WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 6 March 1972

BOSTON CONFERENCE

WONAAC Sponsors Bourgeoisie, Ousts Communists

Over the February 11-13 weekend at Boston University the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) Conference met to enthuse over Bella Abzug's bill, soon to be introduced in Congress, for repeal of anti-abortion laws. Abzug's representative Jessica Josephson was on hand to address the Conference on Friday night.

As the opening Friday night session began, members and supporters of Women and Revolution, the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth attempted to introduce a resolution barring the class enemy from the platform. Denied the opportunity to present their resolution, the Trotskyists chanted when Josephson began to speak, "No Ruling Class Speakers—Free Abortion on Demand—Bella's Rep Off the Stand!" When the Conference voted the exclusion of the opponents of class collaboration, they walked out, singing the Internationale, The Progressive Labor/University Action Group took no stand on the expulsion or the issue over which it occurred; the International Socialists voted against expulsion, but remained in the meeting.

The issue of male presence arose in the handling of the expulsions, and the reactionary character of the feminist practice of male exclusionism was demonstrated once again. The resolution against bourgeois speakers was rejected for consideration on the excuse that the presence of men in the session did not allow for any decision to be made. But the vote for expulsion of the communists was taken with no qualms about the presence of men: a revealing lesson in the specious nature of feminism—Men can't vote to expel the capitalists, but their help is welcome to expel the communists!

Though much of the debate at the Conference centered around "free abortion on demand" vs. "repeal of all anti-abortion laws," the chief political issue remained that of the class character and orientation of the women's liberation movement. Do we subordinate our struggle, politically and organizationally, to the bourgeoisie—the class enemy—or do we wage an uncompromising struggle for the political independence of the working class, reflected in the independence of its organs of struggle? WONAAC is a useful tool in channeling the struggle for women's liberation onto the dead-end road of impotent, single-issue reformism. The ruling class' Democratic Party garners votes directly from WONAAC's platform through politicians like Bella Abzug. The Democrats must be grateful to WONAAC's leadership (dominated by the Socialist Workers Party) for delivering back into the clutches of bourgeois ideology potentially dangerous militant women.

WONAAC's refusal to fight for free abortion on demand—instead limiting itself strictly to a legislative fight against anti-abortion laws—is the programmatic proof-in-the-pudding of WONAAC's subordination of the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie. The SWPers typically explained that, of course, they really favored free abortion on demand, but opposed WONAAC's taking such a stand. Only two women out of the 1200 attending Saturday night's main plenary session raised their hands to indicate they were opposed to free abortion in response to SWPer Kip

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United Press International

Mao Welcomes Nixon: End of an Illusion

Nixon and Mao— THE NEW ALLIANCE

Once again as in the periods preceding World Wars I and II the imperialist powers are jockeying for advantage and conducting the most frantic diplomatic maneuvers. What is new is the equally frenzied participation of the bureaucracies of the two giant deformed workers states on opposite sides in the quest for alliances and spheres of influence, under circumstances of nuclear armament of nearly all the likely belligerants.

At center stage for the moment, Richard Nixon and Mao Tse-Tung consummate their semi-alliance in a "Long March," complete with Nixon quoting the Red Book and Mao humming "America the Beautiful," which will decisively shape world events in the coming period. The more profound causes of the U. S.-China detente must be sought in the context of global imperialist rivalry, deliberately concealed in the chancelleries of Europe, Moscow and Tokyo as well as in Washington and Peking, but darkly visible nevertheless.

The final evaporation of the rainbow vision of an American Century came with the collapse of the international monetary system and the prostration of the American military system in Indochina. America reverted to the status of one big power—the biggest—among many and therefore needed new alliances of a new type to safeguard its position.

Counterposed to the weakened position of U. S. imperialism is the rise of Soviet power and influence in Asia, Europe and the Near East. In the eight months since the announcement of the Nixon-Mao talks the Soviets have launched a counter-offensive up and down the line: by opening discussions with Brandt of Germany on a non-aggression pact and seeking to settle boundaries in Europe; by supplying the DRV with new weaponry and following Podgorny's visit to Hanoi with a big reception for Vo Duc Tho as the new ambassador to Moscow; by condemning recent U. S. bombings days ahead of the usually prompt Chinese; and finally through spectacular victory as India's patron in the war with Pakistan while the U. S. and the Chinese favored Pakistan, and Yahya Khan served as middleman in the pre-Summit arrangements.

Gromyko's visit to Japan capped off the Russian offensive. The re-emergence of Japan as Asia's industrial and soon-to-be military powerhouse is a major initial cause of the China-U. S. detente. The textile war and battle over tariffs between the U. S. and Japan, as well as Japanese rearmament, has underscored the fact that the U.S.' real competitor in the Pacific is Japan. In his recent interview with Americans visiting China Chou devoted most time to warnings of a rearmed Japan including showings of a number of Japanese military films. The split between Premier Sato and his Defense Minister is over the pace, not the fact, of militarization.

The Soviets may offer a partial return of the Kurile Islands off Japan in exchange for a panoply of benefits including major Japanese capital penetration into Siberia. Japan's powerful industrial base, short of raw materials and facing a de-

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THE LABOR COMMITTEE:

Crackpot Social Democracy

SECOND OF TWO PARTS

Marcus as a Neo-Capitalist Theorist

Despite Marcus' claims to be the only person since Luxemburg to understand Marxian economics, his analysis of post-war capitalism is quite similar to most left-wing neo-capitalist theorists, such as Mandel, Sweezy and Kidron. In The Third Stage of Imperialism, Marcus tells us "The post-war prosperity of the U.S. economy has been most directly based on U.S. investment in the advanced capitalist sectors abroad." In particular, Marcus sees a general post-war boom based on the reconstruction of the European economies which peaked in the 1957-58 recession, after which the world economy entered a period of relative stagnation. This historical-analytical gem was sold to Wohlforth and has become part of the Healyite International Committee's official wisdom. Marcus' theory is outstanding in being just about completely false. There was no post-war boom—particularly in the U.S.—and there was no significant U.S. investment in Europe before 1958.

Despite the impetus of the Korean War, the U.S. annual growth rate in the 1950's was only 3.3%, below its historic norm of 4.0% and well below the annual growth in the 1960's of 4.9%. Of the major capitalist nations only West Germany experienced a significantly higher growth rate in the 1950's than in the 1960's, while the U.S., Japan and France had distinctly higher growth rates in the 1960's than in the 1950's. Before 1958, U.S. investment in Europe was small, totalling only $4 billion in asset holdings. It was only after 1958, with the establishment of the Common Market and return to general currency convertability, that American investment in Europe exploded, reaching $14 billion in assets by 1965. Marcus' theory does not stand up to the most elementary tests of factual accuracy.

Throughout Marcus' writings, great importance is attached to U.S. foreign aid and loans, and to the Marshall Plan in particular. At the height of the Marshall Plan in 1949, U.S. foreign aid was about $5 billion or 2% of U.S. national output. Since then foreign aid and loans have steadily declined both absolutely and relative to national output, today constituting about 1/5 of 1% of national output, State aid and loans could not conceivably have played the great role Marcus attaches to them. Equally significant, Marshall Plan aid peaked at the very time of the first U.S. post-war recession in 1948-49, a fact which is probably not coincidental as we shall see.

Even had the magnitude of U.S. foreign aid and loans been significantly greater, could it have contributed significantly to general world prosperity? A positive answer to that question can be broached from either a Keynesian or a state capitalist, but not from a Marxian standpoint. And in fact, Marcus' analysis of post-war capitalism contains significant elements of both Keynesianism and state capitalism. In "Depression Ahead?" Marcus maintains that since the Roosevelt administration, the U.S. government has pursued a fundamentally changed economic policy, which he summarizes as "credit expansion" (his description of Keynesianism). Marcus' analysis turns out to be a kind of international Keynesianism. If U.S. government expenditure abroad can produce an economic boom, as Marcus claims, then so can domestic government expenditure.

Throughout Marcus' writings, there is a tendency to identify state foreign grants and loans with private investment as a form of capital outflow and a means of absorbing surplus value. Foreign aid and state loans are not a form of "capital," i.e., a vehicle for the extraction of profit through the exploitation of labor. (See the expanded treatment of the nature of state expenditure given in "The Myth of Neo-Capitalism" in RCY Newsletter #10.) The growth of the necessary overhead expenses of the capitalist system actually drives the rate of profit down and is not a source of capitalist boom. Marcus' errors in this area are truly endless. He identifies profitable foreign investment with domestic prosperity. Foreign investment is profitable for the American capitalist class, but it shifts productive resources and employment out of the U.S. Shifting production to the South certainly benefited New England-based textile firms. It did not benefit New England textile workers. This is why the trade unions have always opposed runaway shops and, as part of its nationalist protectionism, the AFL-CIO opposes U.S. industrial investment abroad. Despite the Labor Committee's intense hostility to Third-World Maoism (in part responding to national chauvinism), the Labor Committee's own economic theories reinforce one of the main ideological pillars of Third Worldism—that U.S. imperialism is responsible for the supposed prosperity of the post-war U.S. economy and the relatively higher living standard of American workers.

In dealing with the expansion of "unproductive labor" in the corporate and state bureaucracy, Marcus' analysis is mainstream neo-capitalist analysis, practically identical to that of Sweezy and Baran, Mandel and the New Leftist Martin Nicolaus. Thus "Credit is also piped into wasteful forms of investment connected to the means of production and distribution. The number of government and corporate clerks per productive worker are increased; the number of salesmen per productive worker rises. Large masses of capital flow into redundant sales offices, financial institution establishments, purely redundant 'dealerships,' supermarkets, and so forth, all of which adds not one penny's worth to the real output of production itself" (The Third Stage of Imperialism, p. 31-32). This passage could have been taken right out of Baran and Sweezy's Monopoly Capital. Marcus views the corporate and state bureaucracy and distributive apparatus as deliberate make-work projects and a conscious alternative to both profit-taking and productive investment.

"Unproductive expenditures" are part of the necessary economic and political overhead of the capitalist system. They should be seen not as a means of absorbing surplus value, but as part of the "constant capital" flow expenses. The expansion of such expenses drives down the rate of profit. Capitalists are as concerned with economizing on clerical and distributive workers as they are on factory operatives. Such "unproductive" expenditures may be "redundant" and "wasteful" from the standpoint of a rational economic system (i.e. socialism), but are absolutely essential from the standpoint of capitalism. Marcus' treatment of "unproductive" labor as waste again reflects his technocratic world-view.

Friedman as a Marxian Economist?

Probably the most succinct statement of Marcus' economic analysis is the following: "...imperialism can only survive by resorting to various forms of statism, and we are in a particular period in which U.S. has established hegemony over the world and has enjoyed economic prosperity based on credit expansion" (Conversations with Wohlforth, Sess. 7, p. 2).

This statement is in complete contradiction to the elementary principles of Marxian analysis of money and credit. Prosperity can not be based on statism in the form of credit expansion because the state lacks the power to expand credit. Credit expansion generally accompanies expanded production; it does not cause it.

In the most important dispute over the role of money in his lifetime, Marx opposed the Currency School which maintained that the flow of money was determined by the amount of currency and bank reserves. He generally supported the Banking School, which maintained that the flow of money and credit adjusted to the demands of capitalists through changes in the velocity of circulation. "As long as the state of business is such that returns of loans made are regularly repaid and credit thus remains unshaken, the expansion and contraction of circulation depends simply on the requirements of industrialists and merchants" (Capital, Vol. III, Ch. 33).

The Currency School was based on the quantity theory of money, which held the flow of money expenditure was always proportional to currency and banks. Marx was an anti-quantity theorist, upholding the theory of reflux. The theory of reflux held that bank notes issued in excess of demand would automatically be extinguished through loan repayment. "The quantity of circulating notes is regulated by the requirements of commerce and every superfluous note wanders back to its issuing party" (Capital, Vol. III, Ch. 33). The American Depression demonstrated the validity of Marx's position; in the middle and late Thirties, the banks were swimming in excess reserves with no borrowers. And despite Marcus' insistence that Roosevelt pursued a policy of credit expansion, in 1938 the Federal Reserve raised the reserve ratio so as to achieve greater leverage over bank reserves.

For Marx, the expansion of money and credit results from, but does not cause increasing output. "The final result is that the mass of currency required for the expenditure of revenue increases decidedly in periods of prosperity. As for the currency which is necessary for the transfer of capital for the exclusive use of the capitalists, a period of brisk business is at the same time, a period of the most elastic and easy credit" (Capital, Vol. III, Ch. 28).

The quantity theory of money has always played an important ideological role in bourgeois economics. If the flow of money expenditures is automatically proportional to the amount of currency and bank reserves, the traditional bourgeois state has considerable control over the economy. The major opposition to Keynesianism within bourgeois economics comes from quantity money theorists headed by Milton Freidman. Freidman argues that if only the Federal Reserve would allow a constant increase in the stock of money, steady growth and full employment would follow and no other government "intervention" is nec-

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REPORT:
RCY Holds Educational Weekend

The Revolutionary Communist Youth held an educational weekend February 19-21 in Boston. Despite a heavy snowstorm on the first day, over 80 people attended the conference. The educational drew in people from as far away as Washington, D. C. and Pittsburgh. The RCY raised almost $300 at the conference, which it will use to expand production of pamphlets and the RCY Newsletter.

Joseph Seymour, RCY National Chairman, and George Foster, political chairman of the Boston Spartacist League, made a joint presentation opening the conference on the current world economic crisis, the tasks facing the American labor movement, the heightening of imperialist rivalry and the drift toward World War III abetted by the treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracies. Comrade Seymour also analyzed the various theories of neo-capitalism, products of left-wing capitulation to bourgeois ideology in the period of apparent stabilization of capitalism especially in the U. S. following World War II and the subsequent "cleansing" of the left from the labor movement. Laura Sawyer, assistant editor of the RCY Newsletter, discussed non-class forms of oppression, centering on the racial and sexual oppression in capitalist society. Divisions along racial and sexual lines divide and weaken the working class, which faces a united bourgeoisie. We strive for the unity of the class, by developing a transitional program which attacks the special oppression of women, blacks and all oppressed minorities, linking this struggle to the class struggle against capitalism, and by fighting to overcome the false consciousness which penetrates the more backward sections of the class.

Helen Cantor, RCY National Secretary, spoke on the role of youth in the revolutionary movement. The RCY rejects absolutely all theories of "youth vanguardism" (propounded in the U. S. by the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance and now emulated by the Workers League) which represent a capitulation to petty-bourgeois illusions. "Youth" in itself is neither revolutionary nor a class, and cannot substitute for the revolutionary vanguard party. We seek to break the best elements of the radical student movement from their class background and future expectations and develop them into professional communists, through a process of education and struggle. As the youth section of the Spartacist League, the RCY also participates in communist activity in the organizations of the working class. The dedication and sacrifice shown by RCYers in this struggle fit Lenin's characterization of the younger generation as "the future of our movement." Workshops following the presentations generated lively discussion on all aspects of the Transitional Program and its application in action.

The final day of the conference was devoted to discussion of the struggle for the Fourth International. Liz Gordon, National Secretary of the Spartacist League, analyzed the history of the Fourth International from its inception, dealing with the more controversial aspects of the struggle against revisionism and Pabloism within the Fourth International, particularly the role of the SWP. She noted that Cannon began the fight against Pabloism only when its perspective of organizational liquidationism became evident within the SWP in the Cochran-Clarke faction in the early 1950's. The murder of Trotsky and the Shachtman split which stripped the party of much of its theoretical talent, together with the terrible setbacks of the Cold War period, all facilitated the SWP's later capitulation to Pabloism. The current shattered and chaotic state of those groupings claiming to represent the Fourth International makes all the more imperative the necessity to struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International and to resolve what Trotsky characterized as the crisis of leadership of the world proletariat.

The conference ended with the singing of the Internationale. The Boston RCY met that evening with young people attending the conference who wanted to know more about the RCY. The educational value of the weekend, not only for people just becoming committed to revolutionary politics, but for the RCY comrades themselves was tremendous. The understanding of the burning questions facing the revolutionary movement which the young comrades will take into struggle with them will prove invaluable to our movement. ■

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BOSTON WONAAC CONFERENCE

Dawson's theatrical query to the body. "But the masses aren't ready for it yet...." Sound familiar? This patronizing, hypocritical, tail-ending opportunism reveals the SWP's cynicism toward the working class, male and female, as the agent of revolution, and its abandonment of responsibility to intervene in the working class to fight for revolutionary consciousness. How is it that all of a group like WONAAC can "personally" recognize the need for free abortion, but not "the masses"? If "the masses" are so backward, surely it's WONAAC's job to energetically raise the demand for free abortion and explain its necessity from the standpoint of the interests of all the oppressed. What is really behind the SWP's adamant insistence on not demanding free abortion is its desire to remain "respectable" in the eyes of the defenders of private property—the bourgeoisie and its politicians.

On the key issue — class collaboration—Progressive Labor was silent. PL has jettisoned the crude but genuine working-class impulse which led them, with the Spartacist League, to oppose the presence of the SWP's favorite bourgeois politician Vance Hartke at the July NPAC gathering in New York. At the WONAAC Conference they never called for a break with capitalist politics. Instead of seeing that the fight against sexual and racial special oppression requires a complete program for working-class struggle, PL/UAG could only inveigh more stridently than their opponents against the evils of racism and sexual oppression. Their only propaganda point was that WONAAC emphasizes its legalized abortion slogan above the slogan of No Forced Sterilization. The significance for political clarification of their proposal for greater stress on "No Forced Sterilization" is indicated by the fact that the proposal passed virtually unopposed. Nor did PL argue against male exclusion, a practice they have in the past opposed. PL has never abandoned its position on the family as a "fighting unit for socialism," but in its lurch to the "non-sectarian" right has buried this position to get closer to the feminists who hate Marxism but hate the family too.

In the greatest show of deceit, however, the IS occupied center stage. More sophisticated than the muddled PL/UAG, the IS forces nevertheless stumbled all over themselves in their anti-class-collaborationist pose. In IS' Free Abortion on Demand (FAOD) Caucus and on the Conference floor, the IS voted against a Women and Revolution proposal demanding exclusion of bourgeois politicians and repudiation of the Friday expulsion of communists. They equivocated on the issue of the class enemy's presence, in their own resolution, which would have permitted participation by bourgeois representatives if they or their parties favored free abortion. The leaflet of invitation to the FOAD Caucus stated that WONAAC should "not give support to Democratic and Republican Party politicians or put them forward as spokeswomen," carefully skirting the issue of "participation" in WONAAC by capitalist politicians to hustle votes.

Women's oppression, like other forms of special oppression, affects women of all classes (although working-class women worst). But the solution to the special oppression of women requires proletarian revolution. The widespread confusion over the need for a class-struggle approach to all social oppression has made the women's liberation movement even easier hustling territory for bourgeois politicians than the anti-war movement has been. For that reason self-proclaimed socialists in the movement have a special responsibility at every juncture to draw an uncompromising class line. PL and IS have collapsed entirely in this revolutionary duty, giving left cover to the SWP's successful efforts to deliver the women's movement up body and soul to the class whose existence precludes any real progress, any secure gains in the struggle against special oppression. ■

For an overview of the relationship between women's oppression and capitalist society, see the article "Toward Women's Liberation" in Spartacist #17-18 (25¢). The publication Women and Revolution is available at 50¢ for six issues.

SMC CONFERENCE :

Junior Pop Front

As WV went to press on the weekend of February 25-27, the SMC held its Conference in New York. Like the pop front NPAC of which it is a part, the SMC demonstrated again the grim determination of the SWP/YSA to maintain their alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie at any cost. The Workers League (WL), International Socialists (IS) and the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) again vied with each other in eagerness to cover for the SWP's betrayals. Of all organized tendencies present, only the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, presented a consistent principled opposition to the class collaborationism of the SWP-dominated antiwar movement. (All other organizations directed motions for SMC to carry out. We say destroy SMC!)

True, the liberal bourgeoisie themselves did not consider this conference worth attending. But, anxious to harness students to their electoral chariot, they dispatched their agents—Youth for McGovern, Youth for Muskie, Youth for Lindsay—to the conference, to pick up recruits and votes. Every one of these bourgeois organizations was given a position on the presiding committee. The NCLC, which had successfully won a place on the committee made a show of removing its representative in order to put on a left face. Yet in a leaflet they labeled as "hooliganism" and defended the expulsions of the Spartacist League and Progressive Labor for their attempt to shout down Hartke last July. The NCLC wanted SMC without the overt presence of the bourgeoisie, while touting SMC, NPAC, PCPJ, and the CP's TUAD as instruments of mass struggle. But even the NCLC's contradictory opposition to class collaboration was superior, if non-Leninist, to the WL's position of loyal opposition in the pop front—the WL conspicuously abstained on the crucial SL/RCY motion, presented at the plenary, to exclude the bourgeoisie—the first time a vote on this question was permitted at SMC/NPAC. The SWP/YSA forces, of course, voted not to exclude the bourgeois reps. Throughout the conference, however, the WL furiously denounced the SWP's acquiescence at the recent Versailles anti-war conference in the exclusion by the Stalinists of the SWP's own comrades of the French section of the United Secretariat. The WL's frenzied attack on this exclusionism did not prevent them from physically excluding the SL/RCY from their supposedly-public workshop. Reminiscent of Shachtmanism, the WL continuously justified their solidarity with the "Trotskyist" sponsors of the bourgeoisie by furiously denouncing "Stalinism" as the arch-enemy of mankind. The WL denounced the rottenness of the SWP while offering support to the SWP election compaign in spite of its program.

Despite the SWP's bureaucratic restrictions on political discussion, the SL/RCY won a significant victory at the labor workshop with the adoption of its motion to exclude a representative of Youth for McGovern. The YSA then made abundantly clear its role as chaperone for the bourgeoisie; the YSA alone spoke against the SL/RCY motions and it alone organized a walkout from the labor workshop. (Later in the Conference, SWP'er Debby Bustin defended their not walking out of the Versailles conference on the grounds of maintaining a popular front—that "you have to stay inside and argue for your politics"!)

A triumphant American working class will deal decisively with the liberal imperialists and their sponsors in the workers' and radical movement. That day will be hastened by the exclusion of the bourgeoisie in order to open up the full airing of political disputes within the working-class movement which alone can defeat revisionism. No wonder the SWP/YSA and the WL invite the bourgeoisie and stifle discussion from the left!

* * *

Three leaflets issued by the SL/RCY at the Conference, "The War, the Class and the Liberals," "Protest Workers League Hypocrisy: For Workers Democracy!" and "On Fools and Charlatans: The Class Nature of 'Non-Exclusionism'" may be ordered through Workers Vanguard.

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Nixon and Mao—THE NEW

pressed economy, is aggressively seeking markets. If a Moscow-Tokyo accord is reached it will tend to both stalemate and consolidate the U. S. - Chinese detente.

The Chinese have now developed a missile with a delivery radius of 2,500 miles, capable of reaching Moscow. In the short run this development tends to heighten Chinese fears of a possible Russian "preventive" bombing, thus driving China into U. S. arms in proportion to Sino-Soviet antagonism. The U. S. least of all wants to see a single power dominate Eurasia. Russian support to India in the Sino-Indian border war which took place in a wasteland peopled by a non-Chinese and non-Indian national minority as well as the Sino-Soviet armed clashes over a few islands in the Ussuri River indicate the real possibility of such a war between the two states.

The Laird military budget of $83 billion has been justified on the basis of "further erosion of strategic balance with the U.S.S.R." The Soviets presently lead in land-based missiles and are increasing their missile-submarine force. The most intense area of competition is in naval armaments and maneuvers in the open sea (particularly in the Mediterranean) with a heavy emphasis on competition for refueling ports.

The U.S. is actually through a "margin of superiority" preparing for a possible future rapprochement between Russia and China. There can be no "security" for a workers state in an alliance with imperialism. We demand instead an international bloc along class lines. A united front in support of the Indochinese revolution would have tipped the balance long ago.

The "Third Campist" International Socialists, refusing to call for a united front of the deformed workers states against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam explains U. S. reluctance to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam as a result of the pop-front amorphous anti-war movement in the U. S.:

> "Only a wholesale escalation of the war, including the use of tactical nuclear weapons, could conceivably bring an end to the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination — and this approach has been precluded by the strength of the American anti-war movement."
>
> —Workers Power, 18 February-2 March 1972

The IS is living on pacifist, classless illusions. The U. S. may yet use nuclear weapons in Vietnam. It is held back precisely by its fears of reuniting nuclear-armed Russia and China and the possibility that war will then be inevitable and its outcome unclear. The IS' horror at the acquisition of nuclear bombs by the deformed workers states makes them incapable of even seeing reality. Regarding the present anti-war movement, the ruling class is relying on it to channel anti-war sentiment into its hip pocket.

The real danger to the Vietnamese social revolution is the traitorous policies of the various Stalinist leaderships which may once again capitulate in the face of imperialist pressure.

Quid Pro Quo?

The U.S. has just granted the People's Republic of China the same trade status as the Soviet Union while leaving North Vietnam, Korea and Cuba in the category of "least favored nations." The unilateral opening of trade channels by the U. S. raises the question of what China will offer in return. U.S.-Chinese trade is bound to be limited due to the low productivity of Chinese industry. The Nixon-Malraux discussion indicates that Nixon will offer long-term loan credits as the next step.

The problem of accumulating a significant surplus in the agricultural sector to deepen its industrial base has plagued China throughout the Sixties and is a major cause of the intense struggles of the Cultural Revolution. The import of grain in the wake of the Great Leap Forward, the natural disasters during the early part of the decade and the economic disruption during the Cultural Revolution indicate that even the marginal stability of the bureaucracy hangs on its ability to break out of the vicious circle caused by an insufficient surplus.

It is an axiom from which the Chinese cannot escape that the influence of the world market is bound to take its toll on workers states, exacerbating their deformities and generating capitalist restorationist tendencies—if the revolution is not extended in time to the more productive states whose prices dominate world trade. The Chinese theory of "self-reliance" is not only utopian but reactionary in that it strives to drive the productive forces back into the national boundaries.

Collaboration for Clique's Survival

Chinese foreign policy has gone through a number of phases but reflects an underlying unity. In 1963, at the height of the Sino-Soviet polemics, the Chinese reiterated their conception of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." These included the infamous "non-interference in each other's internal affairs" clause which the Chinese have asserted since the foundation of the People's Republic in 1949.

The concept of "non-interference in each other's internal affairs" was proclaimed by the Chinese as Leninist but was in fact introduced by Stalin in the Thirties. Lenin and Trotsky never uttered so cynical and hypocritical a conception as the basis for the foreign policy of a workers state; they recognized tactical limitations imposed by imperialist strength, but they never bartered away Communist Parties for this "principle."

The tactic of coexistence was invoked under conditions of extreme emergency at Brest-Litovsk. Trotsky himself, on instructions from the Central Committee, headed the delegation to Brest-Litovsk. Trotsky used the platform to talk over the heads of the German officials to the troops in the trenches over all Europe to turn their guns against their own rulers. International class unity of the proletariat held absolute primacy for the Bolsheviks. The final treaty was a compromise and a retreat. The Bolsheviks never painted it up as a victory or a great step toward socialism and, most important, continued to orient the European Communists to making the revolution. In contrast Stalin and Mao willfully subordinated the class struggle for temporary diplomatic advantage. Their policy of "non-interference" is much more than the observation of certain restrictions in state relations necessary for any workers state surrounded by capitalist states; they extend non-interference on the diplomatic and military level to the stifling of struggle by the Communist Parties under their influence abroad, thereby transforming a temporarily necessary policy of restraint into a policy of betrayal.

When it is a question of a workers party oriented to another deformed workers state the Chinese, like their Soviet counterparts, will betray without so much as the blink of an eye. The Sudanese workers led by a pro-Soviet Communist Party staged an adventurous coup last summer in the Sudan. Crossing class lines in order to edge out Soviet influence, the Chinese supported Numeiry's rightist counter-coup which resulted in the smashing of the CP and the trade unions. On the fundamental "principles" of foreign policy, Mao and Stalin are like "lips and teeth."

The early phase of Chinese foreign policy embraced the 1954 Geneva sellout to which they and the Russians were signatories. U.S. hostility toward China, particularly manifest in the Korean War, pushed them toward closer relations with the Soviet Union during the middle Fifties. It was Chou En-Lai who urged Soviet military action to smash the Hungarian Workers' Councils in 1956, reflecting the bureaucracies' dread of the revolutionary proletariat.

The brutal Soviet withdrawal of aid spurred a new "leftist" period of Chinese foreign policy isolated from the deformed workers states as well as the capitalists. Instead of looking toward and assisting proletarian revolution in the West, despite Lenin's designation of the era as the "eve of proletarian revolution," the Chinese universalized the strategy of the Chinese revolution and called for "self-reliance" and "people's war." The failure of Maoist parties to achieve success anywhere on the globe and the internal pressures brought about by Mao's utopian attempt to build "socialism in one country's consciousness" forced a disoriented bureaucracy to hastily abandon the left turn for a sharp tactical right turn, just as the failure in Germany of the "leftist" tactics of Stalin's Third Period in the early Thirties led to the rightist popular front tactic of the middle Thirties. Left utopian adventurism breeds right pragmatic capitulationism. The underlying unity behind the vacillations of Maoist policy has its roots in the maneuverings of a Bonapartist clique standing between imperialism and the international proletariat and fearful of both.

The "non-interference" clause has proved most useful to Mao in the current right turn. It was used to condemn the Indian army's actions in Bangladesh against China's ally Pakistan (although China shelves the principle when Pakistan meddles in Kashmir). The Russian position is exactly the reverse, since its ally is India. Both opportunist leaderships are silent on the plight of the Biharis in Bangladesh, the "Palestinians of the subcontinent," who are not permitted to return to Bihar in India or to West Pakistan and who face massacre at the hands of Bengali nationalism. The regimes in Peking and Moscow both noisily endorse Bandaranaike's suppression in Ceylon of the Guevarist-type insurrection in the countryside. In this unholy alliance they are joined by Pakistan and India, Britain, France and the United States. The Chinese only exceed the others in that their supportive aid ($30 million) is refurbished with diplomatic support in the form of Chou's assertions that the rebellion was all a CIA plot. These Chinese betrayals, more egregious but qualitatively identical to previous practice, have paved the way for the Nixon visit.

New Red Book—Preface by Nixon

The bureaucracy evolves its own methods to effect tactical turns. These methods include, above all, maneuvering, purges, cult worship and ultimately a secret police. The narrow identification of Leaders with one or another temporary policy while the Supreme Arbiter (Stalin or Mao) stands "beyond and above" policy and error creates enormous instability. It is both an index of the regime's inflexibility in structure and its considerable "freedom" of action in making various moves. Without this understanding Mao appears more and more to the disillusioned "cultural revolutionist" as a dissident Maoist.

The present ascendancy of Chou En-Lai and the eclipse of Lin Piao and Chen Po-Ta indicate not a restoration of capitalism (so easily restored according to the Maoist schema), or a betrayal of the Cultural Revolution, but rather its logical extension and continuation—as Mao will be the first to tell you.

The super-secret purge of Lin Piao and numerous top military leaders speaks reams about the undemocratic essence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — an event neither great, nor proletarian, nor cultural, nor revolutionary. All the manufactured and manifestly one-sided denunciations of Liu Shao-Chi which were counted as evidence of mass democratic discussion are thrown by the boards in the simple fact that Lin Piao's preface to the Red Book has been removed in the new English language editions for export while the domestic Chinese production continues unabated for an unknowing but suspicious mass.

It is hardly coincidental that the two heir-apparents to Mao have been purged at the height of their power. The Ninth Party Congress of April 1969 included in the new Chinese Constitution the official designation of Lin Piao as the new heir-apparent. This outrageous repudiation of workers democracy exceeds even the semi-feudal practice of the Catholic Church. The Pope may appoint the College of Cardinals which will in turn select the next Pope—but he cannot select his successor outright. Once succession is formalized in this way the impulses toward corridor intrigue reminiscent of Byzantium become irresistable. Lin Piao is gone. We await only his confession.

Cultural Counterrevolution

The Nixon visit has already had other repercussions on the cultural front. Bereft of principle,

ALLIANCE

Mao

Chou

. . . and Lin
—When Comes the Confession?

"The Maoist "Cultural Revolution" was a litmus test for Trotskyists. Only our tendency pointed out at the time the essential character of the "Cultural Revolution"—an intra-bureaucracy fight and purge of the Chinese CP. With the further development of open armed border clashes between the Soviet Union and China, the need of the workers to overthrow the narrow, nationalist bureaucracies has become even more imperative and obvious as the only way to create communist unity against imperialism.

"At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoists to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the U.S.S.R.'s avowed policy of "peaceful coexistence" while themselves peacefully coexisting with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with China. Should the imperialists adjust their policies in terms of their long-run interests (which would take time, as such factors as U.S. public opinion would have to be readjusted), the Chinese would be as willing as the Russians are at present to build "Socialism in One Country" through deals with imperialism at the expense of internationalism."

—"Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League," Marxist Bulletin #9, Part II, p. 12, 30 August 1969

Two and a half years ago, while Maoist rhetoric was at its "radical" zenith and China appeared to stand alone against imperialism and "modern revisionism," the Spartacist League predicted the possibility of a U.S.-China bloc. Our analysis, based on profound class currents operating in the epoch of the decay of imperialism and its Stalinist and Maoist derivatives, has been fully vindicated.

creativity and imagination, the bureaucrats turn the accumulated cultural wealth of mankind on and off like so much political lubrication. During February Chinese bookstores issued a dozen or so titles banned in the Cultural Revolution. These works include the great bourgeois philosophers of the French Revolution Montesquieu and Rousseau; the giant of European transcendental idealism of the rationalist school Kant; and the predecessors of Marx and founders of scientific political economy Adam Smith and Ricardo (the latter developed the labor theory of value); and finally, the arch-apologist of ancient slavery Thucydides who incidentally wrote the first scientific history on record. His major work provides us with the only written record corroborating Engels' thesis based on anthropological studies that the development of a material surplus was the prerequisite of a durable division of society into classes. The new list of published titles notably excludes Russian authors indicating a cynical and arbitrary policy of the Chinese Stalinists toward culture.

Maoist Apologias

Wilfred Burchett, writing for the Guardian, summed up the apologist's-eye view quite neatly:

> "What China has to gain is clear. It is a crowning triumph of the new, outward-looking phase of Chinese foreign policy. Entry into the UN by a thumping majority and a tribute-paying visit by the President of the superpower of the West —both within less than six months! Very good. Very good, Chairman Mao may murmur with considerable justification."
>
> —16 February 1972

Burchett has things upside down. China's entry into that Den of Thieves at this particular time is more a consequence of the rapprochement with the U.S. than its cause. The nature of the U.S. "defeat" in the UN on the China question is revealed when we note that eleven of the fourteen NATO nations either voted for admission or abstained. These robbers were alert to Nixon's tactic of double diplomacy whereby he sought to outflank Europe. In the context of China's "new, outward-looking" diplomacy (one would think an "outward" policy would seem more threatening to imperialism) the Europeans rushed to China's side like Penelope's suitors upon Ulysses' departure. It was imperialist competition and Chinese collaboration rather than acknowledgement of Chinese strength that loomed largest among the motives for acceptance of China into the UN. China's sudden silence on the nature of that august body contrasts sharply with Mao's praise for the late Bung Karno (Sukarno of Indonesia) when he exited from "the U.S. controlled United Nations" (Mao to PKI, May 23, 1965). It is hardly accurate to conclude from all this, as does for example the Georgia Communist League that Nixon is crawling to Peking on his hands and knees.

Indochina Must Go Communist

The Nixon-Mao meeting, contemplated early in the Nixon administration, is a major gambit along with the eight-point peace plan to prolong the Vietnam war and obtain a settlement favorable to U.S. imperialism. The brazen step-up of the bombing on the eve of the journey to the proportions of the most intense phases of the war is further evidence of Nixon's intent.

Nixon has used the Summit to defuse anti-war sentiment at home in a movement tied to reliance on bourgeois politicians as a result of SWP-CP anti-war strategy. He has bought time to experiment with his tactic of mass bombings plus Vietnamization. Thus Mao in return for precious little has handed Nixon a weapon he could not have obtained even in Moscow. Even if "nothing substantial" derives from the talks Nixon's gains have been formidable. Nevertheless the talks do open up the possibility, despite claims that a "settlement" can only come in Paris, of a new Geneva with all the principals re-enacting their traitorous roles.

The contradictory interests of Stalinism (inherently nationalistic) do not make this a foregone conclusion. Just as Mao broke from Stalin's recommendation to give up his guns and enter a coalition with Chiang when the very existence of Mao and the Eighth Route Army were at stake, so too the Vietnamese (who are not subordinate to Moscow or Peking as the European parties of the old Third International were to Stalin at the end of World War II) may belatedly resist a settlement which will bring about their own destruction. Short of their own physical destruction (and often seeming to court it) these parties are always open to new betrayals.

The recent plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government does not tie a settlement in Vietnam to a settlement within the entire war theater of the Indochinese peninsula. Just as the original decision to stop bombing, tied in with the Paris talks, only freed U.S. bombers for Laotian and Cambodian missions (including the Cambodian invasion during that period) so too an end to the fighting in Vietnam constitutes a betrayal of the other Indochinese peoples and guarantees that the U.S. will renew hostilities in Vietnam itself. The North Vietnamese, it should be remembered, initially opposed the formation of the NLF in the late Fifties.

The recent insistence that only "Thieu must go" is a far greater threat to the Vietnamese revolution than episodic U.S. military victories. The Thieu-led apparatus consisting of the secret police, the army and the bureaucracy would remain intact with, of course, the comprador national bourgeois class upon which it rests. Victory to the Vietnamese revolution can only be accomplished if the social revolution is carried through to the end. It is therefore necessary to raise the call for a workers and peasants government, halt the subordination of military tactics to the timetable of U.S. "withdrawal," cease dampening the class struggle in the cities in order to seduce the compradores, and above all prepare to smash the reactionary state apparatus in the context of all U.S. troops out of Southeast Asia.

This program cannot be carried out by the NLF. Under the best of circumstances and the strongest of pressures, the best that such a Stalinist leadership on a peasant base can achieve are the real but reversible gains of a deformed workers state on the North Vietnamese model. The defeat of the class enemy in Indochina and the exposure of the Stalinist formulas for revolution provide a step toward proletarian rule if a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard emerges in Indochina to lead the political revolution.

PL, which sees a "Nixon-Mao Viet Swindle" and Vietnamese collaboration, has unfortunately completely lost sight of the class line in Vietnam. They state:

> "So, at this point, the only difference between the Nixon crew and the liberal crew headed up by McGovern and Ted Kennedy is which set of national leaders in Vietnam do they want to see in power. Nixon and Co. feel U.S. profit interests would be more secure with Thieu and Ky—possibly with a few "left wingers" thrown in. The liberals feel that north Vietnam sellout artists would serve U.S. interests just fine. They reason that U.S. investments would grow even greater in that area if the north Vietnamese controlled the government of all Vietnam. And they have lots of evidence to go on. China is doing business with the U.S. The Soviets are doing business with the U.S. So why not the Vietnamese?
>
> —Challenge, 17 February 1972

The qualitative difference between an NLF victory and a Thieu-Ky victory is as profound for Vietnam as the difference between a Mao victory and a Chiang victory for China in 1949. Either rightist terror and continued imperialist domination or a social revolution albeit deformed—which among other things establishes a monoply of foreign trade.

PL's confusion over the class nature of the Chinese state ("red capitalism") is now reflected in confusion over the class nature of the Vietnamese state and is compounded in confusion on the nature of imperialism. "Doing business" with imperialism is an inevitably necessary measure in the period before the worldwide victory of socialism. Even limited acceptance of investment funds if subordinated to social plan and regulated strictly by the state foreign trade monoply can be advantageous to a workers state. What PL has done is to confuse with the necessity of trading on the world market the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracies that barter away foreign revolutions and the gains of their "own" workers and peasants for deals with imperialism and the advantages for their own bureaucracies. These deformed workers states generate forces for the restoration of capitalism and in this sense are taking "the capitalist road rather than the socialist road." They are not therefore capitalist even though the bureaucrats carry a species of bourgeois ideology—Menshevism—in their heads. These regimes politically disfranchise the masses and betray the international proletariat. They must be overthrown by political revolution.

The fate of world socialism—not only of the Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions which Stalinism has placed in profound jeopardy—hinges on the ability in the not distant future of the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard to rebuild an international party (the Fourth International) capable of leading the world's workers to power. The Nixon-Mao Summit indicates the time may be shorter than one might think. ■

Continued from Page 2

Crackpot Social Democracy

essary. Marcus' positions are not only contrary to everything Marx wrote on the subject of money, but are allied to the most reactionary currents in bourgeois economics.

The Mysteries of Money and Credit

Marcus observes that in periods of economic contraction, firms have difficulties in repaying their debt, and then concludes that the cause of the crisis is increasing debt service and bank credit policy. That falling output and sales should cause difficulty in repaying commercial and bank loans is a necessary result of having a credit economy. It is only one of many manifestations of falling production. A more important manifestation is inability to meet the existing payroll, leading to layoffs and a shortened work week. During the Depression, most major American corporations — G.M., U.S. Steel, Ford — did not go bankrupt, but maintained liquidity by laying off most of their labor force.

Seeing the cause of business contraction in the greed of bankers, Marcus seems to believe that banks could pursue very different credit policies. He appears not to realize — partly because of his adherence to the quantity theory — that the banks are themselves capitalist enterprises, whose pricing (interest) and sales (credit) policies are governed by the law of equal return to capital in all fields of activity. Banks can no more charge lower interest rates and pursue lax credit policies if this would drive their rate of profit below normal, than a manufacturing firm can lower its prices or allow more liberal commercial credit if it would mean an unsatisfactory rate of profit.

Debt service is not a drain from productive investment, although it may appear as such to a corporate manager or bankrupt petty bourgeois. Depending on the rate of profit, bank interest income will be re-invested as will any other form of surplus value. Interest is simply one of the forms of surplus value. And the concentration of surplus value in financial institutions (banks, insurance companies, mutual funds, etc.) is by no means a negative development in capitalism. As Lenin observed, channeling most investment through the banking system provides a rational and flexible means of expanding production along different lines. One of the reasons for the relative superiority of American capitalism is its highly developed financial institutions, while European, particularly French, capitalism remains burdened by the ancient family firm.

Marcus' tendency to view depressions from the standpoint of the bankers inflicting suffering on the "productive" capitalists, his exempting banks from the laws of the market and his counterposing of interest to corporate profits reflect a classic populist conception of capitalism. The Labor Committee's unsuccessful campaign to ingratiate itself with the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League is more than simple opportunist appetites. The Labor Committee's theories are very much in accord with an anti-monopoly, anti-finance capital coalition.

The Prophet Disarmed

Marcus' claims of revolutionary leadership rest strongly on his contention that he uniquely can make accurate economic predictions. Bolstered only by academic idealism and egoism, Marcus' pretensions as economic seer collapse under scrutiny. His predictions can be grouped in three types—specific verifiable assertions that are generally wrong; predictions of developments probable in the long term which Marcus claims are imminent; and vague, usually apocalyptic generalities that are little more than meaningless truisms.

In 1961 Marcus wrote a major economic article for the International Socialist Review entitled "Depression Ahead?" The title can be interpreted in two ways. If it means that there will be a depression sometime in the future, it is simply a truism. A more likely interpretation was that Marcus was predicting a depression within the next few years. Since 1962-65 was the greatest capital investment boom in American history, the analysis implied in the title was either false or meaningless. In the article, Marcus made the flat prediction, "During the next two years Kennedy will put the U.S. economy more and more on a war-economy footing, with corresponding political and economic forms of regimentation" (ISR, Winter 1961, p. 31). In actuality, Kennedy instituted a moderate disarmament; the military budget declined 3% in real terms from 1961 to 1965.

The Labor Committee loudly boasts that it alone predicted Nixon's wage-price controls. The assertion is simply untrue. Since the winter of 1970, the Spartacist League has warned of the real danger of state wage control. Before that, the danger was not imminent. Marcus, however, has predicted that state wage control lay just around the corner every day for the past ten years. In "Depression Ahead?" Marcus asserted that Kennedy would impose a far stronger form of state economic control than Nixon actually has.

> "The only and obvious 'answer' to this problem is direct government control of the economy, in the form of price controls, wage controls, material controls and selective credit controls.... The result will follow along the lines of German economist Hjalmar Schacht's economic reorganization of the Nazi pre-war economy. That is not to suggest that Kennedy is going to introduce fascism; merely to imitate many of the economic control procedures forced upon the pre-war Nazi economy."
>
> —"Depression Ahead?" p. 20

The Labor Committee is equally pleased with their prediction of the international monetary crisis and dollar devaluation. In 1958, one of the leading bourgeois authorities on international finance, Robert Triffen, wrote the highly influential Gold and the Dollar Crisis. Triffen maintained that the existing international monetary system was inherently unstable and would have to be radically changed through either devaluation of the dollar or demonetization of gold. Since the late 1950's, every major bourgeois economist agreed that the gold exchange standard as developed at Bretton Woods in 1945 was not long for this world. Everybody knew that there would be some kind of world monetary crisis at some time. Any serious analysis of the international monetary system must establish what will happen when and what its effects will be. Marcus predicted the imminent devaluation of the dollar—in 1961!

Another Marcus "prediction" is the vague, apocalyptic "socialism or fascism," "war or major social crisis" that is worthless as a piece of analysis. A typical Marcus statement of this type is found in "Depression Ahead?" "On the American scene, Kennedy's New Frontier will inevitably lead to either war or social crisis; it is extremely probable that that decision will be faced within the next ten years."

Just what is the "crisis" which Marcus, with Wohlforth, is constantly predicting? In the 1965 Spartacist-ACFI talks Marcus offered this gem of a definition:

> "The capitalist manager must try to solve the basic problem by confronting the working class and reducing wages. This is what we mean by economic crisis."
>
> —Conversations With Wohlforth, session 7

With such a definition, anyone can predict "crisis" most of the time and be correct! Marcus and Wohlforth have stripped the term "crisis" of objective meaning, save the truism that capitalism is not a stable system. But every change, shift, or attempt by the capitalists to reduce wages does not herald the system's collapse. If the term "crisis" applies to the normal tensions and adjustments of an unstable and irrational social order (war, disarmament, inflation, tax increases, unemployment, etc., etc.) how will Marcus and Wohlforth describe a third major inter-imperialist war, or a major depression? Will that be "Armageddon"?

Even if the Marcus definition of "crisis" were not a fatuous tautology, and even if his predictions were concrete and verified (instead of the "Heads I win, tails you lose," sometime-probably-in-the-next-ten-years pattern) he would still be guilty of overestimating the significance of predictions for the revolutionary movement. Accurate, specific predictions are important, but they do not accomplish the primary tasks of winning the proletariat to a revolutionary perspective and resisting the immense pressure toward the infinite varieties of opportunism. Lenin did not anticipate the moment of the outbreak of World War I nor the Second International's turn toward social chauvinism. He reacted far more resolutely and effectively to these events, however, than many like Luxemburg who had anticipated them. A prediction of social crisis—even if accurate—does not enable a party to short-cut the process of party building, because the crisis itself offers no such short-cut. In France in May of 1968, nothing any of the existing "Trotskyist" groups could have done might directly have brought off a revolution. A correct policy could have produced a left split in the ranks of the Communist Party, however, and gained for Trotskyism a mass base. The Bolsheviks could utilize and direct the revolutionary mood among the workers in 1917 only because they were an established mass party of the class. That is why Lenin said that to understand the success of 1917 it was necessary to understand the entire history of the Bolsheviks since 1903.

If a social crisis occurs when the revolutionary movement is too weak to lead the masses, the bourgeoisie will be victorious. Trotsky's specific and correct predictions of German fascism enhanced his authority among a small number of radicals and advanced workers, but he could not create a coherent body of mass opposition to the suicidal policies of the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties. And fascism was victorious. Trotsky did not want the Cassandra role in Germany, China, or Spain. He always stressed that a sophisticated analysis was no substitute for the hard job of intervening in the mass organizations of the working class on the basis of a revolutionary program. Predictions not backed up by such a policy are ruinous dilletantism, sterile academicism. ■

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ILWU STRIKE SETTLEMENT:

...WORKERS DIVIDED

shippers and the union leaders differed only over the technical aspects of the contract's implementation. In particular, Bridges demanded that the shippers put up a $5.5 million fund to pay for the wage guarantee, rather than pay for the guarantee directly from the container tax, which Bridges wanted to use on other fringe benefits. The union also wanted wage increases to be retroactive to last November 15. In the long run these expensive demands are quite cheap since they will allow the shippers to automate the longshoremen out of existence. The employers realized this; they gave in somewhat on the issues of retroactivity and fringe benefits to settle the contract.

Similarly Gleason has acceded to the capitalist demands for elimination of thousands of jobs in exchange for payments into the union welfare and retirement fund. The three major ILA locals in Manhattan, traditionally the center of ILA strength, will soon have fewer than 1,000 regular jobs for 2,500 men. Under the new contract these men cannot simply collect their guaranteed wages—they must travel to other ports in Brooklyn or New Jersey seeking work, or they can settle for early retirement. Thus Gleason has simultaneously undermined the Guaranteed Wage and given away thousands of jobs.

The Merger Maneuver

In order to consummate his deal, and avoid a real mobilization of the working class, Bridges has staged a search for unity—his sort of unity. He has sought merger with other unions as a substitute for a struggle, to strengthen the bureaucracy, and weaken the workers. As an isolated bureaucracy, Bridges & Co. seek the thicker walls of a larger bureaucratic apparatus to insulate themselves even more completely from the ranks. At first Bridges approached the gangster-ridden ILA bureaucracy—the same one which the ILWU fought in the founding days of the 1930's and from which it split in 1936. Such "unity" with Gleason's gang would hardly scare Nixon & Co. but might have made a good show for the ILWU members. In any event, the ILWU workers were repelled by the reactionary ILA bureaucracy. A real unity of longshoremen could only be accomplished over the political corpse of Gleason & Co., and this of course was not Bridges' intention. At any rate, the absorption of the liberal ILWU leadership, long supported by the CP, was too much for the red-baiter Gleason, who apparently rejected the deal outright in favor of a separate peace.

In its typical opportunist fashion, the "Workers League" of Tim Wohlforth tailed after the appetites of the Bridges leadership. The 10 January Bulletin proclaims on the front page:

> "Regardless of the fact that both Bridges and Gleason have steadfastly avoided a nationwide strike and have stood by as Nixon used Taft-Hartley to divide the two coasts, affiliation of the two unions is absolutely required in the struggle to defeat Nixon and the shipowners." [emphasis in original]

What is "absolutely required" is a mass mobilization of the working class, not bigger bureaucracies. The WL does not even bother to put any conditions on such a merger, but merely rubber-stamps Bridges' maneuver, thereby aiding in the deception of the few who are listening. Indeed, "only the Workers League" can make a merger of labor bureaucracies to obstruct struggle appear as a merger to enhance struggle. Such is the Wohlforthian "dialectic," which was carried to new heights of absurdity in their article "Crisis Poses Fight for Marxist Theory":

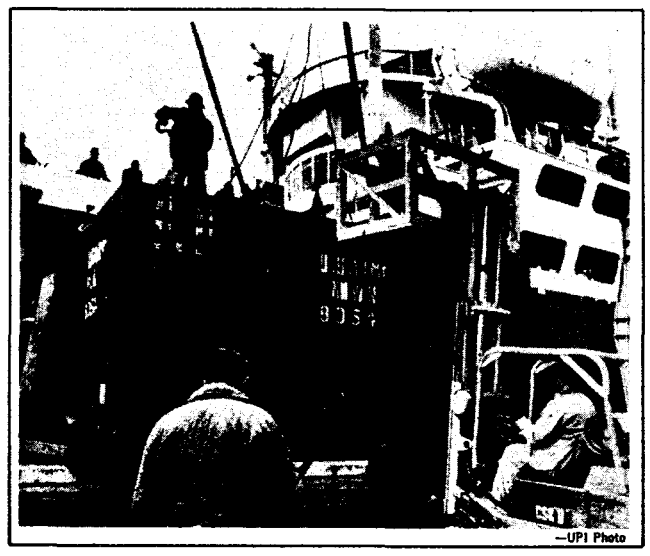
> "In this period the underlying movement of the working class can find expression at certain moments only through the reactions of the labor bureaucracy. Thus Meany's actions at Bal Harbour against Nixon are not to be ridiculed nor scoffed at but seen as expressing the collision between classes now developing because the issue today is the very survival of the working class. Similarly while Gleason and Bridges get together for their own purposes and will together do their best to prevent the action of the dockers, their getting together is the only way at this point the dockers of the two coasts can unite and this will, in turn, have explosive impact upon the bureaucrats of both unions."
>
> —Bulletin, 17 January 1972

How comforting! Wohlforth has eliminated any need whatsoever for the conscious intervention of the advanced workers and their vanguard party to fight for working-class interests—instead, the class struggle is developing objectively all on its own; even Meany's rare anti-Nixon posturing represents the "collision between classes" (instead of his need to retain some credibility in order better to betray!). If any worker criticizes Bridges' maneuvers or Meany's betrayals, both can always wrap themselves in the pages of the Bulletin! If the unity between the two bureaucracies will have the "explosive impact" foreseen by the Bulletin, then one must assume that Bridges, Gleason and Fitzsimmons are stupid enough to seek their own destruction. A doubtful conclusion which presumably requires the power of Wohlforthian "method" to grasp—or evade.

WL supporters took a strikingly similar position on an earlier merger by and for the bureaucrats in the Social Service Employees Union in New York in 1968. The Mage-Morgenstern leadership of the SSEU, faced with heavy attacks by the city and a membership demoralized by previous sellouts, sought to panic the membership into a headlong rush to remerge with the AFSCME-DC 37 bureaucracy, from which the SSEU had broken in 1964. Together with Progressive Labor supporters, the WL functioned as perfect "Marxist" lawyers for the bureaucrats in arguing for immediate re-merger with no conditions whatsoever:

> "Only by immediately merging with 371, even if on unfavorable terms, could the SSEU membership hope to be in a position of strength from which to begin bargaining for the 1969 contract."
>
> —"Reorganization and the SSEU," Bulletin, 29 November 1971

Those SSEU members still on the job today can testify how the merger has meant only a vast strengthening of the bureaucracy, producing a disastrous deterioration of working conditions. Contrary to WL lies, the Militant Caucus, which included Spartacist supporters, did not simply oppose the merger outright, but insisted on a struggle perspective as the basis for any merger. This meant especially a fight to defend the union's democratic structure and its gains wrung from the city administration during the SSEU's independent existence. On February 13, 1968, for example, the Militant Caucus submitted to the SSEU



—UPI Photo

Military Cargo On Move During ILWU Strike

Executive Board a five-page section-by-section analysis of the proposed merger constitution in an attempt to preserve gains such as the extensive membership control over the powers of the officers. By insisting on merger at all costs, the WL assisted Morgenstern's successful plan to capitulate totally to the Gotbaum bureaucracy.

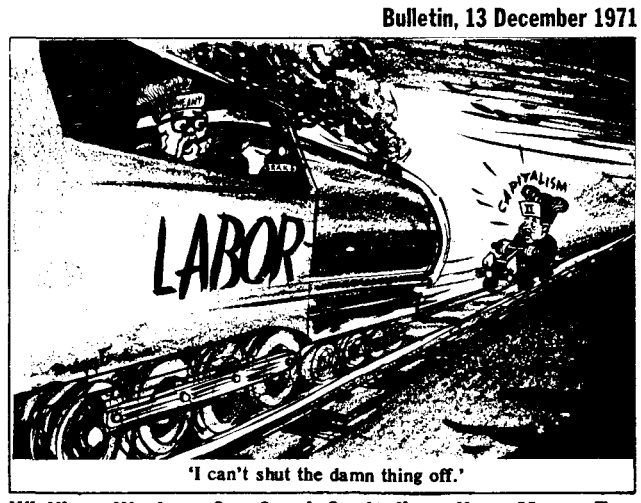
A Marxist must view critically the maneuvers of class-collaborationist bureaucrats of all varities behind the facade of "unity." The Stalinist leaders of the deformed workers states must unite in defensive alliances to prevent imperialist invasion, and capitalist restoration. We defend the Warsaw Pact to the extent that it fulfills the defense against imperialism; we are obliged to denounce it when it covers unity of the bureaucrats against the political revolution of the workers, as in Czechoslovakia or the Hungarian revolution.

Longshore-Teamster "Unity"?

It now appears that Bridges has found a quiet home in the Teamster bureaucracy. Both unions have announced intention to merge—subject of course to trifles such as membership approval. The Teamsters' Fitzsimmons, who sits on Nixon's Pay Board, was the only major labor bureaucrat unreservedly supporting Nixon's wage plan from the beginning. Thus the merger perspective represents a capitulation by the weaker Bridges bureaucracy to the stronger, wealthier Teamster bureaucracy, at the expense of the rank and file.

There is strong evidence that the Teamster-Longshore "unity" idea was cooked up to sabotage a strong longshore strike. In mid-January, Secretary of Labor James Hodgson addressed a closed meeting of over 300 business executives of the Commerce and Industry Association in New York. The Secretary spoke approvingly of the proposed unity in the belief that it would avert a

Bulletin, 13 December 1971



'I can't shut the damn thing off.'

WL View: Workers Can Crush Capitalists, Keep Meany Too

West Coast longshore strike by "solving" the container dispute. He would be less eager for unity between the two unions for a struggle against the government. On February 11, Einar Mohn, head of the Western Conference of Teamsters, warned that the new ILWU contract threatened Teamster jobs and that the problem could only be solved by an ILWU-Teamster merger. He obviously intended to pressure the ILWU ranks to approve merger in order to avoid a fight with the Teamsters. Since the Teamster leadership has unreservedly backed Nixon's plans, it becomes apparent that the merger scheme it favors is designed to destroy the possibility that the longshoremen might lead a counter-offensive against the government.

ILWU longshoremen must approach the question of unity with the ILA or the Teamsters on the basis of a struggle program, approaching both the East Coast longshoremen and the Teamsters on the basis of their grievances against the treachery of their respective leaderships. This requires the building of rank-and-file caucuses to throw out the bureaucrats and fight for this perspective:

1. LABOR "LEADERS" OFF THE PAY BOARD! FOR A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST ANY WAGE CONTROLS—GOVERNMENT STAY OUT OF LABOR STRUGGLES; NO RELIANCE ON THE CAPITALIST STATE—REPEAL ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS SUCH AS TAFT-HARTLEY—FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS SUCH AS ANGELA DAVIS
2. END UNEMPLOYMENT—FOR A SHORTER WORKWEEK WITH AN INCREASE IN PAY, JOBS FOR ALL! A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES—FULL COST-OF-LIVING ESCALATORS IN ALL CONTRACTS—STRIKES AGAINST LAYOFFS
3. BREAK FROM THE CAPITALIST PARTIES—BUILD A WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS; TOWARD A WORKERS GOVERNMENT!
4. FOR LABOR STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR: HALT THE FLOW OF ALL WAR GOODS—FOR IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. FORCES FROM S.E. ASIA—FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY: VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION!
5. EXPROPRIATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL ■

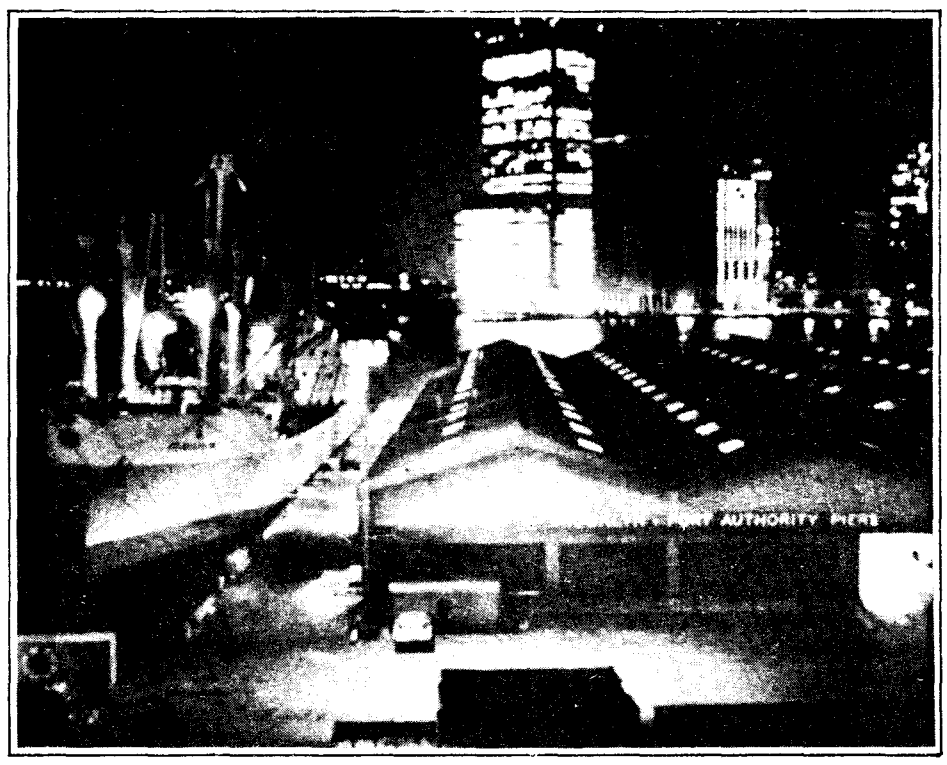
Behind ILWU Strike Settlement:

BUREAUCRATS AND GOVERNMENT UNITED, WORKERS DIVIDED

The very existence of the longshore unions on both coasts is threatened by union bureaucrats' capitulation to government intervention and capitalist attacks. At every turn in last fall's 100-day ILWU strike, Harry Bridges (ILWU) and Thomas Gleason (ILA) undermined workers' unity, isolated the strike and softened its impact on the shippers. Gleason tried to keep his East Coast men on the job even when the ILA contract expired October 1, and only employer intransigence forced him out. As soon as the Taft-Hartley injunction was issued, Bridges whipped the ILWU back to work, leaving the ILA out alone. The government very soon afterward issued a series of injunctions to get the ILA ports back to work. Then Gleason made his separate peace with the employers, leaving the ILWU to go out alone. When the Taft-Hartley injunction against the ILWU expired on December 25, Bridges kept the union at work for another three weeks before striking again. Barely three weeks after the renewal of the strike with major issues unsettled, Bridges urged his men back to work, hoping to avoid striking after February 14 when the Taft-Hartley injunction on the East Coast expired. Meanwhile Gleason even offered to work thirty days beyond February 14 to insure no overlap of strikes on both coasts. The "strike alliance" announced in late October by Bridges-Gleason is their alliance against a unified longshore strike on both coasts.

Neither Gleason nor Bridges dares attempt a unified workers' answer to the government assault, since such a mobilization would embolden the workers to destroy the parasitic labor bureaucracy which has so long prevented such action. The longshore struggle is further undermined by the other labor bureaucrats—Meany, Woodcock, Fitzsimmons, etc.—who sit on the government Pay Board as it rips up union contracts like those of the UAW and IAM. The labor bureaucrats thus lend cover to the capitalists' government apparatus and defuse attempts to mobilize resistance to the government. When the Pay Board rejected the aerospace workers' contract (involving paying workers cost-of-living money owed them from the previous contract) the best that Woodcock of the UAW and Smith of the IAM could suggest was taking the Pay Board, on which they sit, to court! They dare not resign from the Pay Board since denying it legitimacy implies strike action against government wage repression — a confrontation with the bourgeois state which owns their political souls and seats them at the slop-trough of official prestige.

Government pressure soon ended Bridges' slightly tougher stance in the renewed strike. Closing the ports of Vancouver, Canada and Ensenada, Mexico was long overdue—large amounts of scab goods flowed through the two ports during the last strike. Joint picketing at the Mexican border by Teamsters and Longshoremen proved quite effective. Typically, the two ports were soon reopened—the British Columbia Supreme Court issued an injunction against the Vancouver Longshoremen, and Bridges and Fitzsimmons removed the Mexican border pickets on an unconfirmed rumor of an injunction. Bridges continued to allow movement of military cargo. Both as an act against government interference, and against the anti-working-class Indochina war, the union must halt the flow of all war goods!



Brooklyn Dock Desolate During ILA Strike

Nixon's Phase III

The longshore unions have become a test case for Phase III of Nixon's attack on the working class: the outlawing of strikes and the institution of compulsory arbitration. The government stands ever more nakedly exposed for what it is—the repressive apparatus of the capitalist class. No reliance on the capitalist state! The only defense for the longshoremen is a massive general strike against government interference and Nixon's plans. In 1934, the workers of San Francisco went on general strike in solidarity with the Longshoremen, who had lost two men to police bullets and faced the National Guard. If Nixon cannot get what he wants from the labor bureaucrats, he will resort to troops as he did in the postal strike. The first step in working-class defense must be to throw out the bureaucratic supporters of the armed bourgeois state which stands ready to crush the unions by any means necessary.

The working class is still paying for the class collaboration carried out by labor bureaucrats with the support of the Stalinist Communist Party (see the book review, "Record of Betrayal," in next issue). During World War II both Bridges and the CP enforced their no-strike pledges by denouncing and undermining strikes which broke out, like the Montgomery Ward strike of 1944. At the same time, the CP supported the Democratic "friends of labor" who soon showed their gratitude by helping expel from the unions both the CP and thousands of union militants in the witchhunt period. The CIO expelled the ILWU itself in 1950 for CP influence. The net result of CP class collaboration was a union movement stripped of its class-conscious militants, leaving virtually unopposed a corrupt, reactionary bureaucracy often indistinguishable from ordinary gangsters (Gleason, Curran, etc.), which usually lacked even the "progressive" polish of Bridges.

Today Bridges continues his class-collaborationist policy by agreeing to a government arbitration board which can impose binding contracts for 18-24 months. The fact that the ILWU can participate with the employers' PMA in selecting arbitrators means little—labor gains are won by the power of the strike, now jeopardized by Bridges' agreement. Bridges has apparently turned over to arbitration some very crucial "non-economic" issues, such as the practice of "steady men," which threatens a major gain of the 1934 strike, the union hiring hall.

The CP has wholeheartedly endorsed Bridges' class-collaborationist policies. Despite the brief flurry of sniping between Peoples World and Bridges early in 1971, the CP has no intention of rejecting or criticizing his policies. They may abandon Bridges personally, to put on a "left" face for angry workers like those in Local 10 of the San Francisco Bay area. In a 22 January editorial entitled "Full Support for the Longshoremen," PW heaped praise on the ILWU as a "militant, progressive voice of labor," and proposed as its idea of powerful mass support for the Longshoremen that "Resolutions, post cards, phone calls, letters must begin to pour into Washington...." Meanwhile, the Democratic "friends of labor" such as Senator Harrison Williams and Edward Kennedy beg Nixon to intervene to end the strike so the Democrats won't bear the stigma in an election year. Congress soon passed Nixon's bill anyhow.

Empty Victory

Bridges' demands, whether won or not, add up to empty victory—in other words, to defeat. The central issue is containerization. In a very few years containerization will automate away the longshore job and with it the longshore union—unless the ILWU together with the ILA, Teamsters and other unions creates more jobs through the shorter workweek with increases in daily and weekly pay. The workers must force technological improvements to benefit them. Bridges at first advanced a fight with the Teamsters over container-stuffing jobs (see WV, #2), threatening a jurisdictional battle. Abandoning that idea (the 65,000-member ILWU could not possibly withstand a serious battle with the two million-member Teamster union), Bridges accepted a royalty plan which allows the shippers to proceed with the elimination of jobs, in return for $1 per ton to the union on each container not stuffed by longshoremen, and a guaranteed annual wage. Bridges has even retreated on the guaranteed annual wage plan: instead of a guarantee based on 40 hours per week for all registered men, he has accepted a plan based on 36 hours for "A" men and 18 hours for "B" men.

The 1961 contract embodied a similar erosion of union strength. It allowed the employers to go ahead with "Mechanization and Modernization" in return for the payment of a $30 million special retirement and wage guarantee fund. That contract also contained provisions which deepened the division between the "A" and "B" men (see WV, #2). The wage fund turned out not to be worth very much—workers later discovered that the employers had the best of the deal as the size and strength of the union began to decline rapidly. If a union allows the employers to eliminate jobs, no monetary penalty clause can compensate for the loss in workers' strength.

To top it off, Bridges has again yielded on infamous Section 9.43, which allows the employers to hire "steady men" for certain jobs, rather than hire on a daily basis through the union hall. This clause has proven to be an important factor in weakening the union's control over working conditions.

With all this, it is surprising that the employers took until late February to reach agreement with Bridges. Only their own penny-pinching mentality prevented it. (The shippers even threatened to halt military cargo in order to scare the government into intervening, but they quickly retracted their threat—unlike Bridges, the shippers would not betray the class they represent!) The

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