

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 177

1977

14 October 1977

## For Union-Run Minority Recruitment— Not Union-Busting “Affirmative Action”

# DOWN WITH BAKKE!

In the late 1960's, when the ghettos were erupting in rage and despair and liberal lip-service to blacks' felt grievances was the norm, anyone who talked about "reverse discrimination" against whites branded himself as a racist. Like "forced busing" and "neighborhood schools," this coded vocabulary was the property of notorious axe-wielding Southern demagogues, East Coast ultra-rightist patricians like William Buckley, and "ethnic purity" neanderthals generally. But now this rhetoric of racism has found a "respectable" vehicle in the Bakke case. The charge of "reverse discrimination" has become the rallying cry in a wholesale assault on the limited gains won for blacks in the 1950's and 1960's.

Allan Bakke, a 35-year old engineer rejected in 1973 and 1974 by the University of California's Davis Medical School claims that the "special admission" of 16 "disadvantaged" minority students among the 100 accepted for the Medical School constituted "racism in reverse." The California Supreme Court ruled in favor of Bakke, charging the University of California Regents with "reverse discrimination." The U.S. Supreme Court will begin hearing arguments on the Bakke case on October 12.

The furor over the Bakke case is not really over whether or not Allan Bakke is more or less "qualified" than the 16 minority students. Nor is it really about the fairness of qualifications in general, or "goals" and quotas in particular. Not any more. The social meaning of the Bakke case was most directly and ominously underlined this week by Nazis



Spartacist contingent in October 8 demonstration in Oakland.

WV Photo

who carried the sign "Bakke=White Power" into an anti-Bakke demonstration. The Nazis know that a victory for Bakke is another defeat for the democratic rights of blacks, other minorities and women. They understand that Bakke has become the leading edge of a wave of racist reaction aimed at rolling back every gain made by blacks.

All this talk of determining the most "qualified" is deceptive. For many of the sons and daughters of the rich (those who contribute to endowment funds and the like) there has always been a "special admissions" program quite independent of the supposedly "objective" tests to which Bakke fans sanctimoniously appeal.

Special admissions programs and quotas are certainly supportable for blacks and other minorities who have systematically been denied access to equal educational opportunities. But these schemes accept the idea that only a few of the youth who desire to become, for example, doctors can actually do so. Revolutionists must seek to shatter this framework (which accepts the continuing perspective of ignorance and economic irrelevance for the vast majority of black youth) through the call for "open admissions." To be effective, "open admissions" means not only special preparatory programs but also full scholarships and state stipends for living expenses.

### "Retreat, Retreat, Retreat"

The forces who are mobilizing against Bakke are in the main the same reform-



Nazi fascists hail Bakke ruling against "reverse discrimination."

WV Photo

ists who have set up every recent defeat for the liberal civil rights movement. And their strategy is still the same: rely on the capitalist state and its cops and courts.

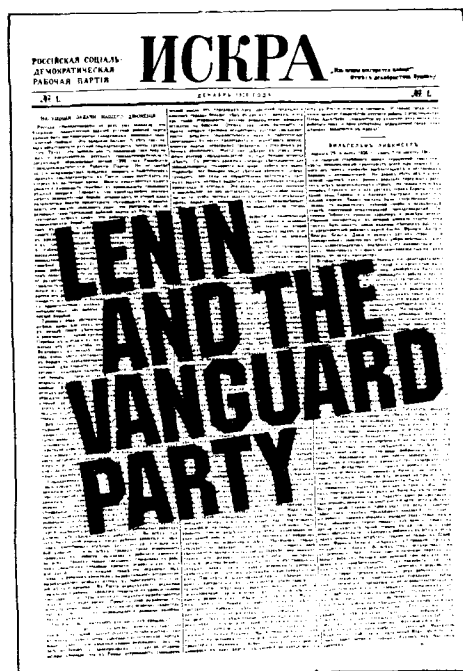
What has this strategy achieved? At an anti-Bakke demonstration held October 3 in Washington, D.C., Congressional Black Caucus chairman Parren Mitchell described the situation: "There comes a time in the lives of the oppressed and exploited when you retreat, retreat, retreat, and can retreat no further, when you draw the line and say, 'Enough'" (*Militant*, 14 October). Mitchell and the other black elected officials long ago "drew the line"—and chose the side of the capitalist class and

the Democratic Party against the side of the working people and oppressed masses. The only possibility for real social liberation for blacks lies on the proletarian side of the class line.

The black "reformers" and their "left" hangers-on chose the class enemy and its state as the arbiter of social justice. To desperate black people seeking an alternative to ghetto lumpenization for their children, these liberals pushed "equal education" as the solution. But the promise of school desegregation obtained and enforced through the courts proved to be a cruel hoax for the masses of ghetto blacks. Never taken seriously in the North, school desegre-

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### PART THREE



## The 1905 Revolution

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## AN EXCHANGE

# Nuclear Power, Safety and Socialism

Chula Vista, California  
To the editor:

This letter is in response to the position taken by Jeff Maxwell in *WV* No. 146 (25 February 1977). While we concur with the author's analysis of the forces presently opposed to nuclear power, we feel that the conclusion to support its implementation is based on an admitted incomplete consideration of the technical problems involved.

The heart of the matter is contained in two passages from that article. P. 8, col. 1: "We do not wish to take a position on the technical issues involved, nor do we offer suggestions to capitalism as to which method of energy generation it would do best to use." And p. 6, col. 1: "As Marxists we generally strongly support the introduction of new technology, including the development, construction and operation of nuclear fission reactors." We assume that it is not the author's intent to use simplistic formulations to support a fundamental error. Technology is the means by which the material level of existence *may* be increased. It is not the end in itself. The SL certainly does not support all technology as progressive merely because it is technology. For example, we assume you stand against the implementation of new, more modern equipment in industry when the result is massive layoffs for workers without regard to their hardships.

The SL should evaluate the technical problems and withdraw Maxwell's conclusion because it is precisely in consideration of these points that no support for nuclear fission reactors can be given. It is still important to identify the basic problems of fission reactors that make them undesirable even if regulated in a healthy workers state. The inevitability of accidents is admitted by Maxwell, so he is certainly aware of the technical arguments against fission reactors. But since they don't seem to have been considered in depth, we would like to state two of them.

The two main technical problems associated with nuclear power are reactor safety and the handling of the waste products. The estimates of risks of reactor failure are fraught with error, and the probabilities quoted are often more correlated with the bias of the author than with known facts. It is noteworthy that there have been incidents involving failure of "safe" reactor components, for example a fire in the Brown's Ferry reactor control center.

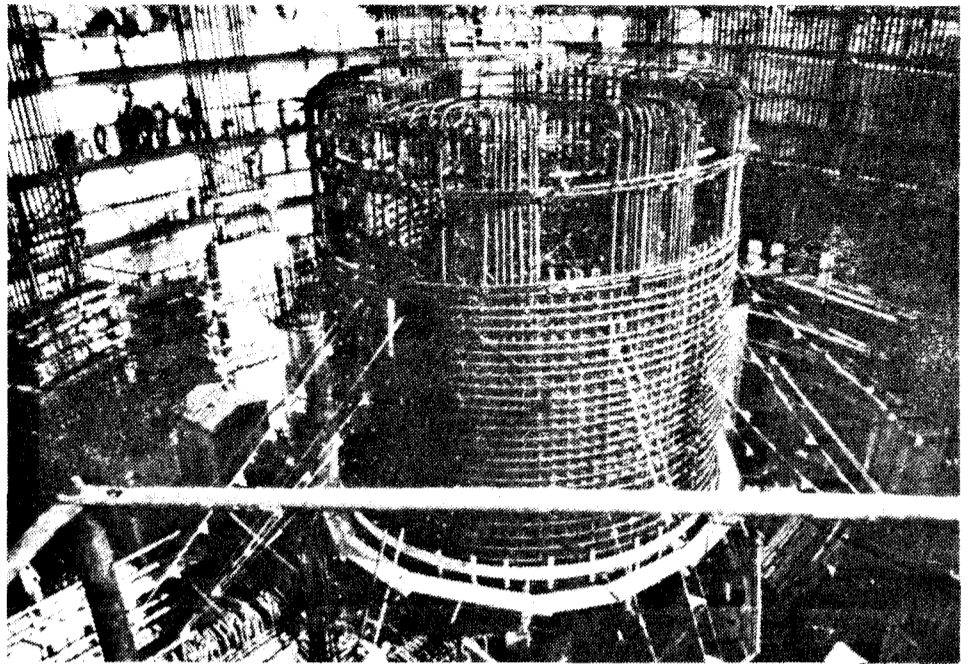
A recent compendium (N.I. Sax, *Dangerous Properties of Industrial*

*Materials*, 4th ed., New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975) contains two chapters on radiation hazards and reactor safety, including the problems of reactor component failure and the handling, shipment and disposal of the spent fuel. It notes 15 reported incidents involving fuel element failure alone covering the period 1947 to 1963, the worst of which involved the release of over 40,000 curies resulting in "widespread <sup>131</sup>I contamination of milk supply of large area." Given the much larger number of reactors needed if nuclear power is fully implemented and the cavalier attitude of industry towards even existing safety regulations, it is inevitable that major accidents will occur.

More serious is the problem of nuclear waste. There is much less room for guess work here, since the process of nuclear fission and the products from it are well understood. The neutrons produced in the reactor core can interact with Uranium-238 in the fuel rod to convert it to Plutonium-239 (24,360)\*, or with <sup>235</sup>U to induce fission. Most of the fission products are very unstable and highly radioactive, and decay through a series of reactions to either stable or long-lived nuclei. Considering only those which have half lives longer than say 20 years, then from the known fission yield of <sup>235</sup>U one can deduce the following: <sup>93</sup>Zr (950,000), <sup>99</sup>Tc (210,000), <sup>135</sup>Cs (2 million), <sup>90</sup>Sr (28.8) and <sup>137</sup>Cs (30) will each be produced in about 5 percent yield, and <sup>129</sup>I (16 million) and <sup>151</sup>Sm (90) in yields of 0.5 to 1 percent. Of the products, Plutonium and Strontium are particularly lethal since they are selectively absorbed by bone marrow; the maximum "safe" body level of Plutonium is less than 1 microgram—35 trillionths of an ounce!

Due to the long half lives cited above, the wastes will be radioactive and dangerous for hundreds of thousands of years. To put that into perspective, 100,000 years is roughly 20 times the total span of written human history. How can anyone guarantee that the storage containers and the disposal site will remain intact for that span of time? Maxwell dismisses the problem by reference to an ERDA statement claiming that the technology exists to handle the wastes. That's easy for them to claim now—ERDA will not be here in a hundred thousand years, nor even in a hundred. The present ERDA bureaucrats won't have to answer for being wrong. However, the radioactive wastes *will* be here regardless of human aspiration and invective to the contrary. Government agencies dominated by the energy industry may choose to ignore the facts, but those claiming to give scientific analysis must not ignore the laws of physics.

Nuclear power represents a clear danger to the health and safety of millions of people precisely because of the technical issues. To dismiss these dangers by comparing them to the threat posed by nuclear weapons is specious: the existence of one risk does not justify the introduction of another, even if of apparent lesser magnitude. To back away from the technical issues so as not to "offer suggestions to capitalism" is sidestepping the question. For example, the SL does not give advice to the capitalists on how to better run their coal mines, but it does oppose the dangers which mine operations pose to workers, such as black lung disease. Similarly, it should oppose nuclear fission reactors—not for "utopian/



Massachusetts nuclear power station under construction. ABC News

reactionary/pacifist" reasons, but because they are another threat to the world working class. World energy needs must be met, but nuclear fission power is *not* the method of choice. Fraternally,

M. Alexis and B. Callan

\*The numbers in parentheses are the half lives of the elements in years.

*WV replies:* The authors of the above letter have, in part, based their objections to "Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement" on an elementary misreading of the article. As they understand it, we advocate the implementation of nuclear power under capitalism. They are mistaken.

The passage which M. Alexis and B. Callan quote on page 6, column 1 welcomes the introduction of new technology, but does so in a historic sense. This is clear from the paragraph's last two sentences: "Certainly proponents of a socialist society based on material abundance have a vastly different viewpoint on this subject than ecological crackpots who, in effect, seek a return to pre-industrial society. At the same time, we point out that the economic advisability of nuclear fission power can only be judged within the framework of an internationally planned socialist economy."

Our attitude toward the development, construction and operation of nuclear reactors *under capitalism* is quite different. As the article points out it is not our concern how the bourgeoisie meets its energy needs. Contrary to the belief of our critics, this statement does not simply flow from "an admitted incomplete consideration of the technical problems involved."

Our response to the conditions that the proletariat faces under capitalism is *political*. The demands that we raise are both intended to represent the historic interest of the class and to mobilize it in opposition to capitalist rule. Therefore, in point of fact, we do *not* oppose the "implementation of new, more modern equipment in industry." It is not the new technology that causes "massive layoffs for workers without regard for their hardships," but the economic workings of a decaying social order, capitalism.

As Marxists we seek to mobilize the proletariat to struggle for its objective needs. Thus our program raises the call for a sliding scale of wages and hours, for workers control of production, for the expropriation without compensation of certain industries, and links these

demands to the need for a workers government to smash the bourgeoisie as a class and institute socialist economic planning. We certainly do not call for jobs for all through a return to more labor-intensive, primitive modes of production!

To argue that a particular form of technology or a particular allocation of resources under capitalism is inherently preferable sows the worst reformist illusions, intersects sectoral as opposed to class interests, vitiates our fundamental critique of capitalist society, and is just plain wrong. For example, we are for safety and against layoffs in the automobile industry. On the other hand, we are not for Chevrolet against Dodge, or for turbine engines against piston engines.

Of course, as we indicated in *WV* No. 146, our attitude toward nuclear power would be different if it could be demonstrated that in the case of fission reactors there were extreme and generalized dangers inherent in their deployment. Here M.A. and B.C. have simply not established their case.

By their own admission, "The estimates of risk of reactor failure are fraught with error, and the probabilities quoted are more often correlated with the bias of the author than with known facts." We acknowledge the inevitability of accidents in the nuclear power industry; we acknowledge the same inevitability in every capitalist industry. For the bourgeoisie, the nuclear business is business as usual.

It is not clear that M.A. and B.C. trace the dangers to the social system. They contend that the greatest threat from fission reactors is the radioactive wastes produced. However, their argumentation—a simple recitation of half-lives—would, if correct and relevant, bar the use of fission power even under socialism. Regretably, social revolutions are unable to alter the decay rates.

In fact, as an article in the June 1977 *Scientific American* (admittedly by a nuclear proponent) shows, the problem of waste disposal is both less problematic and more complex than our critics suggest. Thus while the safe storage of fission reactor waste is necessary for periods which are long compared to written history, current proposals would incorporate these wastes into geologically stable formations such as salt deposits. The half-lives of reactor waste are short compared to the geological lifetimes of such deposits. What is more, the total amount of natural radioactivity in the ground under, e.g., the

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly  
of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Michael Weinstein

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

U.S., far exceeds the amount that would be added by fission reactor waste, even if all electric power were generated by such reactors.

We note that Barry Commoner, a knowledgeable scientist and one of the gurus of the "ecology movement," in a recent debate with physicist and nuclear power proponent Hans Bethe did not dispute Bethe's contention that nuclear power is "safe." Instead, Commoner opines that nuclear power had been rendered safe only by massive investments and auxiliary safety systems making it therefore too expensive. Revealing the utopian, petty-bourgeois longing for a rustic past which is one of the chief wellsprings of the "ecology movement," Commoner instead pushed for community-operated windmills as an alternative to expensive, monopoly-controlled nuclear power plants.

To maintain perspective, one might compare the risk associated with nuclear power and other industries. The hazards which coal miners face, from mine explosions to black lung disease, are well-known. According to a National Academy of Sciences study the sulfur dioxide emitted by a single coal-burning plant results annually in 25 fatalities and 60,000 cases of respiratory disease

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#### STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Title of Publication: *Workers Vanguard*.  
2. Date of filing: 31 September 1977.  
3. Frequency of Issue: Weekly (except bi-weekly in August and December).

3A. No. of Issues Published Annually: 48.  
3B. Annual Subscription Price: \$5.00.

4. Location of known office of publication: 260 W. Broadway, New York, NY 10013.

5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 260 W. Broadway, New York, NY 10013.

6. Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 W. Broadway, NY, NY 10013; Editor—Jan Norden, 260 W. Broadway, NY, NY 10013; Managing Editor—None.

7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.; unincorporated association Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 W. Broadway, NY, NY 10013.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state.): None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.

10. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 7,000; B. Paid Circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 3,625. (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,697; C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 5,322; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 50; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 5,372; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 1,628. (2) Returns from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2 should equal net press run shown in A): 7,000.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 9,000; B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 5,650; (2) Mail subscriptions: 1,947; C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 7,597; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 50; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 7,647; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 1,353; (2) Returns from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 9,000.

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)  
Jan Norden,  
(editor)

12. For completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual). 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the phased postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. (Signed) Jan Norden, (editor).

## CP Pushes Price Control Hoax

# No to Steel Protectionism!

In the wake of the massive job losses due to mill closings in steel, the bureaucracy of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) has stepped up its publicity drive in support of the steel trust's lobbying for quotas on imported foreign steel.

At a rally in Cleveland September 29, 200 steel workers showed up to listen to speeches by top officials of the union, including district director Frank Valenta, USWA international officers Frank McKee and Lynn Williams, outgoing Cleveland mayor Ralph Perk and Ohio governor James Rhodes.

Not even making a pretense of opposing the steel bosses, union leaders distributed banners and placards with company slogans, including U.S. Steel's protectionist jingle: "The threat is real from imported steel. It's a job-robbing deal."

A few days earlier, a delegation of steel workers from Youngstown went to Washington where they presented petitions bearing 116,000 signatures to Ohio Senators John Glenn and Howard Metzenbaum, demanding immediate import quotas and subsidies. Present among the delegation was Ed Mann, president of Local 1462 of U.S. Steel in Youngstown, and a long-time leader of RAFT (Rank and File Team), an oppositional caucus in the USWA based in Youngstown. Mann, while equivocating on whether he endorsed the program of McBride & Co., confirmed later to *WV* that the Local 1462 leadership had helped circulate a the protectionist petition.

Meanwhile, the Treasury Department ruled last week that five major Japanese steel companies were dumping carbon steel plate in the U.S. market at prices allegedly substantially below their "fair market value." While steel makers and bureaucrats cheered this decision, it only applies to a small fraction of imported steel and does not involve the sweeping quotas that the U.S. steel bosses desire.

Of more significance was the release last week of a lengthy report on the domestic steel industry by President Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability (CWPS). The report was unsympathetic to protectionism and essentially seconded the findings of the

Faced with plant closures, Ohio steel workers present protectionist petition for import curbs in Washington on September 23.



AP

Merrill/Lynch firm on Wall Street, which had pointed to the outmoded technology of the U.S. steel industry as the key factor in the recent disastrous decline. The CWPS study found that Japanese production costs are 20 percent below those of U.S. mills, and that even with tariff and transportation costs thrown in, Japanese exports are still cheaper than domestic products.

As we wrote two weeks ago (*WV* No. 175, 30 September), the present acute crisis was precipitated by the long-term decline of the American steel industry, particularly with respect to Japan. Powerful capitalists interested in reorganizing for a fundamental reorganization of the industry, including the closing of marginal facilities and layoffs of thousands of steel workers. As we also pointed out, the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), designed to keep the domestic industry competitive by insuring labor peace, has proven insufficiently profitable, and the bosses must take recourse to more drastic measures.

As early as last January, U.S. Steel vice-president J. Bruce Johnston declared that "... if we don't solve the problem of subsidized and unfair competition, then ENA is not a sufficient shield. We are obviously not going to continue to pay for a product that isn't getting the job done." In the last two weeks alone, there has been a steady chorus—and not only from the steel bosses, but from Wall Street as well—howling about the "high wages" of steel workers being to blame for the crisis. The CWPS study claimed rising costs, and in particular wages, were a key

determinant in price increases for the domestic industry. And an editorial of the *New York Times* complained, "The American steel industry, by contrast, has lost its competitive position at home because firms have failed to modernize and have acceded to sizable wage settlements unjustified by increases in productivity." Thus, even the pitiful 3-percent-a-year wage increases provided under ENA are coming under the guns of the bourgeoisie!

The response of the steel bosses, parroted by the McBride leadership of the USWA, has been to demand imple-

The bosses and their labor lackeys have denied the superiority of Japanese production methods, blaming increased imports on price-cutting, government subsidies abroad, etc. American steel bosses find it necessary to appear as an injured party, the victim of "unfair competition" from foreign governments and producers, in order to whip up public support for their protectionist campaign. This only underscores the viciously chauvinist character of protectionism, designed to portray the Japanese—including the Japanese proletariat—as the enemy of the American working masses.

While McBride & Co. point the finger at foreign competition as the root of the steel crisis, the Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the USWA bureaucracy attempts to deny the obvious. District 31 director Jim Balanoff claims that the problem lies with monopoly price-fixing by the steel trust, and not with the decline of the American steel industry. Balanoff supporters at Local 1010 (Inland Steel) have even passed a resolution explicitly calling on the federal government to roll back prices.

The line of monopoly price-fixing is simply a diversion. It's no secret that the profits of American steel companies have dropped disastrously. To be sure, the steel trust has certainly engaged in price-fixing before. In 1962, for example, President Kennedy, in a confrontation with Roger Blough, then head of U.S. Steel, forced the steel companies to withdraw an announced price increase. However, at the time the American steel industry had undisputed hegemony over the world market. It had considerable latitude in setting arbitrary prices—and could cut back prices while still maintaining healthy profits. Today things are different; as the CWPS report pointed out, the higher prices set by the American companies have been simply undercut by foreign producers, and the dom-

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Bethlehem Steel in Lackawanna, New York.

WV Photo

# Bakke...

(continued from page 1)

gation was killed on the streets of Boston when there was no labor mobilization to counter the racists' offensive against busing. The Supreme Court aided and codified the racists' program. Today in Chicago, black children participating in the pitiful token voluntary school busing plan must fear for their lives, while their parents are harassed on the way to and from work by mobs of marauding racists.

"Rely on the federal troops," counseled the liberals as busing was murdered on the streets of South Boston. "Rely on the Supreme Court," they cried as the court ruled again and again against democratic rights and in favor of racist and anti-union decisions in housing, busing, medicaid and welfare, abortion, unemployment benefits for striking workers. From the refurbishing of capital punishment to the sanctification of school district lines for the purpose of segregation, the Supreme Court and those who proffered it as black people's salvation stand exposed over the corpse of busing. Now confronted with Bakke, the liberals and their "left" tails are doing it again. Their strategy is to link the fight against Bakke to the capitalist government and its program for union-busting: "affirmative action."

## Affirmative Action: Legacy of Class Treason

It is no accident that the struggle against Bakke is being crippled by the reformists and liberals who present it as a struggle for affirmative action. From the beginning, it was they who guaranteed that the issue of racial integration would be posed as a choice between union-busting and racism. The infuriating irony is that the political current most responsible for creating this no-win situation for blacks now claims to be against racist reaction.

The failure of the liberal civil rights movement followed from its strategy of linking the struggle for black equality to the capitalist state rather than to the struggle of the working class against capitalism. The logic of this collaboration with the bourgeois state was that the aspirations of blacks were more and more closely identified with a mobilization against the unions. It is nearly ten years since a clique of liberals, black nationalists and "socialists" succeeded in mobilizing the "black community" against the 1968 New York teachers' strike, helping to cement the racist labor bureaucrats' hold over backward white workers. With each treacherous class-collaborationist step, the civil rights misleaders further isolated blacks from the labor movement and reinforced their own dependence upon the capitalist state.

Going from defeat to defeat in recent years, the civil rights liberals and the reformist left are now picking up on the Bakke decision to fight a last-ditch stand for state intervention in the name of minorities. While the substance of special admissions programs has pretty much gone by the boards, the Carter administration has come out mildly but definitely on the anti-Bakke side (which, of course, is one of the main reasons the reformists have seized the issue). But it must be made crystal clear why the government came out against Bakke: not because it cares a whit about increasing non-white college enrollment; not because it opposes the Supreme Court's recent unbroken string of decisions against democratic rights of oppressed minorities; not because it wishes to oppose the racist pro-Bakke forces. *The Justice Department has a vested interest in the Bakke case because it wants to preserve the legal basis for affirmative action suits against the unions.*

These "anti-discrimination" suits necessarily draw the bitter opposition of

the unions for they are directed against the only existing form of job protection in most industries: the seniority system. While there are deliberately manipulated seniority systems which amount to a form of job trusting—e.g., the departmental seniority systems in steel which perpetuated the fact of discrimination in hiring where blacks were hired only into the hottest, most dangerous jobs—seniority itself is an important union gain to protect workers from arbitrary victimization by the bosses. And that is precisely why the capitalist government loves "affirmative action." First because it gives them a precedent for tearing up labor contracts. And second because it sets blacks and organized labor at each others' throats.

This is hardly a secret. The most important affirmative action court suits and plans were set up under the Nixon administration, which didn't give a damn about equality for blacks even to win votes. The most famous of all, the so-called "Philadelphia Plan" in the construction trades, was an attempt to break the union hiring hall through setting quotas for jobs and workers for minority (i.e., black capitalist) contractors. The government's chief brain-truster in this enterprise, John Doar, put it bluntly: "the struggle is between the Negro and the unions." He lamented that as much as 2 million jobs were controlled by union hiring halls: "Employers should be free to hire any qualified worker."

While the NAACP and Urban League liberals are quite comfortable about this open union-busting posture—often they played a lucrative role in setting up job referral and training programs with federal funds—the reformist left cannot dismiss out of hand the interests of labor which it claims in some degree to represent. But particularly in the late 1960's when black nationalism was "where it was at" and the fake leftists considered the white working class to be a bought-off sector enjoying its "white skin privilege" in an affluent consumer society—they accepted the government's "blacks vs. the unions"



WV Photo

## Fake-lefts' answer to Bakke is union-busting affirmative action.

dichotomy and came down against the unions. Since blacks and women have historically carried the burden of discrimination, white male workers must now give up their "privileges," they argued.

This is unadulterated bourgeois moralistic nonsense to begin with. The logical corollary would be to demand that black auto workers, who labor sometimes 60 hours a week in the infernal Detroit factories, should accept a massive cut in their living standards in order to give up some of their huge "privileges" to Vietnamese peasants! During the 1974-75 economic crisis this divisive position was given real teeth when some of the reformists went from calls for preferential hiring to demands for preferential firing of white male workers, under the slogan of granting

"super-seniority" to more recently hired blacks or women. Marxists reject this because fundamentally it is the *companies* who have fostered racist hiring patterns, not the workers (and the bourgeoisie certainly fosters racial antagonisms of all sorts among their wage slaves); and, moreover, it is impossible to build a revolutionary workers movement by asking workers to give up what they have won through bitter struggles in the past.

Thus the Spartacist League has called on the *labor movement* to replace discrimi-



WV Photo

## South Bronx: life under capitalism for minority youth.

minatory seniority systems and outright job-trusting with absolute non-discrimination ("first come, first serve") in hiring, complemented by special training and recruitment programs directed at groups which have historically been excluded from better-paying jobs. But we are opposed to systematic discrimination against *any* sector of the workforce, including white males. And under all circumstances it is necessary to oppose the bosses' government intervening to rip up union contracts and gains. The only integration the government seeks

to "redress historic discrimination." In its most forthrightly anti-union version, the argument simply blames white workers for the discrimination of the past four hundred years. For instance, NAACP national labor director Herbert Hill frontally attacked the AFL-CIO as an organization "committed to white male workers against the vital interests of women and minorities" (*New York Times*, 29 June). Arguing for stronger government intervention into the unions, Hill incorrectly assumes that only white workers will be hurt—and they deserve to be hurt anyway in exchange for having "benefited" from years of racist union policies:

"But the whites who benefitted from the systematic denial of the rights of black workers are not innocent. They and their union representatives year after year deliberately negotiated discriminatory labor agreements that gave whites very substantial benefits at the expense of black workers."

—"The Postponement of Economic Equality," *Black Scholar*, September 1977

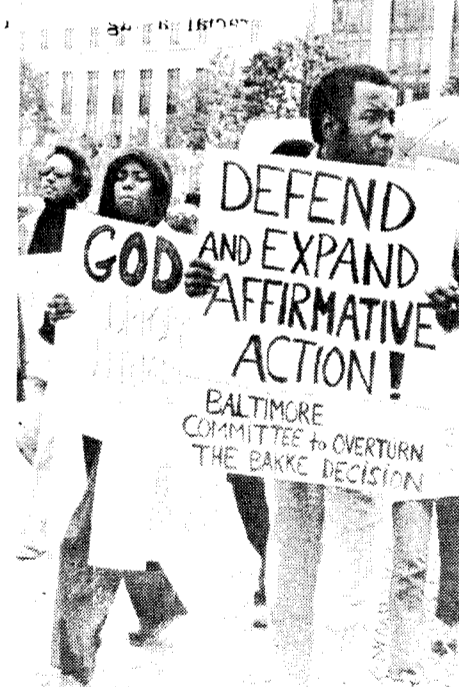
Behind this moralism is the idea that white workers today must pay for the crimes of the bosses yesterday. Hill thus surrenders the claim to justice in "the present" to right-wingers and professional ant-Communists like Sydney Hook who argue in terms of "fairness" and "consistency":

"We are inconsistent as well as insincere if, in attempts to rectify the arbitrary and invidious discrimination of the past, we practice arbitrary and invidious discrimination in the present."

—*Newsweek*, 26 September

And in the union movement it is AFT president Albert Shanker who claims to represent the interests of workers "in the present." He is pro-Bakke, arguing against racial quotas as represented by special admissions programs in the universities and the unions. Such apparently "color-blind" fairness is really blind to a social reality that the bureaucrats like Shanker helped to create and daily reinforce. To begin with, special admissions programs in colleges do not challenge any of the prerogatives of the union movement. And it is self-serving to fail to see that whereas individual whites may be penalized by such an admissions program, blacks have experienced discrimination as a social group.

The fact of "historic discrimination" cannot be denied. Blacks as a group are victimized by the discriminatory practices of the bosses, abetted by the union bureaucracy. But the choice is not only



WV Photo

with its "affirmative action" hoaxes is the integration of the unions into the capitalist state apparatus.

The anti-Bakke reformists have lined up behind that wing of the Justice Department which wants to hold on to its program of affirmative action. When the Justice Department put out its first position on Bakke, implicitly "soft" on the defense of affirmative action, a hue and cry went up from inside and outside the government. Affirmative action—the capitalists' program to "redress years of racial discrimination"—is really a program to dismantle hard-won gains of the union movement (seniority, the union hiring hall) as an attack on the unions' independence from the state. From the reformists' standpoint, nothing could be more logical than the



Labor militants oppose Bakke, demand "open admissions." WV Photo

between the liberals' insistence on the sins of the past and the labor bureaucrats' insistence on the racist status quo in the present. The decisive question must be posed for the future: what strategy will unlock this increasingly bitter racial polarization in the working class? What will accomplish proletarian unity around the fight against the oppression of blacks, against both the union-busting of the liberal capitalists and the racist policies of the union bureaucracy?

There is certainly a real danger from the racist right within the workers movement, given the way the reformists have attacked the unions' gains and the left's failure to represent the interests of all the workers. So "rights for whites" groups have seized upon affirmative action as a vehicle for their racist filth. They must be defeated *within* the unions. A new example is something called the "American Male for Equality Now" (AMEN), a Kentucky group whose fundamentalist-racist character is worn like a badge. It will be disastrous if workers are made to feel they must either "take the blame" for racism by giving up hard-won gains or identify even passively with racist groups like AMEN. That perilous polarization of the working class—one in which all workers, and particularly blacks, can only lose—is the legacy of those who have aligned the struggle for black equality with the union-busting aims of the capitalist class.

The racist bureaucrats say that the choice is between the racist policies of the union or no union at all. The alternative to racist bureaucracy and to the civil rights union-busters is the policy of the class struggle, including the fight for jobs. To fight for jobs for all would mean militant action against layoffs and other struggles which would topple the labor fakers from their perch on top of the unions.

The case has split the trade-union movement. Formally committed to racial equality, the unions have submitted amicus curiae ("friend of the court") briefs on both sides of the case. Shanker's AFT is leading the way to support Bakke while the UAW, Farmworkers, Mineworkers and AFSCME have filed anti-Bakke briefs. Pressured from both sides, black social democrat Bayard Rustin understandably wishes the issue would go away, saying there is too much "stress on Bakke" (*New York Times*, 25 September).

Revolutionists resolutely oppose both Bakke and union-busting affirmative action schemes. Unless the labor movement takes up the fight against racism, economic conditions for blacks will continue to deteriorate while the emboldened racists attack every remnant of the legal gains won in struggle. The fight for black equality must be part

of the struggle to oust the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, carried out by the methods of the class struggle, not the methods of the union-busting bourgeois state.

Our program is first and always the program of the class struggle. We carry on an uncompromising fight within the unions to oust the bureaucrats who keep the working class bound to their bosses through the Democratic Party. Instead of liberal integration schemes, we fight discrimination against minorities and women with the only policy that can win: revolutionary integrationism. We attack discriminatory seniority systems and job-trusting without scrapping the gains that have been won from the capitalists, like the union hiring hall and the seniority system which often represents the only protection workers have against arbitrary firings. We call for union-run recruitment of minorities and women. We demand such special recruitment for apprenticeship and training programs. But the key to cut through the racial antagonisms that have ripped apart the entire workers movement is the demand that recognizes the role of the capitalist state in the unions: Government out of the unions! As we said in 1973 regarding government-sponsored "preferential hiring":

"Instead of pitting different groups of workers against each other, a real struggle for the integration of minorities and women into the work force on an equal basis requires a fight for organiz-

ing the unorganized, for a sliding scale of wages and hours to provide jobs for all, for an end to all sexual and racial discrimination, for a union hiring hall, and a political struggle against the capitalist parties and the capitalist system which fosters racism and sexism."  
—WV No. 25, 20 July 1973

### The Doctrine of "Reverse Discrimination"

Legally the Bakke case could have far-reaching implications. Anti-Bakke forces have predicted that if the lower court's ruling is not overturned, we could be plunged back to the days of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which established the doctrine of "separate but equal." That landmark case of 1896 codified and reinforced in stated doctrine the undoing of the gains of radical Reconstruction for blacks. It seems to the liberals that a similar doctrine of "reverse discrimination" will do the same for the gains of the civil rights movement. Such legalistic arguments miss the point of what is really going on in recent reactionary legal decisions; at bottom, they reveal the reformists' treacherous faith in the courts of the bourgeoisie.

The doctrine of "separate but equal" was overturned in another landmark case, *Brown v. the Board of Education*, in 1954. This civil rights doctrine was presented as a broad assault on the social and economic injustices of historic racism; the courts were offered as the basis for redressing these wrongs.

In fact, neither of these "doctrines" represents the norm of bourgeois law. The capitalists prefer neither the open statement of inequality embodied in *Plessy v. Ferguson* nor the use of the court to "redress" the effects of economic and social injustice embodied in *Brown v. the Board of Education*. Neither Jim Crow nor the court as the "righter" of social wrongs makes the best juridical sense for the bourgeoisie. The normative standard for the bourgeois legal code is *abstract equality before the law*. As Anatole France remarked in 1894: "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."

And this equality is just as "majestic" in 1977. But the capitalist cannot always get what he wants; sometimes he is forced to modify his aims to conciliate social struggle. The legal system doesn't create social struggle; contrary to the modern American liberal myth of the "activist court," ultimately the reverse is the case.

It is only through successful social struggles—or sometimes through the threat of them—that capitalist laws can embody gains won by the oppressed and exploited. Similarly, those gains are lost or are secured in the social struggle between classes. But the ruling class could not grant more than a few token and reversible concessions; the systematic racist oppression of an entire population condemned to ghetto segregation could never be ended in the courts.

When the liberal civil rights movement "came north" to the sharply segregated ghettos to demand open housing in the late 1960's, it met stiff resistance from the racists. Only the mobilization of the organized working class against the mobilization of the fascists could have turned the tide. The rock that hit Martin Luther King, Jr. in Cicero, Illinois was felt around the country, and it had particular impact in the halls of the Supreme Court and the corridors of Congress. But now the liberal decisions of the past decade are being eroded and reversed and the court has gratefully dropped its uncomfortable mask as arbiter of social equality.

The Supreme Court will not rule on Bakke in the language of "reverse discrimination" but in the spirit of white chauvinism. It is not necessary to provoke blacks with such statements in order to put an end to the use of the courts as an instrument through which

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## UAW Workers Prosecuted for Walkout

# Defend the Trenton 7!

DETROIT, October 6—Seven auto workers, fired from Chrysler's Trenton Engine plant for alleged involvement in a week-long wildcat strike this summer, have now been railroaded in federal court. U.S. judge John Feikens today declared the Trenton Seven guilty of criminal contempt for violating a restraining order prohibiting picketing at the plant. The seven face up to six months in jail plus heavy fines in sentencing six weeks from now.

Among the hundreds of pickets who shut down the Trenton plant demanding the rehiring of a union steward, and five workers fired for an earlier walkout over killing heat, the Trenton Seven have been picked out for persecution in order to intimidate the entire United Auto Workers (UAW) membership. And the UAW bureaucracy is in the wings with the same counsel: wait months for grievances to be resolved, don't walk out, don't picket and don't count on us to defend you. Solidarity House has not given a dime to the Trenton workers' defense committee nor provided one bit of legal assistance.

Local 372 has officially demanded that their seven members be reinstated with no disciplines and that the International throw its full weight behind the defense, including authorizing strikes at Trenton and other Chrysler plants. A strike vote at Trenton is scheduled for October 16. The Trenton Seven are, as well, appealing their conviction.

While all legal remedies must be vigorously pursued, workers can have no faith in the "justice" of the bosses' courts. After issuing his verdict, Judge Feikens piously proclaimed that "if this kind of conduct is not punished it would... make it impossible to carry out the laws and make a mockery of the court system." But for the working class, the Trenton Seven are guilty of no crime. The unfettered right to strike must be gained by scrapping the notorious no-strike clause which is central to the UAW tops' class collaboration with the auto companies, and which the courts dutifully enforce.

UAW militants all over the country must back up the demands of the Trenton workers and insist that the International support strike action to enforce reinstatement of the Seven and the dropping of all charges against them. In addition the Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of WV to send contributions to: Trenton Defense Committee, c/o UAW Local 372, 4571 Division Street, Trenton, MI 48183.



número 4 mayo de 1977  
(incorpora a Cuadernos Marxistas)

**Spartacist**  
(edición en español)

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giros/cheques a:  
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New York, N.Y. 10001 EE.UU.

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# The 1905 Revolution

To understand the principle of the communist vanguard party, it is necessary to recognize the evolution of Lenin from a revolutionary social democrat to the founding leader of the Communist International. Various revisionists, notably the British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff, have attempted to deny or obfuscate the principle of the democratic-centralist vanguard party by pointing to those elements of classic social democracy retained by the pre-1914 Bolsheviks and conditioned by the particularities of the Russian situation. This series seeks to trace the development of Lenin's position on the party question. The first part (WV No. 173, 16 September) focused on the Kautskyan doctrine of the "party of the whole class" and its relevance to early Russian social democracy. Part 2 (WV No. 175, 30 September) covered the 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split and its aftermath.

During 1904 Russian defeats in the war with Japan provoked a surge of liberal bourgeois opposition to the tsarist autocracy. This significant change in the Russian political scene deepened the differences between Menshevism and Bolshevism. Assigning the liberals the leading role in the coming anti-tsarist revolution, the Mensheviks sought to encourage the liberal opposition by toning down criticism of them. The Mensheviks' conciliatory attitude to the liberals marked a further regression down the same path as the Economists, restricting the social-democratic party to the defense of the sectional interests of the Russian proletariat.

Lenin sharply attacked this liberal-conciliationist policy in his November 1904 article, "The Zemstvo Campaign and Iskra's Plan," which opened up a new, more profound phase in the Bolshevik-Menshevik conflict. (The *Zemstvos* were local government bodies through which the liberals sought to reform tsarism.) The heart of Lenin's polemic is this:

"Bourgeois democrats are by their very nature incapable of satisfying these [revolutionary-democratic] demands, and are therefore, doomed to irresolution and half-heartedness. By criticizing this half-heartedness, the Social-Democrats keep prodding the liberals on and winning more and more proletarians and semi-proletarians, and partly petty bourgeois too, from liberal democracy to working-class democracy....

"The bourgeois opposition is merely bourgeois and merely an opposition because it does not itself fight, because it has no program of its own that it unconditionally upholds, because it stands between the two actual combatants (the government and the revolutionary proletariat with its handful of intellectual supporters) and hopes to turn the outcome of the struggle to its own advantage."

This difference over the role of the liberal bourgeoisie in the anti-tsarist revolution was the main issue at the rival Menshevik and Bolshevik gatherings in April 1905. From their premise that the liberal bourgeois party must come to power with the overthrow of absolutism, the Mensheviks derived the position that the social-democratic party, no matter how strong, ought not to militarily overthrow the tsarist government. This policy of passive expectancy and liberal tailism was adopted in resolution form at the April Menshevik conference:

"Under these conditions, social democracy must strive to retain for itself, throughout the entire revolution, a position which would best afford it the opportunity of furthering the revolution, which

would not bind its hands in the struggle against the inconsistent and self-seeking policies of the bourgeois parties, and which would prevent it from losing its identity in bourgeois democracy.

"Therefore, social democracy should not set itself the goal of seizing or sharing power in the provisional government but must remain a party of the extreme revolutionary opposition."

—Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Decisions and Resolutions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

Lenin counterposed to the Menshevik conception the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," a concept most extensively set forth in his July 1905 pamphlet, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. Lenin began from the premise that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of carrying through the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. However, he believed that a peasant-based radical populist movement could and would give rise to a mass revolutionary-democratic party. (Significantly Lenin did *not* consider the Social-Revolutionaries such a party. He regarded them as an "intellectualist" grouping, still addicted to terrorism.) The alliance between the peasant-based revolutionary-democratic and the proletarian social-democratic party, including a coalition "provisional revolutionary government," would overthrow absolutism and carry through a radical democratic program—the "minimum" program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP). The operational core of Lenin's strategy was adopted at the all-Bolshevik Third RSDRP Congress:

"...depending upon the alignment of forces and other factors which cannot be precisely defined in advance, representatives of our party may be allowed to take part in the provisional revolutionary government so as to conduct a relentless struggle against all counter-revolutionary attempts and to uphold the independent interests of the working class."

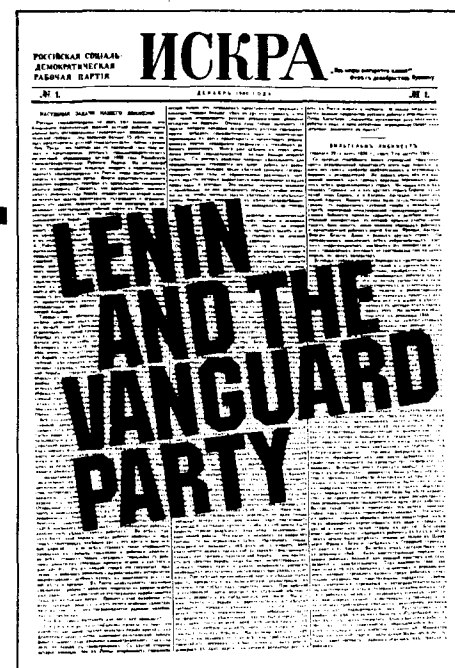
—*Ibid.*

In developing the concept of the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship," Lenin was primarily concerned with motivating an active military and political role for Russian social democracy in the revolution. As to the future fate of the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship," Lenin is deliberately vague; it is clear he did not regard it as a stable form of class rule. In *Two Tactics* he asserts:

"The revolutionary-democratic dictator-

ship of the proletariat and peasantry is unquestionably only a transient, temporary socialist aim, but to ignore this aim in the period of a democratic revolution would be downright reactionary."

The future evolution of Russian society from the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship" would be determined by the balance of class forces not only in Russia but throughout Europe. Lenin's formulation is therefore an *algebraic* conception. In its most revolutionary outcome it would shade over toward Trotsky's "permanent revolution": a radical democratic revolution in Russia sparks the European proletarian revolution, which allows the immediate socialist revolution in Russia. In the face of triumphant reaction the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship" becomes a revolutionary episode, somewhat akin to the Jacobin dictator-



## PART 3



**Bloody Sunday, 9 January 1905: workers marched to Winter Palace to present petition to Tsar Nicholas II. Without warning guards fired on crowd killing 500 and wounding 3000 (top photo).**

ship of 1793 or Paris Commune of 1871, which makes possible the stabilization of normal bourgeois-democratic rule.

By early 1905 the issue of the political dynamic of the revolution had superseded the narrow organizational question as the central conflict between Bolshevism and Menshevism. In fact, the criticism of the Mensheviks adopted at the April 1905 Bolshevik congress did not even mention the issue which caused the original split. Rather it condemned the Mensheviks for economism and liberal tailism:

"...a general tendency to belittle the significance of consciousness, which they subordinate to spontaneity, in the proletarian struggle.... In tactical matters [the Mensheviks] manifest a desire to narrow the scope of the party work; speaking out against the party pursuing completely independent tactics in relation to the bourgeois-liberal parties, against the possibility and desirability of our party undertaking an organizational role in the popular uprising, and against the party's participation under any conditions in a provisional democratic-revolutionary government."

As is well-known, not all the leading Mensheviks of 1903 became the liberal-tailists of 1905. During 1904 the young Trotsky developed the theory of the "permanent revolution" as applied to Russia. Due to Russia's uneven development, no revolutionary bourgeois-democratic force, including a peasant-based radical populist party, would emerge to overthrow absolutism. In carrying through the anti-absolutist revolution, the proletarian party would be forced to take state power and also to introduce the beginnings of socialization. Unless the Russian proletarian revolution extended itself to advanced capitalist Europe, the backward workers state would inevitably be overthrown by imperialist reaction. Trotsky's "permanent revolution" position placed him to the left of the Leninists on the question of revolutionary strategy, but, except for a historic moment in 1905, he remained an isolated figure in the pre-war Russian social-democratic movement.

### Revolution and Mass Recruitment

The differences with the Mensheviks over the nature of the Russian revolution weakened, but did not eliminate, the Bolshevik conciliators, who favored reunification of the RSDRP. However, the revolutionary upsurge produced a new division within the Bolshevik camp, and this time Lenin found himself taking an unfamiliar position on the organizational question.

The mass radicalization, particularly after Bloody Sunday, 9 January 1905, produced tens of thousands of militant young workers who were willing to join a revolutionary socialist party, to join the Bolsheviks. However, habituated to a small underground network, many Bolshevik "committeemen" (the cadres who had built hard-core social-democratic cells in the difficult conditions of clandestinity) resisted a radical change in the nature of their organization and its functioning. They opposed a mass recruitment policy and insisted on continuing a lengthy period of tutelage as a precondition for membership.

Lenin adamantly opposed this apparatus conservatism and sought to transform the Bolsheviks from an agitational organization into a mass proletarian party. As early as February 1905, in an article "New Forces and New Tasks," Lenin expressed concern that the radicalization of the masses was far outstripping the growth of the Bolshevik organization:

"...we must considerably increase the membership of all Party and Party-connected organizations in order to be able to keep up to some extent with the stream of popular revolutionary energy which has been a hundredfold strengthened. This, it goes without saying, does not mean that consistent training and systematic instruction in the Marxist truths are to be left in the shade. We must, however, remember that at the present time far greater significance in

the matter of training and education attaches to the military operations, which *teach* the untrained precisely and entirely in *our* sense. We must remember that our 'doctrinaire' faithfulness to Marxism is now being reinforced by the march of revolutionary events, which is everywhere furnishing *object lessons to the masses* and that all these lessons confirm precisely our dogma....

"Young fighters should be recruited more boldly, widely and rapidly into the ranks of *all and every kind* of our organizations. *Hundreds* of new organizations should be set up for the purpose without a moment's delay. Yes, hundreds; this is no hyperbole, and let no one tell me that it is 'too late' now to tackle such a broad organizational task. No, it is never too late to organize. We must use the freedom we are getting by law and the freedom we are taking despite the law to strengthen and multiply the Party organizations of all varieties." [emphasis in original]

The conflict between Lenin's mass recruitment policy and the conservative committeemen was one of the most heated issues of the April 1905 Bolshevik



Members of the St. Petersburg Soviet during 1906 trial.



Meeting of the Zemstvo Congress in 1906.

vik congress. Lenin's motion on the subject was actually voted down by a slim majority. This motion calls upon the Bolsheviks to:

"...make every effort to strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses of the working class by raising still wider sections of the proletarians to full Social-Democratic consciousness, by developing their revolutionary Social-Democratic activity, by seeing to it that the greatest possible number of workers capable of leading the movement and the Party organizations be advanced from among the mass of the working class to membership on the local centers and on the all-Party center through the creation of a maximum number of working-class organizations adhering to our Party...."

—"Draft Resolution on the Relations Between Workers and Intellectuals Within the Social-Democratic Organizations" (April 1905)

In opposing a mass recruitment policy, the conservative Bolshevik committeemen quoted *What Is To Be Done?* with its line of "the narrower, the better." Lenin replied that the 1902 polemic sought to guide the formation of an oppositional grouping within a politically heterogeneous movement of underground propaganda circles. The tasks facing the Bolshevik organization in early 1905 were, to say the least, different.

Lenin was absolutely right to oppose a conservative attitude toward recruitment during the revolution of 1905. If the tens of thousands of subjectively revolutionary, but politically raw, young workers who came to the fore

they would naturally join the opportunist Mensheviks, the radical populist Social Revolutionaries or the anarchists. The revolutionary party would be deprived of a large and important proletarian generation. Without mass recruitment the Bolshevik party would have been sterilized during the revolution and thereafter.

Another aspect of the Bolshevik committeemen's apparatus conservatism was a sectarian attitude toward the mass organizations thrown up by the revolution—the trade unions and, above all, the soviets. The key St. Petersburg Soviet [council] of Workers' Deputies originated in October 1905 as a centralized general strike committee. While the Mensheviks embraced the trade unions and soviets precisely because of their loose, politically heterogeneous nature, a section of the Bolshevik leadership distrusted such organizations as competitors to the party.

soviets the organizational basis for a revolutionary government:

"To my mind, the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, as a revolutionary center providing political leadership, is not too broad an organization but, on the contrary, a much too narrow one. The Soviet must proclaim itself the provisional revolutionary government, or form such a government, and by all means enlist to this end the participation of new deputies not only from the workers, but, first of all, from the sailors and soldiers...; secondly, from the revolutionary peasantry, and thirdly, from the revolutionary bourgeois intelligentsia. The Soviet must select a strong nucleus for the provisional revolutionary government and reinforce it with representatives of all revolutionary parties and all revolutionary (but, of course, only revolutionary and not liberal) democrats."

—*Ibid.*

Lenin's positive orientation toward the trade unions and soviets in 1905 did not represent a change in his previous position on the vanguard party. On the contrary, the concept of the vanguard party presupposes and indeed requires very broad organizations through which the party can lead the mass of more backward workers. *What Is To Be Done?* states very clearly the relationship of the party to the trade unions:

"The workers' organizations for the economic struggle should be trade-union organizations. Every Social-Democratic worker should as far as possible assist and actively work in these organizations. But, while this is true, it is certainly not in our interest to demand that only Social-Democrats should be eligible for membership in the 'trade' unions, since that would only narrow the scope of our influence upon the masses. Let every worker who understands the need to unite for the struggle against the employers and the government join the trade unions. The very aim of the trade unions would be impossible of achievement, if they did not unite all who have attained at least this elementary degree of understanding, if they were not very broad organizations. The broader these organizations, the broader will be our degree of influence over them...." [emphasis in original]

### Did Lenin Renounce What Is To Be Done?

Almost every rightist revisionist has zeroed in on Lenin's fight for a mass recruitment policy and against apparatus conservatism to argue that the founder of contemporary communism abandoned the principles of *What Is To Be Done?* then and for all time. The British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff concludes that in 1905:

"On the idea that socialist consciousness could be brought in only from the 'outside', and that the working class could spontaneously achieve only trade-union consciousness, Lenin now formulated his conclusion in terms which were the exact opposite of those of *What is to be Done?* In an article called 'The Reorganization of the Party' written in November 1905, he says bluntly: 'The working class is instinctively, spontaneously Social Democratic'."

—*Op. cit.*

Jean-Jacques Marie, a leader of the French neo-Kautskyan Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, says practically the same thing:

"Lenin abandoned the rigidity in the definition which he had given of the relationship between 'consciousness' and 'spontaneity.' After the Second Congress (August 1903) he indicated that he had 'forced the note' or 'took the stick bent by the Economists and bent it the other way.' The 1905 Revolution could only force him to underline *What is to Be Done?*'s historical function for a particular moment."

—introduction to *Que Faire?* (1966)

Because all manner of reformists and centrists exploit Lenin's 1905 fight against apparatus conservatism for anti-Leninist purposes, it is extremely important to define precisely the issues of that dispute. What aspect or aspects of *What Is To Be Done?* did Lenin consider no longer relevant in 1905?

Lenin did not change his position on the relationship between consciousness and spontaneity. In 1905 and until his death, he maintained that the revolu-

continued on page 8

# 1905 Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

tionary vanguard party was uniquely the conscious expression of the historic interests of the proletariat. As we have pointed out, the April 1905 Bolshevik congress, where Lenin fought for a mass recruitment campaign, condemned the Mensheviks for "a general tendency to belittle the significance of consciousness, which they subordinate to spontaneity, in the proletarian struggle..." Lenin did not regard the "young fighters" and would-be recruits of 1905 as more politically advanced than the conservative Bolshevik committeemen. On the contrary, he insisted that the knowledgeable, hardened committeemen could and should raise the subjectively revolutionary "young fighters" to their own level.

Lenin did not water down the party's revolutionary program to attract more backward workers; he did not engage in demagoguery. This is obvious from the passage quoted from "New Forces and New Tasks." He also did not believe that broad recruitment required a downgrading in the responsibility and discipline of membership. The April Bolshevik congress replaced the loose 1903 Martovite definition of membership with Lenin's position on formal organizational participation. Nor did Lenin hold that the transformation of the Bolsheviks into a mass workers party should lead to a significant relaxation in organizational centralism. Throughout this period he reaffirmed his belief that centralism was a fundamental organizational principle of revolutionary social democracy. For example, in the article "The Jena Congress of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party" (September 1905), he wrote:

"It is important that the highly characteristic feature of this revision [of the SPD rules] should be stressed, i.e., the tendency toward further, more comprehensive and stricter application of the principle of *centralism*, the establishment of a stronger organization...."

"On the whole, this obviously shows that the growth of the Social-Democratic movement and of its revolutionary spirit necessarily and inevitably leads to the consistent establishment of centralism."

## Building on the Foundations of What Is To Be Done?

In what way then did Lenin regard *What Is To Be Done?* as inapplicable to the tasks facing the Bolsheviks in 1905? In 1905 Lenin advocated a lowering of the hitherto normal level of political experience and knowledge required for recruitment and also for leadership responsibilities. And this change was not so much in Lenin's concept of the vanguard party as in the consciousness of

the Russian proletariat. In the underground conditions of 1902-03, only a small number of advanced workers would adhere to the revolutionary social-democratic program, risking imprisonment and exile, and accept the discipline of the newly formed and faction-ridden RSDRP. After Bloody Sunday tens of thousands of militant young workers and also radical petty bourgeois wanted to become revolutionary social democrats, insofar as they understood what this meant. Broad recruitment in 1902-03 would have smothered the revolutionary elements of the RSDRP under a mass of backward, Russian Orthodox, liberal-tsarist workers. In 1905 the solid Bolshevik cadre organization was capable of assimilating large numbers of radicalized, though politically raw, workers.

Lenin's mass recruitment policy in 1905 was neither a repudiation nor a correction of the principles expressed in *What Is To Be Done?* but was based on their *successful implementation*. A necessary *precondition* for a broad recruitment campaign during a revolutionary crisis is a politically homogeneous cadre organization. And Lenin explicitly states this in a passage that Cliff himself quotes, but refuses to understand or is incapable of understanding:

"Danger may be said to lie in a sudden influx of large numbers of non-Social-Democrats into the Party. If that occurred, the Party would be dissolved among the masses, it would cease to be the conscious vanguard of the class, its role would be reduced to that of a tail. That would mean a very deplorable period indeed. And this danger could undoubtedly become a *very serious one* if we showed any inclination towards demagoguery, if we lacked party principles (program, tactical rules, organizational experience), or if those principles were feeble and shaky. But the fact is that no such 'ifs' exist.... [W]e have demanded class-consciousness from those joining the Party, we have insisted on the tremendous importance of continuity in the Party's development, we have preached discipline and demanded that every Party member be trained in one or another of the Party organizations. We have a firmly established Party program which is officially recognized by all Social-Democrats and the fundamental propositions of which have not given rise to any criticism.... We have resolutions on tactics which were consistently worked out at the Second and Third Congresses and in the course of many years' work of the Social-Democratic press. We also have some organizational experience and an actual organization, which has played an educational role and has undoubtedly borne fruit...." [emphasis in original]

—"The Reorganization of the Party" (November 1905)

A weak propaganda group or small, heterogeneous party which opens its gates during a revolutionary upsurge will be swamped by immature, impressionistic, volatile elements who will lead that party to disaster. This is precisely

what happened to the German Spartacusbund of Luxemburg and Liebknecht in 1918-19. Lenin's Bolsheviks in 1905 were able to avoid the tragic fate of the Spartacusbund because they had constructed an organization according to the principles of *What Is To Be Done?* for the previous five years.

Unlike the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks were in a sense swamped by their mass of radicalized recruits. Under the impact of the deepening revolution, the Menshevik leadership in effect *split*. Martov's chief lieutenant, Theodore Dan, and Martynov (of all people) supported Trotsky's campaign for a "workers government." Martov and Plekhanov adhered to the official Menshevik position of abstaining from the struggle for governmental power. Thus the revolution of 1905 found the two most authoritative figures of Menshevism isolated on the right wing of their own tendency.

It is doubtful that Lenin believed the large majority of those recruited in 1905 would remain Bolsheviks over the long haul, particularly if the revolution failed (as it did) and a period of reaction set in. But among those first drawn to revolutionary struggle in 1905, it was difficult to distinguish the genuinely advanced elements from the politically backward or deviant, the serious-minded revolutionaries from those simply caught up in the excitement of the moment. Only time and internal struggle would sort out the future Bolsheviks recruited during the revolution from the accidental accretions. During the revolution of 1905 the real Bolshevik party remained the committeemen of the *Iskra* period: the new recruits were in effect candidate members.

Under normal conditions a revolutionary organization selects, educates and trains its members in good part before they join. This preparatory process often occurs through a transitional organization (e.g., women's section, youth group, trade-union caucus). But during a revolutionary upsurge such a relatively lengthy pre-recruitment period may well deprive the vanguard party of some of the best young fighters who want to play a full political role through party participation. Given a sufficiently large and solid core cadre, the vanguard party should seek to recruit all the seemingly healthy elements who embrace the revolutionary Marxist program as best they understand it. The process of selection and education then takes place internally.

Mass recruitment during a revolution represents in extreme form a general characteristic of party growth and development. The transition from a prop-

aganda circle to a mass workers party is not a uniform, linear process. Periods of rapid growth and expansion into new milieus are typically followed by a period of consolidation, marked by a certain inward turning, leading to the crystallization of a new layer of cadre.

In June 1907 Lenin brought out a collection of his major writings entitled *Twelve Years*. At this time the Bolsheviks were still a mass, legal organization with an estimated membership of 45,000. The victory of tsarist reaction had not yet reduced the Bolsheviks to a relatively small underground network. The condition of the Bolsheviks in early 1907 and the situation they faced was thus very different from the *Iskra*ists of 1902-03.

Lenin therefore had to explain and emphasize the historical context and immediate factional purpose of *What Is To Be Done?* In his preface to *Twelve Years*, Lenin observes that:

"...the Economists had gone to one extreme. *What Is To Be Done?*, I said, straightens out what had been twisted by the Economists...."

"The meaning of these words is clear enough: *What Is To Be Done?* is a controversial correction of Economist distortions and it would be wrong to regard the pamphlet in any other light."

Every rightist revisionist (e.g., Tony Cliff, J.-J. Marie) has leapt upon these few sentences, as if they were a dispensation from heaven, in order to claim that Lenin regarded *What Is To Be Done?* as an exaggerated and historically obsolete political statement. This is a fundamental distortion of Lenin's meaning. *What Is To Be Done?* appeared one-sided in 1907 because it dealt with the crystallization of an agitational party composed of professional revolutionaries out of a loose movement of propaganda circles. The 1902 polemic did not deal with the transformation of such an agitational organization into a mass workers party, nor with the problems and tasks of a mass revolutionary party.

In the same preface to *Twelve Years*, Lenin asserts that building an organization of professional revolutionaries is a necessary stage in constructing a mass revolutionary proletarian party, of which they will be the vital hard core. He pointed out that the committeemen of the *Iskra* period formed the basis of all subsequent Bolshevik organizations:

"The question arises, who accomplished, who brought into being this superior unity, solidarity and stability of our Party. It was accomplished by the organization of professional revolutionaries, to the building of which *Iskra* made the greatest contribution. Anyone who knows our Party's history well, anyone who has had a hand in building the Party, has but to glance at the delegate list of any of the groups at, say, the [1907] London Congress, in order to be convinced of this and notice at once that it is a list of the old membership, the central core that had worked hardest of all to build up the Party and make it what it is."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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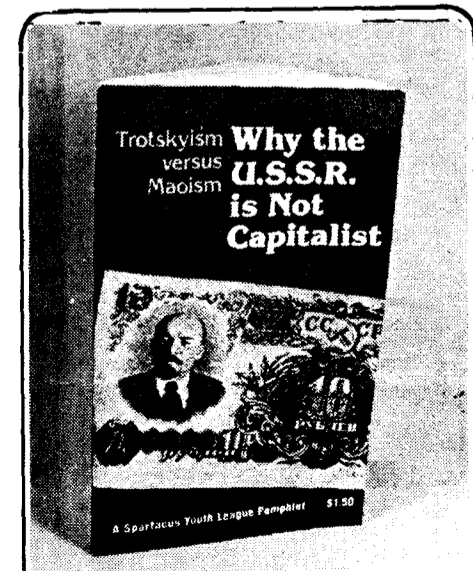
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## For Real Solidarity with the ILA

# Dump the Contract—Strike for Jobs!

—Reprinted from "Longshore Militant" No. 33, 6 October

Brothers, the ILWU has a golden opportunity to defend and solidarize with the ILA strike. We should jump at the chance. Their fight against the shippers for job security is our fight. The action taken by the ILWU honoring the official ILA picket lines established in L.A. and Oakland against the U.S. Lines' ship *American Aquarius* represents an important though limited first step of solidarity. The effectiveness of this action, the first ILWU coast-wise action since the '71-'72 strike, shows the potential power of this union. The last time that East and West Coast maritime unions linked hands in strike action was 1946. That national maritime strike put an end to the labor "peace" imposed during World War II by the government with the help of the labor bureaucrats and won some of the greatest gains in the maritime union's history. A determined battle by the ILWU membership to carry through on the solidarity actions could lead to an equally important victory this time.

### Extend the Action! Stop All Diverted Cargo!

The scope of the ILWU actions must be extended. The limitations imposed by the leadership undermine our effectiveness. When the ILA pickets were set up in Oakland, ILWU members were directed to work *behind the lines* but not on the *Aquarius* itself. In contrast, the IBT [Teamsters] and IAM [Machinists] refused to cross the line at all, helping to shut the whole operation down tight. This must be made official ILWU policy.

We must embargo *all* diverted cargo, not just that handled by

"common employers." West Coast shippers must not be permitted to attack the ILA strike by arranging to move diverted cargo for the struck companies. Similarly, the shipowners cannot be allowed to circumvent the strike against container operations by using break-bulk handling methods. All diverted cargo—container, break-bulk and perishable—must be stopped.

### Shut the Coast Down! Dump the Contract!

New Orleans longshoremen, recognizing the danger posed by Gleason exempting passenger ships, break-bulk, military and perishable cargo entirely, decided to go all the way and shut down all shipping to win what they need. They've got a point. The effective actions in L.A. and S.F. should be extended to draw the whole West Coast, from San Diego to Vancouver and Alaska, into strike action for what we need: jobs.

This is the ideal time to dump our own contract. The ILA is trying for its first ever coast-wise contract. So for the first time in years, East, South and Gulf port operations are being struck jointly. A solid West Coast strike would shut down all shipping and put the shipowners over a barrel. This is a rare chance to use the combined weight of a shutdown on both coasts as a tremendous lever to back up our demands.

We have nothing to lose and everything to gain. PMA [Pacific Maritime Association, the employers' association] has been nickel-and-diming us to death for years, slashing boards and gangs, depriving our disabled brothers of their right to earn a livelihood, cutting the PGP [Pay Guarantee Plan]. Now PMA is moving in for the kill.

The current [ILWU] leadership-engineered transfers combined with the declaration of additional Low Work Opportunity Ports are directly setting the stage for mass deregistrations under the "unusual circumstances" layoff provision of Supplement 3. We all know that in S.F. alone PMA wants a thousand men permanently off the waterfront.

A West Coast strike now would have the maximum chance of defeating the employers. We could win what we need: jobs for all longshoremen through a sharply reduced workshift at no loss in pay, manning scales on all operations, and the abolition of steady categories with all Master Contract jobs dispatched through the hall. Confronted with the same drastic loss of jobs, the official demands of the ILA strike (which Gleason has no intention of carrying out) are: 32 hours work at 40 hours pay, wages up from \$8 to \$10 per hour, secure pensions and a fully funded guarantee.

### "Solidarity Pact" Limits Effective Action

Herman and [ILWU International secretary-treasurer] McClain together with the entire Local 10 leadership will scream "impossible, illegal" at the proposal to dump the contract. They'll threaten us with dire consequences from injunctions. But that's the kind of thinking which has led them and Bridges before them to stand by with arms folded while PMA picked us to pieces.

The "new" International regime and their Local 10 hatchetmen want to keep ILWU solidarity actions to a strict minimum and under the tight control of the ILWU and ILA tops. They fear that the member-

ship will take matters into their own hands and in the process cast them and their pro-company policies aside. The so-called "solidarity pact" is filled with Catch-22's to prevent effective membership action.

The provision that only pickets sanctioned by the International president will be honored is a ~~clerk~~ to be used against rebellious ~~locals~~ like New Orleans should they dare send pickets to the West Coast. [Local 10 business agent Herb] Mills stated flatly that the ILWU leadership would not honor rank and file picket lines when he led the pack at the last Executive Board in voting down our motion "...to honor any picket lines established by ILA members." And the provision that no solidarity actions will be mounted in violation of court orders or contracts is Herman/Gleason's pledge to run up the white flag of surrender in advance!

### Elect Strike Committees!

The membership must seize this opportunity to act in solidarity with the ILA and go for our own demands. Longshoremen and clerks in every port should elect strike committees from boards, gangs, stewards councils, etc., in order to avoid being trapped by the restrictive policies of the leadership and to be prepared to ensure membership control of the union. Coordinated action between the ILWU and ILA, calling on the seamen's unions to join us, can defeat government/employer attacks, including a Taft-Hartley injunction. You can't load ships without longshoremen. The time for action has come. We must strike now in order to win the jobs which are every worker's right.

## For a Joint ILA/ILWU Strike...

(continued from page 12)

bly try to bankrupt.

An industry-wide dock strike of all cargo must be organized around the demand of guaranteed jobs for all longshoremen. Canadian ports must be closed as well, since both Halifax, Nova Scotia and St. John, New Brunswick have already handled diverted U.S. cargo and shippers plan to use Montreal's extensive facilities in the event of a protracted strike. Gleason stated however that the strike would not be expanded without calling local presidents or the approval of the ILA Executive Council.

In order to overturn Gleason's no-win policies, ILA militants must elect strike committees to organize mass picketing and challenge the union bureaucracy's "leadership" of the strike. The militant solidarity of the two New Orleans locals has won the temporary support of local bureaucrats at least to the extent of opening the hall to the strikers and providing official picket signs. So far even the International has refrained from openly condemning the complete shutdown of the port, although an International representative was scheduled to speak to the Local 1418 membership today.

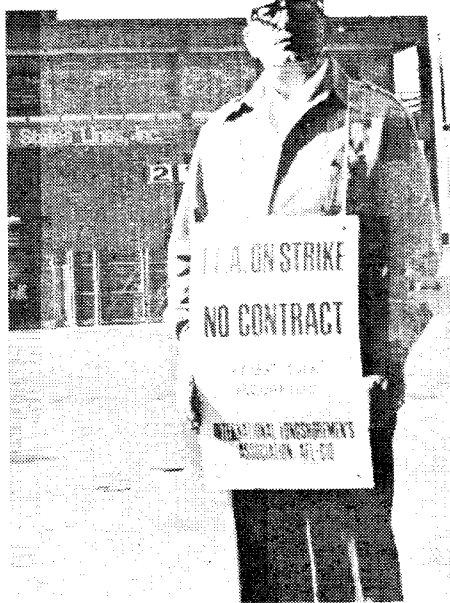
One Local 1419 member told *WV* he was certain that Gleason's flunky would attempt to exploit the color divisions between the two locals. Local 1419,

almost entirely black, has 2,500 members to Local 1418's 650 white members. The traditional militancy of these locals, despite their bureaucratically maintained segregation, does not lessen the urgency of abolishing all forms of Jim Crow unionism.

A militant ILA dock strike totally shutting down East and Gulf Coast ports around demands for full employment on the waterfront would find great support in the seamen's unions and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), which have also seen their membership rolls slashed by automation. (See accompanying article on reaction to the ILA strike among West longshoremen). All North American ports must be shut down tight in a joint maritime and waterside workers strike.

Another decisive question facing ILA strikers is government intervention. Although President Carter has not yet dictated an 80-day "cooling off period," Wayne Horvitz, the director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service is shuttling between the ILA negotiators and the shippers' association, and a no-strike injunction remains a threat. Since the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act was passed in 1947, 12 of the anti-strike injunctions issued from the White House have concerned maritime strikes.

In part, Gleason's order to handle non-containerized cargo has minimized Carter's concern over the danger of a longshore strike since the effects of tying up only containerized freight will not be felt for several weeks. Longshoremen must be prepared to resist all forms of



WV Photo

### ILA picket in front of United States Lines terminal in Oakland.

government strikebreaking measures, from limitations on picketing to back-to-work orders.

But no such militancy can be expected from the gangster-ridden ILA bureaucracy. Militants in the once-powerful waterfront unions can defend their jobs and their unions only through a united struggle on all three coasts, beginning with the fight to oust the treacherous leaders of the maritime unions. ■

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# Steel...

(continued from page 3)

estic industry has been forced to give buyers discounts from listed prices.

In fact, Balanoff's program of government investigation of steel prices has already been carried out, by Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability. The CWPS study found, not surprisingly, that it was the higher prices of American-made steel products that were responsible for a significant loss of the domestic market. However, the reason for this was not monopoly super-profits, but the higher costs of the inefficient American industry. And the conclusion which the bourgeoisie draws from this—rationalizing production, closing down marginal facilities, elimination of thousands of jobs, and driving down the living standards of the workforce—is of no comfort to steel workers.

The monopoly price-fixing claim is simply an attempt by Balanoff to maintain a semblance of anti-protectionist rhetoric without going beyond the bounds of trade-union reformism. By denying the acute character of the crisis in steel, Sadlowski/Balanoff excuse themselves from undertaking a militant fight against the bosses. The last thing these servile bureaucrats want is what is really necessary—plant occupations and an industry-wide strike against the mass layoffs, politically challenging U.S. capitalism, which seeks to reorganize its steel industry on the backs of the American working class.

But these reformist gimmicks simply lack credibility and already a number of oppositional bureaucrats have begun to defect towards protectionism. Ed Mann is not the only such "leader" to capitulate to McBride's policies. Recently John Chico, president of Local 65 and a prominent Sadlowski supporter, announced that he felt the "local should back restrictions on imports of products similar to South Works" (*Daily Calumet*, 3 September). It is not accidental that Mann and Chico are among the first defections: Mann is from Youngstown, which has been hard hit by the layoffs, and Chico is from U.S. Steel's

South Works, threatened by a plant closing. Certainly the pressures to capitulate to protectionism are most intense in those areas.

The logic of the situation is clear. McBride has a "program" for jobs—protectionism. It is chauvinist and reactionary to the core. Even were it realized, there would still be more plant closings and the institution of more brutal forms of exploitation designed to make the American steel industry profitable. But McBride's opponents have absolutely no alternative.

The Sadlowski/Balanoff bureaucrats were able to win support among a considerable number of steel workers who mistakenly believe their occasional rhetoric about the importance of the strike weapon. Were there ever a time to strike—with thousands of jobs hanging in the balance—it is now.

But they will not lead that fight. They did not challenge Abel and McBride in the past, and they will not do so now, when they are confronted not only by the steel bosses but by the entire American bourgeoisie, who cannot make concessions to steel workers without precipitating a further wrenching decline of U.S. imperialism. The fake oppositionists would rather crawl back to McBride than fight capitalism.

The beginning of the disintegration of the Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the bureaucracy is an important confirmation of the bankruptcy of these reformists. Contrary to the claims of the fake leftists, whose left-wing apologists claimed that they represented a "class-struggle" alternative to Abel/McBride, their differences with the class-collaborationist USWA tops have never been qualitative. Of greater significance than the squabbling that separated them was their mutual defense of the capitalist order.

The Sadlowski/Balanoff "opposition" was nothing but an election device for out-bureaucrats. There are only two real choices that confront steel workers. One is the abject class-collaborationism and vicious protectionism most clearly expressed by McBride. The other is the path of bitter class struggle against capitalism. ■

# Steel for Peace?

While top bureaucrats of the United Steelworkers join the American steel trust in demanding protectionist import curbs, the Sadlowski fake-oppositionists call for "anti-monopoly" price rollbacks. But perhaps the most bizarre quack scheme to save steel workers' jobs without fighting capitalism comes from the Communist Party (CP), which calls for "Steel for Peace." The CP's *Ohio Steelworker* (October 1977) admonishes in its inaugural issue.

"Less than 2 percent of U.S. steel production goes into ordnance and other military items.

"The arms race is a major reason for the stagnation of the steel industry and the reduction of many steel communities to ghost towns....

"Armaments use less steel than non-military goods."

The *Ohio Steelworker* calls for "an end to the arms race, for disarmament and a policy of peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries and democratic, no-strings-attached aid to the developing countries. This would provide a different framework within which the steel industry could operate—one that helps it, not hinders it."

Over the years, the Communist Party USA, sometimes confused with the Kremlin's trade agency Amtorg, has proffered détente as a cure for just about every social ill of American capitalism. Blurbs in the *Daily World* proclaim "Détente Means Jobs." At one point Soviet wheat deals were supposed to save the Midwest farmer from financial ruin. And last year the cynical Stalinists outdid themselves in an article entitled "WEATHER HIGHLIGHTS BENEFITS OF DETENTE." It began:

"As the worst cold in 100 years gripped the Eastern U.S. this week, many were asking: Is the climate changing? Is a new Ice Age coming? Will the crazy weather patterns ruin farmers' crops?"

"U.S.-Soviet detente is essential for answering these questions."

—*Daily World*, 29 January 1977

The CP's "Steel for Peace" pitch is only the latest in these reformist hustles. While the CP-supported National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee maintains that, "Contrary to the massive propaganda on this question, steel imports are NOT rising," in the last year imported steel has risen from 14.5 percent of U.S. consumption (1976) to an estimated 18 percent in 1977. The sharp crisis of American steel is not a monopoly plot but the result of old-fashioned capitalist competition between U.S. and Japanese imperialism.

Challenged by a qualitatively more efficient competitor, the American steel industry will not be saved by Soviet trade contracts any more than by protectionist legislation. More fundamentally, the Stalinist ploy is an attempt to convince steel workers that there is a solution to their problems without overthrowing the capitalist system. But as any crusty Pentagon dinosaur could suggest, a new fleet of battleships or perhaps a few thousand heavy tanks would also generate plenty of demand for American steel.

Communists do not hoodwink the workers. The current steel crisis is the product of powerful forces inherent in the capitalist system. The ultimate conclusion of the protectionist legislation pushed by the steel bosses and USWA bureaucrats alike is imperialist war. While McBride & Co. say "Buy American" and the CP says "Buy Soviet," class-struggle militants in the Steelworkers say "Dump all the bureaucrats and fight for a workers government which will do away with the profit-hungry robber barons once and for all!"

# Stop the Witchhunt Against Puerto Rican Nationalists!

Demonstrators gathered outside the Manhattan Correction Center September 26 to demand an end to the grand jury witchhunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement and immediate release of Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for refusing to cooperate with the "investigations." More than 30 people came out on a miserable rainy day to the demonstration called by the New York Committee to End Grand Jury Repression. Inside the jail prisoners cheered the demonstrators and waved a Puerto Rican flag from an upper-story window in solidarity.

Along with supporters of the New York-based committee, those participating included the Spartacist League (SL), the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and members of the prisoners' families. SL signs demanded, "Down with Grand Jury Witchhunts Against Puerto Rican Militants," "Independence for Puerto Rico" and "For United Defense Against Imperialist Attacks on Independence Movements." The protestors were extensively photographed by the NYC police.

Under the guise of investigating a series of bombings attributed to the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN—Armed Forces of National Liberation), the U.S. government is using the grand jury

to conduct a fishing expedition directed against the entire Puerto Rican independence movement. To date eight people have been imprisoned, not one of them accused of having the remotest connection with the FALN. Their only "crime" has been a refusal to testify before this kangaroo court.

Two women imprisoned last February, Raisa Nemikin and Maria Cueto, members of the Episcopal Church National Commission on Hispanic Affairs (see "Grand Jury Witchhunts Puerto Rican Nationalists," *WV* No. 148, 11 March 1977) are still in jail. Five others were interned last month. José López, Robert Caldero and Pedro Archuleta were arrested in Chicago. And on August 17, Julio Andrés and Luis Rosado were given nine-month sentences for refusing to provide fingerprints, palm prints, handwriting and voice samples to the New York grand jury. All three were long-time activists in the nationalist movement.

While the Episcopal Church Hispanic Commission has been the grand jury's main focus, many other groups, including the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, have been targeted as well. On August 4 in New York David Perez was jailed on charges of possession of weapons the police say were found in a



WV Photo

Bronx apartment raided the day after two NYC bombing attempts. Perez, a former defense minister of the Young Lords, is not charged with any crimes connected to the bombings or even of connections with the FALN. His misfortune was to visit the apartment, where police say there were stickers bearing such

slogans as "Free the Five Nationalist Prisoners," "Support the FALN," and "Stop the Grand Jury."

Marxists oppose individual terrorism as an impotent strategy of despair, based on a lack of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class. U.S. imperialist domination of Puerto Rico will not be ended by blowing up a few banks. Moreover, some of the bombings attributed to the FALN, such as the 1975 bombing of the Frances Tavern (in which four people were killed), and the recent explosion in the personnel office of the Mobil Oil Company during working hours (resulting in the death of an innocent bystander), are utterly criminal acts of indiscriminate terror whose victims are not enemies of the working class.

But the present grand jury witchhunt is a bald attempt to break up the Puerto Rican independence movement. Despite their misguided terrorist and nationalist politics, the FALN and all fighters for Puerto Rican independence must be defended against imperialist repression. The SL and PDC demand the immediate release of all those who refused to testify, that charges against David Perez be dropped and the grand jury/FBI witchhunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement be halted!

# Bakke...

(continued from page 5)

blacks seek democratic rights. The Supreme Court will not challenge the formal notion of black equality, nor will it decisively strip away the formal conception that "race can be a factor" in deciding admissions policy. But in a sense Bakke has already won. Special admissions are on the decline; very few new programs are in the offing. Rita Clancy, for instance, is already in Davis Medical School on the basis of a suit similar to Bakke's. New Jersey has just dumped its special admissions program.

In a larger sweep, too, the bourgeoisie is at war with the aberrant use of the courts to redress economic and social injustice. It is in fact the courts' real role to help the capitalists enforce economic and social injustice. It is important to realize that the stated adversaries in the Bakke case seem in fact to be in collusion. The University of California Regents have taken the case to the Supreme Court intentionally without buttressing their case with examples of their own past discrimination, as in the 1954 Brown case. Clearly, the Regents want to wash their hands of the special admissions program which they are ostensibly defending against the Bakke appeal.

In many ways the Bakke decision presents a very different legal situation from the doctrine of "separate but equal." For the bourgeoisie is not now looking for an open juridical assertion of racial inequality. Whether or not Bakke is overturned, there already ex-

ists a doctrine of "reverse discrimination." The courts need no stated doctrine to establish it, for it is already established in economic and social reality. All the courts need to do is to narrow the basis of legal remedy offered in the civil rights cases of the 1950's and 1960's and the job is done. And that they are doing, with recent rulings against busing and districting. The court has ruled that the effect of racism is not the business of the court, that racist intent must be proved. Thus segregation in northern ghettos gets sharper and sharper while the lines between city and suburb get more and more inviolable for purposes of desegregation. This the court declares is not "intent," but the normal workings of society—and they are right. This is how American capitalist society works to oppress blacks and other minorities: the making of a reserve labor pool forced to live under unspeakably miserable conditions.

In all of these cases which argue that "intent" must be shown in order to make racial oppression the business of the courts, the rights of black people to social equality are maintained in the abstract. Therefore blacks have an "equal opportunity" to education, but can't be used across school district lines to get it. Blacks have an equal opportunity to become nuclear physicists if they are "qualified." They have an equal opportunity to housing if they can afford it, and so on. The real oppression of blacks exists in their forced segregation as a caste at the bottom of the working class. There can never be equality unless there is economic equality.

What the civil rights laws would make possible, the liberals said, was the way out of those wretched ghettos. But those laws are sanctifying the situation that exists. The ruling on "intent" does not formally annul the civil rights acts, but it renders them empty. Courts cannot long be an instrument of social change removed from a political base for that change.

Thus what we have is a steady erosion of the social content of the civil rights laws, in the direction of abstract formal statements of blacks' rights to equality with no legal remedy to attain those rights. In this sense the Bakke decision and the effect of other recent decisions is closer to the Dred Scott case of 1857 than to "separate but equal." In the case of Dred Scott, the runaway slave had an abstract right to freedom in the North but could not successfully gain his freedom through a suit in the courts. Thus, he was declared to have a "right" but offered no mechanism to enforce that right when it was violated.

Similarly, the norm for bourgeois democracy is that blacks are formally legally equal but are in fact separate and unequal.

What is most ironic is the way in which the liberals, the reformists and their "left" tails evidence shock and dismay at the actions of the courts—because the capitalist courts are now acting just like capitalist courts. Reformists like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party have set up the masses of oppressed blacks as victims for the present reaction, and now respond as if it is the courts who have betrayed. But it is not the courts who have betrayed their role as a cog in the racist machinery of the capitalist state. It is the reformists who have betrayed, by seeking to bind the black masses to their sworn enemies.

Having colluded with the capitalist state to ensure the continuing powerlessness of America's desperate black population, the reformists have nothing to offer except more of the same defeats. Especially today, even reforms—and certainly a major reform in the direction of black equality, such as school desegregation—cannot be accomplished in America without a struggle for proletarian revolution. Is it not beyond insult for Jimmy Carter to go slumming amid the ruins of the South Bronx, to contemplate the building of a playground here upon this square mile of rubble, to offer funds for a renovated building on this city block of abandoned burnt-out shells? What about jobs for the unemployed minority youth? What about social services, housing? The fact is that Carter's public relations stunt is among the crueler statements of a president who faced down poor women protesting the denial of federal funds for abortion with the aphorism, "Life isn't fair." Well, life certainly isn't fair in Carter's America for the black, the poor, the workers—despite Constitutional "guarantees" to the contrary. The decay of the ghettos, and the junking of an entire generation of black youth, is irreversible under capitalism. Billionnaire business leader J.B. Fuqua, Carter's good friend, presented Carter's "philosophy" for blacks with rare candor:

"Philosophically, we're going to have to face the fact that many people in this country are no longer profitable to employ. [Blacks] are the least capable of producing in today's society. You park a certain percentage of them—like antiquated machinery—and you support them through welfare...which we're doing. They say they haven't had the opportunities, but that doesn't change things. The fact is many are not productive; they're just not as skillful as whites."

—New York Magazine, 26 September

Not even a significant reform can be wrested from capitalism except through the class struggle. The road to black liberation has always been through socialist revolution. But even reforms that will make any real difference must be signposts along the same road. ■

# Nuclear Power...

(continued from page 3)

(Scientific American, June 1977). Moreover, scientists are increasingly worried about the effects of the accumulation of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere; the "greenhouse effect" is thought to be capable of producing severe climactic changes.

The volume of radioactive waste (and the number of lethal dosages) produced by nuclear power plants are small compared to the total volume of poisons produced by U.S. industry. Most of these poisons do not afford the advantage of decay to a benign state. Chemical poisons such as sulfur dioxide, barium and arsenic are not buried in underground vaults; arsenic is used as a herbicide and is routinely scattered on the ground in food-growing regions; sulfur dioxide is contained in stack effluents.

M.A. and B.C. accuse us of inconsistency. They say that the Spartacist League "does oppose the dangers which mine operations pose to workers.... Similarly, it should oppose nuclear fission reactors." We suggest, however, that the inconsistency is theirs. Our immediate response to unsafe industrial conditions is to call for trade-union control of safety, not the destruction of an industry. In fact, if we were to adopt our critics' methodology, we should call for an end to coal mining. Such a demand would certainly do little for our authority with the most combative section of the U.S. proletariat.

It is certainly difficult to pick and choose among the various ways by which capitalism offers to poison us. But the fundamental point is that the choice is not ours and we assume no responsibility for it. We will assume responsibility for technology when our class holds state power, and not before.

One final issue raised by M.A. and B.C. must be dealt with. They accuse us of specious reasoning, empirically stating that we dismiss the dangers of nuclear fission reactors by comparing them with the threat posed by nuclear weapons. They have missed the political point.

The anti-nuclear power movement is politically dangerous precisely because it distracts the proletariat from the struggle against the imperialists armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons. While screaming their heads off about the ominous perils of leaky reactor cores, the anti-nuke protestors are oblivious to the hundreds of kilograms of plutonium the U.S. bourgeoisie explodes yearly to perfect weapons systems aimed at maintaining its class rule, and to the tens of thousands of kilograms of plutonium sitting in warheads, some flying overhead, the firing of which is in the hands of the Nixons, Fords and Carters.

Further, as Trotskyists committed to the unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism, we support the continued development of nuclear weaponry and delivery systems by these states, including the necessary testing of such weapons despite the radioactive substances this introduces into the "ecosystem." The reason is quite simple. Without these weapons, the U.S. would long ago have consigned Moscow, Peking and Hanoi to the fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In this case, "the existence of one risk" does "justify [indeed, it compels] the introduction of another even if of apparent lesser magnitude."

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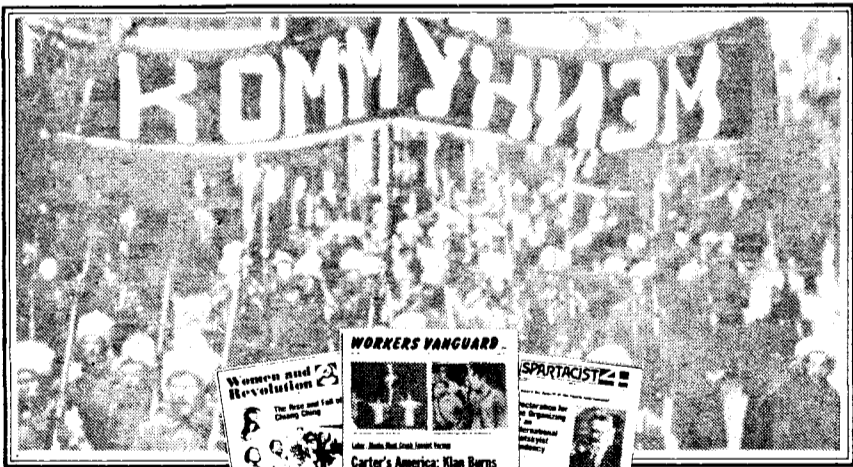
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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Shut Down All North American Ports!

### New Orleans Dock Wildcat 100% Solid

OCTOBER 11—Ships remained idle in ports from Maine to Texas in the second week of a strike by 50,000 members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The victory of this strike and the very future of the union, however, remain in grave danger due to the misleadership of ILA president Thomas Gleason, whose spineless policies spell defeat for thousands of dockworkers who face unemployment as a result of automation and government intervention in the union.

The strike affects only containerized freight. Gleason has exempted non-containerized "break bulk" cargo on conventional freighters and passenger ships, as well as military goods and perishable items which longshoremen are continuing to handle. Militants must demand that ILA leaders observe the first rule of trade unionism—no contract, no work—and immediately pull all ILA members off the docks regardless of the cargo!

Workers in New Orleans, the nation's second largest port, have taken this fundamental step to win the strike. On October 8, locals 1418 and 1419 defied Gleason for the third time in eight days by voting to continue a complete shutdown of the port. On September 30, members of these locals refused to handle break bulk cargo such as steel, wood, and grain which constitute 75 percent of the city's port freight. At a second meeting on October 4, local hacks got as far as moving and seconding a proposal to comply with Gleason's selective strike when "pandemonium broke out in the hall," according to one member present at the meeting. Local president Wilfred Daliet left the meeting under police escort. A Local 1419 member told *WV*, "The majority of the membership knew that we were being railroaded"; and the angry ranks demanded a secret ballot to determine the future course of the strike. On October 8 the membership voted 804 to 504 to keep the port shut tight.

Despite complaints from local bureaucrats that the general strike is the work of a minority, the shutdown has been solidly supported. At a meeting on October 10, Local 1419 voted unanimously to level a \$500 fine against any longshoreman who crosses a picket line. More than 100 militants picket daily and there is no shortage of volunteers to picket at the "hot spots" where scabs have tried to pass in previous strikes. *WV* learned that other Gulf ports are completely closed as well, including

Mobile, Alabama; four banana boats remain stranded off Gulfport, Mississippi.

In addition to a \$2/hour wage increase, maintaining work gang sizes and reduced working hours, the chief demand of the ILA is a national contract provision to guarantee a minimum annual income for longshoremen along the entire Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Such guarantees have been negotiated locally in the past, and shippers, particularly in South Atlantic and Gulf ports are reluctant to share this expense with companies in mid-Atlantic and Northeast ports. The southern companies especially want to avoid contributing to New York's "guaranteed annual income" (GAI) fund which in the 1974 contract assured longshoremen 2080 hours pay per year and cost \$35 million to maintain.

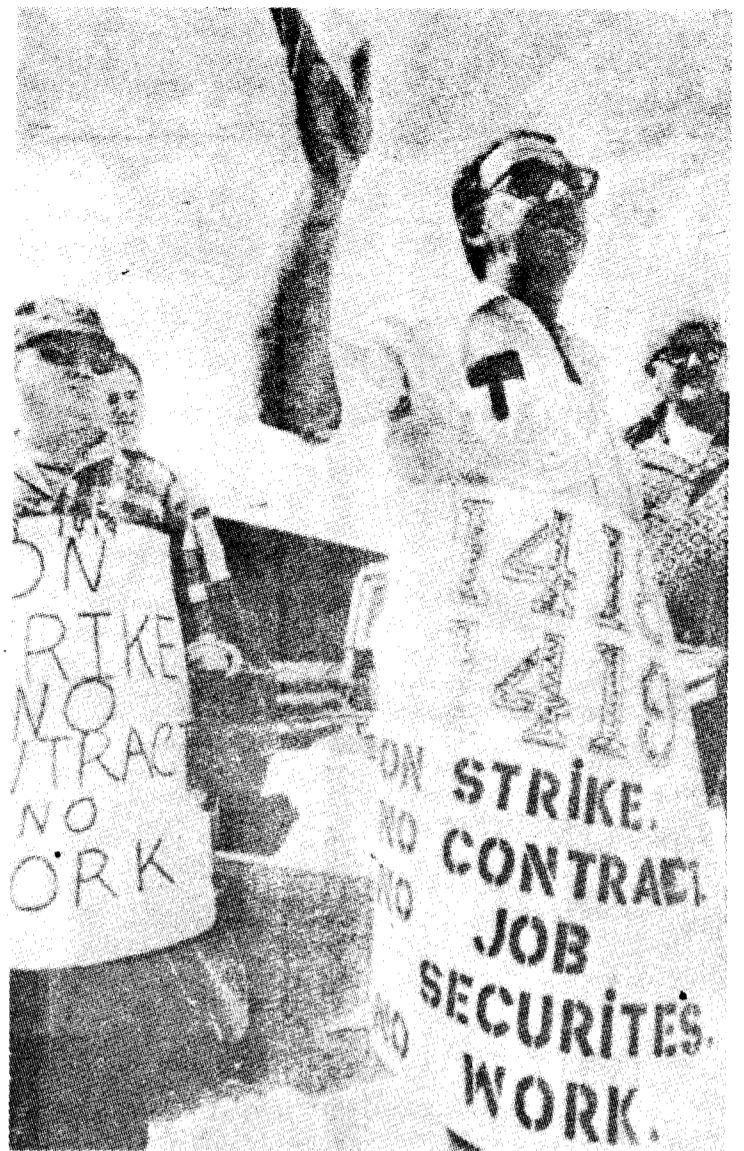
The GAI funds were established to compensate the union for the massive loss of jobs due to containerization. Since 1966 when containers were first used for foreign trade, dock productivity has rocketed from one ton of cargo per man-hour to as much as 300 tons! Containerization of shipping has accounted for more than 28,000 jobs lost since the mid-1950's in the New York-New Jersey port alone, and the shipping industry expects the total number of containers to double in ten years.

Prior to 1975, all stuffing and stripping of containers within 50 miles of the docks had to be performed by ILA members. Violations resulted in heavy fees paid to the union. However, a court ruling last spring struck down the 50-mile provision of the ILA contract, putting the GAI funds and thousands of longshore jobs in immediate jeopardy. With the union's back to the wall, Gleason's "answer" is to create a national fund, so as to spread the financial cost to southern shippers. While this is a supportable demand, it will not save the "pay guarantee" as recent experience with the West Coast ILWU plan shows.

At a minimum, ILA militants must demand that the GAI benefits be equalized coast-wide at the highest (New York) level. In order to prevent the loss of thousands of jobs annually and the eventual destruction of the union, the strike demands must include a drastically shortened workweek at no loss in pay—guaranteed in the contract rather than dependent on the "royalties" of a fund which the employers will predictably

*continued on page 9*

ILA strikers in New Orleans.



UPI

## For a Joint ILA/ILWU Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 9—The longshore ranks of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) now have a rare opportunity to link up with their class brothers on the East and Gulf Coasts, where much shipping is already tied up by the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). A total shutdown of all West Coast shipping, in solidarity with the East and Gulf Coast strikers, is essential to reverse the employers' offensive and fight for urgently needed jobs through a shorter workshift at no loss in pay. But the fake "mutual aid agreement" between the ILWU's president Jimmy Herman and the ILA's president Teddy Gleason is designed to *derail* real solidarity through a token show of solidarity followed by retreat.

The Gleason/Herman agreement is reminiscent of the 1971 "strike alliance" between Gleason and Harry Bridges. That "alliance" was deliberately destroyed from the beginning by the Gleason/Bridges agreement to obey government injunctions:

"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 afterwards 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 30 days beyond February 14 to ensure 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."  
—*WV* No. 6, March 1972

The agreement between Gleason and Bridges' hand-picked successor Herman has the same legal limitations. Thus, according to the agreement, each union can respect each other's picket lines only if this is "part of a bona fide dispute with a common employer" and is "officially sanctioned and approved" by the International leadership and if "the picket line is not established in violation of a court order or collective bargaining agreement to the contrary" ([ILWU] *Dispatcher*, 23 September).

So far the solidarity has been token at best, with Gleason limiting his strikers to container lines. The ILA strikers hit the West Coast last week by tying up the U.S. Lines container ship *Aquarius* in Los Angeles and then in the San Francisco/Bay Area/Oakland port. A few other ships in Oakland, L.A. and Seattle have also reportedly been halted. Immediately the employers challenged the legality of the picket lines and the two sides went to arbitration. In L.A. (Long Beach) the arbitrator ruled that ILWU joint action was legal, while in the Bay Area arbitrator Armon Barsinian ruled on October 6 that it was illegal. While the ILWU continues to honor the picket lines in the Bay Area, there is every indication that the "solidarity" will be withdrawn by the International as soon as the legal appeals are exhausted.

But longshoremen cannot hang their jobs on the good will of the capitalist government. A leaflet (printed on page 9) issued by the "Longshore Militant," a class-struggle opposition in ILWU Local 10, points the way forward to victory in this strike. Only in the struggle for a workers government can longshoremen permanently exorcise the plague of unemployment. ■