

SPARTACIST



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MARCH-APRIL 1968

10 CENTS

FOR A LABOR-SOCIALIST TICKET IN 1968

The 1968 elections come at a time of enormous discontent over the Vietnam war, deeply-felt and violent outbursts of disillusionment among the Negro masses, and an upsurge in labor militancy and rash of hard-fought strikes. The exposure of the Democratic Party as the party of savage racist oppression in the American cities and imperialist intervention in Vietnam sharply poses the necessity of a break with the two capitalist parties in favor of a Freedom-Labor Party based on a working-class program which can link up the issues of the war, the ghetto and the labor struggle. The 1968 Presidential elections offer the best opportunity in 20 years for the intervention of radicals in the electoral arena through the form of a labor-socialist ticket—to consist for example of a local trade union leader and a socialist, one of whom might well be black—which could build wide support for a decisive break with capitalist politics and lay the basis for a movement to struggle for a Freedom-Labor Party.

Need for a Working-Class Party

The United States is the only advanced capitalist country which does not have some kind of mass party of the working class. The need for such a party of working-class struggle has long been recognized by Marxists and was included as one of the basic points of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. The increasing recognition of the role of the Democratic Party in the maintenance of the capitalist status quo poses this question sharply as the necessary consequence not only of the objective situation but of needs which are becoming widely subjectively felt by broad sections of the population—student radicals, ghetto militants and now, following a period of relative labor quiescence, sections of the working class.

Yet the American Left, faced with such immense possibilities for the intervention of a radical program, exhibits increasingly its lack of any perspective for this period and turns more and more to passive enthusing and mindless activism combined with an essen-

tial cynicism toward a relevant perspective for social change.

American radicalism has long been confronted by the seemingly permanent situation of a working class which has shown itself, even in periods of great militancy and willingness to fight for economic demands, politically pragmatic and complacent, with an explicit philosophy, on the political scene, which is essentially passive—"rewarding the (so-called) friends of labor and punishing its enemies." Such a situation, of course, is not an abstract and a priori phenomenon, but exists in the context of the historic betrayals and misleaderships of the working class by those who presumed to speak in the name of radicalism. One of the healthy features of the New Left movement, and certainly one of the formative factors of its ideology, has been the rejection of the example of the old Communist Party—the New Left generalizes this to "the Old Left"—with its history of capitulationist politicking which found its clearest expression in the support of Roosevelt and the New Deal and continues today as the "Reform Democrat" orientation.

Political Struggle, Not Abstentionism

But the New Left, while presuming to have rejected this approach to radical politics, has actually taken over one of the basic underlying conceptions of this outlook—the equating of struggle on the political front with cynical maneuvering toward the various enemies of the working class. The New Left has instead embraced a concept of non-political and even anti-political militancy and activism. It mindlessly throws its energies into self-destructive physical "confrontation" with the "war-makers" and passively and enthusiastically applauds the directionless and programless ghetto outbursts which leave the situation of the black masses unchanged. The New Left rejects out of hand the possibility for working-class struggle, viewing the political passivity of the workers as given, rather than the result of

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THESES ON GUERRILLA WARFARE Page 8

DEFEND CITY LABOR!

The Sanitation workers are fighting for decent wages and working conditions. Since July 1, 1967, more than seven months ago, the Sanitationmen have worked without a union contract.

The Sanitation workers perform physically demanding and hazardous work. An estimated 3,000 of the 10,000 workers were injured on the job last year. For this work, the Sanitationmen start at \$6424 a year and receive a maximum of \$7956 after 3 years. Now the Sanitation workers are demanding a \$600-a-year increase and a minimum of \$135 a week. They also demand a Monday-to-Friday basic work week, time-and-a-half for Saturdays, double-time for Sundays and a 10% night shift differential.

It happens that the Sanitation workers' demands are *too modest!* The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics states that \$10,195 a year, \$196 a week, is required for a "moderate" standard of living for

Taylor Law.

Attack on All Labor

The attack on the Sanitationmen is part of a general attack against labor, particularly against public workers who have shown much militancy. Unions such as the welfare workers' SSEU, who fought a 6-week strike last summer, and the teachers' UFT, who lost their checkoff rights and were fined under the Taylor Law, have felt the club of the City. While bearing down on City workers, Lindsay, his political appointees and the rest of the city's political structure do not think it unreasonable to hold down soft jobs paying four or more times as much as the Sanitationmen's salaries. Nor does Lindsay have a word of complaint against the Wall Street bankers and real estate sharks who gouge the City to collect the principle and interest on bonds, and who get away with meager tax payments while raking in tremendous profits.

These attacks on labor are not peculiar to the Lindsay administration. Mayor Wagner, for instance, also jailed union leaders under the Condon-Wadlin Law. The increasing intensity of the attacks should make more and more workers see that the City and State governments, the so-called representatives of the "people", are really representing the bosses against the workers. The big business rulers of this country intend to maintain their profits by cutting wages, worsening working conditions, and placing the full cost of the predatory Vietnam war on the backs of workers through taxes and inflation.

Workers Need Defense

In the face of these attacks, City labor must set up major defenses. These should include the following points:

1—Organize unified action by *all* City workers against the forces of the City and State. The Sanitation workers are defending the right to strike for all workers in public employment. The City's workers have the *power* to smash the anti-union Taylor Law and release DeLury from jail. The organized labor movement must be mobilized to meet any strike-breaking act with any militant action necessary—including a *General Strike of all city workers!*

2—Fight labor bureaucrats who mislead workers. Instead of promoting labor solidarity against the City offensive, labor's misleaders are concerned with "their own" narrow interests, "their own business." The rest of labor can shift for itself as far as the labor bureaucrat is concerned. He prefers to have pleasant relations with the bosses, settle for the smallest amount needed to keep the workers quiet, and make

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Mar.-Apr. 1968

This leaflet was written by the New York City Spartacist League in the heat of the sanitation workers' strike. "Liberal" Mayor John Lindsay first deliberately provoked the strike, then tried to get the National Guard out to break it, as a way of smashing public employee unionism in the city.

a family of four in New York City. And the other non-wage demands of the Sanitationmen were won by most unionized workers years ago.

The Lindsay administration has reacted to the Sanitationmen's demands with a heavy club. Lindsay has repeatedly stated that he will not be "blackmailed" into negotiating and has assembled his various "legal" weapons to club the workers into submission. He is ready to jeopardize the health and welfare of all the city's inhabitants rather than come to terms with the union. After failing to keep the Sanitation workers handcuffed through his Office of Collective Bargaining, Lindsay is trying to break the strike with the anti-union Taylor Law, better known as the Rockefeller-and-Travia or RAT Law. The President of the union, John J. DeLury, has been sentenced to jail and fined \$250 under this law. With the Sanitation workers' ranks remaining solid, "liberal" Mayor Lindsay turned to the weapon of the open-shop employer—the scab. Lindsay ordered municipal hospital workers and other laborers to clear away garbage, but they refused. Now Lindsay is maneuvering to bring in the National Guard as strike-breakers. Rockefeller would like to stop the strike with a few concessions through his "mediation" panel, but he is no ally of the worker—in fact, he was one of the major sponsors of the anti-union

deals with the political fakers in the Democratic and Republican parties. The strike of the city's welfare workers was lost because such labor leaders refused to help those workers in *their* fight for decent wages and working conditions. *This must not be allowed to happen to the Sanitation workers.* All workers need rank-and-file committees to fight for militant policies in their unions and to replace misleaders with representatives of the rank-and-file.

3—Fight the oppression of black workingpeople and poor by demanding the recruitment and upgrading of black workers into City departments at union wages. In the past the Sanitation union, of which a large percentage is black, has supported civil rights struggles, particularly the World's Fair "stall-in" some years ago. Black workers suffer the lowest wages and highest unemployment nation-wide, and this fact of racism allows the City to attempt to use black people as scabs to break strikes. Thus Floyd McKissick of CORE is considering offering non-union black workers to man the Sanitation trucks in ghetto areas. City workers must launch a fight against racism and unemployment.

4—Organize a Labor-based party independent of the two major parties to run in the upcoming City elections and throw out the Lindsay administration. Workers throughout the country, especially those under *political* attack, are beginning to learn that they must organize *politically* in order to defend their living standard, not to mention make *real gains*. Workers need a political weapon, a political party of *their own*, a *Labor Party* based on the unions—not the political parties of the bosses, of millionaires Johnson, Kennedy, and Rockefeller! ■ 9 February 1968

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the absence of a revolutionary leadership. By rejecting an orientation to revolutionary political struggle, the New Left dooms its efforts to failure, and its cadres to disillusionment and disorganization. Impatience and cynicism do not make a program.

The result of this rejection of any kind of political struggle by the radicals is the continuation of the reformist status quo. The recognition of the need for political struggle and the utilization of this recognition remains in the hands of the reformist fakery, best exemplified by Irving Howe and his ilk, to whom politics is synonymous with "coalitionism." The demonstrated militancy of the trade unions remains tied to the liberal trade union bureaucracies; the black ghetto, despite its deep disgust with and rejection of the liberal establishment, still votes Democratic at election time. All opportunity for political struggle remains the monopoly of those whose only concept of politics is maneuvering within the capitalist system.

Failure of the CNP

The spectacular failure of the Conference for New Politics only serves to demonstrate this lack of a political perspective for the radical movement. The participants at the Conference were unable to distinguish between independent working-class politics and the use of the forms of independence to further the aims of coalition politics within the system. Common to all the competing political alternatives was the attempt to build an outside base of a temporary sort from which to exert pressure within the existing framework. With the limits of such a perspective, the radicals were unable to break from those whose aims are an admittedly temporary break with the Democratic Party because its naked exposure as the primary tool of racist brutality and imperialist slaughter is an embarrassment and a threat to the maintenance of capitalist rule. Those at the Conference who were perhaps opposed to this underlying conception of political action could see no alternative but the diffuse and unrewarding perspective of "community organizing" without a program.

SWP's Opportunism

The announced presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1968 elections must be seen in this context. The whole role of the SWP in radical politics has been to reinforce the fragmentation of current struggles into isolated compartments of militancy, without a perspective for *linking up* these struggles into an

anti-capitalist one. While the SWP gives lip service to some acceptable demands and even includes in its formal program the call for a labor party, it accepts the present vacuum on the left as given and, instead of intervening to change it, actually seeks to *head off* the development of a broader perspective by jumping into the ring a year early in order to "cop the field" for its own candidates.

Towards a Labor Party!

The Spartacist League, at this juncture, calls for the formation of a broadly-based labor and socialist ticket, as a concrete step in the building of a political party of the U.S. working class. Such a campaign, which would link up the anti-war sentiment to which the SWP seeks to appeal with the broader felt needs of the masses, would transcend the sterile concept of a "protest vote" in posing the need for independent working-class political action on a real scale. The fight to build such a campaign would provide a focal point for rank-and-file struggle in the unions around the issues of the Vietnam war, the rights of black workers, union demands and strike struggles, rank-and-file control of the unions, the fight to break the unions' reliance on and ties with the capitalist state, a fundamental break with the Democratic and Republican parties and the enfranchisement of the working people in a political party to fight for their needs. Out of this struggle could come the fore-runner committees to a Labor Party.

Thus the Spartacist League does not at this point endorse any of the essentially defective variants, rather seeking to help shape a real alternative to capitalist politics. If this fuller perspective has not materialized by the summer of 1968, it would then be necessary to choose from among whatever supportable possibilities exist at that time. In the interim, we will seek to assist the SWP, as we might any tendency within the working-class movement, to meet the technicalities of ballot entry, while calling upon them to indicate their willingness to withdraw at least part of their ticket in favor of a labor-socialist one and to work for the formation of such a ticket.

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ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Turn the Guns the Other Way

In June 1967, for the third time in 20 years, Israel and the Arab states came into military collision. In the 1956 Sinai Campaign, the interests of British and French imperialism in Suez were directly tied to the defeat of the Egyptian forces; in the most recent war, the interests of imperialism were served by the antagonisms exacerbated by the war itself and not by the victory or defeat of either side. As long as the working people of the Near East look across their borders at each other in search of the "main enemy," the area will continue to be fragmented. And such fragmentation of an area which should be one economic entity can only aid the interests of imperialism.

But it is not only the *imperialist* bourgeoisies which have been aided by this continuing war. The continuing hostilities have enabled the bourgeoisies of Israel and the Arab countries to deflect the struggle between classes during a period when domestic problems have insistently erupted. The Arab states all face the problems inherent in the underdeveloped economies of ex-colonies. Israel, with its dependence on Zionist fund-raising, has established a standard of living far out of proportion to its productive capacities. The immense economic and social distortions and instability in all the Near Eastern countries have created a series of internal crises. However, by continuing to

whip up their people into frenzies of nationalism and racism, the ruling class of each country has been able to avoid the consequences of these crises.

In Whose Class Interest?

It should be clear to Marxists that the proletariat has no interest in the victory or defeat of either side in this last war. Yet the near-frenzied—and contradictory—reactions of various segments of the American and European left have lacked this basic understanding. Therefore we must review the class nature of the states involved, their aims in this war, and the interests served by these aims.

The class character of Israel is clear to all but the most fanatic Zionists. The presence of a few collective farms functioning in the midst of a thoroughly capitalist economy may be useful for propaganda among Zionist social democrats, but it affects not one bit the structure of the state. The myth of a supra-class Jewish state has long been dispelled by the reality of Israeli society. While thousands of Arabs constitute mainly the lowest sector of Israeli society, the Jewish Israelis are themselves separated into working class, intermediate strata and a national bourgeoisie.

Concerning the Arab states, especially Syria and the UAR, more confusion exists. Nevertheless, the left posture of the Baath (Party of Arab Res-

urrection) "Socialists" in Syria, the heavy nationalizations in the UAR, and the neutralist foreign policy of both cannot obscure the essential bourgeois class character of these states. Neither the working class nor the peasantry has the slightest smell of power in Cairo or Damascus.

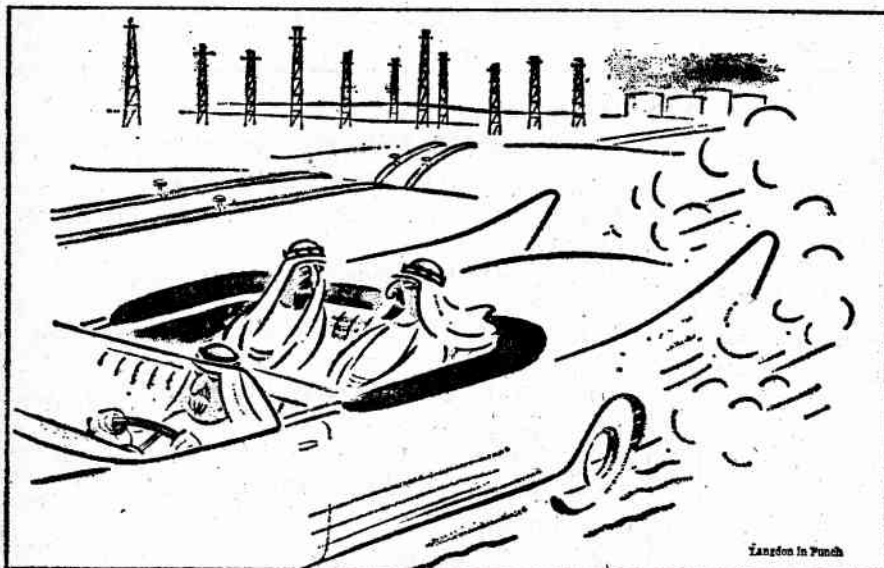
This type of state is common enough in modern times. In the absence of a viable national bourgeoisie, many ex-colonial countries have seen the development of single-party dictatorships—led by the civil and military intelligentsia, based on national and social demagoguery—which seek to build the economic and social base for native capitalist exploitation. To do this in the face of world imperialism and domestic underdevelopment requires central control and the nationalization of major sectors. But statification of the economy by a bourgeois regime in no sense alters the capitalist character of a society. In this case it is merely symptomatic of the underdevelopment of the economies involved.

Social Differences

To say that both sides are capitalist, however, is but the beginning of wisdom, and is not to say that there are no significant social differences between them. Israel, and particularly its ruling class, represents the transplanting to the Near East of a relatively advanced European capitalist order. Its society is comparatively stable, with a strong middle class. However, Israel lacks the industrial and economic resources to support such an order. This combination gives Israeli capitalism its aggressive, vulnerable and sometimes independent character.

The Arab states are subject to the severe distortions of ex-colonial economies, which are unbalanced and based on very restricted sources of revenue. The society is socially unstable, impoverished, with a large peasant population; it lacks a middle class and much of an industrial proletariat. This composition gives a disproportionate political weight to the intelligentsia of the state apparatus. It produces the corruption at the upper levels and the quite appropriate indifference below which contributed heavily to the UAR's recent military disgrace.

The economic and social differences between Israel and the Arab states dictate different relations with the imperialist powers and with the Soviet bloc. Israel functions as a tool and outpost of Western imperialism in the Near East—*except* in cases when the Israelis'



"How far into our fiscal year do we carry our spontaneous outburst of anti-Western feeling?"

own vital interests cut across those of the great imperialist powers or when the latter are not themselves united. Thus Israel is best characterized, not as a puppet of imperialism, but as a weak ally which acts in conjunction with imperialism for its own interests. On the other hand, the neutralist policy of Syria and the UAR and their social demagoguery is dictated precisely by their economic weakness and dependency on the world market. Their only alternative is to subside to mere vassalhood, to the level of Kuwait. The existence of the cold war allows these "progressive" Arab states to play off the U.S. and Soviet Union, receiving aid from both and imitating the "Bonapartist" balancing act on an international stage. Such a totally vulnerable capitalism necessitates a degree of verbal independence from the imperialist powers which the more aggressively capitalist state of Israel finds unnecessary and undesirable.

In the 1967 war, the aims of the Israeli ruling class were to protect the residual gains of the 1956 campaign and to assert the immediately preponderant Israeli military power—and incidentally to bolster Israel's crisis-ridden government and economy. Underneath the immediate calculations were long-term Zionist aims to round out an all-Hebrew state in Palestine and beyond and to guard the access to that state. On the Arab side much more complex and confused—and even conflicting—aims and ambitions were involved. The Egyptian government, pressed by serious economic difficulties, military stalemate in Yemen and loss of authority among the rest of the Arab states, was moved to force out a UN military presence in Sinai and to intensify its hostile pressure on Israel by closing the Gulf of Aqaba; it then used the crisis produced to compel an episodic military alliance of the Arab states with Egypt at the head.

Marxist Aims

The Marxist aim should be to cut across this national strife and sharpen the class struggle. Only this will open the road to a *break* from imperialism and an end to national oppression and aggrandizement in the Near East. The victory of the Israelis with their unjust territorial demands—"the fruits of conquest"—already justifies opposition to the war. A victory of the Egyptian coalition could not have but led to attempts to satisfy similar petty national appetites (very likely marked by open warfare among the victors over the division of spoils—note the already violent Jordanian-Syrian and Egyptian-Saudi antagonisms).

The Israeli-Arab dispute could at some point be transformed into a struggle in which the Marxist working-class movement would have a stake, however critically expressed, in the victory of one side. For example, in 1948 the cen-

tral issue in dispute was for the right of the Hebrew nation to exist. Therefore, while maintaining the utmost hostility to Zionism as a solution to the "Jewish question," Marxists were compelled to support the right of the state of Israel to exist, despite their advocacy and struggle for a bi-national state. In 1956, when the Egyptians nationalized the Suez Canal, the Israelis served as willing pawns for the British and French governments, which were anxious to recover the lucrative revenues of the canal. Marxists then could adopt no other position than that of revolutionary defensism toward the Egyptian side and militant support to the nationalization.

REPRESSION IN ISRAEL

The Israeli government, which denies political rights to the inhabitants of the occupied territories, has recently moved against Arab socialists in Israel itself. A comrade of the Israeli Socialist Organization, Khalil Touame, a 24 year old law student, was arrested on 1 January 1968 for allegedly sheltering a supposed "Arab terrorist." He was transferred to the military authorities who can hold him indefinitely under laws left over from the British occupation of Israel. Touame is an irreconcilable enemy of nationalism, Jewish or Arab. We join with the comrades of the ISO in demanding freedom for Khalil Touame and other militants to carry on the struggle against the occupation of Arab territory and to affirm the vital role of the Arab and Israeli proletariat in building a Socialist Federation of the Middle East.

FREE KHALIL TOUAME !!!

Send protests to Israeli embassies; and letters of support to:

Israeli Socialist Organization
c/o Voix Ouvrière
29, rue de Chateau Landon
Paris 10, France

In the event of renewed hostilities in the Near East the Marxist movement might give military support to one of the sides should some of the states find themselves compelled concretely to struggle however fitfully for just demands. For example, any struggle against direct military occupation by imperialist troops merits support. Anti-colonial uprisings or anti-imperialist guerrilla wars would demand all possible aid against their adversaries, but always from the standpoint of facilitating the victory of working-class socialist revolution against the whole capitalist-imperialist order and its nationalist bourgeois intermediaries.

Doves Become Hawks

Few events have done more than the war in the Near East to expose the poli-

tical confusion rampant in the "peace" movement. The anti-war liberals showed themselves incapable of drawing any generalizations from the U.S.'s role in Viet Nam. In an orgy of Zionist and pro-Zionist chauvinism, Viet Nam doves became shrieking hawks. To the several advertisements in the *N.Y. Times*, calling for U.S. support of Israel, were affixed signatures of many "peace" advocates, including Martin Luther King, H. Stuart Hughes, and Maurice Zeitlin. The European left reacted similarly. Sartre, de Beauvoir, Picasso and other professional "leftists," although claiming to be "friends of the Arab peoples and adversaries of American imperialism," declared their support of Israel.

The factor underlying this reversal by petty-bourgeois "doves" is their alienation *not* from the aims of U.S. capitalism but only from its *methods*. Hence come the calls for negotiations, for UN intervention, for anything in Viet Nam *but* a revolutionary victory. A more specific explanation for the reaction in the case of Israel is the permeation of the middle-class liberals with the outlook and mystique of political Zionism, engendered by the torrents of pro-Israeli propaganda to which the West has been subjected since 1948.

The Jewish People

Because of the special historical circumstances of the Jewish people, Zionism has a particularly irrational quality. Originally, Zionism was almost the exclusive property of European intellectuals, but Hitler's "final solution" and the subsequent refusal of the other imperialist countries to accept Jewish refugees made Zionism into a mass movement and gave it a significant body of "radical" sympathizers. This sympathy has been fed on the myth that Israel is a *Jewish* state. Unfortunately, for the Zionist argument, this simply is not the case. The Israeli language is modern Hebrew—not Yiddish—and the culture is quite different from the old Jewish culture. Indeed, Israeli writers themselves see Jewish immigration as a transformation of *Jews* from many cultures into *Israelis*, a process which Americans, of all peoples, should be able to recognize.

It is clear that there does exist an historically evolved ethnic entity called the Jewish people, which is defined not by religion or by biology, but by their past economic function, now degenerated, as merchants and money-lenders in feudal society, and a community of culture, created by that function. One essential ingredient, particularly in Europe, of this culture, and its carrier, is the Yiddish language, a medieval German dialect written in Hebrew characters. When this language died out and the economic functions were displaced by modern capitalism, the road to cultur-

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... ARAB-ISRAELI

al assimilation was open from the Jewish side. Whether the Jews are assimilated or attempts made to destroy them and the Yiddish culture—as Hitler attempted—depends on a great many social and economic factors within the surrounding culture.

An equally pervasive myth is the assertion, backed up by official pronouncements, that Israel is a purely secular state. The semi-theocratic character of the Israeli state, which closed the pork shops, banned civil marriage and divorce, and closes the public transportation system on the sabbath, is usually ignored.

Israeli Apartheid

Much more important, the one truth that Zionist apologists in this country will not admit is that Israeli bi-nationalism is an utter fraud. Though equality has been piously proclaimed, only a couple of years ago the Arab districts were still under military rule. Arabs are subject to a pass system similar to that of South Africa, and meet with crippling if unofficial discrimination in employment and education. True, Arabs of Israel are not necessarily "loyal" citizens. How could they be? The vicious ethnocentrism, not to say racism, of the Zionist Arab policy is designed from the beginning to assure that this should be so... a truly self-fulfilling prophecy. Israel is the kind of democracy which any Black Ameri-

can from Alabama would find quite familiar. This is the social end-product of an attempt to apply an irrational, mystical solution to the problem of the plight of European Jews, a real solution to which can be found only where the problem originated, in changes in the class structure.

The negative effects of other forms of nationalist ideology were revealed during the crisis, also. Sections of the left, especially Maoists, have come to the defense of the Arab regimes in what is a mirror image of the national chauvinism of the Zionists. Among the myths propagated by supporters of the Arab side is that of "the Arab States," as though these states formed a homogeneous entity. The reality is that these states range in class leadership from the most backward feudal regimes on the face of the earth (Saudi Arabia) to those in which highly statified "national bourgeois" elements rule, generally through the Bonapartist medium of the military, often speaking the language of fake socialism (Egypt, Algeria).

Myth of the Arab Revolution

A much more damaging myth is that of "The Arab Revolution," a presumably tangible factor which must be protected and supported by the working class movement. Unlike the "Cuban Revolution" which did occur, albeit only in a deformed character, the "Arab Revolution" has not yet occurred. True, many gains have been made which benefit the Arab workers and peasants and which should be defended—for instance, the nationalization of the Suez Canal. However, the class nature of these states remains unchanged.

Many so-called Marxists believe that the struggle for the "national liberation" of the Arab countries has merged with or even replaced the struggle for socialism in these countries. Accordingly they would replace the working class by petty-bourgeois cliques as the "revolutionary agent" and view Nasser and other militarists as the liberators of the Arab masses. Such support of classless "national liberation" prolongs the slavery of the Arab masses to their own ruling class. In fact this social demagoguery is used to blur class lines, and the militaristic one-party rule has effectively silenced or removed all political opposition. Any working-class parties and trade unions have been stifled or suppressed.

The reactions of the Pabloist Socialist Workers Party and the Healyite British Socialist Labour League and its U.S. camp followers merit more specific comment.

Not surprisingly the SWP evaded facing the critical issues. *The Militant's* front-page editorial of 12 June 1967 centers on the danger of World War III and avoids taking a position for either side, raising a single demand for "peace." Meanwhile Dick Roberts'

article in the same issue supports the Arabs, by innuendo, and Nasser's picture is run on the front page. Clearly the SWP hopes on the one hand to retain its base of support in the "peace" movement by catering to sentimental, petty-bourgeois Zionists, while at the same time appealing to the Black Nationalists and Third World guerrilla talkers, who see the Arab rulers as socialists.

The Healyite line (*Newsletter*, 10 June 1967), "Hands off the Arab Revolution—Against Zionism and Imperialism—No Intervention by United Nations," is one more step in their rapid political degeneration following in the wake of Maoism. A few years ago, the SLL severely and properly attacked the Pabloists for doing exactly what the SLL has done today in a quite comparable situation. Before the fall of Ben Bella, the Moroccan kingdom which was closely aligned with imperialism tried for some territorial seizures on the Algerian border. The Algerians mobilized and fought back. At that time Algeria was ruled by a national bourgeois government which employed Pabloists in high places and was self-described as "socialist." Not surprisingly, the Pabloists found a *qualitative* difference between the two sides and leaped to the campaign internationally

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for the Algerian state. Healy was savage then in his contemptuous criticism. Today he embraces this same capitulation. And of course, as Healy goes, so goes the American *Bulletin*, with its headline of "Victory for Vietcong, Red Guards, Arabs!" (24 July 1967).

Assets for Imperialism

All these myths, gilding the various nationalistic aims of the states involved, serve in the first instance the interests of the native bourgeoisies. Ultimately they serve the interests of imperialism.

Imperialism cannot maintain its rule by naked force alone. It is trying that desperate expedient in Viet Nam and is not doing well there. Rather, to obscure the realities of class conflict, all sorts of political and ideological stratagems are used. Of these weapons, national chauvinism, especially where reinforced by religion as in the Near East, is without doubt the most effective.

The Israeli-Arab conflict is essential for imperialism's rule in that area. Genocidal fire-eating statements from Cairo and Damascus about driving the Israelis into the sea serve only to unite

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all classes of Israel into a *union sacrée*. They undermine and isolate what little remains of the old Israeli leftwing that sought to resolve the question on the basis of multinational statism; in so doing they strengthen the hands of the worst right-wing extremists, the successors of the Irgun and the Stern Gang. As long as the main enemy is across the border in Cairo, imperialism will have in Israel a small but powerful ally, a projection of Western Europe on the map of the Near East.

Israel's policy of imperialist alignment, as exemplified by its 1956 Sinai campaign, and the treatment of its Arab minority in turn facilitate the uniting of the Arab masses with their domestic class enemies, especially of the Nasser-Baath type. As long as the Arab's "main enemy" is in Tel Aviv, the imperialists, despite the fulminations of Cairo and Damascus, will also be assured of access to Near East oil on reasonable terms. Oil will continue to flow to the west—despite minor interruptions. The Arabs will have nothing else to sell, and nowhere else to sell it.

Stalinism Aids Arab Bourgeoisie

As for the Soviet Union, the bankruptcy of its international policy is once again exposed. Nasser & Co. lost a billion dollars worth of Soviet and

ever, the conflict is hard for imperialism to control. It must be kept warm but not overheated, and this is difficult to do because the actors are not puppets but independent allies of the great powers. Too severe a defeat for the Arab regimes could pave the way for a social revolution. Therefore we may expect to see the U.S. and Britain urging a moderate course on the victorious Israelis. The UN will play a useful role as an instrument of capitalist stability.

A Marxist Program

The slogan in the Near East must be: **TURN THE NATIONAL WAR INTO A CLASS WAR—THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME!** Social revolution is the only route to an anti-imperialist victory in the Near East. This would unfreeze the whole tragic situation and make it possible for the progressive conflict of classes to replace the futile and reactionary conflict of rival nationalisms and their mystical ideologies. Socialists in the Near East and their friends abroad must strive now, while recent events have upset the temporary stabilization, to put forth a program which simultaneously maximizes class demands and minimizes ethnic conflict. Some points in such a program are:

1. Immediate demobilization in each country unilaterally of the armed forces and their withdrawal from the cease-fire lines.
2. The signing of a peace treaty on the basis of the 1949 truce boundary lines, thus granting Arab recognition to the right of a Hebrew nation to exist and incidentally opening all waterways to Israeli shipping while opposing any and all infringements on Arab sovereignty by the Israelis.
3. Full recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs is essential to such a peace treaty. This recognition must include the right of these displaced Arabs to at their own option either return to whence they fled or to receive full compensation for personal and small holding losses (no compensation for large holdings).
4. Full equality and civil rights for the Arabs in Israel; genuine bi-nationalism.
5. Total secularization of Israel and the Arab states.
6. Full democratic rights for revolutionary working-class and anti-chauvinist elements in the Near East to carry out their struggles.
7. Expropriation without compensation of all foreign assets in the Near East and placing of these under workers' control.

The struggle against national military clashes is inseparable from the achievement of more general solutions. The Marxist vanguard faces the task of breaking the obscurantist power of the Moslem religion over the masses and of leading in the achievement of a

pan-Arab workers state, which will break with all backward and feudal elements. This can only be done by smashing the fraudulently "progressive" national bourgeoisie through revolution and breaking with and expelling imperialism. The workers movement of Israel can play an unusually large role in facilitating the socialist revolution in the Near East as well as, by its actions, assuring the survival of the Hebrew nation in the midst of a great Arab nation. The Israeli workers can do this by resolutely combating Zionist chauvinism; by aiding in all ways their Arab class brothers expelled from or within Israel; by fighting for their own social victory coupled with the aim of expressing concretely the right of the Hebrew nation to self-determination in the form of a bi-national Palestinian state, federated into a pan-Arab workers state, itself stripped of reactionary nationalist features. To the extent that the Hebrew workers mobilize around this program, secure victories in this direction and even simply become known as holding and struggling for these views, to that extent the Arab rulers, capitalist militarists and feudal chieftains, are unable to distract the Arab masses from their class struggle.

This program must be fought for by exposure of the assiduously propagated fraud offered by all the states involved of supposed all-encompassing "national unity"—on *their* side just and on *the enemy's* genocidal. All the governments employ the most ruthless and often bloody measures toward this aim (e.g., Egypt's execution of Communists, Algeria's torture and expulsion of European leftists who went to that country to aid its revolution, Israel's savage apartheid laws aimed at keeping Hebrews and Arabs separate.). Yet organizations do exist, such as the Israeli Socialist Organization (composed of both Hebrews and Arabs); the Revolutionary Workers' Organization in Iraq, and others, which struggle against chauvinism and for revolutionary class unity. While the very existence of such groups gives the lie to the chauvinist claims of total unity along national and religious lines, none of the organized groups has yet transcended one or another species of left-centrism and begun a struggle to become a section of an authentically revolutionary and Trotskyist International. The Spartacist League and other revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organizations have the vital duty to aid in this transformation so that a series of strong sections of national parties, fused both regionally and internationally, can emerge out of the present situation.

Since no social revolution can occur under the auspices of the U.S. and its allies, or of the UN, for U.S. citizens, the slogan must be: **"HANDS OFF THE NEAR EAST!"** ■

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Czech military aid in six days. The MIG 21's destroyed on the ground in Egypt and elsewhere could and should have provided protection for beleaguered Hanoi and the NLF. The Vietnamese have had a social revolution, which while neither proletarian nor socialist in character, nevertheless has mobilized the Vietnamese masses against U.S. imperialism. The Egyptian *fellahin*, by contrast, have nothing to fight for under the present circumstances, and cannot fight as the Vietnamese have done without first disposing of their own rulers. That the material aid of Moscow and the moral aid of Peking go to the rulers in Cairo and Damascus is a measure of the indifference, or rather the hostility, of Stalinism to the needs of the socialist revolution. Moreover the brokers' role of the USSR bureaucracy in forcing the Arab states to back down ultimately helps to make those states indirect pawns of imperialism.

Even with the Stalinist help, how-

THESES ON GUERRILLA WARFARE

The Stalinist Past

Guerrillaism today is a petty-bourgeois reaction to the absence and delay of proletarian revolution. In those countries underdeveloped by imperialist exploitation, the proletariat, lacking Leninist parties, has suffered innumerable defeats at the hands of nationalist swindlers and their Stalinist partners. Before, during and after the Second Imperialist War, Stalinism internationally betrayed the socialist movements by harnessing them to the native bourgeoisies and to the "democratic" imperialisms.³ This "popular front" strategy dismantled many revolutionary opportunities not only in the advanced capitalist countries, but in the colonial and semi-colonial countries as well. The betrayals of the popular front were not, of course, the first Stalinist crimes. They had been anticipated by the mass catastrophes of the "third period" (1928-1934) when the Comintern called for ultra-left adventures for "power." Just as in Germany where third period adventurism facilitated Hitler's coming to power, so in Latin America it served to erode and confuse entire Communist parties.⁴ These zig-zags of Comintern policy, designed for the narrow purpose of protecting the interests of the Kremlin clique, served to physically annihilate or totally disorient thousands upon thousands of proletarian cadres. Thus, the Comintern policies not only forestalled successful proletarian revolution at the time, they also conditioned to a great extent the circumstances for future defeats.

Today's Adventurism

The colonial and semi-colonial petty-bourgeoisie, much of it also oppressed by imperialist exploitation, has been thrown into a frenzy caused by the growing limitations on its cultural and economic possibilities. As a result, the most disgusted sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and its intelligentsia struggle to lead the peasantry—itsself a huge petty-bourgeois mass—against the imperialist domination of their country. But, lacking historically a decisive relationship to the means of production, the petty-bourgeoisie is impotent to close forever what Marx and Engels called the "pre-history" of humanity. A residue of the past, of waning feudalism and diverse pre-capitalist social strata, the petty-bourgeoisie cannot decisively carry out Marx's call to "expropriate the expropriators." A petty-bourgeois leadership may oppose the imperialist expropriators and may even "expropriate" them domestically.

The strategy of guerrilla warfare has been raised to the level of a "principle" by the Castroites. With last January's publication of Régis Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution?* the Cuban bureaucracy formulated the Guevarist strategy for militarily confronting imperialism into a doctrinaire recipe to be applied to all Latin American countries (except, oh, yes, except to Uruguay and Mexico, countries not quite so hostile to Cuba). The recent Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) Conference in Havana put Debray's formulations into resolutions, approving the general line of "armed struggle"; amidst colossal billboards depicting Bolívar, Guevara and Castro, the Conference also heard glowing, if highly inaccurate, reports of guerrillaism's successes and future.

The Castroite road, and the brazenly elitist ideas expressed by this Cuban variant of the Maoist road, are such crude and explicit repudiations of Marxism that even official Maoist organs, such as the U.S. Progressive Labor (Nov.-Dec. 1967) and World Revolution (Winter 1967), have been forced to put on a facade of "orthodoxy," bitterly attacking Castroism in general and the Castroite ideologues such as Debray. However, the Castro bureaucracy is simply following the old Maoist recipe for rural warfare, although, as De-

bray's book makes clear, with Castroite "innovations." For the Maoists, to fight in the countryside and develop a "people's war" was a principle in itself, the "mass line" in action. For the Castroites, elitist "rural war" is supposedly not a principle, but simply a result of the repressive political situation in Latin America. But it quickly becomes a principle also.¹ Anybody who is not for the Castroite version of "armed struggle" is labeled a "bourgeois," a "provocateur," an agent of the CIA, etc. That goes for the Venezuelan CP, the Latin American Maoist leadership, a thoroughly urban breed, the "Trotskyites," and all those who work in the cities, regardless of the political programs of those organizations. They must all obey the "principle" of rural safety; that is, they must all search for the jungle's protective womb. Here the Castroites draw their "blood line."

Unfortunately, the argument elaborated by Debray and others about the "safety" of the countryside is nothing but a marvelous commonplace. The liquidation of Guevara's Bolivian guerrilla group and the resulting murder of Guevara himself by the Bolivian military and U.S. CIA apparatus reveal once again that guerrillaism is not the way for the Latin American socialist revolution. The jungle is no less dangerous for revolutionaries than is the

But, having expropriated them, the petty-bourgeois leadership cannot consistently safeguard the new property relations deformed within the limitations of a national economy.

If initially a guerrilla movement, led inevitably by the petty-bourgeoisie, partially destroys the imperialist grip on its country, the succeeding political convulsions *at best* may force the new government to consolidate a bureaucratically deformed workers state⁵ like Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, politically and economically related to the USSR; the more likely outcome is that the country will remain under imperialist control (as happened in Algeria with regard to French imperialism).

The Cuban Example

The example of the Cuban Revolution, a revolution which resulted in the unique development of a deformed workers state in Latin America, shows that victorious guerrilla movements can do no more than hasten the creation of a temporary vacuum in the bourgeois state. When such a vacuum

appears, the movement usually first attempts to prop up a coalition with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie. After the government oligarchy and the political and military lackeys of imperialism leave the country, whole sectors of the old bourgeois apparatus favored by the guerrilla leadership (now in the cities), are absorbed wholesale into the "new" state bureaucracy. However, imperialism may be temporarily confused and the native bourgeoisie too weak as a whole to accept a coalition with the guerrilla movement. Thus the guerrilla movement under the impetus of its victory in a civil war may be forced to establish itself in Bonapartist fashion as the sole ruler of the country.

Clearly, great masses of peasants and considerable segments of the proletariat will support a guerrilla leadership that has been forced to dissolve the old army and police apparatus and to clash openly with imperialism in the country, with latifundistas, absentee landlords, etc., and with other economically backward elements of the native bourgeoisie. In order to keep this sup-

GUERRILLA WARFARE

city. This, however, is not the point. Marxists begin their struggles basing themselves not on impressions, opinions and suspicions about the repressive apparatus of the ruling class, but on the objective developments in its organic contradictions which periodically rock the entire bourgeois society. And those contradictions, violently visible in the class struggle, manifest themselves predominantly in the cities, where the proletariat works in the factories, the heart of bourgeois society.² This is why Marxists should strive to remain in the cities, with the proletariat. Their struggle can recognize tactical retreats, exiles, etc. But Marxists should never—as the Maoists and Castroites do—capitulate to the unfavorable situations in the cities by cooking up “innovations” about the “socialist” countryside.

(Though we fundamentally disagree with this escapism to the countryside, we recognize that deaths such as Guevara's show that many guerrillaists, who are dedicated and courageous fighters trapped by a reactionary conception of revolution, are nevertheless prepared to struggle and die if necessary for their convictions. One can sharply contrast this devotion to the smug caution of the Pabloites, notably in North America and in Europe, and the wild, but empty, bombast of coffee shop guerrillaists such as Professor John

Gerassi. Rather than preparing for the coming proletarian revolution here, these gentlemen prefer to safely “cheer” for the Guevaras from the sidelines.)

The following thesis was first published in *Espartaco*, Bulletin 2, April 1967, as *Tesis sobre las Guerrillas*. Excerpts from it appeared in *Der Klassenkampf*, No. 2, July 1967. The present version has been expanded into a more historical and general study. The original *Tesis* put forward numbered observations about various types of guerrilla warfare and peasant movements. In the present work we trace the historical development of a guerrilla struggle confronted with the most favorable conjunction of circumstances. (Because the Castroite bureaucracy has set up the Cuban experience as the model to be followed by all Latin American revolutionists, we have abstracted the Cuban experience in order to appraise its development. The Cuban experience contains most of what is essential to the other guerrilla take-overs.) Then we analyze the class content of guerrillaism, i.e., its social basis, leadership and program. From these two corresponding appraisals we show that the guerrilla warfare strategy—regardless of its intentions—is impotent to terminate, from any historical standpoint, the root of world-wide oppression—the imperialist capitalist system.

armed”: “unreliable” trade union leaders and militants are purged and replaced by the stooges of the bureaucracy and then the whole trade union apparatus is thoroughly absorbed into the state apparatus. At the same time, the former guerrilla leadership, a Bonapartist formation from its military inception, hardens its own rule by solidifying its independent army and entrenching more and more “privileged” strata into the state apparatus.

Results and Prospects

The Bonapartist clique controlling the state apparatus becomes the worst internal enemy of the bureaucratically-planned and state-owned economy—no longer capitalist—of such a deformed workers state. The non-capitalist mode of production—placing on the order of the day workers' control of production—is basically incompatible with the political rule of the bureaucracy. The new social system, though deformed and unstable because of its origins and national limitations, objectively poses the necessity to advance toward a new revolutionary society with proletarian internationalist content. Though revolutionaries should unconditionally support all progressive measures taken against imperialism by a victorious guerrilla movement, they should never forget that the guerrilla leadership, bureaucratically and uneasily ruling over the state, threatens to return the conquests of the revolution to imperialism. Therefore, revolutionaries should incessantly strive to make the proletariat, whether of a state remaining within the bounds of imperialism or of a deformed workers state, aware of its independent political tasks. The struggle for the accomplishment of these tasks, which requires the indispensable formation and steeling of a Leninist party, finds one of its greatest obstacles in the reactionary stratum balancing over society.

The bureaucracy defends in its own way the state's non-capitalist economy from the dangers of capitalist restoration. But the measures and mechanisms it bureaucratically employs to defend the economy in the present become in the long run accumulated liabilities against the very social gains of the revolution. From this deadly grip of social impotence created partly by itself, the bureaucracy cannot and will not escape. Its reactions against imperialism will always be limited, half-revolutionary, fluctuating from the most brazen cowardice and opportunism to the most cynical and callous ultra-

(Continued Next Page)

port, the newly established bureaucracy must oppose further imperialist aggression with more confiscations, nationalizations, formation of militias, etc., attempting at the beginning to answer blow with blow.

If the actions of the guerrilla movement completely force imperialism to release its economic hold on the country, the old basic property relations collapse. The economy of the country must then be reordered. If it is to be competitive in the world market, centralized planning based on state ownership of the means of production becomes an absolute necessity; however, it can only be inefficiently superimposed on an economy based principally on the export of one or two raw materials or agricultural products. The dependence on the world market for the import of manufactured goods does not end, regardless of all the bureaucratic planning. In order to avoid the restoration of imperialist domination, the newly consolidated state bureaucracy must tie itself to the bigger and more powerful bureaucracies of Russia, the East Euro-

pean bloc and/or China.

None of these actions flow from a Marxist understanding of class forces but from the bureaucratic and opportunist reactions of a petty-bourgeois leadership, struggling for survival, maneuvering to keep the support of the masses. Under these tremendously contradictory conditions the groundwork for a deformed workers state is established.

Consolidation of Power

In order to solidify its own power, the bureaucracy cannot allow the proletariat any independent voice or independent organs of power. At the same time, in order to maintain “popularity” it is forced to resort to demagogic semblances of mass support. Thus we see the masses being called to gigantic meetings during which they magically “participate” in the “collective decision-making process.” Usually such democratic “decision-making” parades have long since been preceded by a silent and thorough disarming of the masses. The trade unions have also been “dis-

... GUERRILLA

leftism. It will measure its actions only from the standpoint of the "fatherland's" defense (which is, at bottom, the defense of its own privileged positions). For these isolated and deformed workers states, the proletarian overthrow of the bureaucracy combined with successful proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries is the only permanent guarantee of defense and extension of the gains of the revolution. If these social and political revolutions are not effected, the bureaucracy will objectively aid—as it does every minute of its existence—the influence of imperialism and will help the imperialists drag its society to capitalist restoration if not directly to barbarism. In the present long drawn out period of imperialist decay, the two outcomes will become increasingly less distinguishable.

Limits on Guerrillaism

Even the most favorable circumstances which a guerrilla movement might confront (i.e., those which allow it to consolidate a deformed workers state) can, short of an internal proletarian revolution, lead to nothing more than the ultimate restoration of capitalism and imperialist domination. And as those "favorable circumstances" become less likely, the more probable outcome at this juncture of a successful guerrilla struggle will be like that of Algeria, Laos or many of the African states in which the struggle for "national liberation" has not impeded the continuance of imperialist domination or the existence of a native compradore bourgeoisie.

It should be clear that the Russian, Eastern European and Chinese bureaucracies will tend to enter into deeper political crises; internal contradictions within these bureaucratically dominated states will be partly hastened by the growing political and economic decay of the world imperialist system. As long as imperialism survives in the world, the restoration of capitalism in those countries remains a possibility, threatening in various degrees. Because it is precisely upon these bureaucracies that the newly created deformed workers states would have to depend, both militarily and economically, in order to survive, these crises will have their effects on developments in the "Third World." The following contradiction will become intensified in the colonial and semi-colonial countries where guerrillaism looms: although opportunities for guerrilla takeovers will be greatly facilitated by the protracted imperialist decay, this flies in the face of the sharply lessened likelihood that new deformed workers states can be consolidated from any origins such as a guerrilla victory.

Guerrillaism's Social Base

How this can happen, how the heroic and voluntarist guerrilla struggles can lead only back to capitalism is a mystery only to those who have never bothered to critically analyze from the Marxist standpoint the historical development and class basis of guerrillaism. Guerrillaism, like all manifestations of political life, represents *class interests*. Anybody who does not understand this is condemned to cross class lines regardless of all his phrasemongering about guerrilla "socialism."

The "national liberation" armed-struggle programs of the guerrilla movements are not at all socialist.⁶ Certainly, they start out as "anti-imperialist" and even "anti-capitalist." However, as a guerrilla movement grows, the petty-bourgeois need to attract "influential" allies and to compromise with the "progressive" bourgeoisie against the military apparatus defending imperialist property will tone down the guerrillas' "anti-capitalism."

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The nationalist reformism of the guerrilla movement will be more blatantly portrayed in its actions and program when it has gathered enough strength to pose as the sole protector of the "fatherland." Such a program at best promises—barring the destruction of the guerrilla movement—a reordering of the national economy through the state infrastructure, and by no means the socialist reconstruction of society. (Whether this "reordering" will be effected under the auspices of a deformed workers state or a statized bourgeois régime depends on future local and international events.)

One of the reasons that a guerrilla movement is forced to represent the interests of segments of the "patriotic" bourgeoisie is its own concomitant property-hungry peasant base. It is true that at the beginning the Castroite *foco*, or guerrilla band, stresses absolute "freedom" from the rural population. But if the *foco* is going to grow and if more *focos* are going to be formed, it is inevitable that the ever-growing guerrilla movement must rely on the peasantry. Thus, the "rural war" becomes a *peasant war*, i.e., it becomes what it potentially was from the very beginning.

When a strategic "rural war" is seen for what it is, a *peasant war*, certain opportunists immediately jump onto a different bandwagon: the discovery of a somewhat "socialist" peasantry. This magnificent discovery has been passionately defended by various "Third World" ideologues such as Frantz Fanon. In their impotence to explain social facts, these ideologues prefer to invent them, or, rather, to hide them. Certainly there are many different social variations of what is generally called "peasantry." But Marxists should vigorously reject the pseudo-anthropological "discovery" of a "socialist" peasantry in all these different peasant strata. It is the material relations of the peasantry, its inter-relationships with small property, penetration of capitalism or its presence in the countryside, and the peasantry's aspirations to be a propertied class which determine how the peasantry will act—and not basically its wretched condition.

It is absolute nonsense then to speak of "rural war" as if it were something other than a petty-bourgeois form of struggle. "Rural war"—if not quashed in the bud as it usually has been in Latin America—must increasingly tend to become a territorial peasant war, a war which can be influenced by the bourgeoisie included in the rural popular front. A guerrilla leadership will be forced to fluctuate between the pressures of influential segments of the "patriotic" bourgeoisie and those of the small propertied interests of the peasantry. There will be moments for instance when the guerrilla leadership is forced to expropriate hostile landlords and carry through a land reform for the peasantry either distributing plots among them or legitimizing their spontaneous expropriations. This will however, strengthen the more influential segments of the middle and rich peasantry, who will in turn exert political and social pressure on the guerrilla leadership. Moreover, once a land reform has been carried through, the peasant masses will be quite satisfied with the small plots given by the guerrilla leadership; the peasantry will not care for more "socialism." On different occasions, the guerrilla leadership will have to rely on the financial backing of "patriotic" bourgeois and landlord sectors. These and similar pressures reinforce—before and after the seizure of power—the need for the guerrilla leadership to be a highly militarized, Bonapartist clique answerable to nobody in particular, completely ruthless and determined by all means to stay in power *in spite* of the possible hostility coming from the classes it balances over.

From the 1500s to the 1900s

When the peasant wars in Middle Europe during the Reformation hast-

ened decisively the downfall of the waning feudal order, they became "critical episodes" benefitting the bourgeoisie's long struggle for power. The bourgeoisie, each time more economically and even politically powerful, rammed the peasantry (and in the 19th Century, also the proletariat) against the remnants of the old order. Peasant upsurges marked the birth pangs of the then revolutionary bourgeois class.

Four hundred years later, in its death-agony period, the senile bourgeoisie will increasingly benefit from peasant uprisings that, remaining rudderless or propped-up by guerrilla movements, dislocate or postpone the proletarian socialist revolution, thus objectively helping the continuing stabilization of imperialism and the survival of the bourgeoisie in the world arena. In this manner, continuing peasant movements, if unchecked by an alliance with the revolutionary proletariat, rather than being "critical episodes" will qualitatively transform themselves into social manifestations of sharpening cultural decay. The proletariat, unable to develop economic power of its own in the propertied and political manner that the bourgeoisie could before and after the English and French Revolutions, cannot benefit from the results of peasant wars as long as its own crisis of leadership—the fundamental crisis of human culture—remains unresolved.

Tasks for Marxists

Marxist revolutionaries, in the imperialist countries and in the underdeveloped colonies and semi-colonies, must root their struggles in the proletariat. Without the proletariat, Marxists can only be, and become, petty-

bourgeois revolutionists; their "Marxism" will then too become an ideology in the shape of false consciousness, not the revolutionary theory of the proletariat. And ideologies become in the last analysis shibboleths (like the Castroite "the fatherland is America"). With no way to be concretely implemented by the proletariat, shibboleths are easily glued to shields defending different class interests than those of the revolutionary class.

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Isaac Deutscher, in a rare attempt to transcend his scholarly eclecticism, "insulted" many Stalinist sycophants and "café guerrillaists" in his 1966 address to the second annual Socialist Scholars Conference in New York. This is how the worshippers of the accomplished fact were "insulted": "You cannot run

away from politics," Deutscher told them. "Men live not by politics alone, true enough. But unless you have solved for yourselves in your own minds the great political problems posed by Marxism, by the contradictions of capitalist society, by the mutual relationship of the intellectual and the worker in this society, unless you have found a way to the young age groups of the American working class and shaken this sleeping giant of yours, this sleeping giant of the American working class out of his sleep, out of the drugs—out of this sleep into which he has been drugged, unless you have done this you will be lost. Your only salvation is in carrying back the idea of socialism to the working class and coming back with the working class to storm—to storm, yes, to storm—the bastions of capitalism."

These words, which for months caused shrieks and barks from the worshippers of "new" realities, will retain their full validity until those bastions are stormed. Revolutionaries in the advanced capitalist countries and revolutionaries in the colonial and semi-colonial countries can fuse the struggles of the international working class only by preparing Leninist parties and by basing their strategies and tactics on the generalized expression of the totality of the historic experiences of the working class. This successful combination, this fusion of Marxist theory and organizational capacity on the international level, will force all the "new" realities of our impressionists into a frenzied stampede back into the archives of pre-Marxian radicalism from whence they issued. ■

NOTES

1. Castroites even go so far as to advise the proletariat to strip its own centers: "... the best cadre of the proletariat, those more politically developed, will fulfill their revolutionary duty by integrating themselves into the guerrillas..." (Informe de la Delegación de Cuba a la Primera Conferencia de la OLAS, La Habana, 1967, p. 72)
2. The growth of the urban proletariat in Latin America has spurred ahead in recent years. The unionized working class totals between 15 and 22 million, depending on the source. Nearly 45% of the total labor force is industrial proletariat and agricultural labor. Nearly half of this figure is industrial proletariat. (América Latina, Problemas y Perspectivas de la Revolución, Prague, 1966) In 1950 the urban population was 41% of the total; in 1960, 48%; today, 57%; in 1970, a projected 60+%. (United Nations statistics.) This is how "half-feudal" bourgeois Latin America is.
3. For example, the Cuban CP's Juan Marinello and Carlos Rodríguez served in a Batista cabinet in 1940; the Ecuadorian Stalinists helped create and formed part of a Bonapartist junta in 1944. In 1936, the Chilean Stalinists entered the Popular Front. When the Popular Front's candidate, Aguirre Cerda, became president in 1938, the Stalinists reaffirmed their "inviolable and exemplary fidelity to the People's Front."
4. In 1932, the El Salvador CP attempted to "grab" power without any preparation for a head-on confrontation with the Salvadorian bourgeoisie. Such an adventure ended in mass slaughters—around 25,000 killed—of peasants, Communists and workers. The terror was extended to Guatemala and Honduras. In 1935, the Brazilian CP, headed by the Stalinist rogue Prestes, attempted another, though belated, third period action combining it with popular front tactics. Needless to say, this schizophrenic "deed" ended in total debacle.
5. The Spartacist League has previously stated (SPARTACIST No. 6) that "the petty-bourgeois peas-

antry under the most favorable historic circumstances conceivable could achieve no third road, neither capitalist, nor working class. Instead all that has come out of China and Cuba was a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counter-revolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, the degeneration of the October. That is why we are led to define states such as these as deformed workers states."

6. In an interview the Venezuelan guerrilla leader Douglas Bravo was asked about the program of the FALN. He answered: "In brief, the FALN has the following objectives: to achieve national liberation, liberty and democratic life for the nation; to rescue the patrimony, the integrity and the national riches, to establish a revolutionary government; to safeguard the carrying out of its laws and to support the authorities constituted by the Revolution; to protect the interests of the people, their property and institutions." (Desafío, May 1967)

In its 1964 Manifiesto y Programa Agrario Guerrillero, the Colombian FARC proclaimed: "... we call on all the peasants, on all the workers, on all employees, on all students, on all the artisans, on the small industrialists, on the national bourgeoisie willing to fight imperialism, on the democratic and revolutionary intellectuals, on all the political parties of left and center that desire a change toward progress to [join] the great revolutionary and patriotic struggle for a Colombia for Colombians, for the victory of the revolution, for a democratic government of national liberation." (Colombia en Pie de Lucha, Prague 1966, p. 18)

The complete program of the Guatemalan FAR seems to be hard to come by; second hand reports, however, are abundant. MR, V. 18, N. 9, contains three reports on the FAR by MR contributors. From the first one: "They envisage four major stages in their revolution. First, nationwide organization of the peasants, workers, students, and professional people into disciplined and ideologically informed units.

Second, armed revolt, culminating in the taking of power by the people and the repulsion of imperialist intervention. Third, establishment of a national democratic government with the participation of various sectors of the population. Fourth, the transition to the construction of socialism in Guatemala." This mechanical "stages" nonsense is combined with the most spineless opportunism. "... FAR," the third report tells us, "was largely instrumental in the electoral success of Méndez [the present butcher-lackey ruling Guatemala], for it considered that a period of relative tranquility would benefit it..." The fact is that during the Méndez election swindle the slaughter of FAR-PGT-MR-13 was increased. Today a Méndez-led bloodbath reigns in Guatemala. From now on, the "first stage" of FAR's Menshevist vision of revolution should probably add: "a nationwide organization including bourgeois presidents and other lackeys of imperialism."

The Vietnamese NLF latest 14-point program does not even mention the word socialism once. It rather promises to: "Build up an independent and sovereign economy, rapidly heal the wounds of war and develop the economy to make our country prosperous." The state will: "Guarantee to workers and employers the right to participate in the management of enterprises." The state will also: "Establish freedom of enterprise profitable to the nation" and look after "the interests of small merchants and small proprietors." For the peasants, the state will: "Place the lands of absentee landlords at the disposal of the peasants so that they may cultivate it and enjoy the fruits of the harvest." But the state will also court landlords: "The question of an appropriate definite solution will be studied later, taking into account the political attitude of each landlord." Further on we are told that the state will also: "Settle differences between employers and workers by negotiations and by the mediating role of the national and democratic administration." (For complete program see National Guardian 21 October 1967.)

HOW DOES VIOLENCE START?

**An Open Letter to ILWU Local 10 on Black Ghetto Uprisings,
An Answer to the Longshore Union Dispatcher.**

by Stanley Gow

[This statement we reprint slightly abridged was distributed as a leaflet on the West Coast water front. The writer is a San Francisco longshoreman who recently ran for election to the Publicity Committee of ILWU Local 10. His militant program emphasized fighting for drastic improvement in job safety and working conditions. Longshoremen face the highest accident rate in all industry (worse than coal miners!). Brother Gow also made clear his general position, as a socialist, of opposition to the Viet Nam war and to racism and of the need for the labor movement in its own interest to reshape society.]

In a recent policy statement printed in the 26 May *Dispatcher*, "Youth Need Jobs, Not Violence," Local 10 goes on record putting the cart before the horse, and I quote the start of the tenth paragraph: "But we must also say with all the power at our command that we cannot condone violence from Negro, Mexican-American, white, or any other group. Or from the vigilantes, or from the police." Thus Negroes are named first as starters of violence, and police last. Rather the reverse is true.

For what is the history of violence in these outbreaks we all tense at the thought of? What happened in Hunter's Point, September, 1966? What was the action that blew the lid off? You have to go back to when it happened to get the picture from what was known at that time. The start was a cop's killing of a suspect of a presumed felony. Because, at that point, all that was known to the cop was: A Negro youth was fleeing in an automobile he had been driving. He disobeyed an order by a policeman to stop. PERIOD. Yet, mere suspicion of a crime against property was enough to cause the 15-year-old to lose his life by the cop's bullet.

This shoot-first-ask-questions-later attitude of too many police on assignment in the Black community was what got people moving.

How does the average run of metropolitan papers treat the causes and effects? As though police soberly and purposefully performing their duties are set on by crazy mobs, followed by orgies of looting and terror. What are the real police-community relations on the scene? To get at the real relations, we have to understand the full meaning of violence. It is more than the usual popular idea of direct, illegal, destructive physical action.

Webster's New World Dictionary (1960) defines violence in part as: (1) Physical force used so as to injure or

damage; roughness in action. (2) A use of force so as to injure or damage; rough injurious act. . . . (4) *Unjust use of force or power, as in deprivation of rights.* (5) Great force or strength of feeling, conduct or language; passion, fury.

By the accepted definitions above, acting as police do in ghetto areas in "normal" times is acting with violence. Subjection to armed harassment; "rousting" for suspicion of drunkenness or drug-taking on the flimsiest association with personal appearance, or "not liking one's looks;" being beaten for "freshness" in conversation with a policeman; all these and more are part of the "normal" violence performed on members of the Black community and other minority-group communities by soldiers of its army of occupation, the police.

Some of what makes these outbreaks worse, and sets up future ones appears in an S. F. *Chronicle* article of July 27, titled "COPS AND THEIR CAPTIVES." An unarmed Negro, Booker Samuels, age 25, was wandering down a street inspecting the riot damage in his Detroit neighborhood, only a block or two from his home. He was grabbed, flung up against a car and searched by state troopers, who answered his protests with a "Shut up!" and a shotgun against the back of his head. After a rough search showed he worked for a local tire manufacturer, they told him: "So you're one of those 'Soul Brothers' with a job. All right, get the hell out of here and don't let me see you around here again or you'll find yourself down at 1300 (police headquarters) with the rest of your Soul Brothers. . . ."

This police-first violence (along with the other root causes mentioned in the article of the 26 May *Dispatcher*—bad housing, inadequate recreational facilities, and above all, a lack of sufficient jobs for the unemployed younger people who have an absolute right to go to work and be productive citizens within their community) is the basis for the recent explosions. These are all results of the past bias of this social system and its institutions.

Will Shelley, Addonizio (Newark) or the rest of the Mayors, Democrat or Republican, solve the social problems with the aid of the Chamber of Commerce, employers, Federal grants, etc.? No, what they'll do when faced with the inevitable crises resulting from high general unemployment and super-high Negro unemployment under a constant-

ly mechanizing and automating capitalism is what they've done already, talk for the press, do nothing effective for the unemployed, and, where repressive police supply the spark of rebellion, turn loose all the state and national armed force they can muster. (Just an aside: England's extremely high unemployment level, causing all sorts of worry is 2.3% of job-seekers this July, while normal unemployment for the U.S.A. is considered 3%). The Federal government has a similar "slap-them-down" attitude when underpaid railroad workers and others alleged to be striking "against the national (read capitalist) interest" make their moves. Socko . . . In 24 hours, a Federal Law to replace all the previous means to keep these sections of labor chained to a low pay scale and reduced manning.

How can all the changed conditions necessary to bring about an end to destruction and repression associated with these headless revolts come about? Will they come by " . . . enormous joint undertaking by every segment of the community, management, and labor, the city, state, and federal government," quoting again from the *Dispatcher* article. If action to date has any bearing on the answer as far as future action by the forces of the status quo is concerned, forget it!

Toward a Workers Party

Only a change of who holds political power in society with those who have opposing interests to the present masters of society gaining power, can bring on a change in the conditions of both the Black people and other suppressed and harassed minorities (such as Mexican-Americans in the West and Puerto Ricans in the Eastern U.S.). At the heart of the thrust toward this changeover of power must be the organized working-class of all colors, in its most progressive sections, such as the ranks of the ILWU, UAW, militant segments of painters and construction workers unions, many in the teachers' union, most of the Farm Workers' Organizing Committee, and others in the industrial union tradition.

Both the economically exploited working-class and the oppressed color minorities must join together to form a new political party responsive to the needs of both and opposed to the policies of their exploiters, the capitalist class. We don't need a Peace party, or a Civil Rights Party, or an expanded Poverty Program Party, or even any combination of these, but a party that starts
(Continued Bottom Next Page)

Defend Them!

Queens Case: 15 black people, mainly middle class and of nationalist outlook with Max Stanford of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) thrown in for good measure. The fantasies of a politically ambitious District Attorney in Queens, N. Y., turned a legally chartered gun club into a terrorist conspiracy. Send contributions to: National Legal Defense Fund for the 15 African-American Accused, c/o Allied Savings & Loan, 115-02 Merrick Blvd., Jamaica, New York 11434.

Gallashaw again: a 17-year-old acquitted a year ago following a sensational expose of the frame-up by the NYC cops who hoped to pin the killing of a Negro child on another black youth in the middle of a racial clash (see SPARTACIST No. 8). Now the long-memoried New York cops claim that Ernest Gallashaw, since moved to Philadelphia, rented machine guns to NYC bank robbers. Again handling his case is the Black Defense Committee, P.O. Box 62, New Lots Sta., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11207.

Huey P. Newton: a young leader of the California Black Panther Party alleged to have killed one and wounded another of the notorious Oakland police who had sworn to get him for his militancy. Newton was badly wounded in the fray which started as a minor traffic violation until the cops recognized him and drew their guns to use, realizing it was late at night and few people were around to witness their actions. They lost. The Peace & Freedom Party is planning to run Huey Newton as a candidate for the U. S. Congress against Cohelan, a Johnson-liberal. Don't let Newton be legally killed! Send contributions to: Huey Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif.

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Bill Epton Jailed

The New York cops finally paid Bill Epton back for his courageous defense of the rights of the working people of Harlem during the calculated police riot in the summer of 1964. Epton, a black militant and leader of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), entered jail on 5 February 1968 as a felon convicted of "criminal anarchy." He began serving his one year sentence following refusal of the U.S. Supreme Court to hear his appeal.

Not only were Epton's publicly uttered words twisted inside out by admitted police spies and Red Squad cops to get a conviction, but the crime charged is particularly grotesque—flatly impossible for a man of Epton's views. Comrade Epton is a Marxist who believes in a government organized by the workers; the State of New York defines "criminal anarchy" as "the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown" by various illegal means.

The defense of Epton could and should have been turned into the defense of the rights of black workers in the Northern ghettos and made into an indictment of the police, political machines, and capitalist backers who are the oppressors. This basic consideration and our deep respect for Bill Epton personally as a man of great integrity makes the Spartacist League particularly resent and regret that Progressive Labor narrowed the defense effort down to only those who follow or acquiesce to PL's own particular ideology, thus undercutting this vital case. As the



Bill Epton

then national chairman, McAdoo, of the organization, CERGE, which directly ran Epton's defense wrote in answer to requests and attempts from all over the country to help: "*we have a firm policy that no Trotskyites will be allowed to establish Bill Epton Defense Committees.*"

The SPARTACIST calls upon its readers and supporters to demand of the Governor of New York State that William Epton be immediately and unconditionally pardoned! Write Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, 22 West 55 Street, New York City, New York 10019. ■

SAVE TSU FIVE!

On 4 March five black students from Texas Southern University in Houston will face trial and the death penalty on a frame-up charge of murdering a white policeman. Their arrests followed a police riot last 16 May at the TSU campus where hundreds of cops reacting against earlier demonstrations first fired several thousand shots into stu-

dent dormitories. The cops then charged into the building inflicting gross indignities and physical brutalities upon both men and women students, arresting 490 of them.

The death of the policeman, Kuba, took place during the police charge. There were no windows on the side of the building from which the police attacked; Kuba was likely killed by a stray police bullet!

The accused are: Douglas Wallace, who had already been jailed; Floyd Nichols and Charles Freeman, who were on the other side of the city at the time; and Trazewell Franklin and John Parker, who were in bed when the police attacked the dorms.

Funds are urgently needed. Donations and statements of support should be sent to:

T.S.U. Five Defense Fund
Box 21085
Houston, Texas 77026

... VIOLENCE

with a drive for the centers of power in our economic-political structure.

Such an alliance would run in the name of the working-people, and their allies, the unemployed and oppressed minorities first, and would turn first to the question of running industry for the needs of those who work in it, instead of on the profit motive. At the same time, a nation-wide reduction of hours at the same pay would make more jobs avail-

able nation-wide and lessen the burden of toil on those who now do the work. Such a party might call itself a Workers' Freedom Party, a Freedom Labor Party, or some such title, rather than a middle-class run party either with a single "Peace" issue or for the good of everybody, including the capitalists, as past "progressive" and "liberal" parties have been. Can't we as workers and hope-to-be workers look out for our own interest best? Let's grow up to meet our own problems with our own answers through our own politics. ■

... RESISTANCE

(Continued from Page 16)

prison cop-outs. "Going underground to continue the struggle" is at best a fantasy, at worst a way of leaving the struggle.

Removal from Struggle

An example of the tragic waste of withdrawal from struggle is that of the four young U.S. Navy enlisted men who deserted from the aircraft carrier Intrepid in Japan on 13 Nov. 1967. These young men made the mistake of giving up the tremendously important opportunity to educate among the thousands of men on the carrier, where it really counts. Their individual "solution" to the Viet Nam war is one that, despite episodic foreign publicity, forever removes them not only from their fellow sailors but from the entire U.S. working class and its struggles.

For prominent working-class leaders to dodge the draft earns them the disrespect of the workers and is a direct aid to the ruling class, as it removes them from any contact with the workers they claim to represent. The French Communist Party discovered this at the beginning of World War II when its leader, Maurice Thorez, fled to Moscow to avoid service in the French Army. Only the tremendous post-war power and authority of the French CP sufficed to enable him to again enter the country.

Another, simply grotesque, example is the sanction by Wohlforth's Workers League of Robert Hartley Sherwood's Canada cop-out. Sherwood's flight was the final expression—in the U.S.—of his preference for non-proletarian means of struggle, which had earlier resulted in his expulsion from the Spartacist League, specifically for signing a "call" for a negotiated peace in Viet Nam, rather than for the victory of the NLF. The Workers League members who defend him in his flight are again subordinating political principle to tactical expediency and this gross opportunism leads them to defend the proposition that radicals should at any cost avoid military service. This petty-bourgeois outlook serves to further isolate the WL from the young workers in the armed forces and in civilian life.

The main argument for draft resistance is that it will hurt the U.S. war effort. *But this is not going to happen.* A few hundred middle-class, anti-war students might be diverted from military service, but the tens of thousands of black and white working-class and not-yet-radical middle-class youth who are to be drafted will not respond to the anti-draft campaign. Sure, they hate going into the army, for the quite rational reason that it means two years ripped out of their lives or perhaps their very lives. But what alternatives

can we offer them? Prison is an *intensification* of army conditions! And flight to Canada is simply not a real alternative—almost no youth are going to leave the country forever just to avoid two years in the army!

To some, draft refusal may appear to be nothing more than a matter of civil disobedience, a refusal to comply with an unjust law peripheral to the stability of the capitalist-social system—as were the campaigns in recent years against racial discrimination in public accommodations. Actually the military draft goes directly to the heart of state power. It would be approximately as easy to directly overthrow the government as to deprive that government of its armed forces.

It is therefore tactically correct to embark on a program of mass draft refusal *only if* you can see the possibility of a *successful outcome* to mass confrontation with the capitalist state. This will occur: in colonies, where draftees may sometimes successfully refuse induction into the metropolitan army—as the center of state power is elsewhere and the state can live without its colonial soldiers—and in industrialized metropolitan countries themselves when the conditions for a social revolution have matured and when a deep revolutionary crisis is at hand.

Why Army Training

The alternative to refusing to go into the Army is to go in and maximize your advantages. What advantages?

Familiarization with weapons and military technique—It is indisputable that when the U.S. has a social revolution, the ruling powers will go down fighting, and ignorance of armed struggle will not help us. Even in the short run, knowledge of weapons is not useless; the core of the Deacons for Defense and Justice are *veterans*. What a good thing it is that several hundred thousand Black people have had free military training, courtesy of Uncle Sam!

Contact with working-class youth in a common experience—Far too few middle-class radical youth have made an effort to reach their working-class peers, and yet that is a large part of our task. What we have to say to young workers in the army will be 100 times as effective if it is conveyed in the context of common military experience. Bearded students agitating against the war will never be able to command the attention from soldiers that their fellow draftees will.

Destruction of barriers between middle-class radicals and working people of all ages—Military service is an important part of many workers' lives, and its discipline shapes them as does the discipline of factory work; our understanding will benefit from sharing it. (When the author worked briefly in a machine shop last year, one of the

questions most frequently asked by fellow workers was "Have you been in the Army yet?" He hadn't, having had the privileged 2-S deferment. This fact raised a small but tangible barrier between him and the young workers in the shop.)

An Army of Beatniks

One frequently raised objection is the question, "What if I have to shoot a Vietnamese?" He who asks this is expressing concern for his soul, not for the Vietnamese! There is going to be an American Army in Viet Nam and it is going to shoot Vietnamese whether we are in it, in prison or in Canada. It won't make much immediate difference to the Vietnamese side whether one out of a thousand triggers is pulled by a radical. Of course, in practice, radicals in the army might prove to be significantly poorer shots in combat than pro-war enthusiasts. It is obvious that radicals would tend to do only the necessary minimum of their military duties and might well be imitated by some of their fellow soldiers.

From the Army's point of view, the worst thing that could happen would be to find the combat forces in Viet Nam shot through with 5000 SDS members. Some generals must have nightmares about an army filled with what they see as fanatical Communists, Vietniks, beatniks, homosexuals, dope addicts, muttering intellectuals and long-haired political skeptics of every variety.

The objection has been made that the Army will isolate the radical soldiers, putting them in Greenland or somewhere. Even if the bureaucracy were that efficient, imagine the immense wave of opposition to the war that would sweep the Army in Viet Nam if it got out that anti-war soldiers were being assigned to non-combat areas!

However, what if the Army assigned all radicals to forward combat units and had a few short artillery shells dropped on everyone the NLF doesn't get? Again, this is a qualitative over-assessment of the military's efficiency. More importantly, it would be very difficult for the Army at this stage to make a decision, with written orders, to set up "death battalions." What is possible is that "trouble-makers" might get assigned to combat units, and informal suicide assignments might be made. Well, life is tough; just ask the Vietnamese. While we don't recommend the cultivation of kamikaze instincts, we do have to be prepared to take some casualties if we mean seriously to fight this loathsome system.

Brittle Bourgeois Democracy

It has been argued that radicals should *volunteer* for the army, to "work from within." This is an absurd idea! The U.S. Army is an imperialist police force, and anyone who voluntarily joins the cops is to be condemned. Further,

radicals at this stage in the struggle can do more to oppose the war as civilians, and should not give up this advantage by enlisting. But if they drag you in, passing out leaflets as you go, you must go in.

In dealing with the army, we are touching on the very core of governmental power. Therefore we must above all avoid careless and sloppy formulations which can be twisted by a dishonest public prosecutor into prosecutable offenses. Unfortunately, there still remains an enormous amount of naivete among some radicals concerning the limits of bourgeois democracy in this country. People who write casually, "Let's organize in the Army," apparently yearn to see the inside of Leavenworth; perhaps they really don't realize how fast they could be tried and convicted if the ruling circles begin to perceive a threat from our direction. Bourgeois democracy exists in this country, but it is *brittle*. We are not out to organize sedition; we simply urge anti-war draftees to maintain their beliefs and exercise their constitutional rights within the army as they would in civilian life. We should recognize that the men who run this country do not give a rat's ass for legality of any kind when it comes to defending their system. But to say that we do not respect the law is *not* to say that we do not take it into account.

Petrick Case

The model case is afforded by the Young Socialist Alliance member Howard Petrick, who was drafted in spite of his anti-war history. He has been a "model" soldier. He has never blustered about "organizing within the army," nor has he ever refused a legal order.

(Illegal orders, like "torture that prisoner," do not have to be obeyed; refusal of legal orders invites swift court-martial and almost sure conviction.) While Petrick did not make it easy for the Army to "get him," he did give them plenty of reasons for *wanting* to! He remained an outspoken opponent of the Viet Nam war, he retained his subscriptions to radical publications and he maintained a library of socialist and anti-war pamphlets and books which he lent or sold to fellow G.I.'s. And he had some success in influencing his fellow soldiers.

The Army wanted to prosecute Petrick, but he did not fall into any traps. That left only a political prosecution, which the Army seems wary of making right now. When it appeared that the Army would court-martial Petrick, his comrades instantly mounted a widespread publicity campaign in his defense, which we should wholeheartedly support.

Defense of Militants

The tasks of SDS and other militants should include setting up a Military Rights Committee, with two main goals:

1) To develop a body of knowledge regarding the formal and informal penalties available to the Army for the use of anti-war G.I.'s; the aim might be to produce a pamphlet for the guidance of radical soldiers. Particularly, attention should be paid to the Uniform Code of Military Justice and its applications. Most G.I.'s do not know their rights within the Army and are easily intimidated.

2) To be ready to make the widest propaganda defense of any anti-war G.I. who is subjected to formal or in-

formal harassment by the military. This will both encourage soldiers to exercise their rights and deter the Army from penalizing them.

Such a program could have an enormous impact in making it more difficult for the U.S. to fight this war and in deepening our contact with working-class youth. The unpleasant truth is, however, that most of those who are organizing draft resistance are *not really interested* in building an anti-war movement which reaches beyond the campus. They do not believe that non-student youth can be radicalized and therefore are not willing to adopt a perspective of long, patient work among these youth. The delusion that the middle class can "stop the war" and the refusal to build anti-war fractions in trade unions go hand-in-hand with the futile draft resistance program.

Differences within the army reflect those in society as a whole, so the soldiers' struggle against the war must be integrated with that of other segments of society. This is in turn but part of the need to link up the anti-war campaign with broader aspects of the class struggle, in the unions, for example, and in the unorganized sections of the working class. To complete this link-up requires the rebuilding of a left wing in the American union movement in order to work for the independent political organization of workers into a labor party, the rights of black workers and rejection of the bureaucratic union leaderships. A necessary part of the regeneration of the workers movement is the winning of the trade unions not only to condemnation of the Viet Nam war but also to effective demonstrations and strikes against it. ■

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On Draft Resistance:

YOU WILL GO!

by Douglas Hainline

The increasing escalation of the war in Viet Nam, so that at present approximately a million U.S. troops are involved either in combat or in supporting operations in Southeast Asia, demands that the anti-war movement focus attention on a neglected point—the involvement of soldiers in the anti-war fight. This article is a condensed, edited and updated version of a paper introduced by Douglas Hainline of the Spartacist League at the June 1967 National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society. Comrade Hainline presented the Leninist alternative to some views on draft refusal in that organization. (Since writing his paper, he has been drafted and recently completed basic training in the deep South.)

The question of draft resistance is of the greatest importance. It is all too easy to see the matter of draft refusal as a choice of alternatives: taking part in murder or not; crushing a popular revolution or refusing to do so. But successfully resisting the draft is not that simple, and the organization of draft resistance poses vital political questions.

We should like to argue the following case:

1) We should struggle for the end of the draft, certainly, but at the same time work for the abolition of the 2-S deferment, the built-in class inequality of the draft. We must fight not on "moral" grounds alone, but as a realistic way of approaching working-class and black youth who cannot get the 2-S deferment and who therefore form the majority of those drafted.

2) Militants should *never* volunteer for the armed forces, the cops for imperialism.

3) But if we are forced to choose between the army and prison, or fleeing the country, we should choose the army; if we are drafted in spite of our obvious opposition to the war, then we should go.

It is the third point which will probably raise the most questions.

Against Draft Refusal

Exponents of outright draft refusal look at it in three ways: as a question of personal convenience, as a moral principle and as an anti-war tactic.

There are some who choose prison simply because they fear life in the army or combat in Viet Nam. This motivation is not always conscious or explicit and is frequently combined with

other considerations. This is a terribly selfish position for a radical, who *must* be willing to undergo severe physical and psychological discomfort in the course of class struggle. The motivation partly stems from an exaggerated middle-class fear of life in the army. Many radicals seem to think that their army career would consist first of a prefrontal lobotomy and then full-time duty roasting Vietnamese children over slow fires. The best antidote for this is to talk with radicals who have had military service; the consensus is that military life, while not a bed of roses, is not as bad as sensitive souls imagine.

A second argument for draft refusal is the pacifist one, which asserts that military service of any kind is wrong. Frequently those who call themselves "pacifists" are merely confused as to what the term implies. Most pacifists end up supporting their own "fatherlands" and even the best of them play an anti-revolutionary role in the class struggle, i.e., they refuse to fight for just causes.

"We Won't Go?"

Most of those who advocate draft resistance today see it as a revolutionary tactic to oppose the war in Viet Nam. It is *only* from this standpoint that draft resistance can be legitimately discussed by radicals. There is a deceptive simplicity in concluding, as did SDS's Carl Davidson (27 March 1967 *New Left Notes*), "The war in Vietnam is unjust, oppressive, and wrong. Therefore, we won't go." But this is not necessarily reasonable. (Consider another syllogism: "The dollars in my pocket represent the exploitation of millions of people. Therefore I won't send any of the filthy things to SDS.") What *does* follow is this: the war is unjust, and

wrong: therefore we will do everything in our power to struggle against it. If saying "we won't go" will advance the anti-war struggle, then we will say "we won't go."

However, the "we won't go" slogan is both dishonest and untruthful. *Dishonest*, because many of those signing the refusal statements and urging others to refuse induction, are *themselves exempt* through 2-S deferments or CO status. In the most ironic position are those students, members of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party, who support the "we won't go" slogan (to be sure, only when it seems popular)—they have, at least until recently, rarely been drafted, as the Army does not want alleged Leninists in its ranks.

The slogan is also *untruthful*; because you *will* go. Carl Davidson says: "The rulers of America can have neither our bodies, nor our minds and spirits." This is nonsense! If you refuse induction, you will either go to prison, or you will flee the country. In both cases your body will be *exactly where the rulers of the U.S. want it*: removed from struggle and removed from contact with the youth who fight the wars. "Hell no, we won't go!" is a gut reaction to American imperialism's butchery in Viet Nam—but gut reactions are not always right. One could not conceive of a young NLF fighter saying of a captured napalm bomb, despite the immense value of its components, "Let's destroy this filthy imperialist weapon."

Go Underground?

Another "viable alternative" to military service seen by Brother Davidson is "going underground." Now, the time may come when revolutionists in this country will be forced into semi-legality or illegality, as a result of great growth in revolutionary political consciousness among the masses of people and attendant repression by the existing order. If the organization which goes underground is sufficiently educated and has deep roots in the working class, its illegal status would not prevent it from functioning. But illegality *would* hamper its work. As for the present, a few hundred individual draft resisters *might* be able to "go underground" but that kind of unorganized, undisciplined and non-revolutionary existence would be as sterile and removed from struggle against this system as the Canada/

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