism into new terrain. (For a striking example of this see the article on the miners' strike in the new *KK* No. 22.)

For its part the SWP has conveniently forgotten its pseudocriticism of the Majority's "popular frontism," although the electoral support which the PB of the French LCR gave to Otelo (after the fact) and the GIM's call for support to the Bunte Liste are classic examples of capitulation to popular-frontist electoral blocs that make a program of class collaboration.

Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) looks back on a 15-year-long history of struggle for Trotskyism. Our starting point was the struggle of the Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP against hailing Castro as an "unconscious Trotskyist" and for the necessity of con-

structing revolutionary parties in all countries of the world (including Cuba, China and Algeria). Our opposition to the guerrilla road was not the SWP's legalistic fear, expressed after the Ninth World Congress, of somehow being linked with "violence"; rather, it was the struggle for a *proletarian* perspective as opposed to guerrillaist substitutionalism. The iSt has succeeded in building fighting propaganda groups in half a dozen countries on three continents—parts of a democratic-centralist international tendency. The successes of SI./U.S.-supported trade-union caucuses among seamen, longshoremen and warehouse workers, auto and telephone workers, refute the cynics who maintain that to achieve success one must water down or completely abandon the Trotskyist program.

In Germany the TLD is struggling to overcome the decades-long break in the continuity of Trotskyist politics and to construct a party in the tradition of Lenin's Third and Trotsky's Fourth International!

Read the press of the international Spartacist tendency!
Break with centrism!

For the reforging of the Fourth International!

24 June 1978

Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands
Section of the international Spartacist tendency

GIM...

(continued from page 11)

Similarly disputed is the evaluation of the SPD.

The PB advocates initiatives toward centrist currents with the goal of intervening in the differentiation process to create a party left of the SPD. The Proletarian Faction on the other hand advocates the propaganda slogan "For the Creation of a Socialist Workers Party." On this question there are numerous intermediate positions. These orientations produce subordinate differences on propaganda, press policy, the distribution of resources, and the attitude to tactics in elections.

Long-term coexistence of these differences in a small organization like the GIM presents the acute danger of the organization's falling apart. For two years the GIM has been incapable of action on a national basis.

The most important criticisms at present are:

The national leadership lacks a sufficient political base in the GIM. It is unable to organize an exchange of information and experience in the GIM. Political initiatives are carried out only by parts of the organization. Hence the leadership has to limit itself to various service functions and propaganda work. The locals and cells are becoming independent. Isolated from one another, they are attempting to develop their own practice. This almost always leads to projects which have not sufficiently matured and are unsuccessful—and which are scarcely ever evaluated self-critically and honestly to boot. This SB-ization [Socialist Bureau-ization] must lead to the collapse of the organization. The principle of democratic centralism is already openly rejected in some spots and even more frequently ignored in practice. The national

leadership does not dare to insist on its implementation. The self-conception of the revolutionary organization is at stake. Discipline and political cohesiveness are dissolving.

The unavoidable lack of success and of perspectives in the isolated efforts to begin work heighten frustration and aggressiveness in internal discussion. Collapse looms in the loss of solidarity among the comrades.

A widespread criticism of the national leadership appeared at the June N[ational] C[onference]. In all probability the critics will be able to find support only from a minority in the future as well. But on the other hand no other grouping, coalition or political conception has appeared from which an alternative leadership could emerge. Hence it is as good as certain that the present up-in-the-air situation will continue, and the collapse of the organization will be hastened.

Hence self-preservation dictates attempting extraordinary efforts to unify the organization. This can be attained only via a common practice. To create the prerequisites for this the following is proposed:

1. To form a Working Group [*Arbeitskommission*] in which all political currents of the GIM will as far as possible cooperate, including those not represented in the CC. The VS [United Secretariat] is requested, with the agreement of the CC, to name a person generally regarded with trust to head up the Group and to work toward agreement.
2. The task of the Group will be to produce a detailed program for the GIM's work in the coming year, which as far as possible will not be open to "interpretation."
3. To appeal to parts of the GIM to take part in this attempt at unifying our practice, to work out suggestions for it, name representative delegates to the Working Group and to work with it in a spirit of compromise. ■

Euro-Revisionists Tail...

(continued from page 9)

influence of the Polish Catholic Church or East German Lutheran Church should not be so easy to ignore. One need only recall the reactionary role of the Catholic Church in the Hungarian revolution of 1956. The Pabloist priests who lull the vigilance of the East European working class regarding the threat of capitalist restorationist tendencies in their own countries should be blessed for their services by the new pope in the Vatican.

Despite the prevalence of muddle-headed liberalism and identification with imperialist "democracy" among the dissidents, we condemn the brutal terror, crushing censorship and ludicrous frame-ups endemic to Stalinist bureaucratic rule. It is the monstrous crimes of the Stalinist bureaucrats who drag the liberating goals of Marxism through the mud which have alienated a layer of the intelligentsia and turned them into bourgeois liberals, nationalists, Zionists and religious obscurantists. But to oust these parasitical bureaucratic castes and restore genuine workers democracy through proletarian political revolution requires that these tendencies be *politically defeated*.

Even a healthy workers state, if faced with economic backwardness and imperialist pressure, would not be free of reactionary oppositional movements, arising primarily from the petty bourgeoisie. However, a revolutionary regime would base its policy towards such elements on defending and extending the revolution. Given the exigencies imposed by the need to defend the proletarian dictatorship, a revolutionary workers government would be guided by the norm that all tendencies have the freedom of political expression except those who actively work for the overthrow of the socialist revolution. This implies the right of workers and petty-bourgeois elements to form *pro-socialist* political parties which would compete with the Bolshevik vanguard for influence in the soviets. While Stalinists can deal with dissidents only through terror, a revolutionary regime would have at its disposal a far more effective weapon: moral authority before the working

masses and the perspective of world revolution to destroy imperialism.

Workers Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

If significant capitalist-restorationist forces cannot emerge within the Soviet bloc, as Mandel implies, then there is no need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This conclusion, implicit in Mandel's book on Eurocommunism, is made explicit in a USec resolution misnamed "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and co-produced by the Mandelite majority and the SWP (*Intercontinental Press*, 25 July 1977). It was the issues raised in this document which cemented the dissolution of factions in the USec. "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" is an attempt to present the USec as the most democratic of "socialist democrats" with regard to Brezhnev's Russia.

Behind the abstract discussion of the democratic rights of pro-bourgeois parties under the dictatorship of the proletariat lurks the real question of the pro-Western dissident movement in the USSR today. World, especially American, imperialism has committed its great material resources and powerful ideological influence to a campaign for the democratic rights of the pro-Western dissident movement in the USSR, ultimately for their right to exercise governmental power. The USec's "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" is but the echo of Helsinki "Basket Three" and Carter's "Human Rights" campaign as refracted through the Eurocommunists with only one, completely stylistic, difference: the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is not openly abandoned, but instead filled with an entirely bourgeois-democratic content.

For Trotsky the restoration of soviet democracy *for the working class* was an integral part of restoring the USSR as a bastion of world revolution, and not just in the sense of moral inspiration. The USec document emphasizes not democracy for the workers but democracy for the bourgeoisie or, more precisely, for pro-bourgeois parties: "But genuinely representative, democratically elected workers councils can exist only if the masses have the right to elect whomever they want without distinction, and without restrictive preconditions as to the ideological or political convictions of the elected delegates.... Any



While Mandel preaches his pabulum about Eurocommunism, the Polish Pope and U.S. imperialism aggressively

seek to increase their reactionary leverage in the Soviet Bloc countries.

Poland, in Bid for Loan, Will Let West's Banks Monitor Economy

By ANN CRITTENDEN

As part of an effort to obtain a major new loan, Poland has agreed to permit Western banks to monitor its economic policies, American bankers say. They regard the concession as a big step toward the economies of non-Communist countries in financial distress. An initial meeting between Western bankers and Polish officials will discuss Poland's economic situation.

restriction of party affiliation restricts the freedom of the proletariat to exercise political power, i.e., restricts workers democracy, which would be contrary both to our program and to the historical interests of the working class."

—*Intercontinental Press*, 25 July 1977

A later passage is even more explicit:

"This means that freedom of political organization should be granted to all those, including probourgeois elements, who in actual practice respect the constitution of the workers state, i.e., are not engaged in violent actions to overthrow workers power and collective property. The workers have no need to fear as a mortal danger propaganda that 'incites' them to give the factories and banks back to private owners. There is little chance that a majority of them will be 'persuaded' by propaganda of that type." [emphasis in original]

Just like the Eurocommunists, the Mandelites are eager to guarantee that bourgeois forces should have the right to restore capitalism if they can gain a democratic majority. But if bourgeois forces can come to power and restore capitalism through peaceful, legal soviet-constitutional means, one cannot speak of the *dictatorship* of the proletariat. For as Lenin so succinctly expressed it in his famous polemic against Kautsky:

"The indispensable characteristic, the necessary condition of dictatorship is the *forcible* suppression of the exploiters as a class, and, consequently, the *infringement* of 'pure democracy', i.e., of equality and freedom *in regard to that class*." [emphasis in original]

—*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918)

In a letter to G. Myasnikov dated 5 August 1921 Lenin made his position even more categorical:

"The bourgeoisie (all over the world) is still very much

stronger than we are. To place in its hands yet *another* weapon like freedom of political organization (freedom of the press, for the press is the core and foundation of political organization) means facilitating the enemy's task, means helping the class enemy.

"We have no wish to commit suicide, and therefore, we will not do this." [emphasis in original]

—*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 505, Moscow (1973)

Predictably, the Mandelites have an escape clause stating that the rights of the bourgeois parties might have to be restricted in cases of civil war or war with imperialist powers:

"This is our programmatic and principled norm—unlettered political freedom for all those individuals, groups, tendencies, and parties who in practice respect collective property and the workers' constitution. This does not mean that these norms can be fully implemented irrespective of concrete circumstances. In the process of establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, civil war or international military interventions have been and can be unleashed by the bourgeoisie. Under conditions of civil war or foreign military intervention, i.e., attempts by the former ruling classes to overthrow workers power by force, then the rules of war apply, and restrictions on the political activities of the bourgeoisie may well be called for."

—*Intercontinental Press*, 25 July 1977

Here the USec presents "attempts by the former ruling classes to overthrow workers power by force" as an *abnormal* situation during the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat is precisely a relatively brief historic period of violent conflict between the proletariat and bourgeoisie on an international scale; it is by its very nature an epoch of

continued on next page

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wars, civil wars and revolutions.

In the early 1950's, when the Pabloists saw in the Kremlin the main force of world revolution, they projected centuries of bureaucratically-deformed workers states. Now that they are tailing the Eurocommunists, the Pabloists project centuries of democratically-governed workers states, complete with an institutionalized bourgeois opposition. This new conception is, if anything, even more of a revision of Marxism than the earlier myth.

Just like the Eurocommunists, the Mandelites link democratic rights for bourgeois tendencies in the Soviet bloc to peaceful coexistence with imperialism. However, a Soviet Russian workers state should be a proletarian armed fortress of the world revolution. A political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy would bring not peaceful coexistence but the mobilization of the world proletariat against the imperialists. A revolutionary internationalist foreign policy would, however, involve certain short-term costs for the Soviet people. The level of military expenditure would have to remain fairly high, the imperialist countries would undoubtedly resort to economic blackmail, etc.

Under the pressure of imperialist encirclement, conciliatory and even defeatist tendencies are likely to emerge from the petty-bourgeois strata—intellectuals, peasants, artisans. Therein lies the deeper socio-political meaning of the present pro-Western Soviet dissident movement, which is *not* simply a wrongheaded reaction to bureaucratic oppression along the line of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend."

Andrei Sakharov, who was once a liberal Khrushchevite

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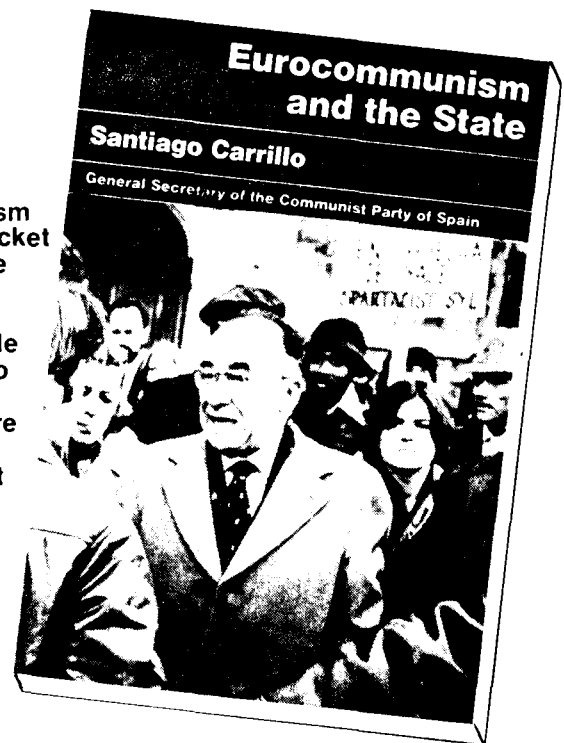
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**Mr. Euro-
Communism
crosses picket
line at Yale
University
to get a
respectable
platform to
plead his
case before
U.S.
imperialist
policy-
makers.**



and top Kremlin adviser on nuclear policy, represents those elements in the Russian petty-bourgeois elite who have become Soviet *defeatist* with regard to imperialism. In a sense this most prominent Soviet dissident has taken the policy of "peaceful coexistence" to its logical conclusion: advocacy of the restoration of capitalism. Thus in 1973, before he fully became a pro-American cold warrior, Sakharov wrote:

"I have believed and believe now that the only real way to solve world problems is the movement of each side toward the other, the convergence of the capitalist and socialist systems accompanied by demilitarization, reinforcement of socialist protection for workers' rights, and creation of a mixed type of economy."

—Andrei D. Sakharov, *Sakharov Speaks*, edited by Harrison Salisbury (1974)

A revolutionary (Trotskyist) government in the Soviet Union would have to combat such defeatist tendencies toward imperialism arising from the petty-bourgeois strata. A future Trotskyist party in the USSR will certainly not overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to then turn power over to the Helsinki monitoring groups.

How Mandel Rehabilitates Stalinists/ Eurocommunists

Mandel seeks to link Eurocommunism to the democratization of Stalinist Russia by calling upon West European CP leaders to demand that the Kremlin rehabilitate Trotsky and all the Bolshevik old guard. In his essay on the 1976 East Berlin Communist conference included in *From Stalinism to Eurocommunism* Mandel writes:

"They [the Eurocommunist leaders] should demand the public rehabilitation of Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rakovsky, and all the old Bolsheviks. They should demand that the works of these revolutionaries be freely published in the USSR and the People's Democracies. Otherwise their pledges of socialist democracy have little credibility."

The rehabilitation of the old Bolshevik leaders is the

Mandelites' main tactical overture to the Eurocommunists. Right now the USec (both the Mandelites and the SWP) is actively supporting the campaign to rehabilitate Bukharin led by Italian CP intellectuals, who see in him, not without reason, a forerunner of Dubček's "socialism with a human face."

The Mandelites' "rehabilitate the old Bolsheviks" campaign directed at the Eurocommunists stems from a number of motives. To disassociate their present "democratic" posture from Stalin's terror, the Eurocommunist leaders occasionally say a good word about the old Bolsheviks murdered by the "Great Father of the Peoples" in the Kremlin. Mandel seizes upon these statements as proof that the veteran Stalinist hacks are responding to the "anti-bureaucratic consciousness" of the militant workers.

To prettify Carrillo as a great proletarian democrat, Mandel falsifies outright the Spanish CP leader's position on Andrés Nin, a former Trotskyist killed by the Stalinists during the Spanish Civil War. According to Mandel, Carrillo "completely rehabilitates Andrés Nin against the slanderous accusations made against him by the Spanish Communist Party and the Communist International." Is that so? In fact, Carrillo *condemns* Nin's role in the Barcelona May Days of 1937 (a spontaneous insurrection against the Popular Front government) as "an act of high treason," for which "exemplary punishment by the courts was legally and morally justified" (*Eurocommunism and the State*). Carrillo demurs that Nin should only have been imprisoned, like the other leaders of the May Days, and not murdered. This season Mandel finds it opportune to act as lawyer for Carrillo against the Kremlin, and so is manufacturing evidence on his would-be client's behalf.

Mandel's demand that the West European CP leaders do honor to the Bolshevik old guard also expresses the long-standing Pabloist view that the world Stalinist movement and now its Eurocommunist extension represents the deformed continuation of Lenin's Communist International, and so is itself capable of revolutionary rehabilitation. In this sense the Mandelites' "rehabilitate the Bolshevik old guard" campaign is part and parcel of the traditional Pabloist orientation to the self-reform of the Stalinist



Nikolai Bukharin

Il Mondo

bureaucracy, in this case via the Eurocommunists to the liberal bureaucrats and dissidents in the Soviet bloc.

To call upon the Stalinist apparatus today to rehabilitate its victims of yesterday is to elevate these criminals and murders, betrayers of proletarian revolution, to the judges and final arbiters of the Bolshevik tradition. There could be no greater damage to building revolutionary Fourth Internationalist parties in the Soviet bloc than identifying the Trotskyist cause with those West European so-called "communists" who have dropped even the posture of defending the USSR against imperialism in favor of Carter's anti-Soviet, pro-imperialist "Human Rights" campaign. Trotsky and his Bolshevik comrades who made the October Revolution will be "rehabilitated" only by the proletarian political revolution that ousts the Stalinist bureaucracies and the socialist revolution that sweeps the Carrillos, Marchais and Berlinguers into the dustbin of history. ■



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Buchenwald...

(continued from page 15)

—Confiscation of their property for the benefit of the victims of fascism!

—Conviction of all representatives of the fascist state by freely elected peoples courts!

—Dissolution of the Wehrmacht and its replacement by workers militias!

—Immediate free election of workers and peasants councils throughout all of Germany and a convocation of a general congress of these councils!

—Preservation and extension of these councils, while utilizing all the parliamentary institutions of the bourgeoisie for revolutionary propaganda!

—Expropriation of the banks, heavy industry and the large estates!

—Control of production by the unions and the workers councils!

—Not one man, not one penny for the war debts and the war reparations of the bourgeoisie!

—The bourgeoisie must pay!

—For pan-German socialist revolution! Against a dismemberment of Germany!

—Revolutionary fraternization with the proletarians of the occupying armies!

—For a Germany of workers councils in a Europe of workers councils!

—For world proletarian revolution!

The Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald
(IV International)—20 April 1945

Spartacist Slogan Scandalizes...

(continued from page 24)

A similar fate befell the Frankfurt sect known as the Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter (BSA), the German mini-satellite of the Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain. Outside a meeting on Iran held by the BSA on November 2 members of the TLD sold copies of *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* with an article on Iran. Evidently the TLD intervention made an impact, for the BSA turned up at its own next meeting on Iran with a leaflet that was half devoted to attacking the TLD and the iSt and half devoted to enthusing over "the anti-imperialist content of the struggle being waged by Khomeini." After quoting at length from *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* the BSA added indignantly, "Because the TLD was selling this article on November 2 in front of a meeting of the BSA in Frankfurt, there developed an erroneous impression among some people that we had something in common with these politics."

Not only the fake "Trotskyists" but also their would-be Muslim allies have seized upon our slogan as "the communist position" on Iran. Khomeini and his devout followers do not want the support of leftists; Khomeini has often vehemently denounced Marxism as fundamentally hostile to Islamic doctrine. But perhaps the most revealing rebuff to his aspiring leftist allies came in an interview which his principal spokesman, Ibrahim Yazdi, gave to BBC Radio 4 on January 7 in Paris. When pressed by the interviewer to clarify Khomeini's attitude to a "united

Slogans on Iran

The following motion was adopted at a national conference of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands on 10 February 1979. It was subsequently endorsed unanimously by a meeting of the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency that included substantial representation from the Ligue Trotskyste de France and the Spartacist League/Britain.

* * *

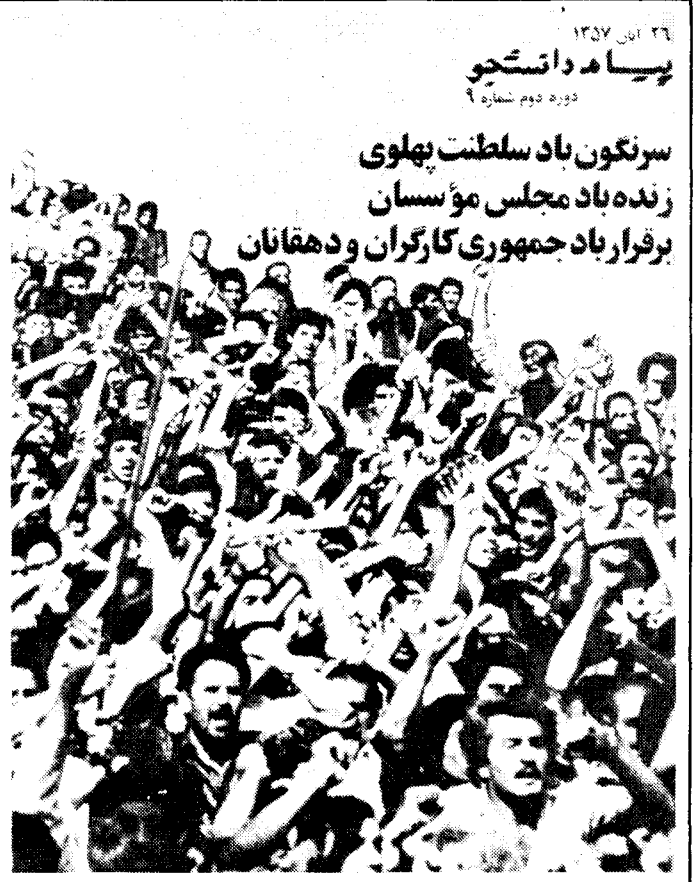
The slogan "Down with the shah, Down with the mullahs" expresses the strategic Marxist perspective for the outcome of the Iranian revolution: a life without the shah and without the mullahs. In addition the slogan correctly counterposed us as the revolutionary Marxists to the theocratic reactionaries presently leading the mass movement. There is a weakness to the slogan in that it expresses a historical perspective but lacks a tactical element; also, at the time that the slogan was first promulgated the shah was still in power, and the slogan implied an equivalency between the shah and the mullahs. In the hands of revolutionary Marxists the

slogan was used to express the correct program; in other hands it could be used to mask a sectarian program. As a general propaganda slogan from afar, it warned powerfully and angularly of the catastrophic consequences of tailing after Khomeini. That is why it earned the enmity not only of Muslim fundamentalists but also of the opportunist leftists, who almost without exception joined the mullah camp.

In the hands of revolutionary Marxists the slogan "Down with the shah, Break with the mullahs" could be used correctly, but in other hands the loopholes in the formulation would allow this slogan to be used to express an opportunist program, including seeking to work from the inside of the camp of the mullahs, seeking the non-existent "progressive" wing of the mullahs. In short, this slogan, in the hands of opportunists, is an expression of the stagist theory of the revolution.

The third slogan "Down with the shah, No support to the mullahs" avoids the pitfalls of both of the previous slogans, and although it expresses our program less angularly and forcefully than the first slogan, cuts through the possible misuse of either of the other slogans.

Cover of Payam Daneshjoo (right) published by Iranian supporters of the USec carries photo of anti-shah protest under the slogans, "Down with the Shah monarchy, Long live the Constituent assembly, Long live the republic of workers and peasants." Cropped from the photo were the banners (left) with slogans that hailed "Our leader Khomeini" and "the Muslim nation of Iran."



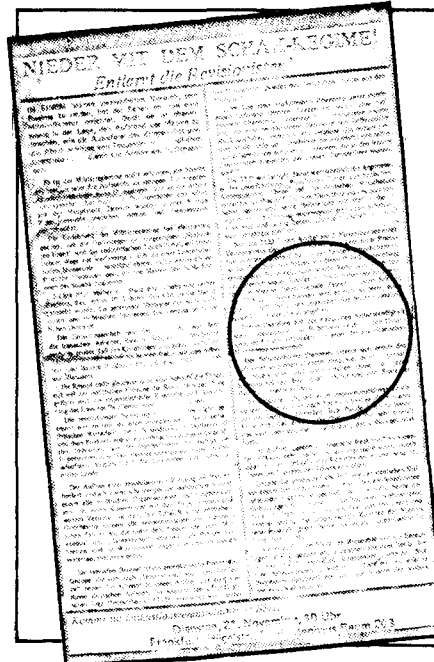
front" with Communists, Yazdi bluntly replied: "They call, 'Down with the Mullahs, Down with the Shah.' That's not supporting the Islamic Muslims."

Unlike these opportunists the iSt seeks and struggles to be identified with the hard communist line on Islamic reaction. Our slogan of "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" is not intended to win instant popularity among the masses in Iran who still have illusions in Khomeini. It is dictated by the historic experiences of the proletariat and toiling masses who have passed through and shed just such illusions.

Already many leftists in Iran are learning through bitter experience that their illusions in Khomeini, or in some kind of "unity and struggle" with his turbaned followers, were disastrous. Since the departure of the shah and the intensification of the governmental crisis in Teheran, the mullahs and their devout followers have taken a new offensive to assert their domination over the heterogeneous opposition forces.

At cosmopolitan Teheran University, meetings called to merely discuss the role of Khomeini have been physically attacked by marauding gangs of Muslim fundamentalists. In mid-January a mass march through Teheran by leftists carrying banners that included the slogan "Long Live Khomeini" was attacked by Muslim fanatics who chanted, "The only party is the party of Allah!" And upon his return to Iran Khomeini openly called for a *jihad* against all non-Persians and supporters of foreign powers, which means above all the foreign workers and the left: "I beg God to cut off the hands of all evil foreigners and all their helpers" (quoted in *New York Times*, 1 February 1979).

Under the hammer blows of Islamic reaction at least some subjectively revolutionary militants inside Iran and abroad will decisively break with opportunist capitulation to petty-bourgeois Islamic populism. And when they realize that Khomeini needs SAVAK and the CIA just as much as did the shah, we want to make sure that they also know that only one tendency from the outset sounded the warning—the international Spartacist tendency. ■



Really bizarre ravings from the Healyite slander mill: BSA leaflet on Iran calls James Robertson of the Spartacist League/U.S. the "main spokesman for the national interests of the American bourgeoisie"!

"Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!"

Spartacist Slogan Scandalizes Fake-Trotskyists

For the past year Iran has been rocked by convulsive mass opposition to the tyranny of the butcher shah. This seething popular discontent among broad strata of the population could make Iran the cockpit of proletarian revolution in the Near East. But in the absence of

revolutionary proletarian leadership, the unrest has been channeled into a reactionary crusade for an "Islamic republic." Enraged even by the minimal secularizing and modernizing measures of the shah's so-called "White Revolution," Ayatollah Khomeini and his priestly caste of 180,000 mullahs want to impose over all of Iran the Muslim-traditionalist norms of Qum, where no woman dares appear in public without the head-to-foot veil.

Virtually the entire international left has capitulated to the popularity of the mullah-dominated opposition. Against this

backdrop the propaganda of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) for the proletariat to sweep away the monarchy and establish a workers and peasants government has had an impact far beyond our small forces.

In the United States Maoists proclaiming the mullahs "progressive" and Muslim students defending the slogan "Death or *hejab*" ("modesty"—i.e., the veil) have vied with each other in seeking to break up Spartacist public forums on Iran. But even more striking has been the response in Europe, as virtually every self-styled "Trotskyist" tendency has been at pains to defend itself against the charge that "You Trotskyites stand for 'Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!'" "Not us, not us," squeak the opportunists, terrified that anyone could accuse them of upholding an authentic Leninist line.

Particularly embarrassed are the United Secretariat (USec) supporters of the Committee Against Repression in Iran (CARI) front group. In England the Spartacist League/Britain has aggressively propagandized for "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" in its press and

public meetings. Iranian leftists were soon approaching CARI members on their attitude toward "the Trotskyist position." According to one CARI leaflet in Persian, a CARI activist was expelled from an Iranian Stalinist-controlled student group on the grounds that this slogan had been "one of the slogans" of a CARI demonstration.

In a Persian-language leaflet dated 16 October the CARI Executive Committee protested:

"CARI is strongly against the slogan 'Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!' The position of CARI is to defend all the struggles of all militants against the shah, including the struggles of the militant religious people."

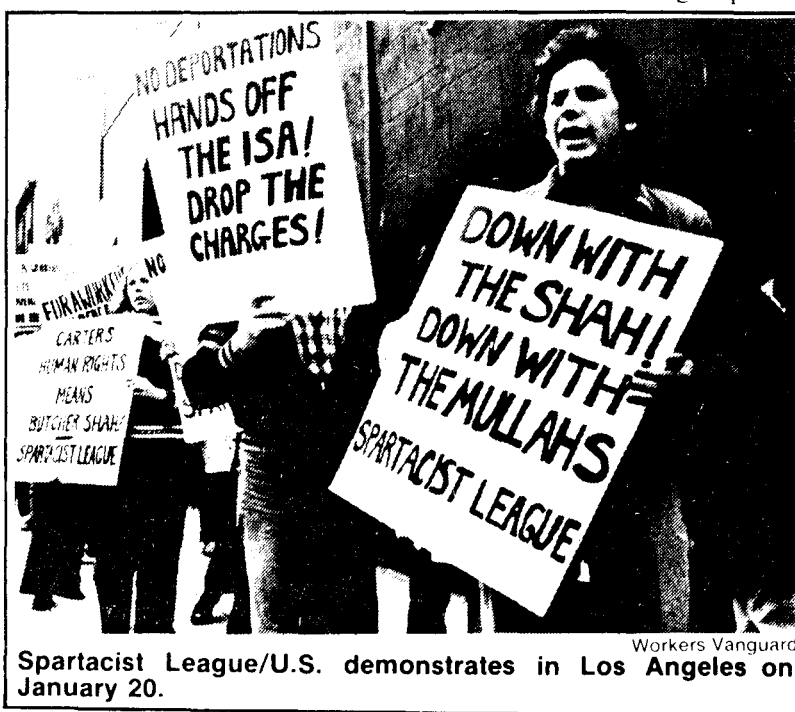
Of course, CARI was less than willing to defend the struggles of Spartacist militants against the shah. CARI excluded Spartacist League/Britain contingents from

CARI-sponsored demonstrations in Birmingham on December 2 and London on December 17, criminally provoking police intervention.

The USec has clearly felt similar pressure in France, where the Ligue Trotskyste de France has actively publicized the Trotskyist slogan. CARI's French incarnation felt compelled to reproduce and distribute the 16 October CARI Executive Committee statement in response.

Likewise, in West Germany the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the iSt, has succeeded in making our slogan known as "the Trotskyist position on Iran." For example, in West Berlin the deeply demoralized, centrist Spartacusbund sought to add its name to a leaflet circulated by Iranian and other foreign student groups that was uncritical of Khomeini and the mullah-led movement in Iran. However, despite their apologetics for Khomeini, the Spartacusbund was not permitted to sign the statement, because, charged the Iranian nationalists, "the Trotskyists" oppose the mullahs.

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Spartacist League/U.S. demonstrates in Los Angeles on January 20.