

## Stand-Off in Municipal Elections

# Portugal: Rightist Danger Behind the Calm

DECEMBER 15—Preparing for the third nationwide elections in a year (held last Sunday), Portuguese prime minister Mário Soares lauded the “stability” and “democracy” of his minority Socialist Party (PS) government as right-wing plotters stepped up their activities and workers protested the severe austerity measures. But Soares’ anti-labor policies have not had the effect of restoring tranquility or shoring up “constitutional government.” On the contrary, they have only whetted the appetite of the increasingly vocal extreme right, which is demanding the *saneamento* (purge) of leftists from all spheres of public activity. And although the test of strength between right and left in the elections ended in a standoff, the apparent calm at present is the shaky equilibrium of powerful forces at loggerheads with each other.

Despite the subsiding of mass struggles since the successful power grab by center and right-wing forces in the army last November 25, the protracted pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal continues. The “military left” is no longer a force to be reckoned with, but the workers (urban and rural) have not been dealt a sharp defeat. Cautious government attempts to restore occupied landed estates to their former owners and to break the Communist Party (PCP) hold on the Intersindical trade-union federation have been contained or rebuffed.

During October teachers, students and industrial workers demonstrated against the crackdown on university

autonomy by the hated PS minister of education, Mário Sottomayor Cardio. In November tens of thousands of workers responded to calls by the PCP to protest price hikes, wage controls and cutbacks in government employment ordered by the Soares cabinet. Yet during the same period right-wing bomb attacks were launched at several Lisbon sites, including the home of the former minister of agriculture, a leader of the left wing of the PS.

In September, one gang of reactionary bombers (responsible for more than 200 attacks in the previous 17 months) was captured. Among those arrested was the police chief of Porto, Major Mota Freitas. Freitas is closely associated with the northern regional military commander, General Antonio Pires Veloso, and appeared with the latter at the reviewing stand during ceremonies celebrating the anniversary of November 25 (*Expresso*, 26 November). Pires Veloso, in turn, has been repeatedly linked to rumored coup plots. In early October 50 lower-level officers were arrested at a clandestine meeting allegedly sparked by complaints over lack of advancement (a cause championed by Pires, who has sought to arouse sentiment among former non-coms against the professional officers who led the Armed Forces Movement [MFA] which overthrew Caetano).

In the civilian right, the Social Democratic Center (CDS) and Social Democratic Party (PSD—formerly the Popular Democrats) have been calling for a government of the “presidential



Portuguese president Eanes

Gamma

majority”—those parties that supported former armed forces chief of staff Ramalho Eanes in the June elections (PS, PSD and CDS). In the wake of polarization within the Socialist Party, the PSD and CDS have become more boisterous and are now calling for a military prime minister and a split in the PS. Eanes, for his part, has so far supported the Soares cabinet, but at a November 25 celebration warned that “the armed forces must stop being an excuse for inefficiency and indecision.” Rumors circulated in Lisbon that if the Socialist vote dropped sharply in the December 12 municipal elections, Eanes might depose the prime minister and install a “non-party” government of technicians and military men.

### Electoral Impasse

Much to the chagrin of the Portuguese right, the elections for municipal councils indicated no significant movement in the political balance of forces during the last six months. The governing Socialists lost ground, although not significantly, and remained the largest party with 33 percent of the vote. The PCP-dominated “Povo Unido” (People United) electoral front showed an incremental gain in receiving slightly under 18 percent, while the PSD (with 24 percent) and the CDS (17 percent) were roughly stable. In contrast to the earlier elections, which attracted a heavy turnout, more than a third of the voters stayed away from the polls.

That the election results do not indicate political stabilization is demonstrated by the sharp divisions within the

PS between the Soares majority and a strong left-wing minority based on the white collar unions (teachers and clerical workers). At the late October Socialist Party congress the minority was able to muster 25 percent of the delegate votes. Dissension centered around Soares’ government program which called for restricting the right to strike, facilitating the firing of workers and removing the legal monopoly of the Intersindical labor federation.

Soares’ commitment to “democracy” immediately found its expression in a cabinet reshuffling following the PS congress. The only “left-winger” in the government, minister of agriculture António Lopes Cardoso, was removed from all party bodies (whereupon he resigned from the cabinet) and five prominent party leaders (two parliamentary deputies and three trade unionists) were suspended. In the words of a key Soares supporter, Manuel Alegre, “What we need is a November 25 in our party.”

The PCP went into the municipal elections hoping to re-establish a base for entry into the government. Following the April 1974 coup, the PCP managed to capture most of the old municipal councils and clean out Salazarist officials. In December, hoping to capitalize on residual authority they had maintained in the councils, the Stalinists “united” with their earlier petty-bourgeois “democratic” electoral front and a split-off from the Socialists (the FSP) in the municipal elections.

The program of the “Povo Unido”

## How Maoists “Restore Capitalism” in the Soviet Union . . . . . 6

A review of Martin Nicolaus’ *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR*

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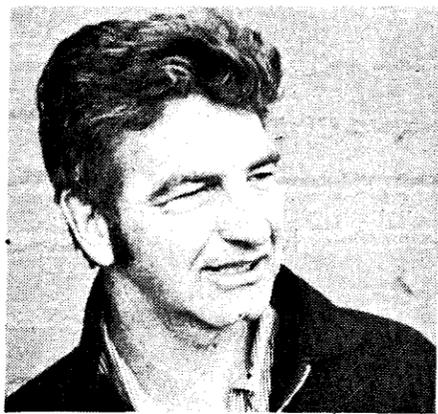
# 41 Come to Trial in January

# Defend Victimized ILWU Strike Militants!

## Break the Anti-Union Offensive—Drop the Charges Now!

SAN FRANCISCO, December 20—Forty-one members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Locals 6 and 10 face trial next month on charges stemming from last June's master contract strike and related Bay Area walkouts. The various charges—ranging from misdemeanors to major felonies—threaten jail terms from several weeks up to life imprisonment in one case, and among those facing trial are Local 6 president Curtis McClain as well as rank-and-file militants including supporters of the Militant Caucus. Coming on the heels of the recent passage of a San Francisco city charter amendment outlawing public employees strikes and the murder of an ILWU picketer in the Handyman strike, the trials are clearly designed to extend the bourgeoisie's anti-strike offensive.

According to the latest issue of "Warehouse Militant" (16 December), published by the Militant Caucus, the pressing of charges goes directly against the amnesty which ILWU secretary treasurer Goldblatt had reported as part



Stan Gow

WV Photo

of the contract settlement last June. The employers are clearly violating the agreement in order to intimidate all potential strikers and picketers. For instance, 34 of the defendants, including McClain and business agent Al Lannon, are facing a possible year or more of jail on misdemeanor charges stemming from the strike action at Folger's, where picketers sat down in front of a scab truck convoy in the June strike. The "Warehouse Militant" reports that "In a deliberate slap at the union, five of these brothers were arrested *two months after the strike*, after already having been suspended without pay for up to four weeks" (emphasis in original).

Other cases reported by the Militant Caucus newsletter give a picture of the broad sweep of the employer attack: "Andy Sutter, chief steward at CPC, faces a possible six months to life sentence on a charge of 'assault with a



WV Photo

ILWU Local 6 pickets outside Automatic Plastic Molding June 15. Cops later charged line arresting 11 strikers.

deadly weapon'.... Jim Allen, Chief Steward at MJB, and Scott Craig, a red book member, who put himself on the line for the union, have each recently had three additional charges added to the original charges. Both face the possibility of a year or more on misdemeanor charges resulting from the events on the Golden Grain picket line.... Already two brothers from Haas Liquors in Union City have done jail time after the cops arrested them *on the job!* Several Teamsters have lost their jobs outright" (emphasis in original).

At Automatic Plastic Molding, where a three-month ILWU organizing drive was destroyed with the help of scabherding Berkeley police, many union members face charges stemming from a vicious unprovoked cop assault. Almost a dozen were forced to plead guilty to misdemeanors, resulting in fines and suspended sentences hanging over their heads. Newly elected general executive board member Tony Wilkinson was "offered" 45 days in jail.

Among the strike militants facing frame-up charges designed to cover up the police brutality at Automatic Plastic are John Dow, a member of the Militant Caucus in Local 6, and Stan Gow, publisher of "Longshore Militant," who have been charged with "assaulting a police officer." Gow is additionally charged with "attempted grand theft"



John Dow

WV Photo

on grounds he allegedly seized a cop's club because the cop was strangling Dow with it!

Gow is a member of the Local 10 executive board and had joined the Local 6 picket line after the board adopted his motion not to handle struck warehouse cargo and to mobilize longshoremen to help out on the warehouse picket line—a motion not enforced by the union bureaucracy. Dow is an 18-year member of the ILWU and a steward at Carnation. At present, both militants have been "offered" 15 days in jail and one year probation.

The "Warehouse Militant" reports that "One of the officers involved in the Dow/Gow case, Greg Dvorak was subsequently suspended from the Police Department for three days for sticking a gun to the head of an innocent black school employee after bursting into the UC [University of California] Child

Care Center and threatening to blow his head off in front of a group of terrified children."

Clearly the ILWU defendants must wage a strong defense in the name of the right to strike and against the vicious armed thugs of the capitalist state, the cops whom the union bureaucrats have paraded as part of the labor movement. Expel the police from all unions!

### Bureaucratic Silence

But predictably, the bureaucracies of the ILWU and Teamsters, along with the city/county labor councils in the Bay Area, have remained silent. They prefer to let the union defendants be victimized in private rather than wage a vigorous public defense which might jeopardize the friendly relations between the labor fakers and the capitalist politicians. Thus McClain, whose own head is on the chopping block, has chosen to bank everything on capitalist "justice"—even though it was precisely such reliance on the bosses' courts, cops and politicians which set up the union for victimization in the first place.

According to "Warehouse Militant," which had pushed for vigorous defense of the picket lines last June, McClain defeated the following motion put forward by Militant Caucus member Bob Mandel at the November 23 General Executive Board meeting:

"1) Local 6 will wage a vigorous public defense of the union members facing charges from Folger's. The Local will organize a mass demonstration in support of these members at their next court appearance, January 12.

"2) We stand ready to take action to force the employers to honor their pledge of amnesty, including, if necessary, shutting down Folger's while preparing the rest of the union to defend such a move."

The International leadership similarly has stuck its head in the sand. The official union paper, the *Dispatcher*, has virtually ignored the defense cases—a tiny article on page 3 of the November 5 issue moaned in helpless despair, "Folger's Strikers Face Long Trial." The article ended with the empty "threat," "The union is charging violation of the negotiated amnesty." In contrast, the *Dispatcher* ran front-page coverage of the new master contract, trumpeting it as a "victory" last June.

Clearly the International does not wish to advertise the defense cases since that would be an admission that the union suffered a stinging *defeat* in June—a defeat produced by the bureaucracy's deliberate failure to mobilize the membership for the strike (e.g., cancellation of membership meetings and joint ILWU-Teamster stewards council meetings, abandoning the picket lines to well-organized scabs and police, etc.). The Stalinists (who closely follow the wishes of the ILWU leadership) have singled out the Sutter case, forming a defense committee endorsed by Angela Davis, but the Communist Party and its friends in the union have said nothing

about the other 40 frame-up victims, just as they failed to denounce the master contract settlement.

The criminal silence of the top Bay Area labor leadership contrasts sharply with their behavior when their buddy Joe Mazzola of the Plumbers Union was put on trial by the S.F. Board of Supervisors in September for having been one of the "leaders" of the April-May city workers strike. ILWU president Harry Bridges and vice-president Bill Chester testified for Mazzola, while an expensive lawyer was hired for the case. The S.F. Central Labor Council (CLC) made clear its backing of Mazzola—to the disgusting point of voting thanks to anti-labor super scab Barbagelata simply because the latter voted against Mazzola's removal from the Airports Commission!

The reason these labor traitors came to Mazzola's defense was precisely because he is a fellow traitor: his lawyer boasted that the Plumbers Union chief was instrumental in keeping the airport *open* during the city workers strike. Bridges testified that the CLC and other labor leaders like himself did everything possible to avoid a strike, including offering to allow an arbitrator to institute the disputed wage cut! Needless to say, these labor traitors would not want to launch a campaign for *real* class-struggle victims like the ILWU defendants who were beaten and arrested on the picket lines!

Such a campaign is urgently necessary, despite the wishes of the bureaucracy, simply to insure the success of future labor struggles. The Militant Caucus is correctly calling for such a campaign: "The union must reach out to the rest of the labor and socialist movement, to prominent individuals, student organizations, community groups—all those who are opposed to anti-working-class cop violence and willing to defend the right to strike."

While expert legal help must be obtained, clearly the success of such a campaign will depend on what the labor movement can mobilize outside the courtroom—demonstrations, protest strikes, etc. In every Bay Area union, class-conscious militants must attempt to mobilize their unions in defense of the 41 ILWU defendants, despite the sabotage of the bureaucrats who try to isolate all of those struggles.

Like the vicious prosecution of the *Washington Post* pressmen, the attempt by the state to jail 41 militants of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is part of a broader attack on the entire labor movement. Just as the capitalist class is seeking to "teach a lesson" to unionists whose "crime" was to defend their picket line, the labor movement must mobilize to turn back this attempted mass victimization and block the ruling-class offensive against Bay Area labor. Defend the right to strike! Enforce the amnesty—Drop All Charges Against ILWU/IBT Strikers!

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## Renounces Trotskyist Position

# OCI Says East Europe Not Deformed Workers States

Speaking before several thousand people in Paris at a two-day educational on Eastern Europe sponsored by the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), on November 14 OCI head Pierre Lambert explicitly disavowed the Trotskyist analysis of the deformed workers states:

"I think that we, the OCI, have made some mistakes in defining the countries of Eastern Europe. Although I think that the USSR is a degenerated workers state, I believe that we have called the other countries deformed workers states. This is an error, because there is no Polish state; it is a state imported by the Soviet bureaucracy. There is no Czechoslovak state; it is a state imported by the Soviet bureaucracy."

Despite their offhand tone, Lambert's remarks signalled that the OCI—which has historically prided itself on verbal fidelity to formal Trotskyist "orthodoxy"—is toying with a basic revision of the Marxist analysis of the Eastern European deformed workers states, clearly heading in the direction of "state capitalism."

Lambert was speaking in response to an intervention by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), French sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The LTF spokesman had sharply criticized the OCI's liberal orientation toward defense of dissidents persecuted by the Stalinist bureaucracies. As a case in point, the social-democratic milieu to which the OCI has oriented squeezed the OCI out of an October 21 rally in defense of six political prisoners in the USSR, Eastern Europe and Latin America and turned the event into an anti-communist mobilization in the service of popular frontism (see "French CP Backs Liberal Anti-Soviet Meeting," *WV* No. 133, 12 November). The LTF speaker pointed out that the OCI's long-standing failure to place at the center of its defense work "the question of the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states and of the Russian degenerated workers state" helped pave the way for the social democrats and Stalinists to turn the October 21 meeting into "a tribune of anti-communism."

At the last minute, the OCI—which had played a leading role in a similar meeting to free Russian dissident Leonid Plyushch a year ago—refused to participate in the October 21 meeting on the grounds it was a publicity stunt engineered by Laurent Schwartz in favor of the popular-front Union of the Left electoral bloc. From June through October Schwartz had maneuvered to exclude the OCI, because in order to turn the event into an anti-Soviet rally those who lay claim to Trotsky's heritage had to be neutralized. During that period, the OCI had had an opportunity to fight against this perversion of defense work, but instead buried its head in the sand and wound up both appearing to sanction the meeting and without any speakers.

### Defend the Gains of October!

In the aftermath of this debacle, leaders of the OCI apparently felt compelled to reply at length to the trenchant criticisms raised by the LTF, whose second speaker counterposed to the OCI's opportunism the principled Leninist orientation toward defense of

victimized dissidents in the deformed workers states:

"I want to raise three basic principles which seem to me essential for Trotskyists in waging this struggle—I am speaking of the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency. Namely: (1) the main condition, the unconditional defense of deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism; (2) the struggle for political revolution in these states; (3) political differentiation among the various opponents of the bureaucracy in these countries."

The LTF speaker went on to point out that the OCI's refusal to base its opposition to Stalinist repression on these inextricably linked principles for drawing the class line flows from the OCI's capitulation to social democracy and desire to curry favor with dissidents as diverse as Jiri Pelikan and Plyushch.



November OCI conference at the Mutualité in Paris.

A special issue of the LTF's *Le Bolchévick* distributed at the meeting pointed out that "in the capitalist countries, there is no lack of 'defenders of freedom' who like nothing better than to denounce the crimes of Stalinism." The iSt has consistently criticized the OCI's congenital refusal to separate itself from pro-imperialist "anti-Stalinists." *Le Bolchévick* quoted from a 16 January 1973 letter by the Spartacist League/U.S. to an OCI-backed committee to defend political prisoners in Eastern Europe:

"Jiri Pelikan's open letter to Angela Davis was widely reproduced by the liberal anti-communist press in the U.S. with clearly anti-communist commentaries. Thus, the slogan 'Free the political prisoners' does not separate itself sufficiently from directly anti-communist campaigns such as 'Free Soviet Jewry' or from support for Hungarian 'freedom fighters' such as Cardinal Mindszenty.... This is the framework within which we see, for example, the 'Call on Czechoslovakia,' initiated by the League for the Rights of Man, and signed by the Committee and the OCI, in which the signatories commit themselves to oppose repression 'whatever the opinion of the victims of the repression may be'."

With the OCI's default, the October 21 meeting became a pure and simple vehicle for the anti-Soviet policies of liberals and social democrats, now tacitly sanctioned by the French Communist Party. The PCF has been eagerly distancing itself from Moscow as part of its "Eurocommunism" bid for liberal respectability and a prominent role in a Union of the Left government. The PCF's Pierre Juquin was the only

speaker at the "defense" rally to even hint at a class difference between the deformed workers states and the Latin American dictatorships. At the OCI educational, OCI leader Stéphane Just devoted part of his summary remarks to attacking the Trotskyist position of the LTF as "a modified version of Juquin's intervention, with Trotskyist dressing." He termed the LTF "Juquin's petty accomplices."

### OCI Stalinophobia

In escalating its long-standing Stalinophobic impulses into an explicit abandonment of the Trotskyist analysis of the deformed workers states formed in Eastern Europe in the late 1940's and in China, Southeast Asia and Cuba, the OCI must attack those who uphold the

was categorical: "Stalinism is defined by its subordination to the Kremlin bureaucracy. Historically, Stalinism is nothing but the defense of the interests of the Kremlin." Yet by its very nature, as the rationale for a nationalistic petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste committed to "socialism in one country," Stalinism outside the Soviet Union implies possible conflicts with the Kremlin bureaucracy, as each Stalinist party in power pursues its narrow nationalistic policies of "socialism" in its own country.

The OCI has now placed its theoretical inadequacies in the service of opportunist orientation toward Russian and East European dissidents. Its willingness to tinker with the Leninist understanding of the class nature of the state, characterizing the Eastern European countries simply as "states which have escaped from the control of imperialism," is very convenient. In flirting with a "state capitalist" position on Eastern Europe and slandering those who insist on revolutionary defensism of the deformed workers states against imperialism as "Juquin's accomplices," the OCI appeals to the anti-Marxists who oppose Stalinism from the right, in the direction of a bloc with the "democratic" bourgeoisie.

### How the OCI "Resolves" a Contradiction

The "virtue" of the OCI's line that the East European countries are not deformed workers states and the only Stalinists are in the Kremlin is that it enables the OCI to bloc simultaneously with "state capitalists" like Plyushch, whose "anti-Stalinism" merges into State Department social democracy, and Stalinist reformers like Pelikan, the exiled Czechoslovak bureaucrat whose program is liberalization along the lines of the ill-fated "Prague Spring." Both Plyushch and Pelikan, for instance, could easily agree with Lambert that the East European states "can be defined only in relation to the domination by the Soviet bureaucracy," which blocks their "free development."

The OCI "resolves" the class contradictions between "dissidents" by declaring that there is no state power in countries run by indigenous Stalinist parties (an "analysis" which it has held for 15 years with regard to Cuba.) With its time-worn protestations of "orthodoxy," the OCI is obviously reluctant to overtly pronounce itself in favor of state capitalism. But what is the class content of what Lambert termed "a bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie"? How does the OCI characterize states which have "escaped from the control of imperialism" but are not deformed workers states?

### "Dissidents" vs. the Class Line

Having earlier apparently been drawn into Jiri Pelikan's orbit, the OCI is evidently setting its cap for Plyushch as well. At the educational, OCI leader Jean-Jacques Marie took the floor to defend Plyushch after an LTF speaker attacked Plyushch's participation in an election rally for U.S. senator Henry Jackson, where Plyushch solidarized with Jackson's demand for governmental economic sanctions against the USSR—such blackmail by the imperialists presumably being an accept-

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# Chicago Teachers Union Bureaucrat Named as Red Squad Informer

CHICAGO—In late November, the Alliance to End Repression named Sheli Lulkin, long-time radical activist and high-ranking Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) official, as police informer No. 436. She was named a co-defendant in a court suit brought against the city police "red squad" by the Alliance, an amalgam of community and church groups that conducts federally-funded police, court and prison reform projects.

The Alliance is one of some 150 local organizations and as many as 20,000 individuals whose opposition to the late Mayor Richard Daley's political machine has subjected them to surveillance by a small army of undercover cops and paid informants. Daley's hate list runs the gamut from the left and labor movement to innocuous liberals such as the Alliance.

Sheli Lulkin, a familiar figure in the antiwar and labor movements since the mid-1960's, was prominent in several "rad-lib" groupings within the CTU in addition to holding offices in organizations like Women for Peace and Vietnam Veterans Against the War. She was a national coordinator of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and an organizer of demonstrations at the 1972 Democratic convention in Miami. As the antiwar movement dissipated she became active in the women's movement, representing the CTU in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), and was selected as a delegate to the 1975 International Women's Year in Mexico City.

Lulkin was a protegee of CTU president Robert Healy and a personal friend and almost constant companion of the Chicago Peace Council's executive director, veteran Stalinist Sylvia Kushner. When suspicions about Lulkin's activities first surfaced last summer, Healy refused to investigate. However, public exposure of her spy role forced the CTU president to demand her resignation from the union's executive board ([Chicago] *Reader*, 3 December).

In 1975 Illinois state attorney Bernard Carey—himself a target of police spying—filed for a grand jury investigation of red squad activities. Predictably the final report of the investigation counseled the cops to get on with their real business of infiltrating the left, labor and black organizations, and quit harassing civic-minded liberals and their innocuous organizations.

Despite massive evidence of cop invasion of privacy, the jury returned no indictments against the Chicago police, arguing that since the real culprits were higher-ranking officers, "this serious threat to our democratic form of government must not be allowed to depend on the convictions of a few" (*Reader*, 28 November 1975). The jury chastised the cops for not arresting student radicals prior to the 1969 "days of rage" demonstrations, even though the red squad had infiltrated the Weatherman organization.

Despite last year's long muckraking campaign by the *Chicago Daily News* and the showcase grand jury, the police spy unit's scurrilous activities continue unabated. The federal judge hearing charges against the police intelligence unit had to enjoin Daley's Gestapo from spying on the attorneys who brought the suit on behalf of the Alliance! The police even snoop on themselves: the activities of Agent 436 were partly uncovered through files retrieved in another suit initiated by the Afro-American Police-men's League, which incurred The Boss's wrath by attacking the routine

brutality of white cops in the ghetto and by supporting black Democrat Ralph Metcalf for re-election as congressman after his break from the Daley machine.

## Red Squad Everywhere

The Chicago police red squad was founded in the late 1920's, and over the next two decades the city's combative labor movement was repeatedly victimized by this organized ring of labor spies and police agents. The red squad's first director fancied himself the nation's foremost "communist hunter," boasting that his files were even bigger than J. Edgar Hoover's. Although the unions today remain generally quiescent due to their bureaucratic misleadership, police spying continues in the labor movement. In August 1974 UAW Local 6 at the International Harvester plant in nearby Melrose Park disclosed the presence of twelve police agents in the workforce.

Moreover, according to the attorney for the Alliance to End Repression, "hundreds of reports" by Confidential Informant 436 were found in files relinquished by the police. The *Reader* (3 December) reports that "the Alliance has given copies of many of these reports to the Chicago Teachers' Union. Since the files can only be shown to organizations that were intelligence division targets, it can be assumed that Lulkin spied upon the CTU."

What is notable about the red squad is the size and scope of its attacks on suspected "enemies." Police infiltration, aided by a vast civilian network, is so omnipresent that police have received reports from three to four informers on meetings attended by less than a dozen persons. Agent 436 and another fink in the Chicago Peace Council, alleged to be Joyce Stover, were bitter personal enemies and turned in derogatory reports on one another. Undercover agent Marcus Sloane served as president of a West Side community group for two years, and another cop agent, Geno Addams, was active in the Alliance's task force when its impending lawsuit was planned (*Reader*, 3 December).

## Ties to Fascists

The red squad's ties to fascist and right-wing groups are notorious. Its informers include super-patriotic volunteers and at least one known member of the Illinois Nazi Party. The fascist Legion of Justice operated for several years as a virtual red squad auxiliary, burglarizing left-wing offices while cops stood lookout. The Legion's formidable army was stocked by the 113th Military Intelligence unit based in Evanston.

In 1969 and 1970 these government-paid vermin staged several violent raids on Chicago offices of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the New Leftist Newsreel Collective, a Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal meeting and other left-wing targets. In an "official" terror raid on 4 December 1969, Chicago cops working closely with FBI agents and army intelligence ruthlessly gunned down Black Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton as they slept in their West Side apartment. The raid was set up with the key assistance of an FBI informant who served as Hampton's personal bodyguard.

Assassination, wiretapping, common criminal acts and daily harassment of black militants, the left and the labor movement are standard operating procedure for American imperialism whose spy network is an integral

component of its class rule. The investigations of whitewashing grand juries, high-level Congressional committees and liberal handwringers flow from a common desire: to shore up the authority of a widely discredited government and ensure that police surveillance not infringe upon respectable and harmless bourgeois critics. Moreover, all return the same verdict: the needs of "national security" demand "legitimate" spying against "subversives." The flurry of cosmetic reforms in the post-Watergate era is largely for the consumption of the credulous and, unfortunately, the fake-

director Clarence Kelley to order informers out of the SWP and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance. The *Militant* (17 December) now promises an all-out effort to win "a permanent injunction against the use of government-informers" (emphasis in original). Nowhere do these pallid civil libertarians warn that the bourgeoisie will continue infiltration, spying and provocations until its class rule is overthrown.

The left must tread carefully on the issue of police infiltration, avoiding the cop-baiting hysteria of groups like the



Militant

In alliance with Chicago cops, Sutton led the Legion of Justice in determined effort to crush antiwar, black and left organizations.

socialist outfits who take as good coin the bourgeois courts' pretense of meting out justice to the government's hired thugs.

## Fake-Left Civil Libertarians

In response to the Legion of Justice attacks, the reformist SWP joined hands with the reformist Communist Party (CP) and assorted Chicago-area liberals in a Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks. This committee made no effort to organize joint defense of the organizations' meetings and offices. Instead it confined itself to pressuring the police, city hall and state attorney Carey to indict a number of Legion members. A few indictments followed, but with one exception the thugs were acquitted or the cases dismissed. When Carey (a Republican with his own reasons for discrediting the Daley machine) called a grand jury to investigate the red squad and its minions, the SWP hopefully opined: "Public pressure may force the grand jury to indict at least some of those responsible for the Legion crimes" (*Militant*, 26 September 1975). No such indictments were forthcoming.

On the national level the SWP—which is notorious for its defense of "democratic rights for fascists" and calls for "federal troops to Boston"—claims to have forced the government into a "stunning retreat" by inducing FBI

Healyite Workers League, which sees an agent behind every political difference, and the legalist passivity of the SWP. No group in the workers movement is impervious to police penetration. But in contrast to various fake-revolutionary groups which routinely sign up unknown individuals on the basis of "I want to join" coupons, a Bolshevik organization relies on programmatic recruitment and adherence to high standards of organizational discipline. By thus testing its cadres it minimizes the opportunities for and damage done by infiltrators and provocateurs.

Like the Bolsheviks, the Spartacist League understands that the ultimate weapon against police agents is a revolutionary party which prepares the proletariat for its historic mission of smashing the bourgeois state and ending capitalist class rule. While revolutionaries legitimately employ the available legal means in an effort to defend against the class enemy's machinery of repression, a strategy based on reliance upon the democratic pretensions of the capitalist courts can only lead the working class to defeat ■

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## Courts, Cops, Stalinist Misleadership Defeat Cambion Strike

# UE Official Gets Five Years for Defending Picket Line

CAMBRIDGE, December 16—In a brazen provocation against the entire Boston-area labor movement, the leader of the recently defeated strike at the Cambion-Thermionic Corporation was hit with a frame-up jail sentence for up to five years. Sandi Polaski, shop chairman of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 262 at Cambion, was found guilty last week of "assault with a deadly weapon"—for allegedly throwing a rock at the windshield of a scab's car. Mike Brier, a strike supporter from the Revolutionary Student Brigade, was given a two-year term for allegedly assaulting a cop, and five other picketers were fined. This outrageous kangaroo court "justice" is the culmination of a seven-month-long vendetta by the company, Cambridge cops and a supposedly "pro-labor" city council against the UE strikers.

On strike since April, the workers faced repeated brutal assaults and numerous arrests by a special detail of

injury). In response to well-documented evidence of what it chose to term police "improprieties," the city merely gave brief suspensions to four policemen.

Cop attacks, isolation and the financial hardships of the long struggle (with the UE International contributing a paltry \$1,000 a week to 250 workers) wore down the militant strikers (see "Support the Cambion Strike!" *WV* No. 128, 8 October). By early November, 100 strikers had taken other jobs and 35 had begun scabbing. On November 8, in what Polaski described as a "tactical move," the strikers returned to work without a settlement. Five strike leaders were fired, and many lower-seniority workers found that their jobs had been turned over to scabs.

On November 17, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was scheduled to begin prosecution of the company for refusal to bargain in good faith. Union officials told the *Harvard Crimson* (13 November) that they hoped NLRB



*WV* Photo

Boston cops attacked UE pickets at Cambion plant September 24.

police scab-herders rented to Cambion on a round-the-clock basis. In contrast to the harsh sentences meted out to Polaski and Brier, not a single cop was prosecuted for harassing and beating picketers (attacks which resulted in some 20 injuries including one woman striker permanently disabled by a back

### NOTICE

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sanctions would give them "bargaining leverage" when the rest of the contract expires next April (this strike was fought when a one-year wage re-opener came due). Instead, the NLRB postponed the trial to January 5. Subsequently the company reiterated its nine-month-old wage offer of 20 cents an hour increase for unskilled hourly workers and 13.8 cents for piece-rate workers. In a clear attempt to divide the workforce, the company threw in up to an extra 20 cents an hour for the top three pay grades, many of whom had not supported the strike.

In return for promised reinstatement of the five fired unionists, the shop



*WV* Photo

Sandi Polaski

leaders agreed to accept this insulting "settlement." The membership met to consider the offer December 8, the day on which the seven strikers went to court. Despite an agreement between the district attorney and the union counsel to jointly request a continuance, the prosecutor recommended a guilty finding and Judge Lawrence Feloney threw the book at Polaski and Brier. This knife in the back is just one more in a long string of blatantly anti-union actions by the supposedly "neutral" politicians and government bodies on which the union leaders had relied.

Instead of fighting to mobilize massive labor support from the UE International and Boston-area unions to prevent scabbing, stop the company from moving production to its non-union New Hampshire plant and, more recently, win reinstatement of the fired workers and dismissal of the court charges, union leaders concentrated on wooing the NLRB, the city council and congressman Thomas O'Neill. All to no avail.

Union members told *WV* that the December 8 meeting abruptly adjourned when news of Polaski's sentence reached the body and rumors of a sympathy walkout ran through the plant. The adjournment prevented a vote on ratification of the rotten wage deal, but opposition was clearly evident. Two of the five fired militants reportedly opposed the sellout, and one union grouping, the Committee for a Democratic Union offered a motion against the settlement and to prevent scabs from voting on the contract. However, the shop leadership, including Polaski, opposed the CDU's motion. Yesterday the contract was approved on a secret ballot in the shop.

That a beaten and demoralized membership would approve such a rotten settlement after their earlier determination and militancy is testimony to the burning need for a class-struggle leadership, one which dares to fight the International bureaucracy and to hew a course independent of reliance on capitalist courts and politicians. The pitfalls of labor reformism can be avoided only by a program which links the immediate economic struggle to the fight for working-class rule. ■

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# MEC Feminist Fête Defends Women Only

Not even the presence of a Chilean rock and roll band and "Third World" heroine Laura Allende could rescue the spiritless "Night of Solidarity with Revolutionary Women" jointly sponsored by the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) and Action for Women in Chile (AFWIC) on December 11.

The sponsors used the event to revel in late 1960's-style feminist exclusivism. Thus, chairman Annette Rubinstein asked the 250 women in the audience to send Christmas cards to Puerto Rican nationalist prisoner Lolita Lebrón, while her male comrades—Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores—who have languished in jail with Lebrón for more than 20 years went virtually unmentioned. The MEC's "respected teacher" Myra Tanner Weiss hailed Chilean women prisoners as "the most oppressed women in the world" because not only had they been seized by the class enemy, but they were now being held in male-dominated jails! Taking a swipe at the Spartacist League, which had declined an invitation to co-sponsor the event, she bitterly complained about "mixed groups" which are always "asking women's meetings to apologize for addressing themselves as women."

Not to be outdone by Rubinstein's "feminist Christmas card" strategy, AFWIC put forward its "Letter to Chile" campaign—a project which manages to be both ridiculous and dangerous. The "campaign" involves sending a "massive mailing of literature, brochures and pamphlets" to names chosen at random from the Santiago telephone directory. According to AFWIC, this scheme is designed to "put tremendous strain on Chile's postal and censor system." But while the names are picked at random, actual opponents of the junta who accidentally wind up on the mailing list of a U.S. left-wing organization may face serious danger—a fact overlooked by the unserious "campaigners" of AFWIC.

The MEC claims that it cannot understand why the SL vehemently opposes holding an evening focused solely on defense of *female* political prisoners. Yet even the featured speaker, Laura Allende, sister of the late president of Chile and herself an official in the Chilean Unidad Popular (UP) popular-front government, understood the implications and took pains to draw a sharp line between herself and the feminists. She began her remarks by pointedly greeting "compañeras... and compañeros, because I do see men here" and went on to point out that many women who participated in Chilean left-wing politics did so because their *class* instincts dominated over their *sex* instincts. The UP, she said, had lost many elections "because of the feminine vote" which was controlled by the Catholic Church. Without doubt, Allende would have been hissed off the stage for such statements had she been a member of a "mixed" Yankee party instead of a "Third World" luminary.

The MEC consistently refuses to come out in the open with an *explicit*

*continued on page 11*

# How Maoists “Restore Capitalism” in the Soviet Union

## PART 1 OF 2

by Joseph Seymour

# The Myth of Stalin's “Workers Paradise”

Except for the Maoists, everybody in the world, it seems, recognizes the essential continuity of the Soviet economic system from Stalin through Khrushchev to Brezhnev. In fact, the Maoist dogma that the USSR became capitalist after Stalin's death is so incredible that no two Maoist groups can agree when, why and how this event of momentous historic proportions occurred. The only clue supplied by the Peking bureaucracy is that Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th party congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was a key benchmark.

In the U.S., the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP—formerly the Revolutionary Union), wrote in its *Red Papers* 7 (1975) that capitalism was restored in the USSR with Khrushchev's accession to power. Soviet “capitalism,” they go on, underwent a two-stage evolution: Khrushchev restored “private, competitive capitalism,” while Brezhnev established “state monopoly capitalism.” (For a Marxist analysis of this curious version of the “restoration” thesis, see “Revolutionary Union's ‘United Front’ with NATO,” *Young Spartacus* No. 32, May 1975.)

The RCP's main rival, the more slavishly Peking-loyal October League (OL), has preferred the wisdom of silence. To date the OL has not presented any but the most cursory “explanation” of “capitalist restoration” in the USSR, no doubt out of fear that it

### Review of *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* by Martin Nicolaus

would later be contradicted by official Peking propaganda. But the Klonsky gang did paddle a bit in these uncharted waters. Under the pressure of domestic competition from the RCP and the “critical Maoists” grouped around the New Leftish *Guardian*, the OL's Liberator Press published a collection of articles by Martin Nicolaus, entitled *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR*.

The hapless fate of Nicolaus demonstrates the impossibility of giving even a semblance of intellectual plausi-

bility to the Maoist “analysis” of post-Stalin Russia. As a prominent New Left academic he had generalized petty-bourgeois vanguardism into the theory of a “new working class”; upon becoming a hard-line Maoist, he attempted a definitive analysis of “capitalist restoration” in the Soviet Union. This was first published in a 1975 series in the trendy *Guardian*, then sympathetic to Peking. The editors neither endorsed nor rejected Nicolaus' thesis, although the paper's leading light, Irwin Silber, contended it wasn't very convincing.

When the *Guardian* criticized China's openly counterrevolutionary role in Angola last winter, Nicolaus joined the Peking-loyal October League. However, only nine months later the OL has now expelled Nicolaus as a “rightwing revisionist” and “lover of bourgeoisie.” Naturally, they denounced *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* as “revisionist” like its author (though neglecting to mention their own role in publishing it):

“The book was an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat, claiming that for more than a decade under the rule of the Khrushchev revisionists, there were no ‘profound changes in the actual relations of production operative in the economic base of the society.’”

—*Call*, November 29

The *Call* goes on to assert that the book “covered over the threat of restoration of capitalism and mystified its causes.”

Not only is Nicolaus' work denounced by every American Maoist group, but it certainly would not be well-received in Peking today, either. Its Chapter 7 is devoted to lengthy excerpts from “On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Clique” by Yao Wen-yuan. Yao is one of the “Gang of Four,” now imprisoned and denounced by China's new rulers as a “double-dealing capitalist roader.”

We have no particular concern for the political travails of this shameless, arrogant intellectual dilettante. However, a discussion of his book is useful as an object lesson in the utter bankruptcy of Maoist theories of a “capitalist restoration” in the Soviet Union. Despite its theoretical shallowness and thoroughgoing intellectual dishonesty, Nicolaus' work has the virtue of giving an empirically verifiable economic content to the “capitalism” purported to exist in the USSR.

He distinguishes between the “bourgeoisie's capture of state power” by Khrushchev in 1956-57 and the later “restoration” of capitalist economic relations through the Kosygin or so-called Liberman reforms in 1965. Unlike some Maoist ideologues—for example, Charles Bettelheim—Nicolaus does not maintain that the Soviet Union represents a new, historically unique form of “state capitalism.” Rather, he maintains that new-fangled “Soviet capitalism” is little different from the old-time capitalism of the West.

Nicolaus' effort to prove that capitalism has been restored in the USSR actually succeeds in proving just the opposite: that the Soviet Union is not capitalist as this term has been understood by Marxists or in the experience of the working masses. Moreover, most of Nicolaus' arguments and criteria for why the present-day USSR is capitalist are far more applicable to Stalin's Russia and Maoist China!

### Factory Managers as an Embryonic Bourgeoisie?

One of the most obvious difficulties for any ostensible Marxist who claims that capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union is to explain how a new bourgeois class was generated under Stalin's regime, how it organized itself and captured state power. The overthrow of the feudal order by the European bourgeoisie involved centuries of civil wars, revolutions and counterrevolutions; likewise, the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist class has wracked bourgeois society for over a century. Yet the Maoists would have us believe that a

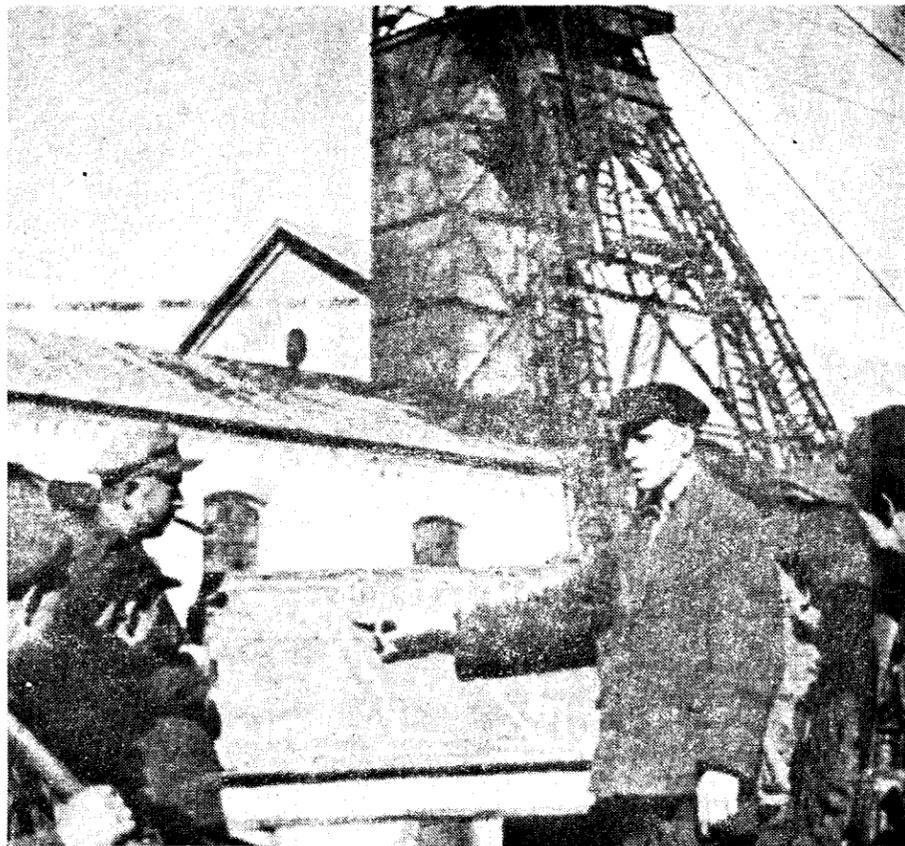


Auto workers in factory mess hall, 1931.

Wide World



Stalin inspecting new limousine outside Stalin Auto Works near Moscow.



Alexei Stakhanov (right). Under Stalin, "Stakhanovites" were privileged workers who fostered speed-up by breaking piece-work norms.

development of world-historic significance—the restoration of capitalism in the USSR—took place through a bloodless palace coup, and was not even noticed as such by *anyone*, not even Mao himself, until several years later!

The invisibility of the Soviet "bourgeois counterrevolution" obviously troubles the "Marxist-Leninist" Nicolaus, as it should:

"There is some sketchy data available to indicate the common economic situation, the material foundation, by which the bourgeoisie that later took power was engendered. But the process by which it gradually organized itself as a class, shaped its own associations and acquired collective self-consciousness prior to its bid for power are almost entirely unknown....

"Behind this solid exterior [of Stalin's Russia], however, there were processes in motion that allowed this bastion of socialism...to be taken over rather painlessly [sic], as historical changes go, by a group of leaders with an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist counterrevolutionary program."

Nicolaus' Maoist view of bourgeois counterrevolution in the Soviet Union strangely parallels the late J. Edgar Hoover's view of communist revolution: nothing but conspiratorial subversion of the existing government.

*Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* attempts to locate the embryo of the "new bourgeoisie" in the enterprise managers of Stalin's time. According to Nicolaus' mythology, the managers' position was onerous because they had great responsibility while lacking the power to discipline the workers, whose interests were scrupulously defended by Stalin! This, believe it or not, is Nicolaus' sociological explanation for the growth of bourgeois counterrevolutionary forces in Stalin's Russia:

"At the same time as they were charged with heavy and strict responsibilities, the Soviet managers as a rule had considerably less power than their capitalist counterparts over the workers.... they did not have the most vital of the powers possessed by their capitalist counterparts, namely the power to fire a worker at will. They could not threaten a worker with unemployment and hunger....

"Except during wartime, workers were free to quit; but managers could not fire them except by proving some criminal offense against them. Thus, lacking the whip hand, the managers were weak."

So, according to Nicolaus, the Soviet managers sought to overcome their "weakness" by restoring capitalism:

"On the one hand they [the managers] arrogated to themselves more of the powers held by the workers, and at the same time chipped away at the responsibilities imposed on them by the plan. Both these tendencies on the director's part, stemming from an identical capitalist impulse, were kept in check

and suppressed during Stalin's lifetime."

We will shortly confront the unbelievable assertion that Stalin's managers "lacked the whip hand" over their workers. However, even if one knows very little about the history of Soviet economic policy, Nicolaus' thesis is obviously contrary to elementary Marxist sociology.

Soviet enterprise managers are not a distinct, organic social group with a basis for unity against the higher administrative strata. Enterprise management is simply a division of labor within the administrative bureaucracy. Real success for an enterprise manager is not the expansion of "his" factory,



Khrushchev visiting collective farm, 1963.

farm or mine—which is technically quite limited in any case—but promotion up the administrative hierarchy.

Most of the Gosplan (central planning organization) and industrial ministry top officials were enterprise managers at the beginning of their careers. And in Stalin's Russia, as well as today, the personal income of bureaucrats is closely correlated with their positions in the administrative hierarchy. The conflicts of interest between managers and higher planning authorities can no more generate a new capitalist class than can the conflicts between lieutenants and generals in the Soviet army.

#### Stalin's Militarization of the Working Class

Josef Stalin is reported to have said that paper will take anything that is

written on it. Nicolaus writes in the true spirit of his master. If an older Russian worker read that in Stalin's time managers "lacked the whip hand" over the workers, he would probably first be struck dumb with disbelief that anyone could utter such stupidities, then burst out in bitter laughter. It is here that the author's dishonesty is so flagrant that he must hope that no reader will check his "facts." Had Dr. Nicolaus submitted *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* as a graduate school dissertation, he would be lucky to avoid expulsion for falsification of sources.

For example, as evidence of supposed workers power in Stalin's Russia, he cites the existence of special courts "to hear industrial disputes to which only workers had access" and in which "managerial personnel could appear ... only as defendants and were barred from initiating cases." He also cites production conferences where workers could freely criticize management. To begin with, this evidence is immediately suspect since Nicolaus gives as sources works dealing with *post-Stalin* Russia: Mary McAuley's *Labor Disputes in Soviet Russia, 1957-1965* (1969), and David Granick's *The Red Executive* (1960).

If a worker could bring charges against his superiors in a court made up exclusively of his fellow workers, this would indeed be a powerful bastion of proletarian control. Such a court exists only in Nicolaus' Maoist propaganda, however, never in the Soviet Union. According to McAuley's book on labor disputes, there existed special courts established in 1922—the RKK—where workers could only *appeal* unfavorable management actions; management could not be charged with malfeasance. According to McAuley, these courts were "joint management-trade union commissions...composed of an equal number of representatives from the two sides."

As for production conferences, these were instituted in the early 1920's as the main form of workers control. They were virtually eliminated with the beginning of the first five year plan. Khrushchev reinstated production conferences in 1958 (for all enterprises with over 100 employees), though they were impotent, aside from embarrassing a particularly abusive or incompetent manager. The best that could be said for this measure was that, in contrast to Stalin, Khrushchev at least felt a need to create the appearance (though not the substance) of workers control of production.

The Leninist Bolshevik party had recognized that there would be immedi-

ate conflicts of interest between the workers and economic administrators under the workers state. Therefore the 1922 Soviet Labor Code stipulated that wages and working conditions be negotiated between the trade union and management. But under Stalin the conditions of labor became more oppressive in every conceivable way. Negotiations with the unions over wages and working conditions were abolished in 1933. After that, Russian trade unions became little more than social welfare agencies and propaganda mills for greater labor discipline.

The Bolshevik party of the early 1920's also understood that a rational allocation of labor involved voluntary job changes, sometimes entailing periods of unemployment. A July 1923 decree established labor exchanges and unemployment insurance to facilitate labor mobility and protect the workers. In 1932 Stalin abolished both. Thereafter unemployed workers were forced to take any job offered, even unskilled and unrelated work at a big cut in pay. Stalin "eliminated unemployment" by methods not unlike those advocated by bourgeois reactionaries in the U.S. who want to eliminate welfare recipients.

Stalin's claim to have eliminated unemployment in the 1930's is totally fraudulent in any case. In Stalin's Russia, as in China today, the peasants were *legally* bound to the collective farm *from birth*. Peasants who migrated to the cities but could not find work were rounded up and shipped back to their villages. Those who resisted were sent to Siberian labor camps.

Nicolaus to the contrary, factory managers in Stalin's Russia could fire workers as a means of enforcing labor discipline...and that's putting it mildly. The Leninist Labor Code of 1922 stated that employees with six unexcused absences in a month could be dismissed. In 1927 this was reduced to three unexcused absences, and in 1932 managers *had to* dismiss any worker who had *one day's* unexcused absence. Workers could also be dismissed for consistently failing to fulfill the output norm. Dismissal meant immediate confiscation of the worker's food ration card and eviction from his or her dwelling if, as was usual, it was furnished by the enterprise. Yet Martin Nicolaus has the gall to say that Soviet managers in Stalin's time could not "threaten a worker with unemployment and hunger"! This "Marxist-Leninist" is nothing but a deceitful Stalinist hack.

As severe as the Stalinist bureaucracy's labor practices were in the 1930's, they pale before the decree of June 1940,

*continued on page 10*

# Populist Demagogue Re-Elected in Jamaica

The ruling Peoples' National Party (PNP) scored a landslide victory in widely publicized elections December 15 over the opposition Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) of Edward Seaga, winning 44 of the 60 seats in the House of Representatives. The election, seen as a referendum on Prime Minister Michael Manley's "Jamaican socialism"—a variety of capitalist populism—took place amid an atmosphere of violence in which an estimated dozen PNP activists and five Labor Party members were killed in the last three weeks of the campaign alone.

The JLP, which despite its name bluntly speaks for the most nakedly reactionary pro-imperialist sectors of the ruling class, ran a scare campaign around the issue of alleged subversion represented by Manley's friendship with Cuba. The pro-American party distributed thousands of bumper stickers and buttons around the island saying "Vote PNP—Vote Communist." The charismatic Manley's resounding victory, achieved in spite of the most virulent redbaiting, is an indication of his popularity among the thousands of unemployed and lumpen youth of the cities.

trials and mete out indefinite sentences for firearms law violations. When the Privy Council ruled indefinite detention unconstitutional, the law was simply changed to provide a mandatory life sentence!

The upsurge of violence since the beginning of this year has so far led to over 200 deaths. Last January, for example, a gang of gunmen set fire to a tenement block in West Kingston and cut down fleeing tenants in a hail of bullets in order to embarrass the government as it was hosting a meeting of the International Monetary Fund. Firemen were also shot at. Eleven died in the massacre and many were seriously injured.

As a garden-variety Caribbean populist, politically somewhere between Guyana's Cheddi Jagan on the left and Panamanian strongman Omar Torrijos on the right, Manley is no socialist. His program of social reform, which includes construction of low-income housing, long-term leasing of unused land to the peasants and mild nationalization schemes, in no way challenges private property and capitalist relations of production. As for the "Cuba connection" which the JLP and the U.S.



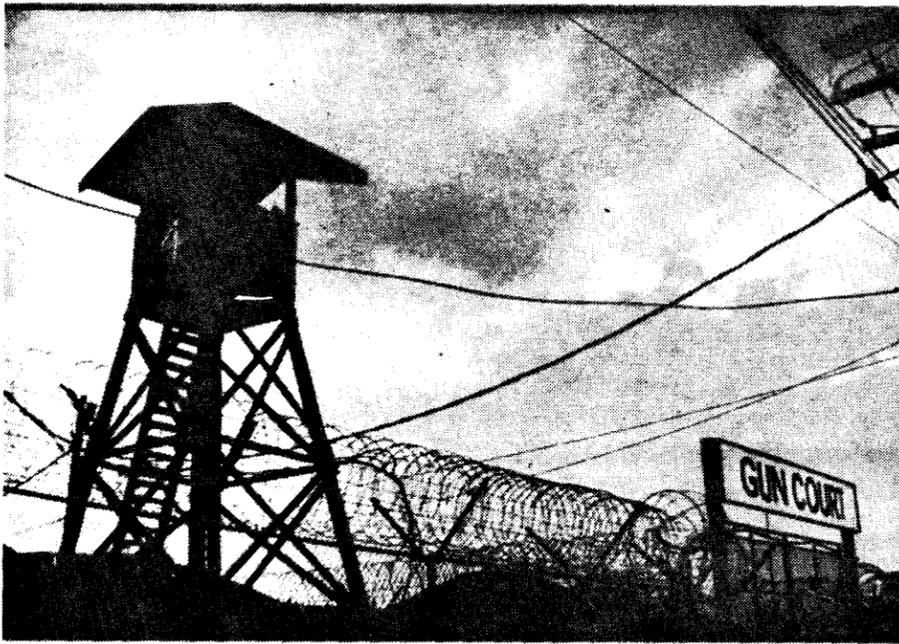
Michael Manley

Prela

with the major imperialist concern, Alcoa Aluminum, by agreeing to a mere 6 percent interest. Manley wound up his campaign loudly reaffirming his desire to maintain good relations with the U.S.

against others which are not qualitatively different.

Along with the British International Socialists, the RSL has eagerly extolled the virtues of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) of Jamaica, which took the same position on the political violence. Unfortunately for the RSL's transparently opportunist con game, the RML drew the obvious conclusion from choosing the PNP over the JLP in the squalid organizational rumbles that have convulsed the Kingston slums. In the general elections, the RML called for a vote to the PNP, an embarrassing confirmation of the real political logic behind the RSL's position. While lecturing its Jamaican friends against crossing the class line to vote PNP, the RSL's *Torch* (15 December) reiterates the same opportunist position at the root of the RML's betrayal: "In taking joint action with revolutionaries to suppress the JLP gangs, the pro-PNP workers can learn



Peter Simon/NYT Magazine

The state imposes life sentences in Gun Court prison for possession of guns.

Gang warfare, always a part of Jamaican political life, intensified in the final weeks of the campaign. PNP candidate Ferdie Neita was shot in the stomach and seriously wounded a few days before the election, leading the government to impose press censorship for the duration as well as to ban all public demonstrations. Earlier in the month the prime minister flew to the bedside of famed reggae singer Bob Marley, who was shot and seriously wounded days before he was scheduled to perform at a Manley rally.

Many of the JLP candidates campaigned from jail, having been imprisoned by Manley under a new emergency law allowing for the indefinite detention of anyone deemed dangerous to the government. The law is still in effect after being declared last June when the government discovered an arms cache in the Trench Town slum district of Kingston. Manley charged the JLP with participation in a CIA-backed scheme to "destabilize" the government and provoke a Chilean-style coup against the bourgeois populist regime.

The government's draconian repressive measures began long before last June. In March 1974, in response to a series of drug-related murders and an escalating crime rate that was cutting into the tourist trade, the government passed the drastic Suppression of Crime Act which established a special "Gun Court" empowered to conduct secret

government find so scandalous, it consists of cooperative exchange programs.

But the geographic proximity of the two countries plus the seething social unrest in a population suffering colossal unemployment, illiteracy and wretched living conditions, plus the threat of explosive workers struggles like those convulsing the bauxite industry this year, make the capitalists nervous. Not only is the Jamaican ruling class exporting hard currency earnings at a devastating rate, but it is fleeing the country en masse.

The Jamaican bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois property owners are hysterical in the face of the precipitous decline of the key bauxite, sugar and tourism industries. Bauxite shipments have declined rapidly since the 1974 recession, and this year's shipments are only 70 percent of last year's. Even the multimillion dollar ganja (marijuana) export trade is serving primarily to arm the street gangs, as guns are now the preferred medium of exchange in the drug trade with the U.S.

Stability is certainly beyond the reach of the Manley government, and the "destabilization" campaign was enough of a threat to force Manley to tone down his "socialist" rhetoric and back off from some of the measures that annoyed the U.S. government and aluminum companies. By this fall he had stopped demanding Jamaican ownership of 51 percent of the bauxite operations. He has also made at least a temporary peace



Alex Webb/Magnum

Demonstration in Jamaica supporting Manley's foreign policy.

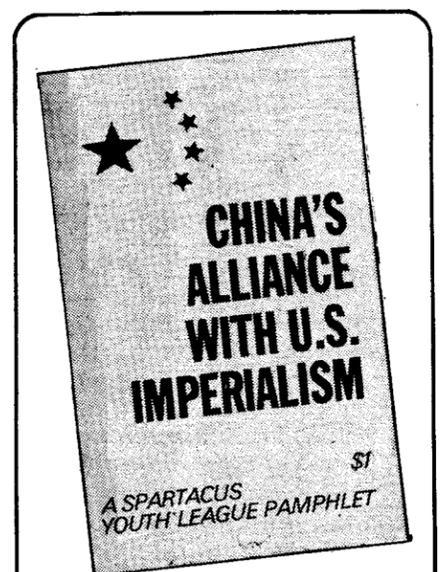
During the last year, many groups on the U.S. left have touted the claims of the bourgeois PNP. The rationales offered for such criminal folly range from simple-minded endorsement of Manley's "socialist" pretensions (à la the *Guardian*) to the pseudo-Marxist sophistry of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). This Shachtmanite minisect has sought to stem its advanced organizational disintegration by joining the train of "Third World" camp followers on a series of political issues.

Qualitatively smaller but more sophisticated than the motley Stalinists and nationalists who hail Manley, the RSL has consistently argued not for outright electoral support but rather for a military bloc with the PNP against the JLP. The RSL has attempted to make this line convincing through luridly sensational coverage of the gang warfare between the two bourgeois parties, claiming that the JLP's violence foreshadows an imminent CIA coup.

The RSL's position is not based on a concrete threat of a CIA-manipulated coup necessitating military defense of bourgeois democracy and the workers movement against impending reactionary assault, but simply on a desire to ingratiate itself with "Third Worldists." This requires it to pretend that a JLP regime would from a proletarian standpoint be fundamentally worse than the existing government. This is analogous to the RSL's call for military defense of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola against its petty-bourgeois nationalist rivals prior to the decisive subordination of one side to direct imperialist intervention (the U.S.-backed South African invasion in October 1975). Masquerading as military support, in both cases this is political support to one bourgeois force

from their own experience how to use their power as a class to defend themselves."

Revolutionaries in Jamaica would not capitulate to Manley's attempt to drum up votes through dire warnings of CIA/JLP coup plots. Rather they would fight to win the working masses from both bourgeois parties, exposing Manley's "democratic socialism" as a dangerous fraud. This requires construction of a Trotskyist party fighting for a workers and peasants government in Jamaica (as part of a socialist federation of the Caribbean), and in close conjunction with the vanguard of the North American proletariat. ■



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# Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

bloc indicates that the PCP is continuing to seek an alliance with "progressive" military leaders, the touchstone of CP strategy ever since the 1974 "revolution of the carnations." However, reflecting its weakened position, the PCP now has two alternative proposals for governmental alignments:

"...the first is the formation of a left majority with Communist participation.... The second would be the formation of a government, preferably presided over by a well-known personality (military or civilian), with the participation of a military personnel and independents which at least has the support of the PS and PCP."

—quoted in *Rouge*, 30 November

The biggest losers in the municipal elections were the various Maoist and syndicalist groups who had hitched their wagons to the presidential campaign of Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. The Maoist GDUP coalition, which had

programatically and organizationally crystallized around support to this bourgeois candidacy (see "CP in Deep Trouble in Portuguese Elections," *WV* No. 116, 2 July), fell on hard times following the June elections and the imprisonment of Carvalho for several weeks this fall on charges of "improper" political activity.

After a convention in November—the FSP, the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) and independents having left the coalition—the rump GDUP transformed themselves into a Popular Unity Movement (MUP) based on Carvalho's campaign program. But without the presence of the charismatic major the MUP was little more than a front for the Maoist UDP and left social-democratic MES, receiving only 2.5 percent of the vote on December 12.

## Showdown Over Agrarian Reform

Portugal's political instability has been further fueled by continuing

deterioration of the economic situation. Unemployment is estimated at 16 percent and inflation at 20-30 percent or higher. Even more than until now, salvaging the economy rests firmly in the hands of West European and American capital: fully one-third of the country's gold stocks are mortgaged as collateral for hard-currency loans from Common Market countries. But further aid, such as the \$300 million promised by U.S. president Ford in November, is predicated on additional austerity measures which the government will be hard put to enforce.

The focal point of direct conflict between the Soares regime and the working class has been on land reform. The seizures of large estates by the PCP-led agricultural proletariat early last year, particularly in the southern region of "red Alentejo," was the most extensive attack on capitalist property relations in the post-Caetano period. The Communist-influenced popular-front "Fifth Government" in 1974-75 voted post-facto legalization of land seizures on estates south of the Tejo River.

As the right wing gained ground, largely due to conciliation by the PCP (inherent in its policy of collaboration with the leaders of the MFA), the land takeovers were increasingly restricted. Earlier this fall, Soares tested the waters for an attack upon the "collective farms" established on the expropriated estates. He hoped to thereby placate the vocal Portuguese Farmers Federation (CAP), which was demanding annulment of the agrarian reform. However, the PS leader feared a confrontation with the 25,000-strong Stalinist-led agricultural workers.

The "land return" program, undertaken by "leftist" agricultural minister Lopes Cardoso, embraced only 101 small farms totalling 2 percent of the 2.6 million acres so far expropriated. While attempting to further appease the CAP and the parliamentary right wing by forcing the resignation of Lopes Cardoso, Soares is not yet prepared to face the agricultural workers commissions in a frontal assault. To do so would require a long-term and most likely very bloody military occupation, by a faction-ridden army which is needed to control the volatile urban working class.

In the national assembly the PSD and CDS have decided on the agrarian reform question as the key for determining whether to actively oppose the minority Socialist government or to attempt to force a coalition, either by splitting the PS or joining with military

ministers. On November 19 the CDS introduced a bill into parliament removing the legal right to expropriate the remaining land covered under the 1975 land reform bill. The PS united with the PCP and a Maoist deputy to defeat this bill. Subsequently, the bourgeois parties stiffened their attitude toward the government.

The agrarian situation in southern Portugal (which voted heavily "red" in the municipal elections) is still in the air. As we go to press, agricultural workers commissions have threatened to fight against government troops if the army attempts to take back occupied land. While the PCP induced the unions to tolerate the early "recuperation" of small farms, there is no guarantee that they could force acceptance of a more substantial attack.

## Need for Revolutionary Leadership

Portugal is overripe for the intervention of a revolutionary Trotskyist party fighting for a program of irreconcilable opposition to the class collaboration which has characterized both the Stalinists and social democrats. Despite their continual hostilities, both the PS and PCP have made blocs with sectors of the army, coalesced with civilian reactionaries and opposed the workers' strikes with armed force. Soares' proposed anti-strike law is only a copy of an earlier decree dating from August 1974, passed when the PCP was in a government presided over by right-wing general António de Spínola. As for the Maoists, they sought their "people's alliance" with the wing of the MFA around Major Carvalho—who, incidentally, was the first to enforce the 1974 anti-strike law (against TAP airline mechanics)!

However, the leading self-proclaimed Trotskyists in Portugal, supporters of the revisionist "United Secretariat," have repeatedly proved to be nothing but popular-frontists of the second mobilization. Still smarting from their fiasco in the presidential elections (when they first proposed a joint candidate, then had to withdraw her when it was discovered that she had lied about her past and covered up a record as a convicted petty criminal), the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI) and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT) ran a common slate calling for a PCP/PS government.

Of course, the Communists called for the same thing. Where the LCI/PRT called for making the municipal councils a "lever for popular struggles," the PCP called for turning them into launching pads for "people's power." And just in case anyone might get the idea that these fake-Trotskyists were adopting the "sectarian" posture of running independent candidates in opposition to the two reformist parties of class collaboration, the LCI/PRT joint program called on the workers to "vote PS and 'Povo Unido' in most cases as a way to block the path of advance for the right" (*Luta Proletária*, 26 October).

As we stated at the time of the April parliamentary elections and the June presidential elections, when the two leading reformist workers parties are actively engaged in popular-frontist maneuvers, allying (or attempting to ally) with the bourgeois officer caste and promising a program of repressing the workers struggles, to call for a PCP/PS government is to call for unity of the Portuguese Eberts, Scheidemanns and Noskes.

The unsupportable candidacies of the LCI/PRT and their refusal to learn from the bankruptcy of their various flirtations with Carvalho, the PS, the PCP and any other "left"-talking demagogue underlines their complete lack of a revolutionary program. Once again this brings to the fore the burning need for a Portuguese Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

## Faces FBI Frame-up Charges

# American Indian Militant Deported by Canada

DECEMBER 18—Leonard Peltier, an activist of the American Indian Movement (AIM), was extradited from Canada today. He was flown by helicopter and plane from Oakalla prison near Vancouver, where he has been in solitary confinement since February, to South Dakota. There Peltier will face trial on frame-up murder charges stemming from the shooting of two FBI agents on Pine Ridge reservation in 1975 (see "Stop Deportation of AIM Militant from Canada," *WV* No. 112, 4 June 1976).

Also this week, the Canadian government secretly deported Toshio Omura, allegedly a member of the Japanese Red Army. In Japan he is accused of involvement in the bombing of a Kyoto police station after the brutal suppression of the 1969 student rebellion. The highhanded expulsion of these two refugees from reactionary persecution reveals the repressive reality behind Ottawa's false claims of "concern for human rights."

Both deportations were carried out under provisions of Canada's reactionary immigration laws. Omura was deported under the "Temporary Immigration Act" passed in February as part of the repressive machinery that was geared up in preparation for the Montreal Olympic Games. Under this act, the immigration minister may immediately deport anyone "who in his opinion is likely to engage in acts of violence that would or might endanger the lives or safety of persons in Canada or engage in other violent criminal activity if admitted to Canada or permitted to remain therein." Once the minister has formed his "opinion" of what someone is "likely" to do that "might endanger" anyone, there need be no formal charges, no hearings, no evidence, no right to counsel, no appeal nor any other legal recourse; and, indeed, in Omura's case there was none.

The Temporary Immigration Act is scheduled to expire on December 31, and the government authorities who designed this draconian legislation want parliament to codify it on a more permanent basis. The summary deportation of Omura was a demonstration of how "expediently" left-wing militants can be removed. Following the secret expulsion, immigration minister Ronald Basford simply dismissed out of hand the norms of bourgeois legality:

"In immigration you sometimes have to weigh the interests of national security

against those of civil rights. When it comes to terrorism, Canadians seem able to realize that when national security is involved you can't always be too concerned about civil rights."

—*Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 18 December

The Temporary Immigration Act dispenses with the legal formalities of the Immigration Act of 1952, Canada's version of the anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act in the U.S. The 1952 act purports to offer protections in the form of hearings, appeal and right to counsel. However, in the case of Leonard Peltier the court appeals were quickly denied and a promise by the immigration minister that he would not sign extradition orders before carefully considering the arguments for political asylum was broken.

Canada has done its job for the FBI, sending Peltier into the hands of the U.S. government. But even in the highly prejudiced atmosphere of South Dakota courts, prosecutors have had difficulty convicting AIM militants on obvious frame-up charges. Since juries have been releasing Indian defendants, the FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs have taken the law into their own hands. Following the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee there have been 270 deaths on the Pine Ridge reservation resulting from assassinations and shootouts.

Marxists reject the utopian-reactionary politics of AIM, which advocates reservation "independence," and the petty-bourgeois despair of the Japanese Red Army. But Peltier and Omura are victims of reactionary bourgeois persecution and should be defended by the entire workers movement. Unfortunately, Peltier's defense was marred by the sectarianism of the AIM leadership, which demanded political support for itself and sought to exclude supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada who were among the first to take up Peltier's cause. During the crucial final weeks before Peltier's deportation there has been almost no public protest and the defense was restricted almost entirely to the courtroom and appeals to Basford's "social conscience."

The left and labor movement and all those who defend democratic rights against reactionary repression must demand that the charges against Omura and Peltier be dropped, and that they be freed immediately! ■

## CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 129 (15 October), an article on United Steelworkers presidential candidate Sadlowski referred to a leaflet by militants of Local 1014 in Lorain, Ohio. The Lorain local is 1104.

In the article "Quebec Nationalists Win Provincial Elections" in *WV* No. 135 (26 November), due to a transcription error the Parti Québécois was described as resulting from a fusion of nationalist splits from the populist Créditiste party; it should have read from the Liberal and Créditiste parties. In the same article Jacques Parizeau was listed as Quebec premier from 1961 to 1969 rather than as financial adviser to the premiers. Finally, the article erroneously refers to the Quebec Federation of Labour's "Gompersite tradition." While the QFL is allied with the American AFL-CIO, in the early 1960's it attempted to implant the New Democratic Party, Canada's right-wing social democracy, in the province.

In our last issue (*WV* No. 137, 10 December) a headline read "PDC Telegram Protests Exclusion of Ernest Mandel." Actually, the article referred to a statement by the Trotskyist League of Canada and the international Spartacist tendency.

# Stalin's "Workers Paradise"...

(continued from page 7)

which could well have been (and possibly was) copied from Nazi Germany. This decree punished violations of labor discipline with naked state terror. Changing jobs without permission of management was punishable by two to four months' imprisonment. A worker guilty of a single instance of "truancy" (one day's unexcused absence or 20 minutes' lateness) had to be punished by up to six months' corrective labor at the workplace, at up to 25 percent reduction in pay. This savage anti-worker law was so unpopular that managers were prosecuted for covering up for errant employees!

The 1940 decree was no mere wartime emergency measure, either. It remained in force until 1956, and its underlying principle was officially declared to be the norm in a "socialist society." The Stalinist attitude toward labor in this bogus "workers paradise" was well summed up in a 1949 Soviet work, Dogadov's *History of Development of Soviet Labor Law*:

"In the socialist society there is no difference in principle and quality between drafted labor and labor performed by voluntarily entering into labor relations by taking employment..." [our emphasis]  
—quoted in *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1951

## Stalin's Extreme Anti-Egalitarianism

In contrast to the Big Lie technique of Nicolaus, some apologists for Stalin admit that he eliminated the freedom which Soviet workers enjoyed in the 1920's, but argue that by eliminating a free labor market Soviet workers achieved economic security and equality of income. Nevertheless, Stalin the egalitarian is as big a fraud as Stalin the defender of workers' rights against management.

During the 1920's the Soviet government published ample statistics on wages. Again, when real wages rose steadily from the mid-1950's onward, the Kremlin publicized this fact. However, no comprehensive official figures for cost-of-living changes and real wages have been published during or about Stalin's reign. This silence in itself indicates a marked deterioration of living standards. The most careful

Western study is Janet Chapman's *Real Wages in Soviet Russia Since 1928* (1963), which estimates that from 1928 to 1940 the annual real wage of state employees in the USSR fell at least 22 percent, and that the 1928 level was not restored until 1953-54. Since working time per year expanded greatly during the 1930's, wage compensation per hour fell even more sharply.

As to the distribution of income, the Stalin period was marked by inegalitarianism that was extreme when compared to both the 1920's and the subsequent Khrushchev/Brezhnev period. In 1932, engineers and technicians received 2.6 times the income of the average production worker; in 1960, engineers and technicians earned only 50 percent more than production workers, and by 1972 the difference had dropped to 30 percent (Peter Wiles, "Recent Data on Soviet Income Distribution," *Survey*, Summer 1975). Today income differentials in Brezhnev's Russia are quite comparable to Maoist China, notwithstanding much phony egalitarian propaganda in the latter.

No comprehensive data for the incomes of top party and government officials during the Stalin period exist. In addition to money salary, top bureaucrats have access to all kinds of special privileges provided free of charge, and there is every reason to believe that in Stalin's Russia they enjoyed relative affluence amidst widespread poverty.

Marxists recognize that in a collectivized economy under conditions of scarcity wage differentials are necessary to allocate labor between different occupations, industries and regions. However, individual wage differentials as a means of enforcing work discipline—piece rates—are an entirely different question. Socialist consciousness, integrally bound up with soviet democracy, is the force for ensuring that work is performed conscientiously. A piece-rate wage system, which Marx called "that form of wages most in harmony with the capitalist mode of production" (*Capital*, Vol. I, Ch. 21), undermines socialist consciousness and proletarian unity.

During the economic collapse which accompanied the destructive civil war, at a time when most of the working class had been mobilized to the front and the factories were staffed with new workers recently drawn from the peasantry, Lenin regarded piece rates as legitimate. During the period of "war communism," piece rates were the norm for industrial workers. But following the introduction of the Labor Code of 1922 wages were negotiated between trade unions and management, and by 1928 piece rates covered only 34 percent of the industrial labor force (Dewar, *Labour Policy in the USSR 1917-1928* [1956]).

In 1931 Stalin launched his famous attack on "petty-bourgeois egalitarianism." The party conference that year passed the following resolution:

"We must liquidate completely the rotten practice of egalitarianism in wages and must achieve the objective of making out of the piecework and bonus system the most important factor of the struggle for increased labor productivity..."  
—quoted in W.W. Kulski, *The Soviet Regime* (1963)

After that piece-rate wages were applied wherever feasible, and the scale was far steeper (more inegalitarian) than in the 1920's or the advanced capitalist countries. This was the so-called "progressive" piece-rate system whereby wages increased and decreased at a faster rate than did production.

Stalin's attack on egalitarianism and proletarian unity reached its peak with the Stakhanovite movement launched in 1935. A special group of "shock workers" were promoted whose purpose was to break established production norms, thus providing the basis for increased piece-rate norms for the entire workforce. The Stakhanovites received enormous wages as well as other

material privileges otherwise limited to the bureaucracy. Intense worker hostility to these mercenary rate-breakers caused the practice to gradually die out.

Stalin's piece-rate system was so unpopular that its curtailment was one of the major concessions which Khrushchev made to the Russian workers. In 1956, 73 percent of the Soviet workforce was on piece rates and 27 percent on "progressive" piece rates. By 1965, "progressive" piece rates had been done away with altogether and the share of the labor force on the piece-rate system was reduced to 58 percent (Leonard Joel Kirsch, *Soviet Wages: Changes in Structure and Administration Since 1956* [1970]).

## Khrushchev: Forerunner of Maoist Economics

Although Nicolaus and the Maoists completely misread its significance, Khrushchev's consolidation of power in 1958 was, in fact, associated with a significant change in the structure of Soviet economic planning. Under Stalin the basic administrative units for implementing the plan were vertically-integrated, nationwide industrial ministries (e.g., the aviation industry, agricultural machinery). Khrushchev's opposition among the Stalinist "old guard," the so-called "anti-party group" of Molotov/Malenkov/Kaganovich, had its main base among the Moscow-centered, economic administrative apparatchiks. Khrushchev's following was concentrated among the provincial party bosses, who had long resented Stalin's super-centralism which deprived them of influence over their local economies.

When Khrushchev ousted the Molotov group he proceeded to reward his supporters and punish his opponents by abolishing the ministerial system in favor of regional decentralization. From 1958 to Khrushchev's fall in 1964, the basic unit of economic administration was the regional council (*sovmarkhoz*).

Predictably, Nicolaus jumps on Khrushchev's regional decentralization as proof that he was subverting Stalin's "socialism" in the service of capitalist restoration:

"In the industrial sphere, the plan envisaged the abolition, at one stroke, of the central economic planning ministries carefully constructed with years of effort under Lenin and Stalin. Their functions and powers were to be transferred to more than a hundred regional economic councils (*sovmarkhozy*) with only loose supervision remaining at the center...  
"Khrushchev's blow at the centralized socialist planning ministries... had the immediate effect of a widespread resurgence and expansion of the sphere of commodity-money exchange relations."

In denouncing Khrushchev's economic regionalization as "capitalist-roadism,"

the Maoist propagandist Nicolaus demonstrates either gross ignorance of Chinese economic policy or hypocritical demagoguery... or perhaps both.

Economic localism and "self-sufficiency" (autarky) have long been a central tenet of "radical" Maoist economics. One of the most significant changes in the Chinese economy following the Cultural Revolution was a marked increase in the economic power of local authorities. Whereas in 1965 some 20 percent of industrial enterprises were administered at the *hsien* (county) level or below, during 1969-71 the proportion increased to about 50 percent (Stuart Schram, ed., *Authority, Participation and Cultural Change in China* [1973]). In 1971, Chou En-lai told Edgar Snow that the central government had only 10,000 employees compared to 60,000 before the Cultural Revolution (*New Republic*, 27 March 1971).

An article in the 25 September 1971 *Peking Review* affirms economic localism as a hallmark of Maoism, saying that the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution proved that "letting the localities undertake more work is the only correct principle for developing China's industry..." The French Maoist ideologue, Charles Bettelheim, in his *Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China* (1974), favorably contrasts Chinese economic localism with traditional Soviet centralism:

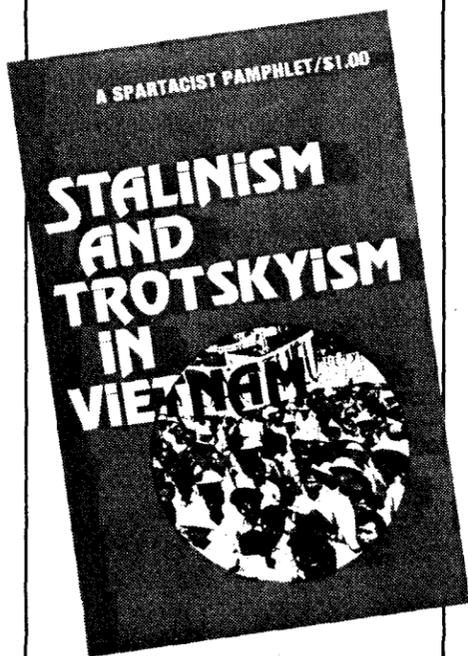
"The local authorities (of provinces, districts or municipalities) actually play a considerable role in planning and management. This decentralization enables the province or municipality to effect close cooperation between the various regional production units. Management at the provincial level is guided by a broad concept of relatively autonomous industrial development in each province...  
"Decentralization accounts for the exceptional dynamism of the Chinese economy and for the sharp contraction of the administrative apparatus that can be observed everywhere. Such decentralization, moreover, constitutes one of the conditions for the development of socialist forms of management, and for workers' participation in management."

Following the fall of Lin Piao in late 1971, some steps were taken to recentralize the Chinese economy. Teng Hsiao-ping, in particular, was associated with pushing for more Soviet-type central planning. However, in contrast to the restored industrial ministry system in the present-day USSR, the basic unit of economic administration in China remains the provincial government.

The Maoist Nicolaus chooses to identify "socialism" in Russia with Stalin's super-centralism, while saying nothing about China's economic regionalism, which if anything is more extreme than the Khrushchevite *sovmarkhoz* system.

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# Sadlowski...

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their readers has forced the reformist fake-leftists to systematically distort and omit pertinent facts about his record. The 10 December *Militant*, published by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), contains a special six-page insert on the campaign which is totally uncritical of Sadlowski. The *Militant* prints a tough statement by Sadlowski in opposition to the ENA, the no-strike agreement initiated by Abel. What the article fails to mention, however, is that *Sadlowski has pledged to enforce* this rotten provision as long as it "legally" remains in effect—i.e., at least until 1980!

On the issue of political action, where Sadlowski's support of the Democratic Party stands in sharp contrast to the SWP's formal position of no support to capitalist politicians, the *Militant* maintains total silence! Moreover, these opportunist toadies hail Sadlowski's

successful court suit forcing the union to finance a campaign mailing by each candidate and open the union newspaper to Sadlowski's supporters. These "unprecedented concessions to the insurgent candidate," in fact, establish a disastrous precedent for the bosses' government to directly tell the USW how to spend its money and edit its publications. Such craven reliance on the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state is not, surprising, however, from Sadlowski, who, like Miller in the UMW, owes his union post to a Labor Department-supervised election re-run.

Sadlowski's willingness to tolerate the presence of avowed socialists in his camp is simply tactical expediency. Particularly since he was unable to win any of the powerful district directors over to his side, he is sorely lacking in an apparatus that is capable of running an effective nationwide campaign. To a not-insubstantial degree the energy and organizational talents for the Sadlowski campaign have been provided by would-be leftists. And precisely because the

fake-lefts have totally liquidated into uncritical participation in Steelworkers Fight Back, most workers do not suspect that they have any independent politics.

This is highly useful to Sadlowski, who in fact wishes to avoid any association with known leftists. An incident that occurred in Lorain, Ohio, shows that despite Sadlowski's verbal opposition to redbaiting, he has already begun to buckle under. Lorain is the center for the Communist Party-supported National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSWRFC). George Edwards, co-chairman of the NSWRFC, has been a member of Local 1104 for 30 years and is continually red-baited. To be associated with Edwards or the NSWRFC will cost votes in Lorain, and possibly elsewhere. The NSWRFC stumped for Sadlowski long before he announced his candidacy, but when Sadlowski and Edwards showed up on the same morning recently to pass out leaflets, Sadlowski ostentatiously dissociated himself from the NSWRFC. The incident was reported in the 9 November *Elyria Chronicle-Telegram*:

"Sadlowski was angered this morning when George Edwards, Rank and File Committee spokesman and perennial Local 1104 candidate, started to hand out leaflets and claimed to support Sadlowski.

"I want the workers to know I have nothing to do with George Edwards," he added. In fact when Edwards approached Sadlowski at the gate Sadlowski left through another gate to hand out his leaflets."

In Lorain Sadlowski is trying to build a campaign committee that will exclude the NSWRFC, and at his November 30 rally in Cleveland the spineless NSWRFC supporters were conspicuously absent.

What Sadlowski dished out to Edwards and the NSWRFC is only a taste of the medicine militant steelworkers would receive from a Sadlowski regime. Such a regime would have increasingly less use for its left allies of yesterday. A likely outcome is what occurred in the United Mine Workers (UMW). Arnold Miller, who was supported by the same reformist groups that back Sadlowski, also started out by talking about "democracy." But only a few short years later he has broken numerous wildcats, conducted a purge of leftist militants and collaborated with his opponents in the bureaucracy in

political revolution. There is no "democracy" separate from the class character of any society. There is bourgeois democracy, the brittle façade of a capitalist society built upon brutal exploitation and desperate oppression, and there is its antithesis, workers democracy in a workers state.

To court Plyushch and the social democrats, the OCI blurs the fundamental class line between reactionaries like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and militants who seek to oppose Stalinism from the standpoint of defense of the gains of October, between the dupes and sycophants of imperialism and the future cadres of the political revolution. As *Le Bolchévique* insisted:

"The iSt has also called for freedom of political expression, even for confirmed anti-Marxists like Solzhenitsyn or Sakharov. (We would of course have a totally different attitude if it were a question of counterrevolutionary actions threatening the military security of the USSR.) But we never lose sight for an instant of the deep-going differences we have with these dissidents. To whitewash the pro-bourgeois positions of Sakharov and Yakir as does the OCI can only serve the interests of the bourgeois elements, on the one hand, in building up a solid reputation for people who are in fact hostile to socialism; and also serve the interests of the Stalinists, who themselves seek to lump all the dissidents together in the same bag: bourgeois liberals and revolutionary socialists, all 'enemies of the Soviet state'."

## In Defense of Trotskyism

The OCI's latest revision of Trotskyism comes at a time when it is attempting to enter the Pabloist "United Secretariat" (see "No Tango in Paris," *WV* No. 137, 10 December). Its shameless tailism of anti-Marxist "dissidents," the darlings of the anti-Soviet social-democratic milieu, is fully in line with its continuing orientation toward the social-democratic forces in popular-front formations, an appetite it shares with the American SWP. After signing away its "anti-Pabloist" credentials in an agreement with the United Secretariat, it now explicitly rejects a cornerstone of Trotskyism: the characterization of Stalinism.

At the OCI educational, it was only the international Spartacist tendency which upheld the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of all the deformed workers states against imperialism, as part of the struggle to end Stalinist repression through political revolution to establish proletarian democracy.

— Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

— For Socialist Revolution Against Capitalism!

— For Revolutionary Defenseism in the Deformed and Degenerated Workers States! For Political Revolution Against Stalinist Bureaucratic Rule!

# OCI...

(continued from page 3)

able weapon against Stalinist totalitarianism.

At the OCI educational, it was Plyushch himself, responding to an intervention by the Trotskyists of the LTF, who propounded the rationale of those who refuse to draw the class line:

"The second question which [the LTF comrade] raised is the point that we should defend the Soviet Union with all our strength, independently of its bureaucratic character.... The struggle for human rights unites the right and left oppositions, inasmuch as until the problem of political freedom is resolved it is impossible to resolve the other problems: the problem of the economic situation of the workers, their participation in the direction of industry and agriculture, the problem of the national yoke and of religious persecution. And only when we have resolved this task, which is linked to the program of the bourgeois revolution, only then will we come to differentiation within the Soviet Union. That's why, participating in these committees today, there are Marxists as well as anti-Marxists, anti-socialists...."

On the contrary, only the proletariat, which defends the nationalized property forms of the deformed workers states against capitalist restoration and imperialist reconquest, can establish workers democracy through soviets that topple the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies in a

# MEC...

(continued from page 5)

program, but inherent in its "Night of Solidarity" was a clear political strategy: opportunist capitulation to feminism (and other petty-bourgeois tendencies). Behind the opportunism lies the crudest sectarianism: if Lolita Lebrón deserves support because she is a woman, then by the same token a Mario Muñoz does not. And, not coincidentally, the MEC refused to endorse the defense campaign for this persecuted Chilean trade unionist last summer. Genuine revolutionists must break from this sectarian approach and take up the defense of the whole of the working people.

That the advertised discussion period was simply eliminated from the evening's agenda without explanation came as no surprise in view of the increasingly bureaucratic measures the MEC has been adopting in its classes. The SL is hearing a great deal these days from the MEC about "disruptive" political presentations. But polemics in the pursuit of greater political clarity are welcomed by genuine Leninists. They are "disruptive" only to the MEC's attempts to quietly bury its program under a patchwork of academic eclecticism. ■

## Letter:

To the Editor:

In your recent story on the imprisoned South African actors (*WV* No. 130, 22 October) you mixed up the plot of *Sizwe Banzi*. It was not that the man took the identity of the dead Sizwe B., but that Sizwe had to swap identities with the dead "John Doe" and give up his own identity as Sizwe Banzi which he was reluctant to do. His friend had to drum it into his head that "S.B. is dead!" [because] really it was the only way he could live. It was one hell of a play! I heard through the grapevine that the actors had been freed already. Is that so?

L.T.

*WV* replies: Our article did indeed garble the plot of *Sizwe Banzi Is Dead*. UPI reported on October 24 that actor/writers John Kani and Winston Ntshona were released from detention and expelled from the Transkei "tribal homeland" shortly before the Bantustan's phony "independence" from South Africa was declared.

excluding the left press from the recent UMW convention. Sadlowski in power would be a bureaucratic, anti-communist opponent of workers democracy and class-struggle policies.

Miller's support within the UMW has largely evaporated as mineworkers get a taste of Labor Department-sponsored reformism. While Rauh, Victor Reuther and other prominent Sadlowski backers still trumpet the great "victory" for union democracy in the 1972 UMW election, the USW candidate himself appears reluctant to be associated with the discredited Miller. At the December 15 New York benefit, Sadlowski was asked to comment on Miller's record by Gene Herson, presidential candidate of the oppositional Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the 1973 National Maritime Union (NMU) elections. Sadlowski repeatedly and categorically refused to discuss his counterpart in the UMW, lamely responding: "I never met the man in my life, never saw him."

The total failure of most left groups to learn anything from the Miller experience only underscores their fundamental unseriousness. The Spartacist League, in contrast, opposed Miller and today rejects Sadlowski as well, warning that these "democrats" are nothing but bureaucrats on the make. The workers do not need "good guy" bureaucrats and cheap "progressive" rhetoric. They require class-struggle union leadership to consistently fight for the economic defense and political independence of the proletariat. Only by exposing and politically destroying bureaucrats like Miller, Abel, Sadlowski, and McBride, as well as the fake socialists who generate illusions in them, can the working class go forward. ■

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## WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 13

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Fake Lefts Lionize Steel "Rebel"

# Sadlowski: Another Labor Faker

With less than two months remaining before the February 8 elections for International officers in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the campaign has heated up both inside the union and in the media.

The results of the recently concluded nomination period gave challenger Ed Sadlowski 456 nominations, as compared to 3,369 for I.W. Abel's hand-picked successor, Lloyd McBride. However, the final election tally will be a lot closer than these figures would indicate. The vast majority of the locals won by McBride represent smaller shops with a relatively small number of votes. In 1969 Abel won the nomination over Emil Narick by a margin of 7 to 1, but the general election tally was a lot closer: 260,000 to 180,000.

Sadlowski, however, clearly remains the underdog. Significantly, he was unable to carry some key locals in his own District 31, including Local 1787, Burns Harbor, Indiana, generally seen as a Sadlowski stronghold, and Local 1014 in Gary. Moreover, to date Sadlowski has not won the endorsement

steel, and it's going to come out of the workers' back" (*New York Times Magazine*, 19 December).

Moreover, some of the opportunists on the fake-left and their supporters in the Steelworkers have endorsed Sadlowski. Since the USWA convention in August, when he essentially disclaimed any connection with "reds," Sadlowski has modified his posture on this issue. Publicly, especially before predominantly leftist and liberal audiences, he repudiates red-baiting.

This fact has invoked wide comment in the bourgeois press. It has also not been lost on his opponents. Already in August the Abel forces set up a group called SMART (Steelworker Members Against a Radical Takeover), whose essential function was to blast out propaganda about Sadlowski's connection with "radicals," "irresponsible elements," and "outsiders." Since then, this issue has become the main campaign issue for the incumbent bureaucrats.

In fact, however, the Abel machine's red-baiting of Sadlowski is a cheap campaign gimmick designed to intimidate more conservative steelworkers. No one, with the exception of his cheerleaders on the American left, seriously implies that Sadlowski has broken from the traditional pro-capitalist politics of the labor bureaucracy. In fact, the "rebel" bureaucrat is closely associated with a grouping of bourgeois liberals, including Joseph Rauh (who braintrusted Arnold Miller's victory in the Mine Workers) and John Kenneth Galbraith, who are active members of the virulently anti-communist Americans for Democratic Action (ADA).

Sadlowski supported Fred Harris in the 1976 Democratic Party primaries, before endorsing Carter, and supported "reform" Democrat Bill Singer against the Daley machine in Chicago. The liberals like Sadlowski not because he is an opponent of capitalism, but precisely because he would be an important labor counterweight in the Democratic Party to the somewhat more conservative politics espoused by George Meany.

Analogies between the Sadlowski campaign and the Miller campaign in the UMW are obvious. Not least is the willingness of both these reformists to call in the bourgeois state against their bureaucratic opponents. However, in at least one respect there is a difference. Miller had a broader spectrum of bourgeois political support, largely because the Boyle regime's notorious venality and gangsterism so isolated it that it was increasingly unable to put the lid on mine worker wildcats. Abel has been a more effective servant of capitalism.

### Redbaiting Galore

However, even the more conservative bourgeois commentators who object to Sadlowski's toleration of support from left groups, do not see him as a threat to the capitalist system. Writing in their syndicated column, Evans and Novak noted: "Actually, nobody calls Sadlowski a Communist.... Labor movement insiders are less worried about Sadlow-



Ed Sadlowski, right, with Joseph Rauh at \$25-a-head fund-raising party at Roseland in New York last week.



Jeff Lowenthal/Newsweek

### Lloyd McBride

of any other district director. Crucial to Abel's victory over the incumbent David McDonald in 1965 were the eleven district directors who broke from McDonald's camp.

In recent months the Steelworkers election has been the major trade-union topic covered by the bourgeois press. In particular, Sadlowski's campaign style has attracted considerable attention. His campaign oratory is loaded with populist references: "I.W. Abel spends too damn much time drinking martinis with R. Heath Larry at the Duquesne.... Personally, I'd rather drink a beer down here with the boys." At times he engages in pseudo-radical demagoguery, asserting that "the fact is it's the working class versus the coupon clipper. The boss is there for one damn purpose alone, and that is to make money, not to make

ski's passive failure to disavow Communist support than his active collaboration with new-politics liberals" (*New York Post*, 3 December).

Among the steel barons there is a certain amount of nervousness over the prospect of a Sadlowski regime and a shakeup in the existing union leadership. However, those steelmakers who have dealt with Sadlowski in his capacity as director of District 31 steadfastly vouch for his "responsibility." William McDermut, president of Illinois Slag and Ballast Company, offered: "He was far and away the ablest union guy who has come down this pike—dedicated, tireless, and honest" (*New York Times Magazine*, 19 December).

Far from representing a class-struggle alternative, Sadlowski's campaign is typical of those waged by bureaucrats temporarily on the outs—long on rhetoric about "honesty" and "democracy," but short on programmatic alternatives. At a December 15 fund-raising gala in New York's Roseland Dance City, the "progressive candidate" waxed eloquently to a group of reporters about the evils of Big Steel and Standard Oil. When asked if he favored expropriating these corporate giants, Sadlowski responded: "Nationalization is not the solution."

Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fight Back" slate was put together in typical bureaucratic fashion, throwing together individuals who had never before demonstrated common positions on the major issues facing steel workers. Instead, in a procedure resembling Democratic Party politics, Sadlowski

picked a slate including one black bureaucrat, one Chicago bureaucrat, one Jewish bureaucrat and (including himself) two Polish bureaucrats.

The absence of a fundamental programmatic choice between the Abel and McBride slates is demonstrated graphically by events in the Cleveland-based District 28. The incumbent district director is Joseph Kender, who is running for re-election. Kender is totally discredited and has been dumped by the Abel/McBride forces, who are now supporting Frank Valenta. Sadlowski also wants no part of the loser Kender. The interesting fact about the race in District 28 is that many of the locals and local officials who support Sadlowski are also backing Valenta, who is a supporter of McBride! The fact that local union officers can back Sadlowski and McBride supporters with equal facility attests to the politically empty character of the campaign.

### Sadlowski and the Left

The bulk of the American left has done its shameless best to obscure the fact—recognized by the bourgeois press and steel barons alike—that there is no fundamental distinction in the class policies of McBride and Sadlowski. A front-page article in *Workers' Power* (13 December), organ of the social-democratic International Socialists, trumpeted: "Sadlowski has campaigned for a complete change in the pro-company policies of the present USW leadership."

This task of prettifying Sadlowski for

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