

Million marchers demand an end to the war drive



There was unprecedented international participation in the June 12 peace demonstration. Japanese delegation received biggest response.

BY DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK — Hundreds of thousands of people flowed into Central Park and the surrounding streets of midtown Manhattan June 12 in a demonstration for peace and nuclear disarmament. Police estimated 750,000 turned out; rally organizers said the number may have been as high as a million.

Whatever the figure, it was the largest political protest demonstration held in any city in U.S. history.

Demonstrators came from all over the United States and the world. They poured into the city on trains, buses, and cars. An 11-car "Peace Train" and scores of buses came from the Boston area. Several trains were chartered to bring people into the city from Long Island. Buses and cars came from hundreds of towns throughout the country, including from western states. More than 2,500 people came from Montreal, Quebec.

There were substantial numbers of people from all age groups, ranging from small children to the elderly. The biggest number were in their teens or twenties. Many had never been on a political demonstration before.

There were scores of contingents carrying their own banners (and many had their own T-shirts). They included religious, professional, and political organizations; unions; students; Blacks; Latinos; women; and many others. There was a contingent of hundreds of handicapped, many in wheelchairs, who have been especially hard-hit by Reagan's budget cuts.

While most demonstrators carried signs for peace and against nuclear weapons, some carried signs calling for a bilateral nuclear freeze. There were also signs opposing the wars Washington is waging or supporting today.

'We're with you in spirit'

The demonstration was organized by the June 12 Rally Committee, a coalition of many religious, political, and peace organizations.

The day began with a rally in front of the United Nations as people were assembling for the march. From the UN, the marchers crossed Manhattan, many of them via 42nd Street, one of the city's busiest thoroughfares.

Many store windows along the way displayed signs of solidarity, such as "We have to work today, but we're with you in spirit."

The protesters marched up Fifth Avenue to Central Park for a six-hour rally featuring speakers and entertainers. By the time the first contingents arrived at the rally site, hundreds of thousands were already there. Many New Yorkers had assembled in different locations in the city and marched in feeder marches directly to Central Park.

Relatively small Black and Latino feeder marches came from Harlem and from El Barrio in East Harlem, but many thousands of Blacks and Latinos came as individuals or with other contingents. Nevertheless, they constituted only a small percentage of the huge throng.

At the head of the march from the United Nations were nearly 1,000 people organized by the Vermont-based Bread and Puppet Theater. They staged a four-part presentation on the theme of

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Washington backs Israeli massacre of Palestinians and Lebanese

BY MARGARET JAYKO

As his bombers continued to rain death and destruction on Lebanon, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin arrived in the United States June 15 to discuss his "peace plan."

Washington's endorsement of the wholesale massacre of Palestinians and Lebanese — and of Begin's plans for long-term Israeli domination of Lebanon — is growing clearer every day.

Reagan has dispatched a flotilla of warships, including the aircraft carrier *Kennedy*, to the Lebanese coast.

Ostensibly, its purpose is to evacuate U.S. citizens from Lebanon should they face danger. This is the same Sixth Fleet that, under the same pretext, invaded Lebanon in 1958.

Meanwhile, Secretary of State Alexander Haig told reporters in London that Washington was seriously considering Israel's proposal that U.S. troops be sent to Lebanon to play a leading role in a future "peace-keeping force."

Thousands dead and wounded

The massive invasion of Lebanon has already resulted in thousands of dead and wounded. U.S. State Department officials admitted that more than 10,000 people may have been killed or wounded in the Beirut area alone.

The scope of the war came through in the June 9 air battle between Israeli and Syrian jets. Israel claims to have destroyed all of Syria's surface-to-air missile sites in Lebanon.

The June 10 *Miami Herald* said the battle "may have been the largest such duel in the war-plagued Middle East. Israel said its jets downed 23 or more Syrian planes, in what Pentagon historians said could be the biggest one-day air loss

since the closing days of World War II."

Israeli warplanes have dropped bombs on much of Beirut's western and southern districts, which are inhabited primarily by Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims. Basic services have been disrupted and there are severe shortages of food and medicine.

According to United Nations observers, Tyre, a fishing port of 40,000 people, was shelled with high explosives

and incendiary white phosphorous bombs, which set fires and caused extensive damage. Thirty percent of all the buildings in Tyre have been destroyed.

The International Red Cross has estimated that as many as 600,000 persons have been left homeless. Thousands of refugees are flooding Beirut.

"Hospitals are jammed with wounded," *New York Times* correspondent

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British troops seize the Malvinas, Argentine masses take to streets

British military forces have dealt a severe blow to Argentina's right of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and to the struggle against imperialism. They have taken Puerto Argentino (Port Stanley) and forced the surrender of 15,000 Argentine troops.

With the backing of all the major imperialist powers, especially Washington, the British government has waged

lands. "Those islands belong to us," she asserted in a manner totally befitting the interests of the property-owning class she represents.

And for the time being, Britain's European allies are continuing their ban on Argentine imports.

Thatcher has announced that she will send the colonial governor, Rex Hunt, back to the Malvinas, and she will immediately take steps to establish a major military base on the islands. This will include the following measures:

- Extending the Puerto Argentino airfield's runway to make it possible for use by F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers, Nimrod Mark 3 long-range reconnaissance aircraft, and heavy Vulcan bombers. The latter, according to the June 16 *New York Times*, would be "assigned to attack air bases on the Argentine mainland"

- Garrisoning at least 3,000 infantry troops on the base.

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a bloody war to reestablish its colonial grasp over islands that it forcibly took from Argentina in the 19th century. It organized its biggest naval mobilization since World War II to carry out a war against an oppressed nation nearly 8,000 miles from its shores.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher declared that her government has no intention of permitting Argentina any future role in the Malvinas Is-

Washington backs Israeli war of terror

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William Farrell reported from Beirut June 12. "Stretchers are lined up outside the American University Hospital with people writhing in pain awaiting medical attention. The morgues are scenes of sobbing people looking at mutilated bodies as they seek out lost relatives."

David K. Shieler reported in the *New York Times* from Sidon, a coastal city where 1,000 people, mostly civilians, are estimated to have been killed in the Israeli takeover.

Shieler described the "stench of filth and rotting flesh in the hospital of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, an organization that has both Palestinians and Europeans on its staff."

He told of only one doctor left to care for 58 patients, some badly wounded.

The other physicians had been arrested by the Israeli army. They included a Canadian and a Norwegian as well as Palestinians.

The Israeli military governor explained the "reason" for the arrests: "We are closing this hospital. All the doctors are P.L.O. [Palestine Liberation Organization]. It's obvious it's not a good hospital."

The Israeli regime has also prevented the UN forces stationed in Lebanon from delivering food to Lebanese civilians.

In response to appeals for international assistance, the Iranian government is the only one in the Middle East that has begun sending medical aid and goods to the embattled Palestinians. On June 12, the Turkish regime said that it had approved Iranian flights over Turkish territory for that purpose.

Despite announced cease-fires between Israel and Syria, and Israel and the PLO, fierce fighting continues around Beirut and southern Lebanon.

On June 14, Israeli tank columns completely cut off western Beirut by taking control of the road between Beirut and Damascus, as well as severing the coastal highway south of the capital. Nearly half of Lebanon has been occupied to date.

Israeli army units also drove deeper in their attempt to push Syrian troops off the high ground they occupy and into the Bekaa Valley. This valley is an obvious route for any invasion of Syria from Lebanon.

The Israeli authorities initially claimed that the invasion was launched in "self-defense" and that its goal was limited to clearing Palestinian guerrilla forces out of a 25-mile zone in southern Lebanon along the border with Israel.

But their real aims are much broader, as both the Israeli and U.S. governments now admit. Their goals include:

- Inflicting a decisive blow against the PLO and its supporters to set back the entire Palestinian liberation struggle — or, as the Israeli chief of staff explained, "smashing" the PLO.
- Punishing Syria militarily and economically for its anti-imperialist stance — in particular its opposition to the Camp David accords — and weaken-

ing or overthrowing the government of President Hafez al-Assad. The Israelis want to push the 30,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon out of that country for good.

Converting Lebanon into a virtual Israeli colony, with the south under direct Israeli domination and with a new government in Beirut that would follow Israeli dictates.

Begin's latest "peace plan" calls for the withdrawal of all Syrian troops and Palestinian guerrillas from Lebanon in order to create a "stable, Christian-led government in Beirut" that would be friendly to Israel.

It's clear that the Israeli forces are also preparing for the partitioning of Lebanon and for a long occupation of the territories they have seized.

Reporting from Israel in the June 13 *Washington Post*, Edward Cody revealed, "In addition to moving vast amounts of weaponry into Lebanon, Israel is also sending in experienced civilian and military administrators from the West Bank and Gaza Strip to enable it to run civilian affairs in the southern portion of the country for a long period if necessary, according to Israeli military sources."

The expansionist Zionist regime's goals have been echoed and endorsed by the U.S. government.

It's only U.S. arms and money that allow the government in Tel Aviv to launch this genocidal war.

Some \$1 billion worth of U.S. weapons are currently in the pipeline to Israel. As part of the Reagan administration's foreign aid bill for fiscal 1983, the White House is asking for \$2.4 billion to Israel, including \$1.7 billion in military loans and grants.

In addition, Washington has come out wholeheartedly for Israel's plan to impose a servile, proimperialist regime on the Lebanese people.

According to the June 14 *New York Times*, Secretary of State Haig and other U.S. officials have made it clear that "Washington was no longer insisting on an unconditional Israeli pullback, and in fact seemed in agreement with the Israelis on the need for a significant political shift in Lebanon first."

And Haig, when asked on the ABC news program *This Week* whether the U.S. was seeking an immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, answered, "I think we are going to want and work to achieve adjustments in the withdrawal of all foreign elements from Lebanon."

"After all, this has been a country that has been racked by internal elements not under the authority of and control of the Lebanese government, as well as a nation that has been occupied by Syrian forces for too long."

In an editorial on June 11, the *New York Times* summed up the American ruling class's view of the war. "One need not approve every facet of Israel's policy to see the opportunity it has created."

"Only now are Lebanon's leaders emboldened to speak of Syrian as well as Israeli withdrawals. Israel asks much to

be seen as its neighbor's liberator, but such a liberation is in the interests of both countries, and also of America, for it could bring peace to another Israeli border."

"Peace for Israeli borders" has been the justification for every war waged by the Zionist rulers. And the American capitalist class has backed every one of those wars. It is firmly wedded to maintenance of the state of Israel as the chief cop in the Middle East, charged with suppressing the Arab revolution and protecting the oil profits of the imperialist powers.

This decades-long strategy has the full support of Democrats as well as Republicans. The refusal of the many "peace" candidates in both parties to utter a word against the mass murder in Lebanon today is ample evidence.

Castro calls for solidarity with Palestinians, Lebanese

On June 8, Cuban President Fidel Castro, in his capacity as Chairman of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, issued the following statement in response to a request from Yasser Arafat, President of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), for the solidarity of the Nonaligned Movement in the face of Israeli aggression.

According to the information received, this criminal and massive attack against the Lebanese civilian population and Palestinian resistance has caused hundreds of losses, and its ultimate purpose is to consummate a new annexation of Arab countries' territories, in this case the southern Lebanese territory, against which Israel has launched its military machinery, using it in combined land, sea, and air actions aimed at attaining its criminal goals.

At this moment we recall the agreements of the recently concluded Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in which the most firm solidarity with the Palestinian people and the most resolute condemnation of the Zionist and imperialist aggression against the Arab peoples was reiterated.

The meeting sent a message to the Security Council requesting the adoption of measures against Israel's terrorism. The Zionists have, nevertheless, continued the escalation.

In the face of these developments, reminiscent of those used by the Nazi hordes in World War II, the Movement of Nonaligned Countries and mankind as a whole must mobilize their forces to stop the aggressive hand and avert the plans of Zionism, gendarme of imperialism in the region, against the interests of the Arab nations and most especially against the sacred rights of the Palestinian people and the territo-

This was also illustrated by an article in the June 16 *Times*.

"So far, reaction in Congress to the Israeli strike has been muted. Two Congressmen who hold opposing views on the Middle East — Paul Findley, Republican of Illinois, who supports the creation of a Palestinian state, and Stephen J. Solarz, a Brooklyn Democrat and strong supporter of Israeli policy — said reaction in the House and Senate had been far more vocal when Israeli jets bombed Iraq's nuclear reactor last June."

"Mr. Solarz, who also said there had been less criticism of the invasion than of the destruction of the reactor, said, 'I've heard some rumbles here and there, but my impression is that any attempt to punish by cutting foreign aid would be overwhelmingly rejected.'"

rial integrity of Lebanon and demand with all our strength the ceasing of the aggression and the immediate withdrawal of the aggressors from the occupied territories.

All of us should express, by all means at our disposal, the most energetic solidarity with the PLO and the heroic Palestinian combatants, with the suffering Lebanese people, and demand the most energetic condemnation of the Zionist aggressors.

PLO & Black leaders to address N.Y. forum

BROOKLYN — A major protest meeting against the Israeli war on Lebanon will be held in Brooklyn Friday, June 18 at the Arab Social Club. The featured speaker is Zehdi Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization representative to the United Nations.

Also speaking are Neil Saad, Palestine Congress of North America; Muntu Matsimela, National Black Independent Political Party; a representative of the National Black United Front; and Eva Chertov, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress.

The meeting, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, begins at 7:30 p.m. The address is Arab Social Club, 89 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn. The donation is \$2. For more information call (212) 226-8445 or 852-7922.

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Widespread doubts about Lebanon invasion developing among the Israeli Jews

Special report from antiwar activist in Tel Aviv

BY M. SHAJOR

TEL AVIV — As the invasion of Lebanon began, all the Zionist parties formed one wall of support to Begin's murderous war. A full invasion was decided on only after Begin met with leaders of the Labor Party and was assured of their support.

The TV, the radio, the newspapers became a huge propaganda machine supporting the war, fabricating lies, and blurring the real facts. The Israeli army, it seemed, was liberating Lebanon from terrorists and from Syrian invaders and was taking special precautions not to hurt the civilian population. Soldiers were shown giving milk to Lebanese mothers, together with happy children of Israeli northern border towns, who were finally freed from fear.

Racist terms are being used like "cleaning the terrorist nests" and "purifying the area." Guerrillas are called "two-legged animals." Bombing of refugee camps is labeled "bombing terrorist concentrations."

All this propaganda aims to cover up the basic truth: that the PLO is a revolutionary movement of national liberation whose strength does not derive from military power, but from organizing and mobilizing the Palestinian masses. The Palestinian people are simply saying: We are Palestinians; Palestine was stolen from us by the Zionist thieves; as long as we are alive we will try to return to our land.

The Israeli ruling class is already taking advantage of the war situation and the vicious chauvinist propaganda in order to step up its drive against the workers. On June 13, Yoram Aridor, the minister of finance, announced that a new series of taxes has been decided on by the government in order to pay for the tremendous expenses of the war, which are estimated at a minimum of \$500 million dollars. The cost of the war will accelerate the triple-digit inflation which already exists in Israel.

In the workplace, an activist in the Bir Zeit Committee — which has mobilized opposition to the Zionist occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights — was fired on the second day of the war, at the peak of the chauvinist campaign. Strikes that had been in progress were called off. Wage negotiations were halted. The bosses are trying to squeeze every sacrifice from the workers in the name of defense of the fatherland.

In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, there were strikes and demonstrations, culminating June 13 with a general strike. One youth was shot. There is a total media blackout on the events in the occupied territories. In these difficult conditions, there are important and encouraging signs, however.

On June 5, as the government was holding a special cabinet meeting that was deciding on a full-scale invasion of Lebanon, some 2,000 Arabs and Jews from the Committee for Solidarity With Bir Zeit University staged a militant demonstration.

The demonstration, which was intended to protest 15 years of occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, became the "first antiwar demonstration, taking place on the very first day of the war," as Avi Oz, one of the spokesmen of the committee, said. A big banner at its head read, "No to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon."

The first contingent marched past, faces covered with death masks, followed by demonstrators chanting "Begin, Eytan, and Sharon — get out of Lebanon!" "One, two, three, four, we don't want another war!" "Down with the occupation!" "No to genocide!"

From the outset of the war, it was clear that Begin could lead the Israelis into another war only behind a big lie —

"peace in Galilee." He could get support for the limited goal of "cleaning" a 25-mile strip along the northern border "for the peace of Galilee."

During the first days of the war, when this seemed to be the goal, a wave of chauvinist sentiment swept the country. It was reinforced by an almost total news blackout from official Israeli spokesmen, a ban on TV and media reporters entering the war area, and a quick advance of the army, which received clear support from American imperialism.

As it became clear that the Israeli army was getting more and more involved with the Syrian army, raising the danger of an overall war; that Israeli planes were dropping deadly bombs on populated areas, causing tremendous losses to civilians; that the army was driving much further north than the 25-mile line, and aiming at Beirut — more hesitations and criticisms began to be voiced in the media, among fighting soldiers interviewed on TV, and among the general public.

Ma'ariv, the big evening daily with a rightist, progovernment line, said in its June 13 editorial:

"There is a feeling of doubt, not only among the small circles of Israeli PLO supporters, who base their whole political concept on the belief in the possibility of negotiations with the PLO, but among ordinary Jews who have no such political illusions."

"What is the truth? When will the battle fog disperse? When will the Israeli government renew its connections with the Israeli masses? When will the flow of information be renewed?"

The most important factor undermining the flood of racist and militarist propaganda flowing from the news media is the conduct of the PLO and the Palestinian masses. This is the first war that Israel has waged openly against the PLO. For the first time, the war Israel is waging against the PLO and the Palestinians is posed as the main political problem in the Middle East.

Into this war Israel threw all its military might. Unbelievable amounts of planes, bombs, tanks, cannons, and soldiers have been put into it. Against this military machine, 15,000 Palestinian



Israeli soldiers are beginning to voice doubts and criticism about war they have been plunged into.

guerrillas at most — many of them aged 9 to 15 years old — have been fighting bravely. The courage of the Palestinian fighters, who are sacrificing themselves in face of formidable Israeli superiority, is shocking Israeli soldiers who are aided by U.S. F-15 and F-16 bombers.

The fact that these so-called terrorists are nothing but the fighting, mobilized people; and that they cannot be eliminated without eliminating the whole people, is being discussed by soldiers at the front and by the people at home. The militancy of the Syrian soldiers is also making a strong impression. So is the need to deal with hundreds of thousands of civilian refugees from Lebanon's cities — the unprecedented, barbaric destruction caused by Israel is giving rise to second thoughts.

A big petition appeared in the morning paper *Ha'aretz* on June 11, saying: "Enough. We, the undersigned, call on the Israeli government to stop the war on all fronts and withdraw from Lebanon immediately. The Palestinian problem will not be solved by the IDF [Israeli Defense Force], however strong it may be. The course of the Israeli government is leading to a generalized war in the entire area, — thousands more

dead and wounded, and thousands of refugees."

It bore several hundred signatures. Another such petition appeared June 13, and still another one will appear June 14. It was organized by a new body called the Committee Against the War in Lebanon. This body organized a militant demonstration June 13 in Jerusalem outside the government offices. And it got coverage on the radio. Some 700 Jews and Arabs showed up and chanted militantly: "No to the war in Lebanon"; "Immediate cease-fire and withdrawal"; "No to the bloodshed"; "There is no military solution to the Palestinian question"; "IDF — withdraw unconditionally"; and so on.

Small picket lines were held earlier in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

Today the cease-fire seems to be collapsing around Beirut. The terrible destruction that Israel inflicted on Lebanon offers no solution, no peace, and no stability. Israel is going to stay a long time in Lebanon and take permanent military control of the entire area south of the Litani River. This war will sow the seeds of the inevitable next one, which will involve Syria, and perhaps the entire Arab world.

From Intercontinental Press

Anti-Zionist protests hit U.S. complicity

Several thousand people demonstrated in U.S. cities against Israel's murderous invasion of Lebanon and against U.S. support of the Zionist state's aggression.

In Washington, D.C., 1,000 people took part in a highly visible march June 14 to the White House.

In Dearborn, Michigan, more than 1,000 marched on June 13 to a rally at City Hall. Most of the demonstrators were Arabs, and many were auto workers from the nearby Ford River Rouge plant.

On June 11 in the same city, 100 Palestinian students demonstrated at their school, Fordson High.

A picket line of 500 was set up in New York on June 10 at the United Nations.

On the same day in San Francisco, more than 500 marched from the Federal Building to the Israeli consulate, where they were cheered by onlookers in the neighborhood.

The Washington demonstrators marched behind two huge Palestinian flags to the State Department and then to the White House. Many of the protesters were Palestinian and other Arab peoples, and they were joined by a large number of Americans.

With their militant and spirited chants, and hundreds of flags, and

placards, they attracted much attention. Participants made a special effort to explain the reason for the protest to onlookers, who read their leaflets with interest.

Chants and placards centered on Israeli aggression and its U.S. backing: "Israel out of Lebanon," "U.S. stop arming Israel," and "Lebanon is Arab land."

Some placards also made the connection between the murder of workers and peasants in Lebanon and in Central America: "Lebanon, El Salvador: the same fight."

The action was initiated by the Palestine Congress of North America.

The Dearborn demonstration was organized by a coalition of political and community groups in the Detroit and Dearborn area. There, too, Palestinian flags and banners were everywhere. Placards declared: "Halt U.S. aid to Israel," and "No to U.S. imperialism in the Middle East."

A speaker, noted Palestinian activist Sami Esmail, denounced racist news coverage of the Israeli invasion, which placed a higher value on Israeli soldiers killed than on civilians slaughtered in Lebanon. He linked U.S. aid to the Israeli aggression to Washington's role in backing repressive regimes in El Salvador and South Africa.

Another speaker was Mike Ortiz from Casa de Unidad, a Chicano organization in Detroit. "There will be no peace," he said, "without a just solution to the Palestinian situation."

"We who oppose war must be internationalists, we must be antiracists. U.S. hands off Cuba and Nicaragua!"

A statement handed out by supporters of Tim Craine, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan, called for a halt to all U.S. aid to Israel.

June 18 protest set at United Nations

NEW YORK CITY — A protest against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has been called for the day Israel's prime minister, Menachem Begin, is to speak at the United Nations session on disarmament.

The demonstration is to be at First Avenue between 42nd and 43rd streets from 4 to 6 p.m. on Friday, June 18.

The action is sponsored by the Palestine Congress of North America, New York Mobilization for Survival, U.S. Peace Council, Venceremos Brigade, Peoples Anti-War Mobilization, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and others.

One million turn out for peace protest

Continued from Page 1
peace and disarmament.

This was followed by the rest of the Vermont contingent, which was chosen to head up the march because a big majority of towns in that state have adopted nuclear freeze resolutions at their town meetings.

Then came a children's contingent and the labor contingents, primarily from a few New York City area unions. While many working people participated in the action, very few were organized to participate by their unions' leaderships.

The largest groups came from the predominantly Black and Latino District 1199 of the Hospital Workers Union in New York City and from the International Association of Machinists.

Of the many international contingents, the largest were the Japanese and Canadian. Onlookers broke into applause and shouts of greeting as the Japanese marchers passed them. The contingent was headed by a delegation carrying a large banner identifying them as survivors of the U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

This expression of international solidarity was in sharp contrast to the xenophobic campaign being waged by the U.S. government and the employing class, which blames Japanese workers for the loss of jobs of American workers. There were a number of signs sprinkled throughout the Japanese contingent protesting the refusal of Washington to grant visas to many persons invited from Japan.

There were also contingents from English Canada and from Quebec. The Quebec contingent was especially spirited, carrying dozens of blue-and-white flags of that oppressed nation. It featured signs denouncing U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Britain's aggression against Argentina, as well as ones calling for peace and disarmament.

The Canadian Peace Congress carried signs demanding "Take Canada out of NATO and NORAD now!"

The protesters came together in this action around the issues of peace and nuclear disarmament. The overwhelming majority of banners, placards, and chants reflected this sentiment. Among the many slogans were: "End the arms race, not the human race"; "Kids want to grow, not glow"; "No more Hiroshimas"; "War is death. Remember Vietnam. Bury the bomb, not people"; "Ban neutron bombs"; "Nuclear war can't be limited. Nuclear war can't be won."

Among the most popular chants were: "Make peace, not war"; "What do we want? Peace! When do we want it? Now!" and "Ronald Reagan, he's no good. Send him back to Hollywood!"

Anti-Reagan sentiment

While the occasion of the demonstration was the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament, the central thrust of the demands was at Washington. Opposition to the Reagan administration was a common theme throughout the day. Slogans on hand-lettered signs, such as "I would like to break Reagan's nuclear arms . . . and legs" and "Stick the MX up Reagan's arsenal," explicitly expressed this anti-Reagan sentiment.

The worsening economic crisis in the United States and Washington's support to big business's attacks on workers and farmers and its cutbacks in social services were reflected in many signs. The most common slogan in the union contingents, as well as in many other contingents, was "Jobs, not bombs." Members of the United Steelworkers Local 6787 in Indiana carried signs that demanded: "Fund OSHA, not the Pentagon."

People from farming areas carried signs such as "Save farms — disarm"; "Corn in our silos, not missiles"; and "Io-

wans for Peace — Feed people, not the Pentagon."

The Central Park rally featured speakers as well as entertainment by big-name artists such as Linda Ronstadt and Bruce Springsteen. Among the most moving speeches of the day were those by the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who described the ongoing effects of the U.S. nuclear attack on themselves and their families.

A representative of the "downwind people," who live near the nuclear test sites in Utah and Nevada, explained how in her town of 200 families, 81 have members with cancer. The leader of an organization of "atomic veterans" — GIs exposed to nuclear fallout as guinea pigs — also spoke.

A couple of speakers, including Kay McPherson from Voice of Women in Canada, denounced the State Department's refusal to grant visas to many people from other countries. McPherson had trouble with U.S. immigration authorities in crossing the border.

Divergent views reflected

While the marchers were united for peace and nuclear disarmament, there was a wide range of views expressed on how to achieve this objective. This was reflected in the banners and placards, the rally speeches, the literature that was distributed and sold, and the discussions among protesters.

Some marchers carried placards, printed in advance and distributed widely, that held the Kremlin and Washington equally to blame for the nuclear buildup. One said, "Take the toys from the boys," and showed Reagan and Brezhnev playing with missiles. Another read, "USA-USSR freeze now!"

Very few of the contingents or the hand-lettered signs mentioned the Soviet Union, and only a minority referred to the bilateral freeze proposal. The Democratic Socialists of America, headed by Michael Harrington, carried signs stating "Disarm Reagan and Brezhnev" and "We support the freeze and we vote."

At the two rallies — the one held at the United Nations and the longer, more important one in Central Park — the majority of speakers spoke in favor of a bilateral freeze. Several of them pointed to Peking and Moscow as equally responsible with Washington for the threat of nuclear war.

Actor Orson Welles delivered the first major speech at the afternoon rally. His remarks were billed as the keynote speech and were widely publicized by the news media.

Welles's speech was dedicated to the theme that, thanks to the peace movement, Reagan is being converted into an advocate of disarmament. Referring to recent peace demagoguery coming from the White House, Welles proclaimed, "Not only our praise, but all our gratitude goes out to a president who listened. . . . He is part of us."

This revelation met with stony silence from the audience.

'Freeze' and elections

Most of the speakers that generally supported the rally committee approach did not agree with Welles that relying on Ronald Reagan is the road to salvation. Randall Forsberg, who was introduced as the originator of the freeze campaign, urged reliance on the Democrats in Congress instead of the Republicans. "Last week," he said, "the Republicans on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted down the Kennedy-Hatfield freeze resolution. We will remember that vote in November."

The same approach was projected during a backstage news conference by the June 12 Rally Committee. Norma Becker, a leader of the War Resisters League and of Mobilization for Survival,



Militant photos by Duane Stilwell and Fred Murphy

Some marchers called for a "freeze" on nuclear weapons. Others, like the Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition, emphasized opposition to U.S. intervention abroad.

told reporters that upcoming events included local conferences in the fall "to plan strategy to defeat the nuclear warriors in November."

'Blazing battles'

On the same day that the action was taking place, the headlines in the newspapers were featuring the Anglo-American war against Argentina and the Israeli regime's aggression in Lebanon. The following day, the *Washington Post* carried an article headlined "A World Suddenly Assaulted by Gunfire." It pointed out, "By State Department count, three major and eight lesser wars were going on last week in a world that seemed suddenly beset by blazing battles." It added that these conflicts "were reminders of the deadly power of conventional weapons."

Most of the speakers at the two rallies did not mention these wars the U.S. government is directly or indirectly engaged in.

However, another point of view was expressed during the action. Those who believe that a peace movement must be built on opposition to the actual wars going on received a good response and stimulated many people to consider this outlook. It was reflected in several contingents and in some of the rally speeches.

Anti-intervention contingents

About 1,000 people in the Hispanics for Survival and Disarmament contingent marched from El Barrio. They focused on opposition to U.S. intervention in Latin America. A group of Argentines carried their national flag and denounced the British and U.S. aggression against their homeland.

Several placards demanded an end to the use of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques for target practice by the U.S. Navy and other NATO forces.

The most popular chant of this contingent was "No draft, no war — U.S. out of El Salvador!"

The Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition (TWPPC) and the Anti-intervention Contingent — the latter initiated by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) — took a similar political approach. A small group of Palestinians marched in the TWPPC contingent with banners reading "Israeli invasion of Lebanon — Made in the USA."

Another group in this contingent car-

ried banners demanding the ouster of the tyrannical Pol Pot clique from Kampuchea's UN seat and "End U.S. hostility to Vietnam!"

The Grenada Revolutionary League carried a banner that said "Support the demand that the Caribbean be declared a zone of peace."

There were also banners calling for "Nukes out of Korea," "Philippines for Filipinos, not U.S. bases"; and "No deportations of Haitians to Belize."

Among the groups participating in the Anti-intervention Contingent were Casa Nicaragua, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, and the Farabundo Martí Solidarity Committee.

CISPES sold T-shirts with the inscription "It starts with American advisors."

The Socialist Workers Party carried banners along the same lines as these groups. Its multicolored banners demanded: "No to U.S. war in El Salvador! Hands off Central America and the Caribbean! Stop the British war on Argentina! End Reagan's attacks on unions, Blacks, women!"

While the Communist Party's lead banner called for support to the nuclear freeze, it also carried a banner that said "Stop Israel's genocide in Lebanon! Israel out of Lebanon!" and placards opposing U.S. intervention in Central America.

While many other people on the march agreed with the sentiments of these contingents, which expressed opposition to the wars currently being waged by the U.S. government and its allies, these contingents were very small in relation to the march as a whole.

But during the rallies, several speakers were able to talk about the wars going on and the relationship between them and the fight against nuclear weapons (see article page 5). And tens of thousands of pieces of literature were distributed or sold reflecting this general orientation.

Why people came

The reason the overwhelming majority of people turned out for this historic action was to register their opposition to the danger of war and their support for nuclear disarmament. They represent the concern of tens of millions more Americans who were not at the action, but who watched reports of it on televi-

Continued on next page

Antiwar speakers well received at June 12 disarmament rally

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — More than 50 speakers, and a host of entertainers, addressed the marchers at the June 12 disarmament protest. There were two rallies — one in the morning at the United Nations assembly site, and a six-hour afternoon rally at the end of the march in Central Park.

Most of the speakers selected by the June 12 Rally Committee endorsed the call for a bilateral freeze by the United States and the Soviet Union on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons. They avoided discussing the various wars that the U.S. government is directly or indirectly engaged in, instead issuing abstract calls for "peace." And many pointed to the 1982 elections as the way to wage the fight for peace, by kicking out the "nuclear warriors" in Congress, and voting in some "peace-makers."

However, some of the speakers — a small minority of those on the platform — targeted Washington as the major source of war, and linked the fight for peace with opposition to the actual wars that U.S. imperialism is involved in today.

These antiwar and anti-imperialist speakers got some of the best responses from the crowd.

'End U.S. intervention'

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a member of the Executive Committee of the June 12 Rally Committee and a representative of the National Black United Front and Third World and Progressive People's Coalition, explained that in addition to calling for an end to nuclear development, "we also call for an end to racism. We call for an end to intervention and we call for the redirection of resources away from the military machine and towards human needs."

Daughtry described the devastating impact of U.S. militarism on Black Americans and all working people.

"It has the mightiest military machine in the world, yet it cannot feed, clothe, shelter, educate, heal or employ people."

Daughtry pointed to the real source of the danger of nuclear holocaust — imperialism's attempts to maintain its domination of the semicolonial world.

"Let us remember as long as SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organization] and the ANC [African National Congress] are struggling against the South African regime, "nuclear annihilation will hang over us," Daughtry warned.

"As long as Puerto Rico is denied self-determination, nuclear annihilation will hang over us."

"And let us be honest here today. Let us demand that the Israeli armies desist and withdraw from Lebanon. Let us demand that Palestinian people have self-determination within the confines of a fully secure order for both Jews and Palestinians."

"Let us remember as long as little nations like Grenada and Nicaragua and Cuba are blocked by this military machine . . . nuclear annihilation will always hang over us."

Dessima Williams, the Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States, brought greetings from the revolutionary government of the Caribbean island of Grenada, which is confronting political, economic, and military pressure from Washington.

She told the crowd, "Our women are not failing in their duty to build a new society but instead we're giving birth to a new generation of fighters, a new generation of scientists."

'No more Pinochets'

Isabel Letelier saluted the struggles of oppressed nationalities in this country. She is the widow of Orlando Letelier, a member of the Chilean government

during the presidency of Salvador Allende, who was murdered in the United States by agents of the Chilean junta.

Letelier said that the struggle for self-determination of the Latin American people "is not a police conspiracy. It is motivated by anger, anger at exploitation, anger at military juntas, death squads, disappearances," which are supported by Washington.

Letelier said that throughout Latin America, "Reagan is attempting to impose the same economic role which General Pinochet imposed on our country. He even overlooks the most basic human needs and human rights for the sake of free markets. Rather than aiding in the reconstruction of the country destroyed in war, Reagan has decided to make cold war against Nicaragua."

Letelier also hit the Reagan administration's support for the bloody junta in El Salvador, and Washington's attempts to renew economic aid to the brutal regime in Chile.

She concluded that we were gathered "to say no war, no more arms to no more Pinochets. You are joined by millions of people in Latin America who refuse to have their lives decided in board rooms in Wall Street. The problems of Latin America will not be solved by alliances, initiatives . . . treaties. They will be solved by you, North Americans. You here today are the real America, the democratic America, in contrast to the imperialists."

Support for Palestinian people

Winona LaDuke from the American Indian Treaty Council greeted marchers arriving at the rally saying, "When we are here today, we must recognize that at this moment there are thousands of people being killed elsewhere of a different color on a different continent."

"Whether it is in Guatemala or the Palestinian people in refugee camps, we must stand against all genocide — nuclear genocide, conventional genocide, all genocide of all human and living things."

Continued from Page 4

sion and sympathized with it.

This issue has moved to the forefront of the thinking of so many people because events in the world over the past several years are spurring them to feel that the danger of war is increasing.

And for very good reason, because it is. As the *Washington Post* article observed, there are eight wars going on now. Any one of these wars could escalate, leading to the use of U.S. troops, or even pose the threat of nuclear war.

During the 1980 election campaign, Reagan said he would carry out a tougher line in dealing with the revolts in the colonial and semicolonial world. The record of his administration has led most people to believe that he meant what he said. His administration has committed itself to a gigantic military buildup, aiding counterrevolutionary forces from Israel to El Salvador and Nicaragua, and going ahead with draft registration. This has been accompanied by an intensified propaganda campaign about the "Soviet menace" and the "Cuban danger."

The danger of another Vietnam, while not a central theme of the demonstration, lurked behind the thinking of many people. As the banner of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War aptly put it, "We won't be fooled again."

On top of all this, the worsening economic situation for working people, especially the high rate of unemployment and the budget cuts in social services, is leading more and more people to question whether the never-ending increase in military expenditures is justified —

Dave Dellinger from the Coalition for A People's Alternative condemned today's "small wars that aren't limited to the victims, like the brutality against the civilian population in Lebanon right now."

Several speakers pinpointed the responsibility of the U.S. government for the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Cleveland Robinson, a member of the Executive Committee of the June 12 Rally Committee and of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, reminded people that the U.S. was the "first in making the bomb. We were first in dropping the bomb. We were first with the neutron bomb. We were first with the hydrogen bomb." He called for the United States to be first, therefore, in dismantling the bomb.

Former Congresswoman Bella Abzug, a longtime Democratic Party politician, called for a "mutual verifiable freeze." However, she did connect the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment and reproductive rights with the fight against war.

Abzug condemned the notion, accepted by many leaders of the National Organization for Women, that women's equality can be achieved through support to the U.S. military and its policies. "We reject the suggestion that the only equality we are offered is the equal right to die with men and children in a nuclear war," she said.

Puerto Rico and El Salvador

Rubén Zamora of the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador spoke at the UN rally. He described the horrible suffering and tens of thousands of deaths caused to the people of that country by the U.S. puppet government.

Johnston Makatini of the African National Congress, and antiwar speakers like Zamora, the Rev. Ben Chavis of the National Black Independent Political Party, and Carlos Zenón, a leader of the struggle against the U.S. Navy on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, had also



Rev. Herbert Daughtry told crowd that imperialism is source of war danger.

been scheduled to speak at the rally in the afternoon.

However, all these speakers were shunted to the end of the list, and their turn to speak did not come until after the rally was supposed to end. On this pretext, they were given either very little speaking time or none at all. As a result, Chavis was cut off after a few sentences. Makatini was only allowed to deliver very brief greetings.

Zenón was cut off in mid-sentence by members of the June 12 Rally Committee on the platform, who started a chant of "No nukes!"

Zenón managed to get the microphone back long enough to say, "I came here all the way from Puerto Rico to accuse the United States Navy for using the island of Vieques . . . for bombardment. They are also using the island for testing for nuclear weapons on warships and . . . on airplanes. I also accuse the United States Navy of using Vieques as a bridge to intervene in the Latin American countries of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and other countries."

Zamora was not able to speak at all.

But the fact that opposition to U.S. imperialism and its wars was voiced from the stage by at least some speakers helped educate marchers about the need to build a movement against the wars that this government is involved in.

One million turn out for peace protest

particularly if it is at the expense of their living conditions. This was clearly a prevalent theme at the demonstration.

As an unemployed hospital worker from Orlando, Florida, who was wearing a "Red is OK, dead is not" placard, said, "I'm not even slightly pink. I mean, I even voted for Reagan. But I'm laid off and I know it's my paycheck going to build those things."

June 14 takes focus off warmakers

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — On June 14 approximately 1,700 demonstrators converged on the UN missions of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, and Britain to protest nuclear weapons.

By noon an estimated 278 persons had been arrested at the Soviet mission and over 100 each at the Chinese, French, and British missions. Much smaller numbers were arrested at the Israeli and South African missions.

However, at the U.S. mission a total of 1,036 people were arrested. While protest activity had died down by noon at the other missions, the sit-ins continued throughout the day at the U.S. mission.

The protest was organized by the June 14 Civil Disobedience Campaign, a coalition made up of the War Resisters League, Catholic Peace Fellowship, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Mobilization for Survival, and other peace groups.

The organizers of the action targeted these five missions "because they are

The message of the million people who poured into the streets June 12 was unmistakable. They sent an unequivocal message to Washington that there is mounting opposition among U.S. people to the imperialist war drive. And for tens of thousands, an advance was marked in their thinking about what will be necessary for an effective fight for peace.

the major nuclear weapons states," as one leaflet put it.

Despite the attempt to portray the Soviet Union and China as an equal nuclear threat with U.S. imperialism and its allies, most protesters ended up in front of the U.S., French, and British missions, where the real threat of nuclear war actually comes from.

It's the United States that is either conducting or backing its imperialist allies in wars in the Malvinas, Lebanon, southern Africa, and Central America and the Caribbean — not the Soviet Union and China. And it's the United States that has used the bomb and is threatening to use it again.

Although participants were undoubtedly sincere in their opposition to war and nuclear weapons, any action that places equal blame on U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union and China diverts attention from the real warmongers in the world today. It doesn't advance the fight against war at all. It can only undermine the struggle and sow confusion about who the real enemy is.

—SELLING THE SOCIALIST PRESS—

Over 5,000 papers are sold in N.Y. June 12

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

It was a big day for socialists. A day of discussion and debate. Socialists fanned out through the massive crowds in New York and other cities June 12 to present the socialist perspective on the fight against war.

At the demonstration in New York, many other newspapers were distributed free. Thus, preliminary figures for sales of the *Militant* and our other publications are all the more significant:

- 3,482 *Militants* and 697 subscriptions.
- 337 *Perspectiva Mundials* and 40 subscriptions.
- 557 *Young Socialists*.
- \$1,200 in Pathfinder Press literature.

On the Canadian border, at the Peace Arch just north of Seattle, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members participated with members of their sister organization in Canada, the Revolutionary Workers League, in selling socialist newspapers: 176 copies of the *Militant* were sold along with 450 copies of *Socialist Voice*, the newspaper of the RWL. Canadian socialists helped sell the *Militant* in New York as well.

For the New York demonstration, salespeople got off to an early start. On the "Peace Train" from Boston, 95 papers were sold: 42 *Militants*, 28 subscriptions, and 25 copies of the *YS*.

Sarah Ullman sold 14 subscriptions and 6 copies of the *Militant*, many by pointing out the article headlined, "'Village Voice' levels smear attack on June 12 Third World Coalition." She found that many people were familiar with the *Voice's* Feiffer cartoon, since it had also appeared in the *Boston Sunday Globe*.

Top salesperson of the day was Mark Friedman of New York who sold 148 *Militants*.

Wendy Lyons, a New Jersey socialist, sold 62 *Militants*. She started out early in Hoboken, New Jersey, where thousands of people were streaming by on their way to New York.

Lyons said that the key to her sales was to point out that the *Militant* offers a perspective on where to go after June 12.

"The *Militant* has facts that are hard to get anywhere else," Lyons explained to marchers. "Reagan is trying to get us into a war in Latin America. In the *Militant*, you can read what these people are fighting for; that they are fighting to take their government into their own hands, just like we should do here."

Perspectiva Mundial was well received at a Latino feeder march that assembled in Harlem.

Rich Ariza, who sold 20 *PMs*, reports that support for Argentina was very high, and that people were glad to see a paper that took a clear stand in opposition to the British invasion.

A literature table set up outside of Grand Central Station did a brisk business.

A young high school student from Iowa, who came with her

Baptist church, was glad to see the table. She remarked, "We don't have this type of literature where I am from in Iowa." She walked away with a subscription to the *Militant* and literature by Malcolm X and on women's rights.

Maggie Trowe staffed a similar table that was up at the assembly site and then in Central Park for the rally. "Our Malcolm X literature sold out," Trowe explained, "and the new pamphlet by Fidel Castro, titled *The U.S. War Drive and the World Economic Crisis*, was very popular."

A large table was set up in Central Park at the rally site, under a banner that read "Stop the U.S.-British War on Argentina; U.S. out of Central America and the Caribbean: Stop Reagan's War on Unions, Blacks, Women."

Mike Taber, who staffed the table, reports that some people came to the table and asked, "I thought you were socialists; how can you support Argentina?" Others questioned the *Militant's* unconditional support for the Palestinians against Israel.

These debates — sometimes heated — attracted many other demonstrators throughout the day. Hundreds were introduced to the socialist view of world politics for the first time.

A table nearby, with a banner reading "Defend antiwar unionists," gathered 1,004 signatures on petitions in support of unionists fired for their political views.

This week's scoreboard reports sales for the week before the June 12 demonstration.

SALES SCOREBOARD

Area	(Militant issue #22, PM issue #11)		Total Goal/Sold	%
	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold		
Toledo	50/91	0/1	50/92	184
Manhattan	150/210	40/102	190/312	164
Tidewater	70/103	0/0	70/103	147
Lincoln	40/57	0/0	40/57	143
Birmingham	90/128	0/0	90/128	142
Denver	80/103	5/0	85/103	121
Phoenix	90/108	45/51	135/159	118
Atlanta	100/117	0/0	100/117	117
Louisville	80/88	0/0	80/88	110
Wash., D.C.	70/74	20/24	90/98	109
San Antonio	70/61	20/83	90/94	104
Baltimore	110/110	0/3	110/113	103
Iron Range	40/41	0/0	40/41	103
Portland	40/41	0/0	40/41	103
Piedmont	85/87	0/0	85/87	102
Newark	120/103	20/40	140/143	102
St. Louis	90/91	0/0	90/91	101
Tucson	30/38	20/11	50/49	98
Schenectady	90/84	0/0	90/84	93
Los Angeles*	140/130	25/19	165/149	90
Chicago	125/110	15/8	140/118	84
San Diego*	30/18	5/10	35/28	80
Milwaukee	90/73	10/0	100/73	73
Cleveland	65/50	10/2	75/52	69
Twin Cities	135/85	5/10	140/95	68
Salt Lake City	90/61	5/1	95/62	65
Seattle	80/40	3/0	83/40	48
Philadelphia	140/69	15/4	155/73	47
Cincinnati	70/32	0/0	70/32	46
Miami	60/20	10/6	70/26	37
Morgantown	70/23	0/0	70/23	33
Gary	75/26	5/0	80/26	33
Harrisburg	50/15	0/0	50/15	30
Kansas City	105/30	5/0	110/30	27
Detroit	115/23	5/5	120/28	23
Indianapolis	75/14	0/0	75/14	19
TOTALS	3,965/2,554	413/330	4,378/2,884	66

Areas not reporting: Albuquerque, Boston, Brooklyn, Charleston, Dallas, Houston, New Orleans, Oakland,* Pittsburgh, Price, San Francisco,* San Jose.*

*Petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

Mason for governor petition drive tops 50,000

BY DICK ROBERTS

SAN FRANCISCO — The Mel Mason for Governor Campaign has gone over the 50,000 mark in petitioning to put the independent candidate on the California ballot in November.

A large number of these signatures — 7,137 — came from demonstrators at San Francisco's June 12 march against war and nuclear weapons.

The demonstrators who signed expressed the conviction that an independent, antiwar candidate should be and has the right to be on the ballot.

"The signatures we collected show that our campaign is in synch with what went down in this country today," Mason said at a party following the San Francisco demonstration.

"Across the country working people are opposed to war. What we saw here was, in fact, the beginning of an antiwar movement. People see the necessity of an antiwar candidate running for office."

At the San Francisco demonstration, California Democratic U.S. Congressman Ron Dellums signed a Mason petition. "It's his democratic right — it's a question of democracy," Dellums stated.

A member of La Raza Unida Party told Mason, "They'll do everything to keep you from making progress. [California Secretary of State] March Fong Eu is a Democrat, and she's not going to allow anybody else on the ballot."

A group of Palestinian-Americans lined up to sign petitions when they learned that Mason opposes the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. As the march started, a group of Argentinians demanding British withdrawal from the Malvinas joined the Mason contingent.

One petition signer said: "I know about the Mel Mason campaign. My husband is in prison in Vacaville, and he sends me the clippings about Mason

from the *Militant*."

California law requires the submission of the signatures of 113,000 registered voters for independent candidates to be on the statewide ballot. In fact, the campaign committee plans to turn in 180,000 signatures.

In initial petitioning last month, 22,000 signatures were gained in lieu of a \$982 filing fee. This week more than 30,000 additional signatures were collected as the big drive opened to get the remaining signatures.

It is likely that Secretary of State Eu will challenge the petitions. The laws are designed to keep working-class candidates off the ballot. While independents have to file 113,000 signatures that will be subjected to close scrutiny, the candidates of the ruling Republican and Democratic parties need to file only 60 signatures each. In the 1980 elections, Eu ruled both the Socialist Workers and Communist parties off the ballot.

For this reason, Mason supporters are also mobilizing statewide support in the fight for the right of working people to run for office. A spirited ballot-fight rally was attended by 180 people June 13 in East Palo Alto.

The first speaker was Anthony Carter of Youth for Mel Mason. Carter was just elected student representative to the Monterey Peninsula College Board of Trustees. He was a leader of Mason's fight to gain a leave of absence from the college to campaign.

Walter Johnson, president of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100, said: "Mel Mason has the right to run for the office of governor in the state of California. Everyone should fight for this right."

David Wald, Peace and Freedom Party candidate for U.S. Senate, also endorsed Mason's right to be on the ballot. Wald described how the Democratic Party is presently trying to get his party off the ballot — a position won in a major



Mel Mason marches with supporters in June 12 antiwar action in San Francisco.

ballot struggle in 1968.

"There is one party in this country, and it is the reactionary party," Lou Hedgecock of the Hayward Federation of Teachers declared. Hedgecock attacked Democratic Governor of California Jerry Brown's cutbacks in the educational system. "I want Mel Mason on the ballot," Hedgecock stated.

Rick Trujillo, shop steward in Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265 in San Jose, described how his local had taken part in the fight to win Mason's leave of absence.

Other speakers at the rally included Karen Wald of the Cuba Resource Group, who described plans to challenge President Reagan's ban on travel to Cuba, and Vincent Lynch, instructor of Black studies at Bayview/Hunters Point Community College.

Also speaking was Ben Ahmad, a community leader in East Palo Alto, a predominantly Black, working-class community near San Jose. Ahmad took up the fight against incorporation of East Palo Alto by the wealthy, mainly white city of Palo Alto. He expressed appreciation for the Mason campaign's support

of East Palo Alto's cityhood fight.

The rally contributed \$3,900 to the \$50,000 Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Fund.

The enthusiasm of the rally poured over into a discussion between Mason and some East Palo Alto residents after the speeches. Five people indicated a desire to set up a Mason campaign committee.

Over a luncheon at a San Jose restaurant, Mason talked with two campaign supporters, Josie Romero and Flora Morris, about how he became a socialist.

Romero has been actively petitioning for the past month. Morris heard about Mason's campaign at the FMC plant where she works. Both are mothers. Morris's son just graduated from high school — "with honors," she emphasized.

"I know my kids are going to be drafted, and I don't want to see them go. Who wants to see their children blown away?" Morris asked.

At the East Palo Alto rally, Morris decided to join the Socialist Workers Party. That afternoon, two people had signed up for the San Jose Young Socialist Alliance.

Latino marchers hit U.S. wars

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

NEW YORK — Puerto Ricans and other Latinos had a special stake in the June 12 peace march. The United States is right now waging a war against the peoples of Central America — training and financing counterrevolutionary bands to attack Nicaragua and giving military support to the genocidal governments in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The Caribbean was the stage in April and May for "war games" carried out by Washington and its allies in NATO. These "games" were a direct threat against Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.

Puerto Rico, under colonial domination by the United States, is virtually a floating military base. Vieques, an inhabited island off the coast of Puerto Rico, is used for target bombing practices. Many also believe that nuclear weapons are housed in Puerto Rico.

And as the peace marchers were approaching Central Park, the British were launching their final assault on Puerto Argentino (Port Stanley) in the Malvinas.

While billions of dollars are poured into the U.S. military machine to oppress Latin Americans and others around the world, Latinos, like other oppressed minorities in this country, suffer cutbacks in social services, hospitals in their neighborhoods close down, and their homes are burnt to the ground to make way for high-rises and "gentrified" buildings.

These were the issues taken up by the more than 1,000 activists who marched June 12 from the Puerto Rican neighborhood known as El Barrio, down across Harlem into Central Park. The main theme of the militant march was "Dinero para necesidades humanas, no para la guerra" (Money for human needs, not for war).

The contingent was organized by the Hispanics for Survival and Disarmament, a coalition of Latino organizations and political parties that work within the Latino community, as well as groups in solidarity with Latin America. The Puerto Rican theatre group, "Pregones" provided a lively beat to the slogans that were being chanted.

The groups that participated included the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organiza-

tion of Cuban-Americans who support the Cuban Revolution. They marched under a banner that read: "Cuban-Americans against U.S. intervention in Latin America." The Puerto Rican Socialist Party had a banner that said, "No more Vietnams, U.S. out of El Salvador."

A group called Unión Latinoamericana/Malvinas Argentinas (Union of Latin Americans/Malvinas are Argentine) carried placards denouncing British aggression in the South Atlantic. One placard read, "England must remove the nuclear submarines from South Atlantic and all nuclear weapons."

"Stop the bombing in Vieques Puerto Rico!" and "¡Vieques es del pueblo no de la marina!" (Vieques is the people's, not the Navy's!) were some of the preferred

chants during the march. The New York Committee in Support of Vieques was one of the builders of the march. "Money for jobs, not for war, U.S. out of El Salvador!" was another popular slogan.

On the way to Central Park the Latino marchers were joined by a contingent of the Afro-American Executive Committee, another of the groups that built the June 12 action. "Fight back against racism and militarism!" was the message in many of the placards the Black marchers carried. Many also held aloft the red, black, and green banners of African liberation.

Other placards demanded that the U.S. get out of Africa and the Caribbean, and that it stop sending arms to Israel, which at that very moment was inflicting destruction and death on the Arab peoples of Lebanon.



Perspectiva Mundial/Roberto Kopec
El Barrio contingent in June 12 rally opposed U.S. intervention in Puerto Rico and Latin America.

Third World forum backs freedom fighters

BY OSBORNE HART

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — On the eve of the June 12 peace demonstration, a moving display of solidarity with the people of Palestine, El Salvador, and Vietnam highlighted an antiwar rally here.

The June 11 "Rally for Disarmament and Human Needs," organized by the Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition (TWPPC), drew an audience of 400. It was held at the House of the Lord Church, whose minister, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, heads the National Black United Front (NBUF).

Minister Michael Amon Ra — a leader of NBUF and the evening's host — was repeatedly interrupted by applause as he introduced representatives of liberation struggles from around the world.

"There will be no peace in the Middle East until the question of Palestinian self-determination is decided by Palestinian people," Amon Ra said, introducing the Palestinian Congress of North America (PCNA) representative.

"We are not going to let [the Israelis] eliminate us," PCNA representative Nubar Havsepian declared, to chants of "Long live the PLO!"



Militant/Osborne Hart
Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung, Vietnam's ambassador to UN, received cheering welcome at Third World forum.

Havsepian defined the Israeli war as "an act of genocide." He said it is ironic that "the survivors of the Holocaust" are annihilating his people with U.S. government aid. "We will not allow another final solution in this century."

To a hushed audience, Havsepian concluded: "The price of freedom is dear. But we are willing to pay that price."

"Long live the PLO."

The rally erupted in chants.

Salvadoran rebel spokesman Arnaldo Ramos expressed solidarity with the Palestinians and continued in the same vein.

"We want peace. But we refuse to accept the peace of the cemeteries," he said.

"Peace is important. Peace is crucial. And we have offered to negotiate. But the answer has been more troops, weapons, U.S. training, and intervention," Ramos continued.

"The struggle is not only in El Salvador, but in Honduras, Guatemala, South Africa, and around the world."

"In order to stop this intervention," Ramos said, the Salvadoran struggle has to be "accompanied by the American people."

Alluding to the power the American public exercised in helping force an end to U.S. intervention in Vietnam, Ramos expressed confidence that "the people of this country will stop Ronald Reagan" and "this system of exploitation."

In an impassioned speech, Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for 20 years, stressed: "Peace with freedom! Peace with dignity! Peace with self-respect! Any other kind of peace is surrender."

Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung, United Nations ambassador from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, was greeted with a sustained standing ovation.

Speaking through a translator, Madame Dung addressed the disarmament issue and what it means for an oppressed people struggling for liberation.

She said Vietnam's approach is one of "disarming the imperialists who use weapons to colonize the people."

"Disarmament in our view never means that the oppressed people fighting for liberation have to lay down their arms."

Dung said the Vietnamese feel "close to those struggling Salvadorans, Puerto Ricans, and Palestinians."

Concluding her address, Dung said, "The important weapon is the unity of our people and support from our friends all over the world."

The program, interspersed with musical entertainment, included remarks by Russell Means, American Indian Movement; Rev. Ben Chavis, National Black Independent Political Party; and Michio Kaku, nuclear physicist.

The Committee for the Defense of Haitian Refugees and Pacific Island peoples were also represented.

Midwest farmers discuss U.S. wars, A-bombs

BY BILL ONASCH

DES MOINES, Iowa — Nearly 100 farmers and supporters of the farm movement from several states in the Midwest attended the First National Conference on Peace and Agriculture, sponsored by the U.S. Farmers Association, held here June 5.

The USFA was formed in 1952 as a result of a split in the National Farm Union over support of the Korean War. The USFA strongly opposed the Korean and Vietnam wars, and that antiwar tradition was evident throughout the conference.

Fred Stover, longtime president of the organization, told the opening plenary session: "History has placed an awesome burden on Americans. Those planning nuclear wars are within our own borders — not in Moscow, not in Havana, not in Central America, not in Buenos Aires, not in the Persian Gulf."

"In 1950," Stover recalled, "we were pitifully alone in our opposition to the Korean War. But that's not true today."

Bishop Maurice Dingman of the Des Moines Diocese spoke about the role of the Catholic church in the struggle for peace.

Instead of a world food bank that we need, he said, we have the 14 families who rule El Salvador.

Quoting from a statement of bishops, he declared: "We forcefully affirm the principle that food should never be used as a weapon against any nation or people as a tool of oppression to starve them into submission."

Stover also described the pressing eco-

nomic problems of working farmers. He proposed that the ratio between the costs of production and the price farmers are guaranteed by the government for their commodities should be the same as during the Roosevelt administration in the 1930s. He argued that this was a more favorable parity ratio than exists today.

"Peace and Parity" buttons and T-shirts were much in evidence at the conference.

Merle Hansen, a USFA vice-president, spoke about Washington's responsibility for the nuclear arms buildup. "Our country led the nuclear arms race from the first day and is still leading it. Russia is just playing catch up." The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were meant as a threat to the Soviet Union.

Since then, "they always use nuclear weapons to influence conventional war and politics. The primary aggressor in the arms race must first be stopped," Hansen told the cheering conference.

Hansen also explained that "there is a basic flaw in the way the left and the peace movement view farmers. . . . Farmers are victims. Women earn 59 cents on the dollar compared to men, while farmers earn 57 cents on the dollar on parity. . . . Farmers are raw-material producers like colonial peoples."

Hansen urged the antiwar movement to learn about the problems of farmers and win them over. Otherwise, farmers could be driven into the camp of their enemies, instead of fighting alongside their natural allies.

At a news conference before the meeting began, Dixon Terry, a dairy farmer from Iowa, also attacked the "great amount of expenditures for arms." The concentration of land in a few hands in El Salvador, he said, leads "inevitably to war."

Unfortunately, the main resolution of the conference, adopted at the final plenary session, was a big step backward from the main theme of the talks and discussion at the gathering. Retreating from Stover's clear focus of blame on the U.S. government for the war danger, the resolution endorsed the bilateral nuclear freeze.

The document conjured up the ghost of Franklin Roosevelt as a "man of peace" and called for a U.S.-Soviet detente along the lines of the World War II alliance.

A number of workshops were held, including Agriculture and Foreign Policy, History of Peace Concerns in Farmer and Labor Movements, Organizing for Rural Advocacy, and the Effects of Nuclear War on Agriculture.

Joe Swanson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Nebraska, was warmly applauded when he spoke from the floor on the need to break with the Democrats and Republicans. Swanson called for the formation of an independent labor party that could fight for a workers and farmers government.

A literature table set up by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance did a brisk business among conference participants. Several people volunteered to help work on Swanson's campaign.

Disarmament debate begins at U.N. session

Iran and Democratic Yemen score imperialist warmakers



Palestinians protested outside UN June 11, condemning Israeli war on Lebanon. Militant/Suzanne Haig

BY SUZANNE HAIG

UNITED NATIONS — The Second Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament opened here June 7, drawing delegations from 157 countries. The session's opening, combined with preparations for the June 12 peace demonstration here, turned New York City into a magnet for discussion and debate on the questions of war and peace.

Throughout the session, which will run until July 9, a variety of opposing views will be represented.

Heads of imperialist governments in the midst of waging war — such as Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and Menachem Begin — will address the disarmament session.

But also speaking will be Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, vice-president of the Cuban government, and representatives from Nicaragua, Grenada, Vietnam, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and numerous African and Latin American countries.

In the first few days of the UN proceedings, Israel's invasion of Lebanon, Britain's aggression in the Malvinas Islands, and U.S. intervention in El Salvador came up in the discussion.

Iranian minister speaks

On June 8, Iran's foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, pointed out that representatives from the world's nations had come together at the UN to discuss peace and disarmament at the same time that wars were raging around the world.

Velayati — along with representatives from Angola, Jordan, Qatar and other countries — condemned the Israeli war on Lebanon.

Salem Saleh Mohammed, minister for foreign affairs of Democratic Yemen, stated that "the Zionist aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples was just another example of the oppressive, hostile policies of U.S. imperialism, determined to undermine all progressive and nationalist regimes opposing its policies."

Press conferences protesting the Israeli invasion were held by Velayati and by the Lebanese ambassador to the UN Ghassan Tuani. Vietnam, North Korea, and other countries issued press statements condemning the Israeli action.

Appeal by Fidel Castro

Fidel Castro, as chair of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, issued a statement to the heads of the member states, calling on them to "mobilize their forces" to stop the Zionist aggression, which he likened to the tactics "used by the Nazi hordes in World War II."

In his remarks to the General Assembly, Salem Saleh Mohammed condemned the "new kind of aggressive colonial war conducted by Britain in the Malvinas, using modern, sophisticated weaponry with the support of U.S. imperialism."

Alberto Martini Urdaneta of Venezuela told the delegates that "in the denuclearized zone of Latin America, one witnesses today the military aggression

sion by a nuclear arms possessor," Britain.

While speakers from the imperialist governments of Japan, Sweden, and Belgium devoted their remarks to abstract generalizations, casting a cloud over the causes of war and the nuclear buildup, the representatives from Iran, Democratic Yemen, and several other semicolonial countries addressed the real threat to peace.

Velayati targeted Washington as the major cause of violence around the world.

Effect of military buildup

He attacked Washington's increasing war budget and pointed out that "the export of American weapons to the region where my country is located, that is the Middle East, . . . reached \$8.5 billion [in 1980]. Generally, this export was for the protection of despotic regimes and for the purpose of suppressing nations of the Third World."

The resources and labor going into arms production could help end unemployment, poverty, and disease in these countries, he said.

Velayati attacked Washington's chemical warfare in Vietnam and its formation of the Rapid Deployment

Force. He condemned the governments of Egypt, Oman, and Morocco, which have "placed military bases at the disposal of world-devouring imperialism of America." He called upon the people "not to allow their territories to be put at the service of this aggressive force."

"The Security Council, due to the influence of [Israel's] stepfather and master, the criminal America, is not able to take any practical measure for the elimination of this flagrant aggression except playing with words and phrases," Velayati said.

He added that during the 20 months since the Iraqi invasion of Iran, "the UN has never taken any measure for eliminating the aggression or condemning the aggressor. The incident in which American helicopters flagrantly invaded our territory [in 1980] is another example when the UN failed to condemn America."

Unity of colonial nations

Velayati explained that the colonial and semicolonial countries — that is, the victims of imperialism — have the potential power to help lead a fight against the warmakers, if they put aside their disagreements and unite.

He said colonial nations must realize that "imperialism is based on . . . the policy of divide and rule. As a result, these powers have been able, through creating conflicts among nations, to establish their imperialist sovereignty and exploitative systems."

The oppressed countries must "approach each other within the context of the objectives of the Nonaligned Movement," he said. He called for putting an "end to artificial disputes," "establishing a system of mutual guaranteed non-use of force in their relations," and fighting together "for a collective human ideal."

The UN could contribute to international peace, security, and disarmament, Velayati concluded, not through presenting papers or having discussions and conferences, but "through the unity of the oppressed and tyrannized nations of the world . . . in their struggles

against oppression and world imperialism."

In the middle of Velayati's remarks, an Iranian student entered the General Assembly, rushed the podium, tore up Velayati's speech, and shouted "Death to Khomeini" before he was grabbed by security guards.

Earlier, across from the UN, anti-Khomeini demonstrators had physically attacked supporters of the Iranian revolution. New York cops did not intervene until at least one person was injured.

Salem Saleh Mohammed of Democratic Yemen, who spoke after Velayati, stated that "efforts for disarmament are continuously impeded by the unprecedented U.S. military buildup in the Middle East and Latin America, and by the escalation of imperialist intervention against the security of sovereign states, against people struggling for their national independence, their right to self-determination, and for the elimination of colonial and racist regimes."

In particular, he condemned the aggression against Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, and Mozambique.

Source of nuclear danger

He said that imperialist intervention and Washington's military buildup — including the neutron bomb, the Rapid Deployment Force, nuclear missiles in Western Europe, chemical warfare, and the use of food as a weapon — "increased tensions between countries and the danger of war, including nuclear war, which would threaten all mankind and civilization."

The imperialist countries continue to arm themselves, he said, while millions of children in developing countries suffer from malnutrition, disease, and illiteracy.

"The resources now being squandered on the arms race could be effectively utilized to help improve the present living conditions and standards of people throughout the world," he declared.

He ended by stressing the "importance of the mass rallies taking place throughout the capitalist countries against nuclear weapons and for peace."

Overthrow of Chad gov't pleases Washington

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Military units led by the proimperialist Hissène Habré seized the capital of Chad, a country of 4.3 million people in Central Africa, June 7.

President Goukouni Oueddei — along with tens of thousands of Ndjamenas' inhabitants — fled across the Chari River into neighboring Cameroon.

The arrival of Habré's forces, known as the Armed Forces of the North (FAN), led to a spate of looting. One of Habré's first acts was to impose censorship on foreign journalists operating in Chad.

The U.S. government, which had previously supplied arms to Habré through the Egyptian and Sudanese regimes, has signaled its support for this recent turn of events. According to a report from Ndjamenas in the June 12 *New York Times*, "The United States . . . is not anticipating difficulties in establishing smooth relations with Mr. Habré, according to Western diplomatic sources."

Habré's seizure of Ndjamenas is just the latest episode in a long history of civil war and imperialist intervention in that country.

A former French colony, Chad encompasses numerous different ethnic and language groups, who are roughly equally divided between the Muslim peoples of the north and the Christians and others of the south. The French imperialists, who continue to dominate the country, used divide-and-rule tactics to set these peoples against each other.

In the mid-1960s, a civil war broke out between rebel forces based among

the Muslim peoples of the north and the French-backed regime of southerners. This culminated in the late 1970s in a victory for the rebels, who were known as the Frolinat (Chad National Liberation Front).

By then, however, Frolinat itself had splintered into numerous factions, one led by Habré and another by Goukouni. Habré won French and American backing, and his forces were armed and trained with imperialist assistance.

When Habré rebelled against a coalition government headed by Goukouni, the latter appealed for assistance from the government of neighboring Libya. The Libyan leader, Muammar el-Qaddafi, responded to this appeal by sending several thousand troops to Chad in late 1980. They quickly drove Habré's forces out of the country into the Sudan.

The U.S. and French governments were furious. Secretary of State Alexander Haig termed the French setback a "grave turn of events."

They responded by stepping up their pressures and threats against Libya, and put considerable heat on Goukouni to sever his ties with Qaddafi.

Finally, Goukouni agreed. In November 1981 he asked the Libyan troops to leave, and they did so promptly.

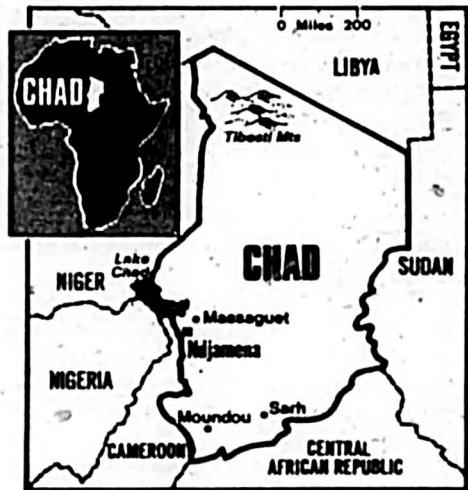
Although the imperialists cheered the Libyan withdrawal, they still did not trust Goukouni. Their promised economic and material assistance to his regime failed to materialize. Habré's forces went back into action and made a series of military gains. An inter-African "peace-keeping" force composed of Nigerian, Senegalese, and Zaïrian

troops did nothing to stop Habré's advance, despite appeals by Goukouni.

Isolated internationally — and soon deserted by the other factions in his coalition — Goukouni could not withstand Habré's drive on the capital.

The imperialists are now hoping that they can patch together a stable proimperialist regime around Habré, both to defend their interests in Chad and as a threat against Libya.

But the prospects of that are far from certain. Habré's support within the country is limited to his own forces. Nearly a dozen armed groups are based in different parts of the country. Fierce fighting has been raging between factions in the south. And there have been reports that Goukouni intends to return to his home area in the northern Tibesti Mountains to launch another guerrilla struggle.



Our political continuity with Bolshevism

BY DOUG JENNESS

Our November 1981 issue celebrated the 64th anniversary of the Russian revolution by featuring Lenin's complete 1921 article, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution." This was the first time it had been run in the *Militant* or *International Socialist Review*. We accompanied Lenin's article with a brief description of the Bolsheviks' political strategy of the Russian revolution, around which the party was built, which made possible the victory in October.

In the April 1982 issue of the *ISR*, Ernest Mandel takes issue with our description. Mandel offers his own interpretation of Lenin's strategy, counterposing it positively to the pre-1917 positions of the Mensheviks and negatively to the pre-1917 views of Leon Trotsky.

The result is an erroneous presentation of the Bolshevik strategy and a distorted picture of the differences in the Russian workers movement leading up to the 1917 revolution.

This remains an important question today. It cannot be dismissed merely as history, since it bears directly on the question: What is the *revolutionary continuity* of Marxist strategy that has guided communists since 1847? Does it remain valid today? Arriving at correct answers to these questions is indispensable if the international workers' movement is to lead its allies in overturning the old ruling classes, abolishing capitalist exploitation and all the forms of oppression bred and perpetuated by it, and preventing the imperialists from blowing up the world in pursuit of profits.

What is the historic line of march of the working class in its struggle for the world socialist revolution? That question is necessarily posed by any discussion of Lenin's strategy, since it was the Bolshevik Party that led the workers and peasants in the first successful socialist revolution in world history.

Russia at the turn of the century was a country, as Lenin put it, "where modern capitalist imperialism is enmeshed . . . in a particularly close network of pre-capitalist relations." A feudal monarchy still governed the country, and many remnants of serfdom and medievalism existed in the countryside. The peasantry remained a large majority of the population, while the working class, concentrated in cities such as St. Petersburg and Moscow, was a small minority. ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," *Collected Works of Lenin [CW]*, Vol. 22, 1916, p. 259).

The central question facing Russian Marxists was how to chart a course toward a revolution of the toilers that would bring down the tsar, abolish semifeudal oppression of the peasant masses, help to impel the socialist revolution in Western Europe, and culminate in the expropriation of the capitalist exploiters. In other words, in a country where most tasks of the bourgeois revolution were still unfulfilled, what strategy and what class alliances were necessary to build a bridge to the socialist revolution? Solving that problem, both in theory and practice, was what Russian Marxists set out to do.

Russian opponents of tsarist autocracy had been grappling with how to make a revolution there for several decades before the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, as separately defined currents, appeared on the scene. There was an especially important debate between the narodniks (the Russian term for populists) and the Marxists. From Mandel's description of this debate, however, one might draw the incorrect impression that Marx and Engels, in the 1870s and 1880s, adapted to populism. It is important to be clear on this, since Lenin consciously and explicitly rooted himself in the continuity of Marx and Engels's writings.

Mandel asserts that "after some hesitation," Marx — in correspondence with populist leader Vera Zasulich in 1881 — "arrived at an unambiguous position: Russia could 'leap over the stage of capitalism.'" "Through this analysis," Mandel says, "Marx provided support" to the narodniks against a current

evolving away from populist positions. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, following Marx's death, Engels drew the conclusion that history was not bearing out Marx's 1881 hypothesis. Only then did Engels finally throw in his lot with the first nucleus of Russian Marxists. This, in a nutshell, is Mandel's account.

The record shows that Marx and Engels's views on the development of Russian society and their relations with the emerging revolutionary movement there were quite a bit richer and more complex. In fact, they provide a model both of a materialist analysis of a concrete social and economic situation and of how proletarian revolutionists approach fighters struggling against oppression who show potential to evolve toward scientific communism.

Did Marx and Engels adapt to populism?

Throughout their political lives in the nineteenth century, Marx and Engels regarded tsarist Russia as the bastion of reaction in Europe. Moreover, until the Crimean War of 1853-56, they considered revolutionary prospects in Russia to be quite far off. As a result of the tsarist regime's defeat in that war and worsening economic and social conditions, however, the Russian peasants stepped up their struggles. Despite efforts by the tsar in the 1860s to contain these struggles, including a decree of "emancipation" from serfdom that in reality preserved the peasants' bondage to the landlords, the unrest in the countryside could not be permanently quelled. By the 1870s a revolutionary democratic movement — the populists — had arisen in Russia, aiming to overthrow the tsarist autocracy.

Marx and Engels welcomed these revolutionary developments in Russia, recognizing in them a potentially powerful ally of the workers and peasants of Western Europe, whose struggles had always occurred in the menacing shadow of the tsarist armies.

"There is another great power which, ten years ago, most powerfully checked the revolutionary current [throughout Europe]," Marx wrote in 1858. "We mean Russia. This time, combustible matter has accumulated under her own feet, which a strong blast from the West may set on fire" (*Karl Marx: A Biography*, Progress Publishers, p. 342).

Not only did Marx greet the development of the populist movement in the 1870s as a breach in "the deathly quiet of Russia at home," but many populists also became interested in socialism and were influenced by Marx and Engels's writings. They organized the translation of a number of them into Russian, including *Capital*.

Industrialization in Russia at this time was only in its infancy, and the working class was very small. No organized working-class movement had yet emerged. Many populists developed the idea that the peasantry could be the social basis for a transition to socialism. They pointed to the communal ownership of land, still existing in the rural areas throughout Russia, as the basis for "peasant socialism."

Since Marx and Engels recognized the international significance of the developing Russian revolutionary movement, they took a special interest in the issues it was discussing. Both learned the Russian language in order to read the literature and correspond with Russian revolutionary democrats. Their goal was to influence and win a generation of revolutionary fighters to scientific socialism.

In 1879 the principal populist organization, Land and Liberty (*Zemlya i Volya*), split in two; the majority formed the People's Will (*Narodnaya Volya*), the minority the General Redistribution (*Chernyi Peredel*). All attempts to reunify the two populist factions failed. The principal leadership of the latter group — Georgi Plekhanov, Vera Zasulich, and Pavel Axelrod — subsequently evolved toward Marxism, and in 1883, the year Marx died, established Russia's first Marxist organization, the Emancipation of Labor group.

Marx had no opportunity to learn first hand about

Continued on next page,



"In a country where most tasks of bourgeois revolution were still unfulfilled, what strategy and what class alliances were necessary to build a bridge to the socialist revolution? Solving that problem, both in theory and practice, was what Russian Marxists set out to do." Above is meeting of the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Soldiers, Peasants, and Cossacks Deputies in January 1918; and statue of Tsar Nicholas II, which was pulled to the ground following the February 1917 revolution.

Continued from previous page

the evolution of the political views of the General Redistribution. Based on the information he did have, he sharply reproached it for its initial anarchist-leaning opinions. Recognizing the centrality of the revolutionary democratic tasks of the Russian revolution, Marx criticized the General Redistribution for being "against all political-revolutionary action" and instead proposing that Russia somehow "somersault into the anarchist-communist-atheist millenium." He considered its decision to establish its base of operations in Geneva — a stronghold of Bakunin's anarchism — to be a retreat from revolutionary activity inside Russia. (*Marx and Engels Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, 1880, p. 313).

Marx and Engels respected the courage and dedication of many of the fighters in the People's Will group, but they disagreed with its conspiratorial methods and utopian conceptions of the revolution.

Despite these differences, Marx and Engels kept up their correspondence and meetings with leaders of both groups. Following Marx's death, Plekhanov's group continued its political evolution, coming over to scientific socialism. Engels greeted their development with enthusiasm in an April 1885 letter to Vera Zasulich. "I am proud to know that there is a party among the youth of Russia which frankly and without equivocation accepts the great economic and historical theories of Marx," he wrote, "and has definitely broken with all the anarchist and also the few existing Slavophil traditions of its predecessors. . . . It is an advance which will be of great importance for the revolutionary development of Russia" (*Marx and Engels Selected Correspondence*, p. 361).

At the same time, Engels never gave up trying to influence figures in the populist movement; he continued to meet and correspond with them for the rest of his life.

The peasant communes

In the 1870s and early 1880s, Marx and Engels considered the prospect of a revolution in Russia to be very possible. Unlike the narodniks, however, they approached this prospect from the standpoint of proletarian revolutionists. And they made their views known to figures in the populist movement.

Marx and Engels noted the uneven economic development between Western Europe, where industrial capitalism was far more advanced, and Russia, where communal landholdings still existed on a national scale and modern capitalist development was just beginning to get under way. If a proletarian revolution in Europe could make the more developed productive forces of the West available to the peasants of Russia, then it was possible that communal property, instead of being carved up into privately-owned plots as capitalist relations penetrated the countryside, could instead be used by a revolutionary government in Russia to develop the economy in the interests of the exploited producers. Only under these circumstances, Marx and Engels said, could Russia move toward socialism, bypassing the type of capitalist development (and attendant ills) that had occurred in Western Europe. Given these conditions, the remnants of communal property could enable progress on the basis of collective labor, the highest form of social organization.

In 1875, Engels, in a polemic with Pyotr Tkachov, a Russian populist, wrote:

"It is clear that communal ownership in Russia is long past its period of florescence and to all appearances is moving towards its disintegration. Nevertheless, the possibility undeniably exists of raising this form of society to a higher one, if it should last until circumstances are ripe for that, and if it shows itself capable of development in such manner that the peasants no longer cultivate the land separately, but collectively; of raising it to this higher form without it being necessary for the Russian peasants to go through the intermediate stage of bourgeois small holdings.

"This, however, can only happen if, before the complete break-up of communal ownership, a proletarian revolution is successfully carried out in Western Europe, creating for the Russian peasant the preconditions requisite for such a transition, particularly the material conditions which he needs if only to carry through the revolution necessarily connected therewith of his whole agricultural system."

To make crystal clear that his point of departure was entirely different from that of the narodniks, Engels explained that, "It is, therefore, sheer bounce for Mr. Tkachov to say that the Russian peasants, al-



Vera Zasulich was one of many narodniks who corresponded with Engels and Marx. She came over to Marxism in the 1880s, and was on the *Iskra* editorial board from 1900 to 1903.

though 'owners,' are 'nearer to socialism' than the propertyless workers of Western Europe. Quite the opposite. If anything can still save Russian communal ownership and give it a chance of growing into a new, really viable form, it is a proletarian revolution in Western Europe" ("On Social Relations in Russia," *Marx and Engels Selected Works (MESW)*, Vol. 2, p. 395).

Marx detailed the same position in a letter the same year to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, a populist journal, and in the 1881 letter to Zasulich, mentioned above.

Marx and Engels concisely summarized their views on this question in their jointly-authored preface to the 1882 Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*. "If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other," they wrote, "the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting-point for a communist development (emphasis added)" (*MESW*, Vol. 1, p. 100-101).

Neither a Russian revolution nor a proletarian revolution in the West occurred at that time, however. So, as Marx and Engels had foreseen under such circumstances, the destruction of communal property continued under the onslaught of capitalist economic development in Russia.

Until his death in 1895, Engels continued to follow the evolution of the economic and class structure in Russia — the structure that a popular revolution would inherit. In an 1894 postscript to his article, "On Social Relations in Russia," he noted that "the development of capitalism and the dissolution of the village community in Russia have both taken enormous strides forward."

"There continues this accelerated transformation of Russia," he wrote, "into an industrial capitalist state, the proletarianization of a large part of her peasantry, and the destruction of the old communist community." Engels wasn't sure "whether this community is still sufficiently intact to become, when the occasion arises, and in combination with a revolution in Western Europe, the starting point for communist development as Marx and I had still hoped in 1882.

"This much, however, is certain," he said. "If anything of this community is to be salvaged, the first requirement is the overthrow of the tsarist despotism, a revolution in Russia. The Russian revolution will not only wrest the greater part of the nation, the peasants, from their isolation in the villages, constituting their *mir*, their universe; it will not only lead the peasants out into the large arena, where they will come to know the outside world and with it their own selves, their own condition, and the means of escape from their present misery — the Russian revolution will also give a fresh impulse to the labor movement in the West, creating for it new and better conditions for struggle and thereby advancing the victory of the modern industrial proletariat, a victory without which present-day Russia, whether on the basis of the community or of capitalism, cannot achieve a socialist transformation of society" (*MESW*, Vol. 2, p. 407-410).

Mandel states that in this 1894 postscript Engels had changed his earlier opinion and come to the con-

clusion "that capitalist development had become inevitable in Russia." This is misleading, as the above passage from that article makes clear. Engels had not fundamentally altered the point of view that he and Marx had expressed 12 years earlier. As they had foreseen at that time, in the absence of a successful revolution, the forward march of capitalist relations in Russia had continued, and Engels, in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, took this fact into account in pointing to the most likely course of development.

These statements by Marx and Engels on the peasant communes in Russia were continually referred to and quoted by both sides in the debates between the populists and the Marxists.

Alexi Voden, a Russian socialist who visited with Engels in 1893, wrote that Engels had told him that he expected Voden to raise "the 'usual' question on the idea of Marx's letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* and wondered what was not clear in that letter, since Marx had clearly stated his own and Engels's conviction that it was important that the achievement of power by Social-Democracy in the West should coincide with the political and agrarian revolution in Russia."

According to Voden's account, Engels added that he "wished that the Russians — and not only the Russians — would not pick quotations from Marx or from him, Engels, but would think as Marx would have thought in their place, and that it was only in that sense that the word 'Marxist' had any *raison d'être*. . . ."

Engels also told Voden that "the most necessary thing of all for the Russian Social-Democrats was to work seriously on agrarian problems in Russia" (*Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Foreign Language Publishers, p. 328-329).

So, Mandel's account turns out to be misleading on several counts: 1) what changed over the 1880s and 1890s were not Marx and Engels's basic views but their judgment on the degree of expansion of capitalism in Russia and dormancy of the European revolution, which they had taken into account from the outset as key factors in determining the direction of Russian social and economic development; 2) Marx and Engels's analysis did not "provide support" to the populists against proletarian communism, no matter how some populists tried to misuse it; 3) Marx's initial circumspection about the General Redistribution was based not on his adaptation to the populists, but on the group's initial anarchist tendency to downplay the political struggle in Russia and its revolutionary-democratic axis; and 4) Engels welcomed their evolution to communist positions only shortly after Marx's death, while continuing his efforts to influence Russian revolutionists still in the camp of the populists.

A post-1917 aside

As an aside, it should be noted that a development to a certain extent analogous to what Marx and Engels suggested as a possibility for Russia at the end of the 1880s occurred following the 1917 proletarian revolution. Some of the former tsarist colonies on Russia's eastern border were overwhelmingly peasant in composition and dominated by precapitalist economic and political relations — medievalism and landlordism. While communal property did not predominate, they were extremely backward, even more backward than Afghanistan today, and there was virtually no working class or capitalist industry. They established peasant soviet republics that developed close links with the Russian workers state and became part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. They did not go through capitalist development, and will not unless a counterrevolution overthrows state property in the USSR.

This experience, along with the new rise of the colonial revolution inspired by the Russian revolution, led Lenin to draw some further conclusions about prospects for the road forward in economically backward countries throughout the world. In reporting to the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 on the "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," he stated:

"... are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, and the Soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal — in that event it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development.

"Not only should we create independent contingents of fighters and party organizations in the colonies and the backward countries, not only at once launch propaganda for the organization of peasants' Soviets and strive to adapt them to the precapitalist conditions," Lenin said, "but the Communist International should advance the proposition, with the appropriate theoretical grounding, that with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain states of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage" (*The National Liberation Movement in the East*, Lenin, Progress Publishers, p. 287).

Lenin, like Marx and Engels before him, recognized that unevenness in economic development could lead to unanticipated and particular combinations of social relations as society advanced on a world scale. And this was, if anything, becoming more accentuated by imperialism.

Where Mandel says Lenin went wrong

Mandel says Lenin's strategy was wrong on many points. He claims that Lenin dumped these erroneous positions in favor of correct ones following the February 1917 revolution. Lenin's alleged errors are:

The "erroneous dogma" of dividing the Russian revolution into two distinct stages. The first was the democratic revolution aimed at overthrowing tsarist autocracy and eliminating semifeudal survivals in the countryside. "The goal of the democratic revolution was to be the *unfettered development of capitalism*," Mandel says, "and simultaneously the maximum development of the proletariat, the proletarian class struggle, and the proletarian party." [Note: Throughout this article all emphases in quotes are those of the person quoted, unless otherwise indicated.]

The second stage was "that of the social revolution leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrow of capitalism, and the construction of a socialist society."

- The Bolsheviks were educated in "the spirit of limiting the 'first stage' of the revolution to purely democratic tasks." Lenin favored the "self-limitation of the proletariat, that is the refusal to move beyond the realization of the most radical bourgeois-democratic demands."

He favored seizure of power by a provisional revolutionary government and participation of the revolutionary workers party in this government; but this government would be "provisional, i.e., that it will have to give up or lose power later on, given the bourgeois character of the revolution."

- "Lenin's obstinate and frequent refusal to confuse, i.e., to *combine*, the democratic tasks and the socialist tasks, the minimum program and the maximum program."

- Lenin radically rejected "any notion of 'revolutionary communes,' any notion of a state (in contrast to an insurrection) based on soviets."

- Lenin "had either not, or insufficiently" dealt with the "main driving forces" of the revolution and "the relationship of forces between the social classes involved in the revolution."

- Lenin held an exaggerated view of the role that the peasantry would play in the revolution. He was "certain that the revolutionary peasantry had to *take political power*," that it would establish its own political party, and that it would wield "equal power alongside the proletariat."

- Lenin erroneously counterposed the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- Lenin "had either not, or only insufficiently," dealt with the "concrete national and international social and economic context" in which the democratic revolution would unfold in Russia.

- By "persistently" believing that Russia would go through a rapid growth of capitalism, and especially through American-style development of agriculture, Lenin underestimated "the weight of imperialism, of the world market (which left no room for a second America!), and of the agrarian crisis in Russia itself."

- Lenin's "erroneous dogma" disarmed the Bolshevik party following the February revolution, "when *all* the Bolshevik leaders and *all* the Bolshevik cadres favored 'critical support' to and even collaboration with the provisional coalition government."

- For Lenin, "The capacity of the Russian proletariat to begin to resolve the socialist tasks of the revolution . . . did not exist."



Leaders of St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class, founded in 1895 by Lenin. Standing: A. L. Malchenko, P. K. Zaporezhites. Seated: G. M. Krizhanovsky, V. I. Lenin, and I. O. Martov.

That's quite a list! If the reader did not know the outcome of the October 1917 revolution, he or she could quite justifiably conclude, part way through Mandel's article, that the Bolsheviks, allegedly educated in an "erroneous dogma" for at least a dozen years, were going to make a mess of it, that the whole affair would end in disaster.

But that is not what happened. The Bolshevik party *did* lead the Russian revolution, *did* establish a workers and peasants government, which *did* carry through the democratic revolution and *did* complete the transition to a workers state. How could a party so mistrained on such fundamental questions reorient itself so quickly? How could it lead this revolution to victory? Was it really all with the efforts of a single person, Lenin, who fortunately came to his senses in the clutch?

The answer requires examining the Bolsheviks' true positions, the positions that made possible the October Revolution, which are not the ones Mandel claims the Bolsheviks held.

Importance of the democratic revolution

When Lenin became a Marxist in the early 1890s, he did precisely as Engels had suggested to Voden. He approached the strategy for the Russian revolution by thinking "as Marx would have thought," applying that method to the concrete reality of social relations in Russia. And he began "to work seriously on agrarian problems in Russia," doing an exhaustive study of the question.

Lenin's first major works included *What the Friends of the People Are* (1894) and the *Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899). From a standpoint converging with Plekhanov's Emancipation of Labor group, Lenin described the expansion of capitalism in the cities and countryside, as well as the corresponding growth of the working class as growing layers of the peasantry began to be proletarianized.

Unlike the populists, for whom the peasantry was the principal force for a socialist revolution, Lenin's point of departure was the need to build an independent Marxist workers party capable of leading the working class in the fight for democracy and socialism in Russia.

From the beginning, Lenin emphasized the enormous importance of the fight for democracy — above all, the agrarian question — and its relationship to the struggle against capitalism.

"In Russia, the relics of medieval, semifeudal institutions," he wrote in 1894, "are still so enormously strong (as compared with Western Europe), they are such an oppressive yoke upon the proletariat and the people generally, retarding the growth of political thought in all estates and classes, that one cannot but insist on the tremendous importance which the struggle against all feudal institutions, absolutism, the social-estate system, and the bureaucracy has for the workers."

"The workers must be shown in the greatest detail what a terribly reactionary force these institutions are, how they intensify the oppression of labor by capital, what a degrading pressure they exert on the working people, how they keep capital in its medieval forms, which, while not falling short of the modern, industrial forms in respect of the exploitation of labor, add to this exploitation by placing terrible difficulties in the way of the fight for emancipation. The workers must know that unless these pillars of reaction are overthrown, it will be utterly impossible for them to wage a successful struggle against the bourgeoisie. . . ."

Lenin went on to explain that it was "the direct duty of the working class to fight side by side with the radical democracy [peasantry] against absolutism and the reactionary social estates and institutions — a duty which the Social-Democrats must impress upon the workers, while not for a moment ceasing also to impress upon them that the struggle against all these institutions is necessary only as a means of facilitating the struggle against the bourgeoisie, that the worker needs the achievement of the general democratic demands only to clear the road to victory over the working people's chief enemy, over an institution that is purely democratic by nature, *capital*, which here in Russia is particularly inclined to sacrifice its democracy and to enter into alliance with the reactionaries in order to suppress the workers, to still further impede the emergence of a working-class movement" ("What the Friends of the People Are," CW, Vol. 1, 1894 p. 290-292).

And in Lenin's article, "Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats," published four years later in 1898, he wrote:

"The object of the practical activities of the Social-Democrats is, as is well known, to lead the class struggle of the proletariat and to organize that struggle in both its manifestations: socialist (the fight against the capitalist class aimed at destroying the class system and organizing socialist society), and democratic (the fight against absolutism aimed at winning political liberty in Russia and democratizing the political and social system of Russia).

"We said as is well known," Lenin continued. "And indeed, from the very moment they appeared as a separate social-revolutionary trend, the Russian Social-Democrats have always definitely indicated this object of their activities, have always emphasized the dual manifestation and content of the class struggle of the proletariat and have always insisted on the inseparable connection between their socialist and democratic tasks . . ." (CW, Vol. 2, 1898, p. 328).

These extensive quotations from Lenin's early works present the general framework in which he was to view the combined tasks of the working class in the Russian revolution through the October 1917 revolution. This outline acquired more flesh as the Russian toilers, and the Marxist movement along with them, went through the experiences of the Russo-Japanese war, the 1905 revolution, and the first worldwide imperialist war. But the central elements were already there in the 1890s: combining the democratic and socialist tasks of the working class; the alliance of the working class with the revolutionary peasantry; the necessity for proletarian leadership; and the irreversible tendency for bourgeois political forces to ally with the autocracy against the peasantry and proletariat.

A prolonged capitalist stage?

In Mandel's opinion, Lenin saw the "goal of the democratic revolution" in Russia to be a "prolonged" period of "unfettered capitalist development." And the author of *Imperialism* didn't even know that there was "no room for a second America" in the world! This is dead wrong.

In order to illustrate Lenin's "unambiguous" support of a prolonged capitalist stage, Mandel offers several quotations from the Bolshevik leader. He quotes Lenin speaking before the delegates at the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) in May 1907.

" . . . the basic question of our revolution is whether it will secure the development of capitalism through the peasants' complete victory over the landowners or through the landowners' victory over the peasants. A bourgeois-democratic revolution . . . is possible in either of two ways: in the Prussian, if one might say so, or in the American way."

"This means the following; the landlords may win, may foist compensation payments or other petty concessions on the peasants, may unite with a handful of the wealthy, pauperise the masses and convert their own farms into Junker-type, capitalist, farms. Such a revolution will be bourgeois-democratic but it will be to the least advantage of the peasants — to their least advantage from the angle of the rapidity of capitalist development."

"Or, on the contrary, the complete victory of the peasant uprising, the confiscation of all landed estates and their equal division will signify the most rapid development of capitalism, the form of bourgeois-democratic revolution most advantageous to the peasants" (CW, Vol. 12, 1907, p. 465).

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Lenin's point was as simple as it is correct. The complete elimination of the remnants of medievalism and serfdom, together with the overturn of the autocracy, would create the best conditions for the development of capitalism, especially in agriculture. That is a basic precept of historical materialism, nothing more.

By the "American way," Lenin was making an historical analogy to the policy in the United States in the nineteenth century whereby the government distributed millions of acres of public land to homesteaders. This facilitated the rapid development of capitalist agriculture in the United States, which in turn fostered a large internal market and the optimum conditions for industrial development, as well.

In Russia, Lenin argued, nationalizing the land and confiscating the landed estates would create the best conditions for free farmers upon a free soil.

Contrary to Mandel, however, Lenin's recognition of the ABCs of the laws of development of human history did not mean that he either proposed or expected a "prolonged" stage of rule by the bourgeoisie, or that the Bolsheviks were proved wrong on this score in 1917. Lenin, in fact, drew the opposite conclusion in a November 1918 polemic with Karl Kautsky, the prominent leader of the Second International who took a centrist position at the outbreak of World War I and attacked the Soviet government in Russia. This is what Lenin had to say (remember, this is a *full year* after the October 1917 revolution):

"... already the 1905 Revolution revealed that the vast majority of the peasants in Russia, members of village communes as well as homestead peasants, were in favor of nationalization of all the land. The 1917 Revolution confirmed this, and after the assumption of power by the proletariat this was done.

"The Bolsheviks remained loyal to Marxism," Lenin said, "and never tried (in spite of Kautsky, who, without a scrap of evidence, accuses us of doing so) to 'skip' the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Bolsheviks, first of all, helped the most radical, most revolutionary of the bourgeois-democratic ideologists of the peasants, those who stood closest to the proletariat, namely, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, to carry out what was in effect nationalization of the land. On October 26, 1917, i.e., on the very first day of the proletarian, socialist revolution, private ownership of land was abolished in Russia.

"This laid the foundation, the most perfect from the point of view of the development of capitalism (Kautsky cannot deny this without breaking with Marx), and at the same time created an agrarian system which is the *most flexible* from the point of view of the transition to socialism" ("Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," CW, Vol. 28, 1918, p. 314-315).

The October Revolution, Lenin says, created the foundation for "the most perfect" development of capitalism in the countryside. (Mandel cannot deny this without breaking with Marx and Lenin.) That's what the Bolsheviks, for years, had been pointing out would be possible if the workers and peasants could overthrow the autocracy and establish a revolutionary dictatorship, a workers and peasants government.

The fact that the Russian revolution would be a bourgeois-democratic revolution neither meant that the bourgeoisie would lead it or support it, nor that the government issuing from it would put the bourgeoisie in power. Lenin pointed out before 1905, and it became even clearer during World War I, that the bourgeoisie would actively oppose a decisive victory of the democratic revolution. He pointed out repeatedly that the *bourgeois revolution* in Russia was of a particular variety, that is, it was a *peasant revolution*. Only the peasantry, with the support and leadership of the working class, which at the same time was waging its own struggle against the capitalists, could carry this revolution through in the most complete way.

"Marxism teaches the proletarian not to keep aloof from the bourgeois revolution," Lenin wrote in 1905, "not to be indifferent to it, not to allow the leadership of the revolution to be assumed by the bourgeoisie but, on the contrary, to take a most energetic part in it, to fight most resolutely for consistent proletarian democracy, for the revolution to be carried to its conclusion" (CW, Vol. 9, 1905, p. 52).

Lenin correctly insisted on drawing a distinction between the peasant democratic revolution and the proletarian socialist revolution, since this was necessary to determine how the revolutionary workers party should participate in the class struggle, what slogans it should advance, and what alliances it should build at different junctures in the revolutionary struggle.

Lenin defended this fundamental Bolshevik propo-

sition, too, in his 1918 polemic against the centrist Kautsky.

"It was the Bolsheviks who strictly differentiated between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution: by carrying the former through, they opened the door for the transition to the latter. This was the only policy that was revolutionary and Marxist" (CW, Vol. 28, 1918, p. 312).

Peasant revolution in Russia

To dissolve the peasant revolution into the socialist revolution, Lenin argued, would mean not recognizing the necessity of establishing a worker-peasant alliance, thus missing the opportunity to forge the class alliance required for victory.

Lenin had studied closely Marx and Engels's analysis of the German revolution of 1848 and the conclusions they had drawn from that experience. Lenin referred to this in an article on Karl Marx written for the *Granat Encyclopedia* in 1913. Pointing to Marx's assessment of how the German bourgeoisie had betrayed both the proletariat and the peasantry in the 1848 revolution, Lenin quoted Marx's appraisal eight years later of how the German revolution could triumph next time.

"The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War," Marx had written to Engels in an 1856 letter (CW, Vol. 21, 1913, p. 77).

This was precisely the course that the 1905 revolution had shown for Russia: the combination of a proletarian revolution and a peasant war. Based on this experience, the Bolsheviks confirmed the strategy they had developed even prior to the 1905 upheaval and developed it further.

The revolution to bring down the tsar and wipe out feudal remnants in the countryside, Lenin pointed out time and again, would unite broad sectors of the population; this included sectors which do not have identical class interests, such as the workers and poor peasants, and even some who have conflicting class interests, such as the rich exploiting peasants and the exploited toilers of town and country.

In his principal work on the class relations in the Russian revolution, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, written in July-August 1905 as a polemic against Menshevik (and later Stalinist) leader A.S. Martynov, Lenin stated:

"The absence of unity on questions of socialism and in the struggle for socialism does not preclude singleness of will on questions of democracy and the struggle for a republic. To forget this would be tantamount to forgetting the logical and historical differences between a democratic revolution and a socialist revolution. To forget this would be tantamount to forgetting the character of the democratic revolution as one of the *whole people* . . ." (*Two Tactics*, Progress Publishers, p. 70).

The most favorable relation of class forces carrying through the democratic revolution, Lenin said, would be a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." This, he said, would create the best possible conditions for completing the democratic revolution in the most thorough fashion and for opening the road for the socialist revolution. Such a revolutionary dictatorship pushes forward the democratic revolution "and strives to give it forms most advantageous to the proletariat; consequently, it strives to make the utmost of the democratic revolution to order to attain the greatest success in the proletariat's further struggle for socialism" (*Two Tactics*, p. 73).

This was contrary to the Menshevik view, which didn't see the bourgeois revolution in Russia as a peasant revolution, but as a revolution that would put the bourgeoisie in power, that would establish a period of capitalist rule. For the Mensheviks, the role of the working class was to help put the bourgeoisie in power. The role of the peasants was to help the workers do this.

Since the bourgeoisie must lead the revolution, the Mensheviks argued, the proletariat must temper its militancy and subordinate the fight for its own class interests and those of the rural poor, since this would frighten the bourgeoisie and cause them to recoil from their necessary revolutionary role.

"One side says: advance the revolution to its consummation despite resistance or passivity on the part of the inconsistent bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote in *Two Tactics*, referring to the Bolshevik position.

"The other side says: do not think of independently advancing the revolution to completion, for if you do, the inconsistent bourgeoisie will recoil from it.

"Are these not two diametrically opposite paths? Is it not obvious that one set of tactics absolutely ex-

cludes the other, that the first tactics is the only correct tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy? . . ." (*Two Tactics*, p. 87).

"Self-limitation" of the working class

Mandel argues that the Bolsheviks' distinction between the democratic and socialist revolutions, between the peasant and proletarian revolutions, led Lenin to advocate that the working class limit its objectives and not attempt to carry through the socialist revolution. According to Mandel, Lenin insisted that if, indeed, the workers assumed the leadership of a revolutionary government, they would "have to give up or lose power later on, given the bourgeois character of the revolution." Mandel puts "self-limitation of the proletariat" between quotation marks, as if this were something that Lenin actually said.

This is pure invention. In fact, it is totally contrary to the entire thrust of what Lenin wrote throughout his political life. Lenin always stressed that, as the revolution unfolded, the working class should go as far as it could in pushing the democratic revolution through to its completion and beginning the socialist revolution. Not only did he place no *limits* on the struggle to do this, but the object of Bolshevik strategy was precisely to prepare the workers to accomplish as much as possible.

Lenin did not place any arbitrary time schedule on the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution. He did not refer to a prolonged, protracted, or lengthy transition. Neither did he talk about the working class limiting, self-limiting, or restraining itself.

Lenin didn't view the transition from the standpoint of predicting clock time or calendar time (as Mandel might have us think), but according to political time, i.e., the class relationship of forces, the strength and resoluteness of the revolutionary workers party, the organization and independence of the rural poor, and the thoroughness of the democratic revolution.

Here are just a few of many statements reflecting this:

- "The more complete, determined, and consistent the bourgeois revolution, the more assured will the proletariat's struggle be against the bourgeoisie and for socialism" (*Two Tactics*, p. 37).

- "The working class and its class-conscious representatives are marching forward and carrying this struggle forward, not only unafraid of bringing it to completion, but striving to go far beyond the uttermost limits of the democratic revolution" (*Two Tactics*, p. 107).

- The revolutionary workers party says to the working class, "you must strive to extend the framework and the content of your class struggle so as to make it *include* not only *all* the aims of the present democratic Russian revolution of the whole people, but the aims of the subsequent socialist revolution as well" (*Two Tactics*, p. 104).

- "The revolution must be taken *very much further* than its direct, immediate and already fully-matured bourgeois aims, if *those* aims are really to be achieved, and if even minimum bourgeois conquests are to be irreversibly consolidated" (CW, Vol. 15, 1908, p. 59).

- "... the bourgeoisie as a whole is incapable of waging a determined struggle against the autocracy; it fears to lose in this struggle its property which binds it to the existing order; it fears an all-too-revolutionary action of the workers, who will not stop at the democratic revolution but will aspire to the socialist revolution . . ." (CW, Vol. 8, 1905, p. 511).

Of course Lenin correctly recognized, as Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop has put it, that making the socialist revolution is not like making a cup of instant coffee. How quickly the workers could move toward measures to expropriate the capitalists would depend on the concrete conditions and relationship of class forces at the time of the revolution. (And unlike today, Lenin was writing at a time when no socialist revolution had yet triumphed anywhere in the world, or could depend on support from an existing workers state.)

The Bolsheviks urged the proletariat and rural poor to organize themselves independently, in order to be in the best position to take advantage of whatever situation they might face to advance their own class interests. The Bolsheviks also sought to steel the vanguard workers against anarchist or ultraleft political currents that ignored this reality of the class struggle in Russia; it seems to be this latter aspect of Bolshevik policy that Mandel refers to as "self-limitation."

Lenin himself faced somewhat similar arguments, and he answered them in *Two Tactics*. "Replying to the anarchists' objection that we are putting off the socialist revolution, we say: we are not putting it off, but are taking the first step towards it in the only possible way, along the only correct path, namely, the path of a democratic republic" (*Two Tactics*, p. 16).

So, the proletarian party must know how to lead the workers and their exploited allies in deepening the revolution, advancing their class consciousness and self-confidence, and crossing the bridge from the democratic to the socialist revolution at whatever pace the class struggle allows.

Lenin explained this point very clearly in his 1905 article, "Social Democracy's Attitude Toward the Peasant Movement":

"... from the democratic revolution we shall pass at once, and precisely in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class conscious and organized proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way.

"If we do not now and immediately promise all sorts of 'socialization,'" Lenin said, "that is because we know the actual conditions for that task to be accomplished, and do not gloss over the new class struggle burgeoning within the peasantry, but reveal that struggle. . . .

"To try to calculate now what the combination of forces will be within the peasantry on the day after the revolution (the democratic revolution) is empty utopianism. . . . We shall bend every effort to help the entire peasantry achieve the democratic revolution, in order thereby to make it easier for us, the party of the proletariat, to pass on as quickly as possible to the new and higher task — the socialist revolution" (CW, Vol. 9, 1905, p. 237).

Who confuses what

As we've seen, Mandel also comments on "Lenin's obstinate and frequent refusal to confuse, i.e., to combine, the democratic tasks and the socialist tasks. . . ."

But it's Mandel who is confused, not Lenin. A baker who didn't know how to combine flour and eggs couldn't make a cake, that's true. But the baker wouldn't have any better luck by thinking that eggs and flour are the same thing!

The Bolsheviks did obstinately refuse to confuse the democratic and socialist tasks of the revolution, correctly so. To have done otherwise would have been to confuse the key strategic class alliance necessary, first, to bring down the tsarist regime and landlordism and, then, to lead the revolution forward toward expropriating the capitalists. This is what Lenin explained in the very last paragraph of *Two Tactics*:

"At the head of the whole people, and particularly of the peasantry — for complete freedom, for a consistent democratic revolution, for a republic! At the head of all the toilers and the exploited — for socialism! Such in practice must be the policy of the revolutionary proletariat, such is the class slogan which must permeate and determine the solution of every tactical problem, every practical step of the workers' party during the revolution" (*Two Tactics*, p. 97).

But this did not mean that Lenin, who Mandel will admit had some acquaintance with the dialectical method, erected a wall between the democratic and socialist revolutions. Just the opposite, Lenin saw the democratic and socialist tasks as being intertwined.

"Like everything else in the world," he wrote, "the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry has a past and a future. Its past is autocracy, serfdom, monarchy, and privilege. In the struggle against this past, in the struggle against counter-revolution, a 'single will' of the proletariat and the peasantry is possible, for here there is unity of interests.

"Its future is the struggle against private property, the struggle of the wage-worker against the employer, the struggle for socialism. Here singleness of will is impossible. Here the path before us lies not from autocracy to a republic, but from a petty-bourgeois democratic republic to socialism.

"Of course, in actual historical circumstances, the elements of the past become interwoven with those of the future; the two paths cross. Wage-labor with its struggle against private property exists under autocracy as well; it arises even under serfdom. But this does not in the least prevent us from logically and historically distinguishing between the major stages of development.

"We all contrapose bourgeois revolution and socialist revolution; we all insist on the absolute necessity of strictly distinguishing between them; however, can it be denied that in the course of history individual, particular elements of the two revolutions



Matsushenko (sailor in white jacket), leader of Potemkin rebellion in 1905.

become interwoven?" (*Two Tactics*, p. 71).

So much for Lenin's "obstinate" refusal to recognize that the democratic and socialist tasks are combined!

Weight of the agrarian question

Mandel contends that Lenin exaggerated the independent role of the peasantry in the revolution by predicting that it would wield "equal power alongside the proletariat."

What are the facts?

Lenin was always clear that the working class had to assume the vanguard role in the democratic and socialist revolutions in Russia.

But in a country where the working class was a small minority and the peasantry a big majority, it was absolutely essential for the working class to forge an alliance with the peasantry. Lenin and the Bolsheviks charted a course to do this, developing and enriching their position with each new experience of the class struggle.

In 1899, in a draft program for the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, Lenin explained that "a working-class party cannot, without violating the basic tenets of Marxism and without committing a tremendous political mistake, overlook the revolutionary elements that exist among the peasantry and not afford those elements support. . . ."

"Two basic forms of the class struggle are today intertwined in the Russian countryside: 1) the struggle of the peasantry against the privileged landed proprietors and against the remnants of serfdom; 2) struggle of the emergent rural proletariat against the rural bourgeoisie. For Social-Democrats the second struggle, of course, is of greater importance; but they must also indispensably support the first struggle to the extent that it does not contradict the interests of social development.

"It is no accident that the peasant question has always occupied and continues to occupy such a prominent place in Russian society and in the Russian revolutionary movement; this fact is a reflection of the great significance still retained by the first of the two forms of struggle" (CW, Vol. 4, 1899, p. 251-252).

The differences on the agrarian question between the Bolsheviks and all the opportunist and conciliationist currents in the workers movement were at the center of the divergent strategies they projected for the Russian revolution.

This was apparent by 1903 at the time of the Social Democratic Party's second congress, where the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks occurred. Mandel states that "At first, the differences . . . seemed limited to organizational problems." He quotes extensively from the discussion on the agrarian question at the congress to show the broad political agreement by "the great majority of Russian Marxists."

It may have seemed to many participants at the congress that the differences were limited to organizational questions — and it may seem so to some today — but that's not how Lenin saw it.

Writing about the congress six months later, Lenin answered the Menshevik leader Martov, who was attempting to paper over the political differences at the congress. Lenin stated:

"The inconsistency of principle of the anti-Iskraists and the 'Centre' was also clearly brought out by the debate on the agrarian program, which took up so

much time at the congress . . . and raised quite a number of extremely interesting points. As was to be expected, the campaign against the program was launched by Comrade Martynov . . ."

The opposition to the agrarian program that Lenin helped draft was one of the more substantial, representing 40 percent of the congress. The heart of the disagreement was over the proposal defended by Lenin that the working class ally with the peasantry as a whole in the struggle against the autocracy and the remnants of serfdom. The opposition argued that agricultural workers and poor peasants would not join with rich farmers in the fight against their common enemy — landlordism, medievalism, and autocracy. They reduced the agrarian program of the workers party to the class struggle of farm workers against capitalist farmers.

Lenin noted that "their failure to grasp the importance of the peasant movement, their failure to grasp that it was not overestimation, but, on the contrary, underestimation of its importance (and a lack of forces to utilize it) that was the weak side of our Social-Democrats at the time of the first famous peasant revolts [1902]: ('Two Steps Backward, One Step Forward,' CW, Vol. 7, 1904, p. 231-232).

In the debate at the congress itself, Lenin argued: "We are pursuing two qualitatively different aims in the countryside: firstly, we want to achieve freedom [from feudal and semi-feudal restrictions] for bourgeois relations; secondly, we want to conduct the proletarian struggle. . . . [I]t is our task to show the peasants where the revolutionary proletarian task of the peasant proletariat begins. . . ."

Lenin disagreed with the opportunist opposition's concentration on the backwardness of the peasantry. "In 1852 Marx said that the peasants had judgement as well as prejudices," Lenin pointed out. "And now, when we point out to the poor peasants the cause of their poverty, we may count on success" (CW, Vol. 6, 1903, p. 495).

The program adopted at the 1903 congress called for the convocation of peasant committees to struggle for the abolition of all remnants of serfdom. Just before the congress, Lenin wrote that the peasants "will unavoidably and inescapably remain miserable slaves until they take their destiny into their own hands, until they take their first and most important step and achieve the establishment of peasant committees for real and not sham emancipation of the peasantry" (CW, Vol. 6, 1903, p. 349).

While the Mensheviks abandoned this demand, it remained a part of the Bolsheviks' program through the October 1917 revolution. Committees of the poor peasants, which the Bolsheviks helped launch, were a crucial instrument beginning in the summer and fall of 1918 for the struggle against exploitation, and for deepening the class struggle in the countryside and the socialist course of the revolution in general.

It was only a matter of months following the 1903 congress that many Mensheviks like Axelrod and L. Martov, who had voted with the Bolsheviks on the overall program, including the section on the agrarian question, openly adopted or conciliated with the opportunist views of those who had opposed the program at the congress. These differences became even more clear during the 1905 revolution and its aftermath.

Lessons of 1905 revolution

The 1905 revolution combined the largest proletarian uprising since the Paris Commune in 1871 with the most massive peasant revolt in Russia in 130 years. This experience offered an unprecedented opportunity to test in real life the role that different social forces would play in the Russian revolution and to see the forms the struggle might take.

The 1905 revolution underlined for Lenin the cor-

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1. The delegates at the 1903 Congress included supporters of *Iskra* edited by Plekhanov, Martov, and Lenin; anti-Iskraists primarily around the economist newspaper *Rabocheye Dyelo*, of which Martynov was one of the editors; and a middle group — the centre — that wavered between the other two groups.

On most questions of program, including the agrarian program, most Iskraists voted together. However, on decisive votes on the nature of the party, the Iskraists divided, the majority becoming the Bolsheviks and the minority blocking with the anti-Iskraists and the Centre to become the Mensheviks. After the Congress the Menshevik Iskraists openly retreated from the program they had voted for at the Congress.

Trotsky was an Iskraist who at first went with the Mensheviks and broke with them in 1904 over their political direction. Lenin, while criticizing Trotsky's support to the Mensheviks at the Congress, praised his arguments in the debate on the agrarian question ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," CW, Vol. 7, 1904, p. 238).

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rectness of the Bolsheviks' emphasis on the democratic struggle and the weight of the peasantry in the Russian revolution. In a 1909 article he observed that "the alliance of proletarian and peasant forces" was "a characteristic feature of the whole of the first period of the Russian revolution, of all the great events of 1905-07" (CW, Vol. 15, 1909, p. 333).

In the aftermath of this experience Lenin wrote or completed four book-size works, as well as many articles, speeches, and resolutions, on the agrarian question.

Lenin's political strategy started from the unshakable conviction that only working-class leadership could carry the democratic revolution and the worker-peasant alliance to victory.

"Our Party," he wrote in 1909, "holds firmly to the view that the role of the proletariat is the *role of leader* in the bourgeois-democratic revolution; that *joint actions* of the proletariat and the peasantry are essential to carry it through to victory; that unless *political power is won* by the revolutionary classes, victory is impossible" (CW, Vol. 15, 1909, p. 379).

This statement captures the essence of the class alignment that Lenin proposed for the Russian revolution.

He explained that the independent policy of the working class was necessary "to split the peasantry away from the liberals, rid it of their influence, rally the peasantry behind it in the struggle and thus bring about an 'alliance' *de facto* — one that emerges and becomes effective, when and to the extent that the peasantry are conducting a revolutionary fight" (CW, Vol. 15, 1908, p. 58).

To pursue any other policy, Lenin insisted, was to give up the fight for proletarian leadership of the democratic revolution, abandoning the peasantry to the bourgeois betrayers and thereby abandoning any perspective of a thoroughgoing revolution.

"In a word," Lenin wrote in *Two Tactics*, "to avoid finding itself with its hands tied in the struggle against the inconsistent bourgeois democracy, the proletariat must be class-conscious and strong enough to rouse the peasantry to revolutionary consciousness, guide its assault, and thereby independently pursue the line of consistent proletarian democraticism."

Lenin continued: "Only the proletariat can be a consistent fighter for democracy. It can become a victorious fighter for democracy only if the peasant masses join its revolutionary struggle. If the proletariat is not strong enough for this the bourgeoisie will be at the head of the democratic revolution and will impart an inconsistent and self-seeking nature to it." To ignore the centrality of the alliance with the peasantry is "playing into the hands of the bourgeois democrats," he said (*Two Tactics*, p. 47).

Thus, while Lenin always recognized the indispensable need for the proletariat's *political* leadership in the revolution, he correctly did not attempt to assign some *a priori* weight — one quarter, equal, or three-quarters — to the peasantry's role in the worker-peasant alliance in order to insure its *victory*. He did not exclude, however, the possibility that the social composition of the workers and peasant dictatorship would "lead to the participation, or even predominance, within it of the most heterogeneous representatives of revolutionary democracy" (CW, Vol. 8, 1905, p. 291).

Lenin's view was that the peasantry's relative weight in the worker-peasant alliance would be determined by the class struggle. His goal was maximizing the revolutionary peasantry's *absolute* weight. He had no blueprint detailing every feature of the revolution. His was a strategic approach designed to arm the revolutionary workers party to vigorously pursue the fight for a worker-peasant alliance and use it as a battering ram to bring down tsarism and open the road to the socialist revolution.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks used many formulations to describe the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry, including the proletariat "allies to itself," "leads," or carries out "joint actions" with the mass of the peasantry.

Mandel insists that Lenin's position necessarily assumed that the peasantry had to build its own "independent" party and play an "independent" role. This Mandel considers to be unrealizable.

Lenin took up this very argument in a 1908 polemic with Martov and Trotsky.

"A 'coalition' of classes *does not at all* presuppose either the existence of any particular powerful party, or parties in general. This is only confusing classes with parties. A 'coalition' of the specified classes *does*

not in the least imply either that one of the existing bourgeois parties will establish its sway over the peasantry or that the peasants should form a powerful independent party! Theoretically this is clear because, first, the peasants do not lend themselves very well to party organization; and because, secondly, the formation of peasant parties is an extremely difficult and lengthy process in a bourgeois revolution, so that a 'powerful independent' party may emerge only towards the end of the revolution."

Then Lenin went on to explain that "The experience of the Russian revolution shows that 'coalitions' of the proletariat and the peasantry were formed *scores and hundreds of times*, in the most diverse forms, without any 'powerful independent party' of the peasantry. Such a coalition was formed when there was 'joint action,' between, say, a Soviet of Workers' Deputies and a Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies, or a Railwaymen's Strike Committee, or Peasants' Deputies, etc. All these organizations were mainly *nonparty*; nevertheless, every joint action between them undoubtedly represented a 'coalition' of *classes*."

"In the course of this," Lenin continued, "a peasant party took shape as an idea, in germ, coming into being in the form of the Peasant Union of 1905 or the Trudovik group of 1906 — and *as* such a party grew, developed and constituted itself, the coalition of *classes* assumed different forms, from the *vague* and unofficial to definite and official political agreements."

Lenin added that three calls for insurrection issued during the revolution were signed by workers' parties, unions, and the peasant organizations. "That was a fully constituted political coalition of parties and non-party organizations!" he said. "That was the 'dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' *proclaimed* in the form of a threat to tsarism, in the form of a call to the whole people, but not yet realized!" (CW, Vol. 15, 1909, p. 371-372).

Mandel charges Lenin with "illusions about an independent role of the *Trudoviks* (Kerensky!) or the SRs [Socialist-Revolutionaries]."

This is false. Lenin's approach was not based on the possible evolution — either positive or negative — of the particular parties or their leaders. It was based on the living experience of the class struggle. On that basis, Lenin concluded that the peasantry would establish its own organizations or find some organizational expression to fight for its revolutionary demands. In 1905 this took the form of the Soviets of Peasant Deputies, the Trudoviks, and the Peasant Union. In 1917 it took the form of the Soviets of Soldiers Deputies, the Congresses of Peasant De-

“
Lenin emphasized the enormous importance of the fight for democracy — above all the agrarian question.
”

puties, and the left-wing of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

That's what happened. So Mandel's argument is not with Lenin, it's with the *facts*.

Lenin, however, never believed that the peasantry could offer an *independent class program* for the Russian revolution. Only the Marxist program of the Russian working class could ensure the completion of the democratic revolution and its growing over to the socialist revolution.

Nor did Lenin have any illusions about the petty-bourgeois misleaders of the peasant organizations or their program. He observed in 1907 that:

"No one at this stage can tell what forms bourgeois democracy in Russia will assume in the future. Possibly, the bankruptcy of the Cadets may lead to the formation of a peasant democratic party, a truly mass party, and not an organization of terrorists such as the Socialist-Revolutionaries have been and still are. It is also possible that the objective difficulties of achieving political unity among the petty bourgeoisie will prevent such a party from being formed and, for a long time to come, will keep the peasant democracy in its present state as a loose, amorphous, jelly-like Trudovik mass."

So much for "illusions" in the Trudoviks!

Lenin continued, "In either case our line is one: to hammer out the democratic forces by merciless criticism of all vacillations, by uncompromising struggle against the democrats joining the liberals, who have proved their counterrevolutionariness" (CW, Vol. 13, 1907, p. 121-122).

Does Mandel agree with this line? The problem is

not Lenin's alleged "illusions" in the Trudoviks, but Mandel's lightminded dismissal of the strategic and tactical problems that a revolutionary workers party had to confront in Russia in order to lead the workers and peasants to victory.

This was a life-or-death question for the Russian revolution, however. It was a very practical question for the Bolsheviks in the Duma, for example. When it was possible and served the interests of advancing the class struggle, the Bolsheviks correctly established blocs with the Trudoviks to get candidates elected, and they formed voting blocs in the Duma on particular measures.

Lenin, who followed the speeches and votes in the Duma closely, wrote many articles showing that, in spite of differences, the Trudovik peasant deputies were closer to the Bolsheviks than to the liberal Cadets, or even the Trudovik intellectuals (Kerensky!), on the agrarian questions.

The Mensheviks, who formed a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie, repudiated this policy of "left-blocs" pursued by the Bolsheviks following the defeat of the 1905 revolution. During that period of reaction and repression, many opponents of tsarism, including the Mensheviks, contended that the peasants had become too disillusioned to be counted on in the next revolution. Lenin noted that on their faces "a contemptuous grimace appears whenever someone talks about some peasant democracy or other, but [that their] mouths water at the mere sight of the 'enlightened' liberals."

The Bolsheviks, in marked contrast, developed their strategy on the premise that the peasantry would again emerge as a major revolutionary force, as it had during the 1905 revolution. "We must know," Lenin wrote, "that the certain sign of a genuinely widespread rise in the social tide, of a genuinely approaching revolutionary crisis, will inevitably be, in Russia of today, a movement among the peasantry" (CW, Vol. 15, 1908, p. 275).

This was vindicated many times over by the 1917 revolution, and the Bolsheviks codified these lessons on the centrality of the worker-peasant alliance at the Second and Fourth congresses of the Communist International. Far from Lenin having an exaggerated view of the role of the peasantry, it is Mandel who downgrades the revolutionary continuity of Marxism on this key question of revolutionary strategy.

Soviets as an 'embryo' of revolutionary gov't

One of Mandel's more amazing claims is that, before the February 1917 revolution, Lenin "radically" rejected "any notion of a state (in contrast to an insurrection) based on the Soviets."

The facts show otherwise. Not only did Lenin not "radically" reject this proposition, he did not reject it at all. In fact, he returned many times to the experience of 1905 to show how the soviets had been an embryonic revolutionary government.

In November 1905, a month after the workers formed the first soviet in Russia, Lenin wrote his first major article on the soviets. "I believe," he wrote, "that politically the Soviets of Workers' Deputies should be regarded as the embryo of a provisional revolutionary government."

It "must proclaim itself the provisional revolutionary government, or form such a government, and must by all means enlist to this end the participation of new deputies not only from the workers, but, first of all, from the sailors and soldiers, who are everywhere seeking freedom; secondly from the revolutionary peasantry, and thirdly from the revolutionary bourgeois intelligentsia" (CW, Vol. 10, 1905, p. 21-23).

Lenin, in fact, polemicized against the Mensheviks, who *did* deny that the soviets had this potential. In a 1906 polemic, for example, he wrote, "The organs of authority that we have described [Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', Railwaymen's and Peasants' Deputies] represented a dictatorship in embryo, for they recognized *no* other authority, *no* law and *no* standards, no matter by whom established" (CW, Vol. 10, 1906, p. 244).

In the same article he noted that the Bolsheviks regarded the soviets "as embryonic organs of revolutionary state power that united the proletariat with the revolutionary democrats" (CW, Vol. 10, 1906, p. 252).

A revolutionary dictatorship — or state power — based on the soviets, which united the working class and peasantry. That, Lenin said, would be the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

In 1907 Lenin wrote, "In all the embryonic organs of revolutionary power (the Soviets of Workers' De-

puties, the Soviets of Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies, etc.) representatives of the proletariat were the main participants, followed by the most advanced of the insurgent peasantry" (CW, Vol. 12, 1907, p. 459).

Lenin returned to this theme once again in January 1917, just one month before the outbreak of the Russian revolution, in a speech to Swiss socialists looking back on the lessons of the 1905 revolution. He explained that "In several cities these *Soviets of Workers' Deputies* began more and more to play the part of a provisional revolutionary government, the part of organs and leaders of the uprising. Attempts were made to organize Soviets of Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies and to combine them with the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

"For a time several cities in Russia became something in the nature of small local 'republics.' The government authorities were deposed and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies actually functioned as the new government. Unfortunately, these periods were all too brief, the 'victories' were too weak, too isolated" (CW, Vol. 23, 1917, p. 248).

Finally, referring back to the debate between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1905, Lenin pointed out in 1920 that:

"... the Bolsheviks emphasized that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were 'actually an embryo of a new revolutionary power', as was literally said in the draft of the Bolshevik resolution (p. 92 of my Report). The Mensheviks acknowledged the importance of the Soviets; they were in favor of 'helping to organize' them, etc., but they did not regard them as embryos of revolutionary power, did not in general say anything about a 'new revolutionary power' of this or some similar type, and flatly rejected the slogan of dictatorship" (CW, Vol. 31, 1920, p. 343).

How could Mandel have overlooked Lenin's unambiguous statements that the soviets could become the basis of a revolutionary dictatorship of the exploited classes, of a new state power? It makes no sense, unless you accept Mandel's erroneous view that Lenin somehow thought that the workers and peasants would make the revolution — with soviets if they were available — but that in a historic act of "self-limitation," the workers would have "to give up or lose power [to the liberal bourgeoisie] later on," in order to make way for the stage of prolonged capitalist development.

This view turns Lenin into a Menshevik. But that, according to Mandel's version, is Lenin's position.

Evidently anticipating that this assertion will strike many readers as outlandish, Mandel assures us that there is no contradiction either "in Lenin's mind" or "from the point of view of formal logic." Mandel's "formal logic" is hard to follow, and none of us will ever know what was "in Lenin's mind." But we do know about Lenin's *writings* and *actions*, and these *are* in contradiction with Mandel's rendering of Bolshevism on this question.

International context

Following up the lead left by Marx and Engels, Lenin saw — well before 1905 — that the Russian revolution could be the prologue to the socialist revolution in Western Europe. At the same time, he took note after the 1905 revolution of how that uprising had inspired a series of democratic revolutions in the East — Persia, China, and Turkey. Even before World War I, Lenin was describing the overall international situation as an era of proletarian and democratic revolutions and explaining the interconnectedness of this world revolutionary process. He saw the Russian revolution in this context.

Yet Mandel claims that Lenin "had either not, or only insufficiently" dealt with the "concrete national and international social and economic context" of the revolution.

Mandel makes no effort to bolster this assertion, he simply states it, lumping Lenin together with Plekhanov on this score.

In particular, Mandel makes no reference to Lenin's views during the period when the international situation had the greatest repercussions for the Russian revolution — World War I.

While the Bolsheviks' strategic approach to the Russian revolution didn't change during World War I, concrete shifts in the class struggle inside Russia and worldwide — which Mandel says Lenin "underestimated" — did influence how the Bolsheviks assessed the prospects for revolution in Russia and their international ramifications.

"The imperialist war," Lenin pointed out, "has linked up the Russian revolutionary crisis, which stems from a bourgeois-democratic revolution, with the growing crisis of the proletarian socialist revolution in the West. This link is so direct that no indi-



During World War I soldiers fraternized with the "enemy," discussing why they shouldn't be shooting each other. Above are Russian and Austrian troops in 1917.

vidual solution of revolutionary problems is possible in any single country — the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution is now not only a prologue to, but an indivisible and integral part of, the socialist revolution in the West.

"In 1905, it was the proletariat's task to consummate the bourgeois revolution in Russia so as to kindle the proletarian revolution in the West. In 1915, the second part of this task has acquired an urgency that puts it on a level with the first part" (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 379).

The war divided the revolutionary movement in Russia between the "chauvinist revolutionaries," who desired revolution the better to defeat Germany, and the "proletarian revolutionaries," who wanted a revolution in Russia for the sake of the proletarian revolution in the West.

The Russian liberals, who gave their full and unconditional support to the imperialist war, were clearly shown to have taken the path of counter-revolution. "The facts have shattered the view held by our opportunists that Russian liberalism is still a motive force of a revolution in Russia," Lenin concluded (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 318).

Lenin noted that "The war crisis has *strengthened* the economic and political factors that are impelling the petty bourgeoisie, including the peasantry, to the left. Herein, lies the objective foundation of the full possibility of victory for the democratic revolution in Russia" (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 418).

He pointed out that the deepening differentiation of the peasantry had enhanced the class struggle in the countryside, as well. The antagonism between the peasants and the landlords was becoming more acute, and the rural poor were drawing closer to the urban workers. All these factors pointed to an even closer relationship between the peasants and the workers and an even greater intertwining of the democratic and proletarian revolutions.

Acknowledging the initial patriotism of the peasant masses, Lenin was confident that "With the return of the soldiers from the field of slaughter... sentiment in the rural areas will undoubtedly turn against the tsarist monarchy" (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 318).

In March 1917, one week after the tsar had been toppled by the workers' uprising, Lenin wrote:

"It was natural that the revolutionary crisis should have broken out *first of all* in tsarist Russia, where the disorganization was most appalling and the proletariat most revolutionary (not by virtue of any special qualities, but because of the living traditions of 1905).

"This crisis was precipitated by the series of extremely severe defeats sustained by Russia and her allies," Lenin wrote. "They shook up the old machinery of government and the old order and roused the anger of *all* classes of the population against them; they embittered the army, wiped out a very large part of the old commanding personnel, composed of die-hard aristocrats and exceptionally corrupt bureaucratic elements, and replaced it by a young, fresh, mainly bourgeois, commoner, petty-bourgeois personnel.

"Those who, grovelling to the bourgeoisie or simply lacking backbone, howled and wailed about 'defeatism,'" Lenin said, "are now faced by the fact of the historical connection between the defeat of the

most backward and barbarous tsarist monarchy and the *beginning* of the revolutionary conflagration" (CW, Vol. 23, 1917, p. 300-301).

Lenin pointed out that both World War I and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) that preceded it had intensified the imperialist pressure on oppressed nations, as well, creating an explosive situation. This was of decisive importance in the Russian empire, where the majority of the population were part of nations oppressed by the tsar's regime. Lenin recognized the revolutionary significance of the struggle of the oppressed nations and defended the Marxist program of the right to self-determination, including the right to separation.

In several theses drawn up in October 1915, Lenin reiterated the Bolsheviks' position that it was permissible for Social Democrats to participate in a provisional revolutionary government with the democratic petty bourgeoisie. But "not with the revolutionary chauvinists," he stated unequivocally.

"If the revolutionary chauvinists won in Russia," he said, "we would be opposed to a defence of *their* 'fatherland' in the present war. Our slogan is: against the chauvinists, even if they are revolutionary and republican...."

Then he answered the question as to what the revolutionary workers party would do if the revolution placed power in its hands during the war. Contrary to Mandel's assertions, Lenin did not say: self-limit yourself, turn it over to the bourgeoisie to govern during an extended stage of capitalist development.

Lenin's answer was: "We would propose peace to *all* the belligerents on the condition that freedom is given to the colonies and *all* peoples that are dependent, oppressed and deprived of rights. Under the present governments, neither Germany, nor Britain and France would accept this condition. In that case, we would have to prepare for and wage a revolutionary war, i.e., not only resolutely carry out the whole of our minimum program, but work systematically to bring about an uprising among all peoples now oppressed by the Great Russians, all colonies and dependent countries in Asia (India, China, Persia, etc.), and also, and first and foremost, we would raise up the socialist proletariat of Europe for an insurrection against their governments and despite the social-chauvinists. There is no doubt that a victory of the proletariat in Russia would create extraordinarily favorable conditions for the development of the revolution in both Asia and Europe. *Even* 1905 proved that" (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 403).

This is the same answer the Bolsheviks gave two years later when they won the majority in the soviets and led the workers and peasants to power.

Yet Mandel would have us believe that "until after the February 1917 revolution, i.e., until the April Theses were formulated," the Bolsheviks were committed to a strategy that the revolutionary dictatorship "will have to give up or lose power later on, given the bourgeois character of the revolution!"

That wasn't Lenin's position — in 1905, 1915, or 1917.

Did Lenin dump his perspectives in 1917?

Mandel claims that after the February 1917 revolution, Lenin dumped the strategy of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry and rearmend the Bolshevik party with a new strategy. Only this, Mandel says, made the October Revolution possible.

But an obvious question is posed: Where did Lenin write that he was dumping the Bolsheviks' pre-1917 strategy? Where did he ever say that the party had held an incorrect orientation for more than two decades?

Since Mandel offers no evidence that Lenin ever made any such statements, the reader can only assume that the old position just faded away without comment, that Lenin dropped the Bolsheviks' strategy for the Russian revolution without explaining why. Perhaps Lenin was embarrassed, or trying to cover his tracks, or just didn't think the change was important. Maybe it took minds more acute than Lenin's following his death to even ascertain the change. Maybe Lenin maneuvered and deceived the party and the working class for the only time in his life.

None of these possible explanations hold up very well. All are highly uncharacteristic of Lenin, who was very frank when correcting errors and adopting new policies, and considered it important to be so.

Any reader who is inspired — and many will be — to go back to Lenin's writings in 1917 and after can check for themselves what he had to say. They will discover that Mandel chose to ignore what Lenin actually wrote.

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Lenin's response to the February revolution and his proposals for what the working class should do are outlined clearly in a series of letters, articles, and resolutions written in March and April 1917. The major documents are: "Letters from Afar," "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution (April Theses)," "The Dual Power," "Letters on Tactics," and "The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution (Draft Platform for the Proletarian Party)".

In the first of the "Letters on Tactics," which was written a few days after the April Theses, Lenin explained his approach in some detail. He defined the situation as "a period of *transition* from the first stage of the revolution to the second. . . ."

"What, then, is the first stage?"

"It is the passing of state power to the bourgeoisie. Before the February-March revolution of 1917, state power in Russia was in the hands of one old class, namely, the feudal landed nobility, headed by Nicholas Romanov.

"After the revolution, the power is in the hands of a *different* class, . . . namely, the *bourgeoisie*.

"The passing of state power from one *class* to another is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a *revolution*, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of that term.

"To this extent, the bourgeois, or the bourgeois-democratic, revolution in Russia is *completed*.

"But at this point we hear a clamour of protest from people who readily call themselves 'Old Bolsheviks' [the letter was a polemic against Bolshevik leader Kamenev and his supporters]. Didn't we always maintain, they say, that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is completed only by the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry'? Is the agrarian revolution, which is also a bourgeois-democratic revolution completed? Is it not a fact, on the contrary, that it has *not even started*?"

"My answer is: the Bolshevik slogans and ideas *on the whole* have been confirmed by history; but *concretely* things have worked out *differently*; they are more original, more peculiar, more variegated than anyone could have expected."

The war, as Lenin had explained in his first "Letter from Afar," had accelerated the revolutionary process in Russia and shaped its contours somewhat differently than could have been anticipated a decade earlier. Nonetheless, the Bolsheviks' strategic orientation, while algebraic as all strategies and programs must be, was generally confirmed and it served as the indispensable guide for determining what to do in 1917.

Lenin's "Letter on Tactics" continued by criticizing "those 'Old Bolsheviks' who more than once already have played so regrettable a role in the history of our Party by reiterating formulas senselessly *learned by rote* instead of *studying* the specific features of the new and living reality."

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" has *already* become a reality [here Lenin added a footnote: "In a certain form and to a certain extent"] in the Russian revolution, for this 'formula' envisages only a *relation of classes*, and not a *concrete political institution implementing* this relation, this co-operation. 'The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies' — there you have the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' already accomplished in reality.

"This formula is already antiquated. Events have moved it from the realm of formulas into the realm of reality, clothed it with flesh and bone, concretized it and thereby modified it."

Note that Lenin does not say the Bolsheviks' formula of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry was proven wrong or was unconfirmed. No, Lenin says it has been "accomplished in reality."

Mandel may disagree with Lenin's conclusion. That's certainly his right. But it would be outrageous to conclude that Lenin did not mean what he said.

Lenin went on to say that, "A new and different task now faces us: to effect a split *within* this dictatorship between the proletarian elements (the anti-defencist, internationalist, 'Communist' elements, who stand for a transition to the commune) and the *small-proprietor* or *petty-bourgeois* elements (Chkheidze, Tsereteli, Steklov, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the other revolutionary defencists who are opposed to moving towards the commune and are in favor of 'supporting' the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois government).

"The person who *now* speaks only of a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and

the peasantry' is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect *gone over* to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiques (it may be called the archive of 'Old Bolsheviks'). . . .

"For the present, it is essential to grasp the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the true facts of *reality* and not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, only *comes near* to embracing life in all its complexity."

Lenin put the old formulation in the archives not because it had been proven wrong, but precisely because it had been realized. The *general* formulation has been replaced by a *concrete* political institution — the workers' and peasants' soviets — which expressed it "in a certain form and to a certain extent." Lenin discontinued using the more general, algebraic formula in favor of the new, more concrete demand for a government of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Soviets.

"According to the old way of thinking," Lenin continued, "the rule of the bourgeoisie could and should be *followed* by the rule of the proletariat and the peasantry, by their dictatorship."

"In real life, however, things have *already* turned out *differently*; there has been an extremely original, novel and unprecedented *interlacing of the one with the other*. We have side by side, existing together."

“The dictatorship of the proletariat was a transition that required a massive struggle by the working class and the poor peasantry.”

simultaneously *both* the rule of the bourgeoisie (the government of Lvov and Guchkov) and a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, which is *voluntarily* ceding power to the bourgeoisie, voluntarily making itself an appendage of the bourgeoisie" (CW, Vol. 24, April 1917, p. 43-46).

The capitalist provisional government was continuing the imperialist war effort — in the name of defending the revolution. And the Menshevik-SR leadership of the Soviets was strongly supporting this policy. Lenin's and the Bolsheviks' position since 1914 had been to oppose the imperialist war effort and to argue that a defeat of the Russian imperialists was a lesser evil for the working class of Russia.

The dual power

A key characterization of the situation in Russia following the February revolution was the coming into existence of what the bourgeois press, with regret, first termed "dual power." Lenin had begun explaining the significance of this situation with his first "Letter from Afar." In "The Dual Power," written in mid-April about the same time as the "Letters on Tactics," Lenin pointed out that "The highly remarkable feature of our revolution is that it has brought about a *dual power*. This fact must be grasped first and foremost: unless it is understood, we cannot advance" (CW, Vol. 24, April 1917, p. 38).

How would this dual power be resolved? In the tasks adopted by the April Bolshevik congress, which Lenin drafted, he explained that "The dual power merely expresses a *transitional* phase in the revolution's development, when it has gone further than the ordinary bourgeois-democratic revolution, *but has not yet reached* a 'pure' dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" (CW, Vol. 24, April 1917, p. 61).

In the "Letters on Tactics," Lenin had posed the question: ". . . are we not in danger of falling into subjectivism, of wanting to arrive at the socialist revolution by 'skipping' the bourgeois-democratic revolution — which is not yet completed and has not yet exhausted the peasant movement?"

He answered, "I might be incurring this danger if I said: 'No tsar, but a *workers* government.' But I did *not* say that, I said something else. I said that there *can be no* government (barring a bourgeois government) in Russia *other than* that of the Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Laborers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. I said that power in Russia now can pass from Guchkov and Lvov *only* to these Soviets. And in these Soviets, as it happens, it is the peasants, the soldiers, i.e., petty bourgeoisie, who predominate,

to use a scientific, Marxist term, a class characterization, and not a common, man-in-the-street, professional characterization" (CW, Vol. 24, April 1917, p. 48).

In other words, a soviet government would be one in which the peasants preponderated. But this, Mandel has informed us, is impossible, which even Lenin had come to realize by April 1917. Yet here is Lenin continuing to advocate a provisional revolutionary government in which the representatives of the peasantry would initially hold the majority.

During the entire eight months of preparation for the October insurrection, Lenin continually emphasized that the Bolsheviks were not proposing the immediate institution of socialism. Rather, they proposed implementing a far-reaching agrarian program, including nationalization of the land, taking over the banks, and imposing workers control over the industrial and commercial capitalists.

These measures, Lenin explained in the April Theses, "do not in any way constitute the 'introduction' of socialism. . . ." They were "steps toward socialism" (CW, Vol. 24, April 1917, p. 74).

Were the Bolsheviks disarmed?

Mandel asserts that as a result of their longstanding strategic orientation, the Bolsheviks were unprepared for and politically disarmed during and immediately following the February 1917 revolution. Fortunately, in the first three weeks after Lenin's return to Russia, the Bolsheviks were able to make a rapid turnabout.

If this were actually true, it would have been quite astonishing. The Bolsheviks — disoriented on the place of the democratic tasks in the revolution, on the weight and role of the peasantry, on the perspective of establishing a worker-peasant alliance on the governmental level — turned on a dime and scrapped what they had supported, voted for, and campaigned around for a decade and a half.

As has already been shown, however, the Bolsheviks didn't abandon their strategy, but saw it confirmed and realized by the unfolding revolution.

What about Mandel's charge that "all the Bolshevik leaders and all the Bolshevik cadres favored 'critical' support to and even collaboration with the provisional coalition government" and rejected "any notion of a seizure of power by the working class"? Mandel says this alleged universal confusion flowed inevitably from Lenin's "erroneous dogma" on the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

Once again, the facts reveal something quite different. They show that: 1) the Bolsheviks were *not* unanimous in their approach to the capitalist provisional government; and 2) these differences inside the party revealed a current, based in the working class, that strongly opposed the Provisional Government and its imperialist war policy and another current that favored conciliation with the Mensheviks, particularly on the decisive war question.

When the February revolution began, all the central Bolshevik leaders were in exile or prison. Thus, how to respond inside Russia was initially up to younger and less experienced leaders. Before the Provisional Government was established, the leaders on the spot issued a manifesto that was published in *Izvestia*, the organ of the soviets.

It called on the workers and soldiers to organize around the Soviet of Workers' Deputies "to create a 'provisional revolutionary government.'" This government would, among other things, "enter into negotiations with the proletariat of the belligerent countries against their oppressors and enslavers . . . and for the termination of the bloody human slaughter which has been imposed on the enslaved peoples" (*The Bolshevik Revolution*, Vol. 1, 1917-1923, Carr, Penguin Books, p. 83).

When Lenin, still in Switzerland, learned of this manifesto from an abridged version in a German newspaper, he immediately sent a telegram hailing it to the Bolshevik paper *Pravda* in Petrograd. In his "Letters from Afar," Lenin singled out for special praise the statement's position against the imperialist war.

The main leaders in Petrograd — Shlyapnikov, Zalutsky, and Molotov — started to republish *Pravda* on March 5. According to historian E.H. Carr, "The views expressed in the first seven numbers of the new *Pravda* were broadly those of the party manifesto. It denounced the existing Provisional Government as 'a government of capitalists and landowners', and thought that the Soviet should convene a constituent assembly to establish a 'democratic republic.' On the issue of the war, it published on 10 March 1917 a resolution of the bureau [of the Bolshevik Central Committee] advocating a transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war for the liberation of the

peoples from the yoke of the ruling classes, though it still refrained from the explicit advocacy of national defeatism" (*The Bolshevik Revolution*, Vol. 1, 1917-1923, Carr, p. 84).

Then, in mid-March, older party leaders — Kamenev, Stalin, and Muranov — returned and took over the reins of *Pravda*. The line toward the coalition government and the war immediately changed. Criticism of the class-collaborationist leadership of the soviets and of the liberal leadership of the Provisional Government was dropped.

A prowar proclamation issued by the Petrograd Soviet under the leadership of the Mensheviks and SRs was published on the front page of *Pravda*. It announced that "we should stoutly defend our own liberty" and that "the Russian revolution will not flinch before the bayonets of the aggressors."

This was followed by a whole-hearted endorsement of national defense by Kamenev. He stated in a signed article that "When army faces army, it would be the most insane policy to suggest to one of these armies to lay down its arms and go home. This would not be a policy of peace but a policy of slavery, which would be rejected with disgust by a free people" (Carr, p. 86).

Kamenev and Stalin also favored pursuing discussions aimed at unification with the Mensheviks.

This radical shift in line hardly received a unanimous response among Bolsheviks in Petrograd. Marcel Leibman, in *Leninism Under Lenin*, quotes from Shlyapnikov's memoirs:

"The whole of the Tauride Palace, from the members of the Committee of the Duma to the Executive Committee [of the Soviets], the heart of revolutionary democracy (i.e., the moderate majority in the Soviets, M.L.) was full of the news — the victory of the moderate, reasonable Bolsheviks over the extremists."

"On the other hand," Leibman says, "some of the Bolshevik militants were indignant at the tone adopted by the editors of *Pravda*. The Petersburg section even called for Kamenev's expulsion, and in the Vyborg quarter [strongest fraction of worker-Bolsheviks] Stalin's expulsion was demanded as well."

Leibman includes a footnote indicating that "What was published in *Pravda* was extremely interesting, but of no less importance was what was not published there. When Alexandra Kollontai brought to Petrograd, in the last days of March, the first two of Lenin's *Letters from Afar*, . . . the editorial board hesitated for several days before publishing only one of them — and then suppressed the passages in which Lenin opposed any agreement with the Mensheviks" (*Leninism Under Lenin*, Marcel Leibman, Merlin Press, 1975, p. 123).

During this period, Iakov Sverdlov, who was to play a key role in organizing the Bolshevik party from April 1917 until his death from influenza in March 1919, also opposed the capitalist Provisional Government. In an unpublished manuscript *Iakov M. Sverdlov and the Organization of the Russian Revolution* (1978), Prof. Charles Duval reports that when Sverdlov was freed from internment in Siberia in March, he spent a few days in Krasnoyarsk, where he participated in party and soviet meetings. On March 22 in the Krasnoyarsk Soviet, dominated by conciliatory Social-Democrats, Sverdlov, according to Duval:

"... accused the Mensheviks and SRs of promising everything to the people and delivering nothing and predicted that they would eventually turn against the revolution. He argued that the Menshevik and SR idea of 'civil peace' retarded the development of the revolution. He supported instead the soviets as the key to a victorious proletarian revolution and the only organs acceptable to the Bolsheviks as legitimate sources of power. The majority in the Krasnoyarsk Soviet remained unmoved by his appeal, however, and endorsed the new government with the standard socialist formula: 'in so far as it follows a course satisfying the demands of the working class and the revolutionary peasantry.'"

Kamenev, Stalin, et al. did not deduce their conciliationist line from traditional Bolshevik formulations such as the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Rather, they cloaked their conciliationist line in these and other revolutionary formulations, as centrists always do.

In fact, their line had nothing in common with the positions adopted by the Bolshevik Party congresses and carried in its press since 1903. In particular, it would be hard to find any questions that the Bolsheviks were better armed against than conciliationism toward the Mensheviks and opposition to defending the imperialist government's war. This was the opposite of the Mensheviks' line, which was followed out to its logical capitulationist conclusion



Shlyapnikov, one of the Bolsheviks who helped publish the first issue of *Pravda* in March 1917, which opposed the capitalist government and demanded an immediate peace.

in February 1917. Moreover, as already indicated, Lenin had explained explicitly in 1915 that the Bolsheviks would give no support whatever to any provisional government of the social chauvinists.

The fact that some Bolshevik leaders accepted a conciliationist course and abandoned the Bolshevik line on the war testifies to the profound pressures on the party, especially on those sectors most removed from the working class.

It is true that many of the Bolsheviks who were attempting to apply the party's revolutionary Marxist positions did not see the unfolding events and way forward as clearly as Lenin. They were open to the explanations he offered when he returned, however, because of, not in spite of, their absorption of the Bolshevik strategy. Lenin helped clarify and give leadership to a struggle that was already taking place inside the party. If this had not been the case, there is no way that the proletarian wing could have won a majority in the party in the first three weeks after Lenin's return.

The program of the Bolsheviks, hammered out and tested by experience for nearly two decades, prepared the majority of the party to orient itself correctly to the events of 1917. Any other explanation borders on attributing supernatural qualities to Lenin as a leader — the better to differentiate oneself from the line of march and strategic orientation that he had imbued the Bolsheviks with for a decade and a half.

From October 1917 to October 1918

In October 1917 the workers and peasants resolved the question of dual power through their soviets by establishing a revolutionary dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat and poor peasantry, a workers and farmers government. This government immediately called "for a just, democratic peace," began to implement a radical agrarian program, and took the first steps toward expropriating the bourgeoisie and establishing a workers state.

Mandel says that the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., a workers state, was established with the October Revolution. To back up this opinion, he presents statements by Lenin describing the October Revolution as "socialist" and the new government as "the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poor peasants."

Lenin and other Bolsheviks at this time used many different formulations to characterize the soviet government: "workers and peasants government," "socialist republic of soviets," "dictatorship of the proletariat," "dictatorship of the proletariat and poor peasantry," "people's government," and so on.

The name officially adopted on October 26 for the Council of Peoples' Commissars, on Lenin's proposal, was the Provisional Workers and Peasants Government; in January the "provisional" was dropped by the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets following the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly.

But the label, while important, is not the main point. What's key is the class composition and direction of the government, the tasks before it, and the transitional struggle necessary to accomplish those tasks.

The new government established in October 1917 was independent of the capitalist class, but at the same time stood on the capitalist economic foundations it inherited. That's not only what the Provisional Workers and Peasants Government inherited, but what it stood on to begin with and for some months after coming to power. The capitalist class still owned most of the means of production, and the class struggle in the countryside between the capitalist farmers and the great mass of poor peasants, semiproletarians, and rural workers had only begun.

Using this governmental power, the workers and peasants carried out a struggle to wrest control of the

economy from the capitalists and to consolidate their power in the countryside. This involved nationalizing the banks, abolishing commercial secrecy, countering capitalist sabotage, and establishing workers' control over production. These measures prepared the way for expropriating the capitalists and beginning to institute workers management of industry.

By the end of the first year of the revolution, a monopoly of foreign trade had been established, most capitalist industry had been expropriated, and big strides had been made in the development of workers control.

Workers control: schedules vs. class struggle

Mandel contends that "The fact that in the beginning, the revolutionary government was content ["content" is a strange choice of words to describe the transitional struggle of the working class] to establish workers control over industry rather than nationalize it, no longer had anything to do with the belief in the 'socialist immaturity' of the proletariat. It had to do only with scheduling the socialist tasks of the revolution in a chronologically and economically rational way."

Contentedly "scheduling tasks" in neat chronological order totally abstracts the transition of a capitalist state to a workers state from the living class struggle. Workers control is a necessary form of struggle by the working class — not a state of contentedness or "rational" scheduling. It is necessary not primarily because of the "socialist immaturity" of the workers, but to strengthen their hand against the capitalist class and prepare the way for expropriation and workers management. It is a key way that workers increasingly curb the prerogatives of the capitalists, while simultaneously building their own self-confidence and political class consciousness.

Lenin put it this way in the report to the Soviet congress quoted above: "We did not decree socialism immediately throughout industry, because socialism can only take shape and be consolidated when the working class has learnt how to run the economy and when the authority of the working people has been firmly established. Socialism is mere wishful thinking without that. That is why we introduced workers' control, appreciating that it was a contradictory and incomplete measure, but an essential one so that workers themselves might tackle the momentous tasks of building up industry in a vast country without and opposed to exploiters. And comrades, everyone who took a direct, or even indirect, part in this work, everyone who lived through all the oppression and brutality of the old capitalist regime, learned a great deal" (*On Workers' Control and the Nationalization of Industry*, Progress Publishers, Lenin, 1918, p. 198).

Notice that Lenin talks about living through "oppression and brutality" and "learning" and "establishing authority," not about "scheduling tasks."

A transition also took place in the countryside. In looking back over the first year of the revolution, Lenin wrote that "The victorious Bolshevik revolution meant the end of vacillation, meant the complete destruction of the monarchy and of the landlord system (which had not been destroyed before the October Revolution). We carried the bourgeois revolution to its conclusion. The peasants supported us as a whole. Their antagonism to the socialist proletariat could not reveal itself all at once. The Soviets united the peasants in general. The class divisions among the peasants had not yet matured, had not yet come into the open."

"That process took place in the summer and autumn of 1918. The Czech counter-revolutionary mutiny roused the Kulaks. A wave of kulak revolts swept over Russia. The poor peasants learned, not from books or newspapers, but from life itself, that their interests were irreconcilably antagonistic to those of the kulaks, the rich, the rural bourgeoisie. Like every other petty-bourgeois party, the 'Left Socialist-Revolutionaries' reflected the vacillation of the people, and in the summer of 1918 they split: one section joined forces with the Czechs . . . while the other section . . . remained with the Bolsheviks."

Lenin went on to say that ". . . it is only now, in the summer and autumn, of 1918, that the rural districts themselves are passing through the October (i.e., proletarian) Revolution. Things are beginning to change. The wave of kulak revolts is giving way to a rise of the poor, to a growth of the 'Poor Peasants Committees.'"

So the dictatorship of the proletariat — that is, if it is defined to mean the establishment of a state

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based on state property rather than capitalist private property — was not accomplished in one fell swoop in October 1917. It was a process, a transition, that required a massive struggle by the working class and the poor peasantry.

"If the Bolshevik proletariat had tried at once, in October-November 1917," Lenin wrote, "without waiting for the class differentiation in the rural districts, without being able to *prepare* it and bring it about, to 'decree' a civil war or the 'introduction of socialism' in the rural districts, had tried to do without a temporary bloc [alliance] with the peasantry in general, without making a number of concessions to the middle peasants, etc.; that would have been a *Blanquist* distortion of Marxism, an attempt by the *minority* to impose its will upon the majority; it would have been a theoretical absurdity, revealing a failure to understand that a general peasant revolution is *still* a bourgeois revolution, and that without a *series of transitions, of transitional stages*, it cannot be transformed into a socialist revolution in a backward country" ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," CW, Vol. 28, 1918, p. 302-305).

Echoing the concluding paragraph of *Two Tactics* written 13 years earlier, Lenin added that, "With all the peasants right through to the end of the bourgeois-democratic revolution; and with the poor, the proletarian and semi-proletarian section of the peasants, forward to the socialist revolution! This has been the policy of the Bolsheviks, and it is the only Marxist policy" (Ibid., p. 311).

Fifteen years later, Leon Trotsky explained in a similar way how the transition to a workers state in Russia took place. Looking back at the experience of the 1917-1918 revolution, he wrote in 1933:

"Not only up to the Brest-Litovsk peace [March 1918] but even up to autumn of 1918, the social content of the revolution was restricted to a petty-bourgeois agrarian overturn and workers' control over production. This means that the revolution in its actions had not yet passed the boundaries of bourgeois society. During this first period, soldiers' soviets ruled side by side with the workers' soviets and often elbowed them aside.

"Only toward the autumn of 1918," Trotsky wrote, "did the petty-bourgeois soldier-agrarian elemental wave recede a little to its shores, and the workers went forward with the nationalization of the means of production. Only from this time can one speak of the inception of a real dictatorship of the proletariat. But even here it is necessary to make certain large reservations. During those initial years, the dictatorship was geographically confined to the old Moscow principality and was compelled to wage a three-years' war along all the radii from Moscow to the periphery. This means that up to 1921, precisely up to the NEP [New Economic Policy], that is, what went on was still the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat upon the national scale" ("The Class Nature of the Soviet State," *Writings of Leon Trotsky 1933-34*, Pathfinder Press, p. 106).

Thus, Mandel creates a tangle of confusion in the concluding paragraph of his article when he asserts:

"In reality, the tasks of the democratic revolution were accomplished only after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, after the conquest of power by the soviets, after the creation of a workers state. And they were accomplished in the closest combination with a whole series of tasks (not all, of course) that were already socialist in nature."

Let's look at this paragraph more closely, starting from the bottom and working our way up.

1) Mandel says that the tasks of the democratic revolution were accomplished in combination with beginning to carry out the socialist tasks. Correct. The Bolsheviks had foreseen both the primacy of the democratic tasks in the first stage of the revolution and their intertwining with socialist tasks as the class struggle deepened. The concrete form that this process would take was given, as it could only have been, by the concrete combination of domestic and international class relations that determined the framework of the revolution during its first years.

2) The democratic tasks were completed only "after the creation of a workers state." Wrong. At least using the scientific criteria for a workers state that Marxists have used since the 1930s, based on our analysis of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state — criteria we learned with the aid of Trotsky. According to those criteria — state property, economic planning, and a monopoly of foreign trade — a workers state did not come into existence in Russia until at least the autumn of 1918, as Trotsky explained in the 1933 article. This was well after the major tasks of the revolution had been accomplished.

3) The democratic tasks were accomplished only

"after the conquest of power by the soviets." Yes and no. As Lenin explained in his April 1917 "Letter on Tactics," the toppling of the tsar in February and consequent "passing of state power to the bourgeoisie" meant that "To this extent, the bourgeois, or the bourgeois-democratic, revolution in Russia is *completed*." But the central democratic tasks, such as the agrarian reform and self-determination of the nations oppressed by Russia, were not and could not have been completed until after the conquest of power by the soviets. (We'll see what Lenin had to say about this question on the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution a little bit later in this article.)

4) The democratic tasks were completed only "after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat." That depends. If by the "dictatorship of the proletariat" Mandel means a workers state, which is how our movement has used the term since the 1930s, then the answer is provided by point 2) above; if he means by it the conquest of power of the soviets in October 1917, which is how the term was often used prior to the 1930s, then the answer is provided in point 3) above.

So Mandel's concluding flourish doesn't tell us much. It certainly doesn't throw into question the fundamental revolutionary continuity of Bolshevik strategy before, during, and after 1917, and the fact that this leadership and strategy were responsible for the October victory.

Peasant representation in the government

How were the peasants represented in the new revolutionary government that came to power in October? Did they play any independent role?

By the time of the October insurrection, the Bolsheviks were a majority in the All-Russian Soviets

"The new government established in October 1917 was independent of the capitalist class, but stood on the capitalist economic foundations it inherited."

of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, but not in the peasants' soviets where the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) still dominated.

At the All-Russian Soviet Congress meeting on October 25, the Bolsheviks expressed agreement with a proposal to form a government that would include not only the Bolsheviks, but also the Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, and Left Socialist Revolutionaries. The Mensheviks and SRs, however, with the exception of the Left SRs, rejected this proposal and walked out of the soviets. For the Bolshevik leaders, this final act of betrayal and display of allegiance to the exploiters shut the door to any coalition with the right Menshevik and SR leaders.

The new Central Executive Committee elected by the October Congress of the Soviets included 62 Bolsheviks, 19 Left SRs, 6 Menshevik-Internationalists, and 4 independent socialists.

About three weeks later the All-Russian Congress of Peasants Deputies was held. All attempts by the Right SRs to prevent the congress from meeting and the peasant delegates from coming into contact with the Bolsheviks failed. The Bolsheviks successfully established a coalition with the Left SRs who held a majority at the congress. Without this coalition, the Bolsheviks had only 11 percent of the delegates. A union was established between the Central Executive Committee and the Peasants Congress, and the CEC was expanded to include 100 delegates from the Peasants Congress. This even included some Right SRs and Mensheviks.

At this point, the Left SRs agreed to serve on the Council of People's Commissars. Several were appointed to head up Commissariats and more to other governmental posts, thus establishing a Bolshevik-Left SR coalition government. The third Congress of Soviets in January elected a Central Executive Committee that included 160 Bolsheviks and 125 Left SRs.

The Left SR commissars resigned in March 1918 over opposition to the Brest-Litovsk pact that ended the war with Germany, as well as disagreements flowing from the developing class struggle and social differentiations in the countryside. The SRs remained on the CEC until July, however, when several Left SR leaders participated in the assassination of the German ambassador and an attempted coup. The Committees of Poor Peasants were being established

in the countryside at the Bolsheviks' initiative during this same period, and the Bolsheviks were gaining a growing base among the poor peasants and even layers of the middle peasants.

So, at least through the first phase of the revolution, the coalition between the working class and the peasantry existed both as a coalition of soviets and of parties. This runs contrary to Mandel's unqualified assertion that the peasants would not be able to exercise any independent, organized role in a revolutionary government.

Moreover, the Bolsheviks' efforts to forge a coalition with the Left SRs played a *crucial* role in the first months of the revolution, when the Bolsheviks remained a small minority among the peasants. It bought the proletariat time to win the support of more and more poor peasants, and at least a wait-and-see attitude among many middle peasants, through the revolutionary government's policies of ending the war and carrying through the agrarian reform.

What happened subsequently also followed the general pattern anticipated by the Bolshevik strategy. As the class struggle deepened and the socialist course of the revolution advanced, the peasantry polarized between the poor and landless layers and the kulaks who exploited labor, with the middle peasants pulled in both directions. On the political and organizational level, these class differentiations were reflected by the desertion of growing numbers of SR leaders to the camp of the capitalist counterrevolution, while those most firmly based on the rural poor remained with the government and eventually joined the Communist Party of their own free will and political conviction.

The solidity of the worker-peasant alliance that resulted from this course by the Bolsheviks remained the bedrock of the survival of the soviet regime.

Verdict of history

Mandel argues that the Bolsheviks' positions on the relationship between the democratic and socialist revolutions, and the role of the peasantry in them, were proven wrong by history, and that Lenin recognized this just in the nick of time in early 1917.

But Mandel, as we've already seen in several cases, ignores and contradicts what Lenin himself said about this in retrospect. Let's look at a few more examples.

In 1918 Karl Kautsky, a prominent leader of the Second International who pursued a centrist course during World War I, wrote a book entitled, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, attacking the Russian revolution and the Bolsheviks' policies. He rehashed positions that had been debated before 1917 by the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks.

Lenin responded with the pamphlet, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," which has been referred to previously in this article. Lenin wrote:

"The Russian revolution is a bourgeois revolution, said all the Marxists of Russia before 1905. The Mensheviks, substituting liberalism for Marxism, drew the following conclusion from this: the proletariat therefore must not go beyond what is acceptable to the bourgeoisie and must pursue a policy of compromise with them. The Bolsheviks said this was a bourgeois-liberal theory. The bourgeoisie were trying to bring about the reform of the state on bourgeois, *reformist*, not revolutionary lines, while preserving the monarchy, the landlord system, etc., as far as possible.

"The proletariat must carry through the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the end, not allowing itself to be 'bound' by the reformism of the bourgeoisie," Lenin said. "The Bolsheviks formulated the alignment of *class* forces in the bourgeois revolution as follows: the proletariat, winning over the peasants, will neutralize the liberal bourgeoisie and utterly destroy the monarchy, medievalism and the landlord system.

"It is the alliance between the proletariat and the peasants *in general* that reveals the bourgeois character of the revolution," Lenin emphasized, "for the peasants in general are small producers who exist on the basis of commodity production. Further, the Bolsheviks then added, the proletariat will win over *the entire semi-proletariat* (all the working and exploited people), will neutralize the middle peasants and *overthrow* the bourgeoisie; this will be a socialist revolution, as distinct from a bourgeois-democratic revolution (See my pamphlet *Two Tactics*, published in 1905 and reprinted in *Twelve Years*, St. Petersburg, 1907)" (CW, Vol. 28, 1918, p. 295).

Notice that Lenin says nothing here about the Bol-

sheviks' pre-1917 positions having been wrong. To the contrary, he uses essentially the same formulations to defend those positions, and he explicitly urges people to read *Two Tactics*, which contains the most complete presentation of these positions. "The question which Kautsky has so tangled up was fully explained by the Bolsheviks as far back as 1905," Lenin continued. "Yes, our revolution is a bourgeois revolution *as long as we march with the peasants as a whole*. This has been as clear as clear can be to us; we have said it hundreds and thousands of times since 1905, and we have never attempted to skip this necessary stage of the historical process or abolish it by decrees. . . ."

"Beginning with April 1917, however, long before the October Revolution, that is long before we assumed power, we publicly declared and explained to the people: the revolution cannot now stop at this stage, for the country has marched forward, capitalism has advanced, ruin has reached fantastic dimensions, which (whether one likes it or not) *will demand* steps forward, *to socialism*. For there is *no* other way of advancing, of saving the war-weary country and of *alleviating* the sufferings of the working and exploited people."

"Things have turned out just as we said they would," Lenin said. "The course taken by the revolution has confirmed the correctness of our reasoning. *First*, with the 'whole' of the peasants against the monarchy, against the landowners, against medievalism (and to that extent the revolution remains bourgeois, bourgeois-democratic). *Then*, with the poor peasants, with the semi-proletarians, with all the exploited, *against capitalism*, including the rural rich, the kulaks, the profiteers, and to that extent the revolution becomes a *socialist* one. To attempt to raise an artificial Chinese Wall between the first and second, to separate them by *anything else* than the degree of preparedness of the proletariat and the degree of its unity with the poor peasants, means to distort Marxism dreadfully, to vulgarise it, to substitute liberalism in its place" (CW, Vol. 28, 1918, p. 300-301).

(Note the striking parallel to the following passage from *Two Tactics* written 13 years earlier: "The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to completion, allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush the autocracy's resistance by force and paralyze the bourgeoisie's instability. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution, allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population, so as to crush the bourgeoisie's resistance by force and paralyze the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie" (*Two Tactics*, 1905, p. 85).

Contrary to Mandel, Lenin says in 1918 that "Things have turned out just as [the Bolsheviks] said they would." The revolution "confirmed the correctness of our reasoning." And Lenin, correctly, never changed his mind as to this judgment.

The social crisis and economic ruin caused by the imperialist war, the development of capitalism in Russia over the dozen years since 1905, the relations among the various classes and political forces in the aftermath of the February revolution — by April 1917 these concrete factors had filled in the variables in the Bolsheviks' "algebraic" strategy, and in October the equation was led to a solution in struggle. A workers and farmers government was established, and a whole new stage of the revolution was opened, leading toward the expropriation of the capitalists and the struggle to deepen, defend, and extend the socialist revolution.

Lenin commented further on the experience of the Russian revolution in an April 1919 article, "The Third International and Its Place in History."

He wrote, ". . . Russia's backwardness merged in a peculiar way the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie with the peasant revolution against the landowners. That is what we started from in October 1917, and we would not have achieved victory so easily then if we had not. As long ago as 1856, Marx spoke, in reference to Prussia, of the possibility of a peculiar combination of proletarian revolution and peasant war. From the beginning of 1905 the Bolsheviks advocated the idea of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" (CW, Vol. 29, 1919, p. 310).

Of all the wonders to behold! Lenin harks back to the very formula that Mandel says "facilitated the confusion" of the Bolsheviks in the first weeks after February, a formula Mandel tells us Lenin had thrown on the scrap heap in April 1917, the formula encapsulating Lenin's "erroneous dogma." But here, two years later, this same formula turns up again in an article by Lenin. And Lenin clearly refers to it as an affirmation of the Bolsheviks' strategic line on the relationship of the peasant and proletarian revolutions, that is, the democratic and socialist revolutions.



Trotsky in his prison cell after his arrest in 1905 as leader of Petrograd Soviet. He was sentenced to "enforced settlement" in Siberia.

In a 1920 article on "A Contribution to the History of the Question of the Dictatorship" (CW, 1920, Vol. 31, p. 340), Lenin again refers back with approval to *Two Tactics* and other pre-1917 writings of the Bolsheviks.

Finally, in 1921, on the fourth anniversary of the revolution, Lenin summarized the experience of the October Revolution. He explained that the Mensheviks and SRs "have talked and are still talking an incredible lot of nonsense about the relation between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist (that is proletarian) revolution. The last four years have proved to the hilt that our interpretation of Marxism on this point, and our estimate of the experience of former revolutions were correct."

"We have consummated the bourgeois-democratic revolution as nobody had done before," Lenin said. "We are *advancing* towards the socialist revolution consciously, firmly and unswervingly, knowing that it is not separated from the bourgeois-democratic revolution by a Chinese Wall, and knowing too that (in the last analysis) *struggle alone* will determine how far we shall advance. . . ." (CW, Vol. 33, 1921, p. 51).

The Bolsheviks' communist strategy was "proved to the hilt." That's how Lenin saw the verdict of history.

Trotsky's position

Mandel not only argues that Lenin scrapped the Bolsheviks' "erroneous dogma" in 1917, but that in doing so he came over to "the same positions Trotsky had defended since 1904-1906." According to Mandel, it was these "entirely new and original" positions of Trotsky that the judgment of history upheld against Lenin's pre-1917 strategy (and as we have seen his post-April 1917 judgment on this strategy.)

What were Trotsky's positions? How did they differ from those of Lenin and the Bolsheviks?

Trotsky was in basic agreement with the Bolsheviks on the question of what approach the working class should take toward the liberal bourgeoisie. He agreed with the Bolsheviks that the bourgeoisie would cling ever more closely to the old order as the revolution advanced, and that the working class should not look to it for leadership or view it as a reliable or strategic ally. The working class must assume the vanguard political role in the Russian revolution.

Trotsky had initially lined up with the Mensheviks following the split in the Russian Social Democracy at the 1903 RSDLP Congress, but he broke with them over this question one year later in 1904. This was a key dividing line between class struggle and class collaboration, between reform and revolution in the Russian workers' movement. Trotsky placed himself in the camp of the revolution and remained there, despite serious errors and vacillations, through 1917, when he came over all the way to Bolshevism.

Trotsky's pre-1917 differences with the Bolsheviks were fundamental, however. He had broken with the Bolsheviks at the 1903 Congress, and he maintained a centrist position in the social democracy throughout the next 14 years.

Mandel lists what he considers to be four of Trotsky's differences with the Bolsheviks during these years. On all of them, Mandel says, Trotsky was right against Lenin.

- Trotsky disagreed with what Mandel claims to be the Bolsheviks' view of a prolonged capitalist stage during which Russia would undergo modernization and industrialization through a "rapid development of capitalism."

- Trotsky recognized "the capacity of the Russian proletariat to begin to resolve the socialist tasks of the revolution," while "for Lenin, that capacity did not exist."

- Trotsky defended "the impossibility for the peasantry to constitute a political party or force that would be independent both of the bourgeoisie and the working class," while Lenin "was certain that the revolutionary peasantry had to take political power."

- Trotsky counterposed the formula of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" to the Bolsheviks' "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." "The two formulas," Mandel writes, "were not mere slogans but encapsulated the strategic perspectives of the revolution."

The first two differences pointed to by Mandel simply repeat his erroneous view of Lenin's positions. As this article has already established, the Bolsheviks recognized that the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution was an essential task of the proletariat and would create the best conditions for the development of capitalism, but they were not fighting in order to open a prolonged stage of capitalist development and rule.

Lenin's transitional strategy — following the course originally proposed by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* — was aimed at mobilizing the working class and peasants to carry the democratic revolution as far as they could. This included, from the outset of the revolution, taking up tasks that would open the road to the socialist revolution. It was through the revolutionary struggle to complete the democratic revolution, the Bolsheviks argued, that the working class would develop its capacity to carry out the socialist revolution.

There was no decisive difference between Trotsky and the Bolsheviks over these points. Instead, the difference was over the relationship between the democratic-peasant revolution and the proletarian-socialist revolution, and the alignment of classes necessary to connect and carry through these revolutions. This difference over fundamental strategy was reflected in the disagreement between Trotsky and the Bolsheviks on the role and weight of the peasantry in the revolution. On this decisive question, Mandel takes the side of Trotsky against Lenin and argues that Trotsky was proven right in 1917.

This article has already described where the peasants fit into the Bolshevik strategy for the revolution and how this orientation was confirmed in 1917. Let's now examine Trotsky's position.

The major presentation of Trotsky's orientation appears in *Results and Prospects*, which was published in 1906. This was Trotsky's balance sheet on the political lessons of the 1905 revolution, in which he had played a leadership role in Petrograd.

There, like the Bolsheviks, Trotsky explained that the working class must assume the leadership of the revolution and chart a course independent of and in opposition to the liberal bourgeoisie. He agreed with the Bolsheviks that the working class must have the support of the peasantry if the revolution were to succeed. He also recognized the differentiations within the peasantry that would, as the revolution advanced, impel the most exploited layers to move closer to the working class. And he correctly recognized that the international extension of the Russian revolution would be decisive to its consolidation and survival.

Where Trotsky differed with the Bolsheviks was on his insistence that the peasants had no independent role of any sort to play in the revolution, as well as his assessment of the slim prospects for any durable worker-peasant alliance.

Lenin recognized that class differentiations within the peasantry, as well as its vacillations between the proletariat and bourgeoisie conditioned by its intermediate position in society, made the formation of mass peasant organizations and an independent movement of peasants difficult. He recognized that the peasantry would ultimately either look to the historic solutions of the proletariat or to those of the bourgeoisie for a road forward out of the dead-end of tsarist society.

From Lenin's perspective of building a vanguard working-class party capable of leading the toilers in a successful revolution, however, all this only underlined the importance of the working class charting a course toward the peasantry that could maximize support from the broadest possible layers in the countryside and maximize the possibility of welding and preserving a worker-peasant alliance. That was the

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aim of Bolshevik strategy.

Trotsky, however, concentrated primarily on the backwardness of the peasants, downplaying the prospective role they would play in the revolution and emphasizing the limits and problems involved in political organization in the countryside. Unlike the Bolsheviks, he did not propose an active policy for the working class and its vanguard party aimed at attempting to surmount these obstacles in order to forge an alliance with the peasants.

While the Bolsheviks' policy was always to fight for the leadership of the peasantry as the only way to carry the revolution through to the end, they did not exclude that the peasantry through its own organizations would play a major or even dominant role in the initial stage of a revolutionary government. If such a situation did develop, the Bolsheviks argued that it would be permissible, depending on the circumstances, for the revolutionary workers party to participate in it "for the purpose of waging a relentless struggle against all counter-revolutionary attempts and of defending the independent interests of the working class" (CW, Vol. 8, 1905, p. 397).

Trotsky argued, however, that while "revolutionary representatives of non-proletarian social groups" should be in the government, "the whole problem consists in this: who will determine the content of the government's policy, who will form within it a solid majority?"

He added that "the participation of the proletariat in a government is also objectively most probable, and permissible in principle, only as a *dominating and leading participation*. One may, of course, describe such a government as the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, a dictatorship of the proletariat, peasantry, and intelligentsia, or even a coalition government of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, but the question nevertheless remains: who is to wield the hegemony in the government itself, and through it in the country? And when we speak of a workers' government, by this we reply that the hegemony should belong to the working class."

This means, Trotsky said, "that the representative body of the nation, convened under the leadership of the proletariat, which has secured the support of the peasantry, will be nothing else than a democratic dress for the rule of the proletariat."

A government that was only "democratic dress" for the rule of the proletariat was not what the Bolsheviks were fighting for. The proletariat had to fight for the leadership of the peasantry and for a revolutionary government with other exploited producers to carry out the democratic revolution and begin the socialist revolution.

Continuing with Trotsky's *Results and Prospects*: "But is it not possible that the peasantry may push the proletariat aside and take its place? This is impossible. All historical experience protests against this assumption. Historical experience shows that the peasantry are absolutely incapable of taking up an independent political role."

Yes, historical experience shows that the peasantry can't "push the proletariat aside and take its place." Whereas the Bolsheviks paid close attention to every expression of independent organization and mobilization by the peasants, however, Trotsky belittled them on the grounds that historically the peasants are incapable of playing an independent role. While it is true, as Lenin recognized, that the peasantry has no historic program independent of the bourgeoisie or the working class, it does not at all follow — as Trotsky suggests — that the peasantry cannot form independent organizations and that the peasant revolution plays no independent role in modern revolutions. History shows the opposite.

Trotsky asks in *Results and Prospects*, "Does the fact of the rise and development first of the peasant union and then of the Group of Toil (Trudoviki) in the Duma run counter to these and subsequent arguments?" He answers, "Not in the least."

"The radicalism and formlessness of the Group of Toil was the expression of the contradictoriness in the revolutionary aspirations of the peasantry. During the period of constitutional illusions it helplessly followed the 'Cadets' (Constitutional Democrats). At the moment of the dissolution of the Duma it came naturally under the guidance of the Social-Democratic Group. The lack of independence on the part of the peasant representatives will show itself with particular clearness at the moment when it becomes necessary to show firm initiative, that is, at the time when power has to pass into the hands of the revolutionaries."

For Trotsky, the lack of "firm initiative," the lack

of "independence," and the "formlessness" of the peasant organizations thrust forward by the 1905 revolution is simply proof that the peasantry cannot play any independent or decisive role in the revolution.

Trotsky, unlike Lenin, did not see the revolutionary possibilities inherent in the peasant organizations created in 1905, for example. He did not treat them as embryos of a possible mass peasant party or mass organization, as the Bolsheviks did. Trotsky, unlike the Bolsheviks, did not chart a course toward seeking out joint actions with the peasant organizations and struggling in that way to divide them from the liberal capitalist parties. Trotsky did acknowledge that "The Russian bourgeoisie will . . . have to surrender the revolutionary hegemony over the peasants. In such a situation, created by the transference of power to the proletariat, nothing remains for the peasantry to do but to rally to the regime of workers' democracy."

But then, expressing his usual estimation of the peasants' role in the revolution, he commented that, "It will not matter much even if the peasantry does this with a degree of consciousness not larger than that with which it usually rallies to the bourgeois regime."

Continuing, Trotsky stated, "From what we have said above, it will be clear how we regard the idea of a 'proletarian and peasant dictatorship.' It is not really a matter of whether we regard it as admissible in principle, whether 'we do or do not desire' such a form of political cooperation. We simply think that it is unrealizable — at least in a direct immediate sense."

"Indeed, such a coalition presupposes either that one of the existing bourgeois parties commands influence over the peasantry or that the peasantry will have created a powerful independent party of its own, but we have attempted to show that neither the one nor the other is possible" ("Results and Prospects," in *The Permanent Revolution*, Pathfinder Press, 1906, p. 69-74).

But the Bolsheviks proved that this course was not only "admissible in principle," but even more important, that it was "realizable." That was the basis of their strategic line of march that successfully led to taking power. It was the basis of their decision on the eve of the insurrection in 1917 to adopt the Socialist Revolutionary Party's agrarian program. It was at the heart of their decision to sign the peace agreement at Brest-Litovsk in 1918, ending, as quickly as possible, the slaughter of Russian soldiers,

“ Lenin's strategy was the generalized lessons from the collective revolutionary activity of a party. ”

the majority of whom were from the peasantry. It remained the backbone of their policy through the formation of the Committees of Poor Peasants, the civil war, the launching of the New Economic Policy, and the generalization of all these experiences by the Communist International.

Lenin's response

Lenin strongly disagreed with Trotsky's approach to the peasantry. In a 1909 polemic with Menshevik leader Martov, Lenin wrote,

" . . . the most fallacious of Trotsky's opinions that Comrade Martov quotes and considers to be 'just' is . . . : 'even if they [the peasantry] do this [support the regime of working class democracy] with no more political understanding than they usually support a bourgeois regime.'"

"The proletariat cannot count on the ignorance and prejudices of the peasantry as the powers that be under a bourgeois regime count and depend on them," Lenin said, "nor can it assume that in time of revolution the peasantry will remain in their usual state of political ignorance and passivity. The history of the Russian revolution shows that the very first wave of the upsurge at the end of 1905, at once stimulated the peasantry to form a political organization (the All-Russian Peasant Union) which was undoubtedly the embryo of a distinct peasant party [brackets in original]" (CW, Vol. 15, 1909, p. 374).

(It's ironic that Mandel, more than three decades after the Chinese revolution, should still be defending the view that there cannot be peasant parties and peasant organizations and that a peasant revolution cannot play any independent role in a social revolution. In China a peasant army headed by a peasant party and with a petty-bourgeois Stalinist leadership

made a revolution that opened the door to historic conquests, however badly deformed, of the Chinese proletariat — that is, the establishment of the Chinese workers state.)

The practical political consequences of Trotsky's pre-1917 position can be demonstrated by the scant attention he paid to the question of peasant organizations in his principal pre-1917 writings on the perspectives of the Russian revolution, 1905² and *Results and Prospects*. Trotsky has little to say about the need to establish peasant committees or other organizations of the rural toilers. Nor does he say much about those that the peasants did form in 1905, the role these organizations played, and what they showed about how the worker-peasant alliance could be built in practice.

This was a decisive point of contention between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Lenin, writing about the 1905 Bolshevik and Menshevik conventions, points out: "The 'peasant question' was presented in entirely different ways by the [Bolshevik] Party Congress and the [Menshevik] Conference. The [Bolshevik] Congress drew up a resolution on the 'attitude to the peasant movement'; the [Menshevik] Conference — on 'work among the peasants.'"

"In the one case prominence is given to the task of guiding the entire revolutionary-democratic movement in the general national interests of the struggle against tsarism," Lenin said. "In the other case the question is reduced to mere 'work' among a particular section of society. In the one case, a central practical slogan for our agitation is advanced calling for the immediate organization of revolutionary peasant committees in order to carry out all democratic changes. In the other, a 'demand for the organization of committees' is to be presented to a constituent assembly" (*Two Tactics*, 1905, p. 75-76).

Trotsky certainly never held the Menshevik position that the formation of peasant committees should be put off to a decision of a constituent assembly. Nevertheless, he placed little emphasis on them. This is not surprising, given his view that an independent peasant movement was impossible.

Whereas Lenin's articles are peppered with phrases about the proletariat "leading" the peasantry, carrying out "joint actions" with it, and forming "alliances" and "coalitions" with peasant organizations, Trotsky's writings during this period focus on the proletariat "emancipating the peasantry," "winning support" from the peasantry, and establishing its "dominance" and "hegemony." Behind what might seem simply to be a difference of vocabulary or style was a more profound divergence over the proletariat's political approach toward the peasant masses and the role and weight of the peasant revolution in the struggle to bring down tsarism and open the socialist revolution.

In 1909 Trotsky defended his position in an article entitled, "Our Differences," which appeared in a Polish Social Democratic journal. He charged the Bolsheviks with favoring "self-limitation" by the working class after a revolutionary victory. (By the way, Mandel's quotation marks around "self-limitation," which the reader would logically assume is quoted from Lenin, is in fact taken from this article by Trotsky. It is not and never was Lenin's term. It's a charge — and a false one — by Trotsky.)

Trotsky wrote, "the objection might be raised that I am imagining a situation in which the dictatorship of the workers is unlimited, whereas in fact what we are talking about is the dictatorship of a coalition between the proletariat and the peasantry. Very well, let us take this objection into account."

"We have just seen how the proletariat, despite the best intentions of its theoreticians, must in practice ignore the logical boundary line which should confine it to a democratic dictatorship. Lenin now proposes that the proletariat's political self-limitation should be supplemented with an objective antisocialist 'safeguard' in the form of the muzhik [peasant] as collaborator or co-dictator."

"If this means that the peasant party, which shares power with the social-democrats, will not allow the unemployed and the strikers to be maintained at state cost and will oppose the state's opening of facto-

2. The 1971 English-language edition of 1905 by Vintage includes the major part of a German edition of 1905 that was written in 1908-09. It also includes the following: "The Proletariat and the Russian Revolution" (1908); "Our Differences" (1909); "The Struggle for Power" (1915); "On the Special Features of Russia's Historical Development" (1922). In addition, it includes Trotsky's speech on the relationship of social democracy to the bourgeois parties at the 1907 congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

ries and plants closed down by the capitalists," Trotsky said, "then it also means that on the first day of the coalition, that is, long before the fulfillment of its tasks, the proletariat will enter into the conflict with the revolutionary government. This conflict can end either in the repression of the workers by the peasant party, or in the removal of that party from power. Neither solution has much to do with a 'democratic' dictatorship by a coalition" ("Our Differences" in 1905, p. 315-316).

The Russian revolution itself proved Trotsky wrong on this point. As described earlier in this article, the Soviet government, established in October 1917, was a two-class government, a coalition of the Bolsheviks and the Left SRs. Trotsky's 1933 article, mentioned earlier, affirmed this.

Rather than suppressing or limiting the demands of the working class, this government was the instrument used by the workers and poor peasants for carrying through the expropriation of the capitalists and deepening the class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited in the countryside.

In the process, the Bolsheviks strengthened their own base among the rural proletariat and poor farmers and divided the Left SRs between those committed to traveling the socialist course being charted by the exploited and those who recoiled from this course and deserted to the camp of the exploiters, the camp of the counterrevolution. The Russian working class would have had a much weaker and more tenuous alliance with the peasantry at the outset of the civil war had the Bolsheviks tried to *skip over* rather than *go through* this coalition with a party initially much more firmly based in the countryside.

Trotsky missed this transitional character of the alliance of the working class and the revolutionary peasantry. While he, like Lenin, correctly saw the class lines within the peasantry that would inevitably surface as the revolution deepened, Trotsky lacked a transitional strategy capable of simultaneously galvanizing the broadest layers for the democratic revolution against the old order, while preparing the proletariat to maintain the strongest possible alliance with the rural poor and middle peasants to open the road to the socialist revolution.

The dispute in 1915-17

The outbreak of World War I in August 1914 accelerated the crisis of the imperialist system and opened the road to proletarian revolutions and wars of national liberation. It raised all the stakes for the working class and its vanguard organizations and intensified the conflicts between the revolutionary and opportunist wings of social democracy organized in the Second International.

In a series of 1915 articles in the Paris-based *Nashe Slovo*, which he coedited with Martov, Trotsky drew the opposite conclusion from Lenin's as to the effect on the peasantry of World War I and the economic changes in Russia since 1905. In the process, Trotsky deepened his error on the role of the peasantry in the Russian revolution. Trotsky stated:

"The experience of the Russian revolution and of the reaction tells us that now, to an *even smaller* extent than in 1905, can we hope for an independent, and *still less* decisive role to be played by the peasantry. In so far as the peasantry has remained in the grip of 'estate' and feudal slavery, it continues to show in its elemental opposition to the old regime all those features of economic and ideological disunity and political immaturity, cultural backwardness and helplessness, which always and in every movement paralyze its social energy and oblige it to come to a standstill at the point where really revolutionary action begins. (emphasis added)

"In so far as the peasantry has made economic and cultural progress in this period," Trotsky argued, "such progress has proceeded entirely along the line of bourgeois development and is therefore associated with a further development of class contradictions within the peasantry itself.

"This means that for the industrial proletariat it is now — immeasurably more so than in 1905 — a question of attracting to its side the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements of the countryside, rather than the peasantry as an 'estate.' The revolutionary movement thus necessarily acquires, in these circumstances, a very much less 'national,' very much more 'class' character than it had even in 1905" ("The Military Catastrophe and the Political Prospects," to be included in a forthcoming Pathfinder Press collection of Trotsky's writings during World War I).

Trotsky, here, has gone further than in *Results and Prospects*. While in the 1906 article he correctly recognized that "the fate of the most elementary revolutionary interests of . . . the peasantry as a whole, as an estate, is bound up with the fate of the entire revolution,"



Peasants forming a line for food rations in 1917. Food was a major demand of revolution.

lution, i.e., with the fate of the proletariat" (*Results and Prospects*, p. 71), nine years later he explicitly rejected an orientation based on an alliance of the working class and the peasantry as a whole.

Yet it was precisely this strategy, advocated and carried out by the Bolsheviks, that was borne out by the October Revolution, as Lenin explained time and again after 1917.

Lenin read Trotsky's *Nashe Slovo* articles and was quite sharp in his criticism of them. In his article "On the Two Lines in the Revolution," Lenin wrote:

"To bring clarity into the alignment of classes in the impending revolution is the main task of a revolutionary party. . . . This task is being wrongly tackled in *Nashe Slovo* by Trotsky," Lenin said, "who is repeating his 'original' 1905 theory and refuses to give some thought to the reason why, in the course of ten years, life has been bypassing this splendid theory."

Lenin continued:

"The peasantry, [Trotsky] asserts, are divided into strata, have become differentiated; their potential revolutionary role has dwindled more and more; in Russia a 'national' revolution is impossible; 'we are living in the era of imperialism,' says Trotsky, and 'imperialism does not contrapose the bourgeois nation to the old regime, but the proletariat to the bourgeois nation.'"

Lenin drew quite different conclusions from Trotsky's about the changes in Russian politics since 1905. He stressed not only the growing class differentiations inside the peasantry, but also the growing potential for a general peasant revolution against tsarism and landlordism.

"The differentiation of the peasantry has enhanced the class struggle within them; it has aroused very many hitherto politically dormant elements," Lenin wrote. "It has drawn the rural proletariat closer to the urban proletariat." On this, Lenin had no fundamental disagreement with Trotsky's *Nashe Slovo* articles. But Trotsky was blind to the other side of the Russian political reality, which would be critical to the next necessary stage of revolutionary development.

"However, the antagonism between the peasantry, on the one hand, and the [old order], on the other, has become stronger and more acute," Lenin pointed out. "This is such an obvious truth that not even the thousands of phrases in scores of Trotsky's Paris articles will 'refute' it."

In fact, Lenin said, by insisting that the peasantry *won't* play a decisive role as a revolutionary force, Trotsky ended up giving aid and comfort to the petty-bourgeois misleaders of the workers and peasants who sought to *ensure* that the peasants remained quiescent. "Trotsky is in fact helping the liberal-labor politicians in Russia," Lenin wrote, "who by 'repudiation' of the role of the peasantry understand a 'refusal' to raise up the peasants for the revolution!" (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 419-420).

By dismissing this alliance between the working class and the peasantry as a whole, Trotsky tended to dissolve the democratic-peasant revolution into the class struggle of the working class against the capitalists. Far from promoting the prospects of socialist revolution, however, Trotsky's lack of a transitional approach actually left the proletariat without a guide as to how to advance along their historic line of march toward the expropriation of the exploiters.

Lenin had pointed to this error in 1909 when he wrote that "Trotsky's major mistake is that he ignores the bourgeois character of the revolution and has no clear conception of the transition from this revolution to the socialist revolution" (CW, Vol. 15, 1909, p. 371).

Lenin's 1915 answer to Trotsky's *Nashe Slovo* articles, however, did present a clear strategy for this transition.

"The proletariat," Lenin wrote, "are fighting, and will fight valiantly, to win power, for a republic, for the confiscation of the land, i.e., to win over the peasantry, make full use of their revolutionary powers, and get the 'non-proletarian masses of the people' to take part in liberating bourgeois Russia from military-feudal imperialism' (tsarism).

"The proletariat will at once utilize this ridding of bourgeois Russia of tsarism and the rule of the landowners," Lenin said, "not to aid the rich peasants in their struggle against the rural workers, but to bring about the socialist revolution in alliance with the proletarians of Europe" (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 420).

Trotsky was not convinced by Lenin on this question, however. Their differences on the role that a peasant revolution would play as an ally of the proletariat widened, if anything, right up to the eve of the February 1917 revolution. Here, for example, is what Trotsky had to say on January 9, 1917, in an article published in New York commemorating the twelfth anniversary of the 1905 revolution:

"If a 'national' revolution was a failure twelve years ago, there is still less hope for it at present. It is true in the last years that the cultural and political level of the peasantry has become higher. However, there is less hope now for a revolutionary uprising of the peasantry as a whole than there was twelve years ago. The only ally of the urban proletariat may be the proletarian and half-proletarian strata of the village" ("The Lessons of the Great Year," *Our Revolution*, Trotsky, 1918, p. 176-7).

Two lines of the revolution

Mandel opens his article by stating that his aim is to demonstrate that "there were three — and not two — strategies proposed by Russian socialists" prior to 1917: those of the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, and Trotsky.

A correct and more useful approach to this question was presented by Lenin in his 1915 article, "On the Two Lines of the Revolution," where he took up Trotsky's *Nashe Slovo* articles. Lenin anchored the disputes in the Russian workers movement not in the clash of divergent conceptions or theories but of social classes.

"The experience of the 1905 Revolution and of the subsequent counter-revolutionary period in Russia teaches us that in our country two lines of revolution could be observed," Lenin wrote, "in the sense that there was a struggle between two classes — the proletariat and the liberal bourgeoisie — for leadership of the masses."

Lenin continued: "The Bolsheviks helped the proletariat consciously to follow the first line, to fight with supreme courage and to lead the peasants. The Mensheviks were constantly slipping into the second line; they demoralized the proletariat by adapting its movement to the liberals. . . ." (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 416).

There were two class lines: 1) organize the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, to take power, or 2) support the liberal bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks followed the former course, the Mensheviks the latter.

"Only these trends — the Bolshevik and the Menshevik," Lenin continued, "manifested themselves in the politics of the masses in 1904-08, and later in 1908-14. Why was that? It was because only these trends had firm class roots — the former in the proletariat, the latter in the liberal bourgeoisie.

Trotsky's "new and original position" was not one of the trends reflected in the Russian masses. Why was that?

"From the Bolsheviks, Trotsky's original theory has borrowed their call for a decisive proletarian revolutionary struggle and for the conquest of political power by the proletariat," Lenin explained, "while from the Mensheviks it has borrowed 'repudiation' of the peasantry's role" (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 419).

Trotsky's perspectives didn't represent a trend rooted in one of the fundamental classes. Rather, it was a centrist amalgamation of the positions of the two principal trends. In relation to these two class lines of the revolution, Trotsky stood closer to the Bolsheviks than to the Mensheviks on the key question of the vanguard role of the working class and opposition to the liberal bourgeoisie.

During the 1905 revolution and its immediate af-

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termath, Trotsky was drawn closer to the Bolsheviks; there was a convergence in action. Trotsky collaborated with the Bolsheviks in the soviets and made a bloc with them against the Mensheviks on the defense policy for the October 1906 trial of the workers deputies to the Soviet, in which Trotsky was the leading defendant.

In November 1905, when the bourgeois liberal journal *Nasha Zhizn* (Our Life) attempted to pit Trotsky's view of the Russian revolution against that of the Bolsheviks, the Bolsheviks' organ, *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life), defended him. It argued that the *Nasha Zhizn* report "is of course sheer nonsense. Comrade Trotsky said that the proletarian revolution, without standing still at the first stage, by pressing hard upon the exploiters, can continue on its road, while Lenin pointed out that the political revolution is only the first step. The publicist of *Nasha Zhizn* would like to perceive a contradiction there. . . .

"The whole misunderstanding comes, first, from the fear with which the name alone of the socialist revolution fills *Nasha Zhizn*," the Bolshevik paper pointed out, "secondly, out of the desire of this paper to discover some sort of sharp and piquant difference of opinion among the social democrats and, thirdly, in the metaphorical expression of Comrade Trotsky: 'at one fell swoop.'"

"In No. 10 of *Nachalo* [The Beginning], Comrade Trotsky explains his ideas quite unequivocally: 'The complete victory of the revolution signifies the victory of the proletariat,' writes Comrade Trotsky. 'But this victory in turn signifies the further uninterruptedness of the revolution. The proletariat realizes the fundamental tasks of democracy and the logic of its immediate struggle for the safeguarding of political domination causes purely socialist problems to arise at the given moment. Between the minimum and maximum program of the social democracy, a revolutionary continuity is established. This is not one 'blow,' it is not one day and not a month, it is a whole historical epoch. It would be absurd to want to determine its duration in advance'" (*The Stalin School of Falsification*, Trotsky, Pathfinder Press, 1905, p. 325).

At the united congress of the RSDLP in London in 1907, Lenin also noted a convergence in Trotsky's position with that of the Bolsheviks.

"I shall only note," Lenin told the delegates, "that is his book *In Defense of the Party* Trotsky expressed, in print, his solidarity with Kautsky [while Kautsky was still a revolutionist], who wrote about the economic community of interests between the proletariat and the peasantry in the present revolution in Russia. Trotsky acknowledged the permissibility and usefulness of a Left bloc [with the peasants] against the liberal bourgeoisie. These facts are sufficient for me to acknowledge that Trotsky has come closer to our views. Quite apart from the question of 'uninterrupted revolution,' we have here solidarity on fundamental points in the question of the attitude towards bourgeois parties" (CW, Vol. 12, 1907, p. 470).

On at least one occasion following this 1907 convention, Lenin seriously probed the possibility of a political rapprochement with Trotsky. Trotsky rebuffed this 1909 probe, however, and moved toward establishing his own faction in the RSDLP. Political differences between Trotsky and the Bolsheviks remained from this time up to the eve of the February 1917 revolution.

Trotsky not only disagreed with the Bolsheviks on the role of the peasant movement, he also differed with Lenin's view that the political differences between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were a genuine reflection of different class forces.

In 1910 Trotsky and Martov wrote articles for Kautsky's paper, *Die Neue Zeit*, explaining their views of the differences in the Russian social democracy to their German cothinkers. Trotsky argued that the Russian working class was still politically immature compared to Western Europe and that the conflicts in the Russian social democracy were a result of the adaptation of the Marxist intelligentsia to this backwardness. Neither the Mensheviks nor Bolsheviks "have struck deep roots in the proletariat," he contended. These factors, Trotsky said, offered the explanation for the "sectarianism, intellectualist individualism, ideological fetishism" allegedly racking Russian Social Democracy.

Lenin responded with an article that Kautsky did not publish. Lenin pointed out that:

"The crux of the matter is not whether the theoretic-



Iakov Sverdlov, a central leader of Bolshevik Party after February Revolution, opposed the capitalist coalition government on his return to Russia in March 1917.

cal formulations of the differences [in Russian social democracy] have penetrated 'deeply' into this or that stratum of the proletariat, but the fact that the economic conditions of the Revolution of 1905 brought the proletariat into hostile relations with the liberal bourgeoisie — not only over the question of improving the conditions of daily life of the workers, but also over the agrarian question, over all the political questions of the revolution, etc.

"To speak of the struggle of trends in the Russian revolution," Lenin said, "distributing labels such as 'sectarianism,' 'lack of culture,' etc., and not to say a word about the fundamental economic interests of the proletariat, of the liberal bourgeoisie and of the democratic peasantry, means stooping to the level of cheap journalists" (CW, Vol. 16, 1910, p. 375).

Standing on the political middle ground between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, Trotsky attempted to build political and organizational bridges between these two opposing organizations, to unite these conflicting expressions of the class struggle. The most serious attempt at this took the form of the so-called August Bloc formed in 1912 by conciliationists such as Trotsky and a few dissident Mensheviks and Bolsheviks.

Trotsky's failure to recognize the need to build the Bolshevik Party in this period was not only or primarily a weakness on the "organizational question" narrowly construed. Though closer politically to the Bolsheviks, Trotsky's conciliationism toward the Mensheviks reflected his political differences with Bolshevism. Trotsky didn't join the Bolsheviks because he *didn't agree* with the Bolsheviks.

Defeatism in World War I

The outbreak of World War I drew an unbridgeable gulf between Trotsky and social-patriots of all stripes. It also brought to the fore further differences between the Bolsheviks and Trotsky. The war accelerated the pressures on the toiling classes, initially retarding but before long heightening the prospects for revolution in Russia. Lenin pointed to the effects of the war on the peasants, particularly on those in uniform fighting and dying on the front.

A central axis of the Bolsheviks' proletarian internationalist position against the war was to call on the working class in all imperialist countries, including Russia, to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. Depending on the particular circumstances, the Bolsheviks said, the working class should do everything possible to carry out revolutionary work aimed at overthrowing their own government and bringing the workers and peasants to power.

The military defeat of the imperialist government in one's own country, Lenin argued, would facilitate such a social revolution. That had been shown in life by the defeat of the tsarist army in the war with Japan, which helped spark the 1905 revolution.

"Wartime revolutionary action against one's own government indubitably means, not only desiring its defeat," Lenin wrote in 1915, "but really facilitating such a defeat." Lenin added the following clarification: "(Discerning reader: note that this does not mean 'blowing up bridges,' organizing unsuccessful strikes in the war industries, and in general helping

the government defeat the revolutionaries)" (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 275).

This has remained the position of proletarian revolutionists in imperialist countries toward wars waged by "their" governments from that time to today.

Lenin's revolutionary defeatism was part and parcel of the Bolsheviks' general strategy for the Russian revolution; it was interconnected with their view of the peasant question and the weight and place of the democratic revolution. The military defeats of the tsarist army in World War I, which led to the February revolution and the overthrow of the tsar, confirmed the Bolsheviks' course.

Trotsky, however, had a different approach, an incorrect one. While he fought the chauvinist capitulation of the majority of the Second International, he also polemicized against the Bolsheviks' defeatist position. Trotsky dealt with this question at length in the same 1915 articles where he explained the diminishing prospects of the peasants playing a role as an ally of the working class in the Russian revolution. He made several points:

- "To the same extent that defeat, all other things being equal, shatters a given state structure, so does the victory of the other side, which is implied by this defeat, strengthen the state organization of that other side. And we do not know of any European social and state organism which it is in the interest of the European proletariat to strengthen, nor do we assign to Russia the role of the state chosen to have its interests subordinated to those of the development of other European peoples."

- "Defeats disorganize and demoralize the ruling reaction, but at the same time war disorganizes the whole of social life, and above all the working class."

- "A revolution which grows out of a defeat inherits an economy disordered to the utmost by war, exhausted state finances, and extremely strained international relations."

- . . . while war may give an impetus to revolution, it may at the same time create a situation such as will make extremely difficult the social and political utilization of a victorious revolution" ("The Military Catastrophe and the Political Prospects," Trotsky, 1915).

In another 1915 article, Trotsky went so far as to label the Bolsheviks' defeatist position "a fundamental connivance with the political methodology of social patriotism." (June 1915 letter to the editorial board of *Kommunist*.)

Trotsky's alternative slogan was, "Neither victory, nor defeat."

Lenin sharply attacked Trotsky for having "completely lost his bearings on a simple issue. It seems to him that to desire Russia's defeat means desiring the victory of Germany." But the defeatist demand, Lenin countered, is profoundly internationalist, indeed the only truly proletarian internationalist position, since "in all imperialist countries the proletariat must now desire the defeat of its own government" (CW, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 276).

Trotsky's opposition to the Bolsheviks' revolutionary strategy against the war was reflected on the international level, where he continued to pursue a course of conciliation toward the opportunists.

There were essentially three currents in the international movement.

One was the outright social patriots, such as the majority of German and French social democratic leaders, who openly supported their own imperialist governments, voted for war credits, and participated in war cabinets. In Russia this was the position of right-wing SR and Menshevik leaders, and it became the position of a big majority of the leaderships of these parties following the February 1917 revolution.

The second trend was represented by the opportunists, most prominent of whom was Kautsky. They opposed the war, voted against war credits, and called for international solidarity of the working class. However, they refused to break with the Second International or link up the antiwar struggle with the revolutionary struggle in their own countries. Martov and other "Menshevik-Internationalists" represented this current in Russia.

The third trend converged around the revolutionary communist policy put forward most consistently by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. From the very outset Lenin called for the formation of a new, third international, and he attacked not only the social patriots, but the opportunists who gave them cover.

From the beginning of the war, Trotsky strongly opposed the social patriots. He differed with the Bolsheviks not only on the question of defeatism, however, but also on the necessity of breaking with the Kautskyists in order to move toward a new revolutionary international. Trotsky held a centrist position between the Bolsheviks and the Kautskyists.

As the imperialist slaughter dragged on, the inter-

nationalist position won increasing support among socialists. This laid the basis for the conference in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in September 1915, that brought together social-democratic opponents of the war. It was attended by 38 delegates from 11 European countries.

Two principal political currents waged a political struggle at this conference — the proletarian communists led by Lenin and the “vacillating, near Kautskyites” (as Lenin characterized the right wing at the conference).

The Bolsheviks, represented by Lenin and Zinoviev, and a handful of international supporters fought for a resolution, drafted by Lenin, that explicitly attacked both the social patriots and the opportunists, favored defeatism, and called for turning the imperialist war into a civil war (See *CW*, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 345-348). The right wing strongly disagreed with these points.

Trotsky, whose *Nashe Slovo* articles opposing defeatism had appeared only a few weeks before the conference, also disagreed with the Left Zimmerwaldists on other points. He also disagreed with the Zimmerwald right, however. Holding the middle ground, Trotsky was designated to draft a compromise manifesto, which was adopted unanimously. It has become widely known as the Zimmerwald Manifesto, despite the fact that it had, according to Lenin, “inconsistency, timidity and a failure to say everything that ought to be said.”

“Our non-agreement, the non-agreement, not only of our Central Committee but of the entire international Left-wing section of the Conference, which stands by the principles of revolutionary Marxism, is openly expressed in a special resolution, a separate draft manifesto, and a separate declaration on the vote for a compromise manifesto,” Lenin stated. “We did not conceal a jot of our views, slogans, or tactics.”

“A German edition of our pamphlet, *Socialism and War* [written by Lenin and Zinoviev in preparation for the conference — see *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 295-338], was handed out at the Conference. We have spread, are spreading, and shall continue to spread our views with no less energy than the manifesto will.”

“It is a fact that this manifesto is a step forward towards a real struggle against opportunism, towards rupture with it,” Lenin said. “It would be sectarianism to refuse to take this step forward together with the minority of German, French, Swedish, Norwegian, and Swiss socialists, when we retain full freedom and full opportunity to criticize inconsistency and to work for greater things” (“The First Step,” *CW*, Vol. 21, 1915, p. 387).

The Zimmerwald Left remained an organized international current. It distributed the Zimmerwald Left Manifesto and other resolutions as widely as possible and briefly published its own organ. It continued to participate in the Zimmerwald organization, and at the April 1916 conference held in Kienthal, Switzerland, the Zimmerwaldists — under the impetus of the Bolshevik-led left wing — took an even bigger step in breaking with the opportunists. It was the work done by the Zimmerwald Left that assembled the first nuclei of the Third International which was formally established in early 1919.

Why Trotsky didn't join the Bolsheviks

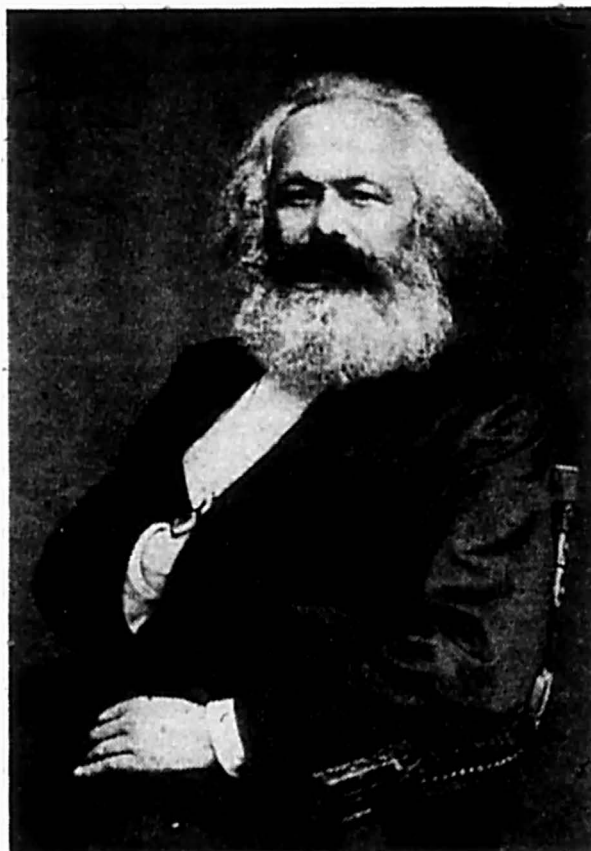
Despite Trotsky's agreement with many of the Bolsheviks' positions, his differences on key questions of strategy for the Russian revolution prevented him from joining. This was not an error, in the sense that simply out of mistaken organizational conceptions Trotsky did not join a party that politically he should have been part of. To the contrary, Trotsky's centrist position on the organizational level reflected his political centrism.

But the clear logic of Mandel's article is that since Trotsky was correct on the basic political strategy for the revolution, he should have been inside the organization that was assembling the cadres capable of leading the workers to power, fighting there to win it to his program and away from that fought for by Lenin.

Mandel actually makes this explicit in a recent article, “The Need for a Revolutionary International,” coauthored with John Ross in the Spring 1982 *International Marxist Review*, a magazine published in Britain.

Mandel and Ross declare that Trotsky made a “disastrous mistake” when “not merely did he not join the Bolsheviks, which was the biggest mistake of his entire life, but when he did not build up a serious force in Russia of any major dimensions.”

“In consequence Trotsky entered the Russian Revolu-



Karl Marx

tion with an excellent programme, and some brilliant cadres, but with an organization (the *Mezh-rayoutsy*) so small that it could never have built even in the revolutionary conditions of Russia a party capable of taking power in 1917” (Spring 1982, *International Marxist Review*, p. 50).

The point is unambiguous. Trotsky's error was not that he didn't become a Leninist, but that he didn't join the Bolshevik Party in order to fight for his “excellent program,” or in the words of Mandel's *ISR* article, his “entirely new and original position.”

But adjectives like “excellent,” “new,” or “original” shouldn't weigh heavily in the balance for Marxists. The decisive question is whether or not a position is correct, whether or not it serves to chart a course for the working class and its allies to take and hold political power. Trotsky's pre-1917 strategy, insofar as it differed from the Bolsheviks', was wrong.

What if Trotsky had joined the Bolshevik Party and won major parts of it away from Lenin's strategy to his own political perspectives? That would have greatly increased the likelihood that the party would have failed to take power in October 1917, and that the Russian workers and peasants would have gone down to defeat. It was Lenin's strategy that built the party that led the workers to victory.

Mandel argues that Lenin came over to Trotsky's pre-1917 strategy for the Russian revolution, while Trotsky came over to Lenin's view of party organization. But this is not true. In fact, it makes no sense at all. How can a historical materialist explain this supposed complete dichotomy between program and strategy, on the one hand, and their organizational expression, on the other?

When Trotsky joined the Bolshevik Party in the summer of 1917, he became a Leninist and remained one for the rest of his life.

Mandel tends to artificially separate the “excellent program,” i.e., Trotsky's, from the excellent organization, i.e., the Bolsheviks', as if the Bolsheviks' revolutionary proletarian strategy was not what ultimately determined the organizational character of their party. This is the opposite of Lenin's view.

The Bolsheviks' strategy for the revolution can't be divorced from the kind of party they built, any more than Trotsky's “new and original position” can be separated from his organizational conciliationism toward the opportunists and his other errors on the organization question.

The differences between Lenin and Trotsky on the question of the Russian revolution cannot be divorced from the overall living process of building a proletarian revolutionary party. They cannot be reduced to a conflict between two “theories” of the revolution. To understand the differences, it is necessary to descend from the realm of ideas and “brilliant cadres” to that of classes and their alignment, conflicts, and relations. That's where both strategies and organizations come from, not vice versa.

Lenin's strategy was not the idea of one individual, but the generalized lessons from the collective revolutionary activity of a party that was part of the Russian working class, as well as from the previous historical experiences summed up by the Marxist movement. The positions of the Bolsheviks were continual-

ly being tested, modified, and retested in the class struggle by worker-Bolsheviks. The collective determination and testing of positions was directed toward leading the day-to-day work of the party — its fractions in the factories, its Duma fractions, its underground cells, its exile organizations, its blocs with peasant organizations, its defense cases, its election campaigns, and its press.

The party was a “single great . . . mechanism,” as Lenin put it. Party literature “must become part of the common cause of the proletariat, ‘a cog and a screw’ of this mechanism, Lenin said. This was the Bolshevik approach to all party activity (*CW*, Vol. 10, 1905, p. 45).

The activity of the party was directed toward advancing the political consciousness of the working class, of helping to lead it from one stage of the class struggle to the next. It was preeminently a transitional approach to party building. And nothing shows this more clearly than the approach that the Bolsheviks developed to the relationship between the democratic and socialist revolutions.

The historical record clearly shows that it was the strategy of Bolshevism that was confirmed in the Russian revolution, and that became the programmatic basis of the Communist International. It was not a fusion of one part Bolshevism with one part Trotsky's pre-1917 centrism.

“Discovering” a new law

Mandel claims that the view of the Russian revolution that Trotsky began developing in 1904 “flowed from his discovery of the law of uneven and combined development, undoubtedly his fundamental contribution to Marxism.” Later Mandel states that this law “implied that the proletariat could take power in a backward country before it did so in the most advanced countries.”

The biggest problem with this is that no fact or action “flows from” or “is implied by” any law of historical materialism.

Mandel argues that a fact — that is, that the working class could take power in a backward country before it did in an advanced country — was “implied” by the law of uneven and combined development. If things should be called by their proper names, then this statement should be labeled a serious concession to idealism and antimaterialism. Historical laws and theories can be applied to political situations to help analyze them and to anticipate the contours of future development. But no facts are implied by historical laws. None at all.

In 1847, when the petty bourgeois socialist Pierre Joseph Proudhon argued that economic competition at a particular historical stage is the necessary result of “the theory of the reduction of general expenses,” Marx retorted: “For M. Proudhon, the circulation of the blood must be a consequence of Harvey's theory.” (William Harvey was a British physician who first sought to explain the circulation of blood in the human body) (*MECW*, Vol. 6, p. 194).

Both Trotsky and Lenin examined the economic and social relations in Russia and the world from the standpoint of Marxism and historical materialism, and they drew certain conclusions about strategy. But nothing could be deduced from the law of uneven and combined development to prove that Lenin or Trotsky was correct. Before 1917 Trotsky did not describe or generalize the law of uneven and combined development any differently than Lenin. Trotsky did not use the name “uneven and combined development” to describe this basic law of historical materialism until 1930 in the first chapter of his *History of the Russian Revolution*.

While it is true that Trotsky was the first Marxist to give the law of uneven and combined development its name and to elaborate it as a fundamental law of historical evolution, Trotsky, unlike Mandel, claimed no more in using this tool than to be scientifically systematizing one law on the basis of the historical materialist method that he had learned from the study of Marx and Engels's writings.

Trotsky would have been the first to ridicule the notion that he discovered the law of uneven and combined development. He considered this to be an integral part of historical materialism as developed by Marx and Engels. “The unevenness of capitalist development . . . were as well known to Marx and Engels as they are to us,” he said in 1926 (“Speech to the Fifteenth Congress,” *The Challenge of the Left Opposition 1926-27*, Pathfinder Press, p. 152).

If Marx and Engels did not recognize unevenness in historical development and the combined character

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of social formations, then what *was* historical materialism before Trotsky's "discovery"? A theory of unvarying, uniform, and strictly sequential development? A scheme *imposed* on human history rather than a scientific generalization of its laws of development drawn from the dialectic of its concrete unfolding? That's what bourgeois opponents and social-democratic revisionists of scientific socialism have claimed, but never Marxists.

How could Marx and Engels, at the very beginning of their political lives, have understood the class struggle in their own native Germany otherwise? Despite its low level of industrial development and small industrial proletariat compared to other major Western European nations, they nonetheless predicted in the *Communist Manifesto* that Germany had the greatest revolutionary potential in the late 1840s — precisely because of the social contradictions created by its backwardness in the context of an expanding world capitalist system.

Moreover, Marx and Engels explained the theoretical basis for such a conclusion one year earlier in 1846 in their very first work outlining much of historical materialism, *The German Ideology*:

"It is evident that large-scale industry does not reach the same level of development in all districts of a country," Marx and Engels wrote. "This does not, however, retard the class movement of the proletariat, because the proletarians created by large-scale industry assume leadership of this movement and carry the whole mass along with them, and because the workers excluded from large-scale industry are placed by it in a still worse situation than the workers in large-scale industry itself."

Applying this to capitalist development on a world scale, they continued:

"The countries in which large-scale industry is developed act in a similar manner upon the more or less non-industrial countries, insofar as the latter are swept by world intercourse [economic trade and social relations] into the universal competitive struggle. . . .

"Thus all collisions in history have their origin, according to our view, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the form of intercourse. Incidentally, to lead to collisions in a country, this contradiction need not have necessarily reached its extreme limit in that particular country," Marx and Engels wrote. "The competition with industrially more advanced countries, brought about by the expansion of international intercourse, is sufficient to produce a similar contradiction in countries with a less advanced industry (e.g., the latent proletariat in Germany brought into more prominence by the competition of English industry)" (*Marx and Engels Collected Works* (MECW), Vol. 5, p. 74-5).

Of course, the massive expansion of world capitalism and the emergence of imperialism since the *German Ideology* was written have greatly magnified and transformed the processes that Marx and Engels were pointing to. Can it be denied, however, that they took the uneven and combined development of the world capitalist system into account from the outset in developing their historical materialist outlook and its programmatic and strategic conclusions?

Lenin, too, discerned unevenness and combination

in historical and political developments, and examples have already been cited in this article.

It is ludicrous to believe that a Marxist committed to building a proletarian party and making a socialist revolution in a country such as Russia could have been oblivious to its contradictory social and economic conditions — the most backward political forms and agrarian relations, combined with industrialization and a growing modern proletariat. Lenin analyzed these aspects of Russian society at great length, and integrated them into his strategy for the Russian revolution.

In the late 1920s, when Stalin, in an attempt to deify Lenin and to justify his own personality cult, developed the notion that Leninism is a superior kind of Marxism peculiar to the imperialist epoch, Trotsky responded:

"In essence the singling out of Leninism as a special kind of Marxism peculiar to the age of imperialism was necessary for the revision of Marxism, something Lenin in fact fought against throughout his life. Inasmuch as the central idea of this latest revision of Marxism was the reactionary idea of national socialism (the theory of building socialism in one country), it was necessary to demonstrate or at least proclaim that Leninism had taken a new position on this central question of Marxist theory and politics in opposition to the Marxism of the preimperialist era."

Trotsky continued: "We have already heard [from Stalin] that *Lenin supposedly discovered the law of uneven development, that there could have been no question of such a thing in the time of Marx and Engels*. That is precisely the absurdity that the Thomas Aquinases of our day call on us to have faith in" (emphasis added, *The Challenge of the Left Opposition* (1928-9), Trotsky, p. 402).

While Trotsky did not "discover" this law, he did elaborate the features of this tool of historical materialism at some length and apply it to the analysis of twentieth century social and economic development, especially in the first chapter of his *The History of the Russian Revolution*. It may well also be true that Trotsky was the first Marxist to use the particular phrase "uneven and combined development." Unlike Mandel, however, Trotsky claimed no more in using this tool than *to be applying* the laws of historical materialism that he had learned from the study of Marx and Engels's writings, and providing a name for one of them.

Finally, Mandel asserts that discovering the law of uneven and combined development was Trotsky's "fundamental contribution" to Marxism. Regardless of how one weighs this contribution, would it be greater than other important contributions such as applying, defending, or passing Bolshevism on to a new generation after Lenin's death?

In the face of the massive use of state power by the Stalinist bureaucracy to break the revolutionary continuity of Marxism, Trotsky taught us to be Bolsheviks and to read Lenin, Marx, and Engels. During this struggle against the reversal of Bolshevism, he analyzed the degeneration of the Soviet workers state. He taught us what was progressive and required defending — state property, planning and the monopoly of foreign trade — and what was reactionary and needed to be removed — the parasitic

bureaucratic caste that had usurped governmental power from the workers and farmers.

Marx, Engels, and Lenin did not live to see this new phenomenon, but Trotsky did. His analysis built on the Marxist theory of the state and of government, enriched it, and made an indispensable contribution to the transitional program and the communist strategy for the world socialist revolution in all three of its sectors. It has been incorporated into the revolutionary continuity of Marxism.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Trotsky developed and enriched the transitional method and Leninist strategy of party building that he had learned as a Bolshevik. He also made important contributions to the Marxist understanding of fascism, the colonial revolution, and of the national question, including its application to the oppression of Blacks in the United States.

Trotsky's principal contributions to the Marxist movement, to the working-class movement, were made *after* he had become a Leninist. They were made *because* he had dumped the worst of his pre-1917 positions, not in continuity with them. After the death of Lenin, Trotsky became the foremost proponent of the revolutionary continuity of Marxism and of Leninism and helped build an international organization of cadres to defend and apply that continuity in the developing class struggle.

The proletariat's line of march

As indicated at the beginning of this article, the question of what strategy helped lead the Russian workers to power is of decisive importance, since it determines where proletarian revolutionists today should look for our own continuity — with the pre-1917 Trotsky, or with Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

It is Bolshevism, it is Leninism that represents our continuity with Marxism. The Leninist strategy for the revolutionary workers party in Russia was firmly rooted in the generalizations drawn by Marx and Engels in their writings from the experience of the working class. The basic rudiments of the Bolsheviks' strategy for the Russian revolution, in fact, come straight from the *Communist Manifesto*, written by Marx and Engels in December-January 1847-48. If we substitute "Russia" for "Germany" in the last section of the *Manifesto*, it reads as follows:

"In Russia they [the Communists] fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie."

"But they never cease, for a single instant, to instill into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat in order that the Russian workers may straightaway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Russia, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin."

"The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Russia, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilization, and with a much more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Russia will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution" (*MESW*, Vol. 1, p. 137).

This was the general approach of the Bolsheviks in Russia. It wasn't new or original, but it did the job.

3. By "petty bourgeoisie," Marx and Engels are not referring here to the peasantry, but to what Engels describes in another 1847 article as "the poor burghers, especially those of the small provincial towns," who as a layer "clings to the existing state of things and supports the nobility with the whole weight of its inertia." He distinguished explicitly between them and "the peasants and the propertyless classes" in Germany. ("The Constitutional Question in Germany," *MECW*, Vol. 6, p. 82-3.)

In other writings in 1847, Marx and Engels also differentiated between this layer, primarily a hangover from the feudal period, and the more modern urban middle class — small artisans, shopkeepers, etc. — which they considered an ally of the workers in the democratic revolution, although an inconsistent and vacillating one. For example, Engels writes that a key "task of the German democratic press" is "to reveal the oppression of the proletarians, small peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, for in Germany these constitute the 'people', by the bureaucracy, the nobility, and the bourgeoisie." The democratic press should also show "how not only political but above all social oppression has come about, and by what means it can be eliminated," Engels wrote, and "that the conquest of political power by the proletarians, small peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie is the first condition for the application of these means." ("The Communists and Karl Heinzen," *MECW*, Vol. 6, p. 294.)

For further reading

Marx and Engels

The Communist Manifesto*
47 p., \$9.95

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Cuba vows massive Nicaragua flood relief

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA — "If the Cuban people themselves had only a single piece of bread, half of it would rightfully belong to our Nicaraguan brothers."

That was the response in Cuba to the appeal by the revolutionary government of Nicaragua for emergency aid to help recover from the devastating damage inflicted by torrential rains and flooding during the last week of May.

That statement, which accurately expressed the feelings of the Cuban people, was made by Raúl Castro, vice-premier of Cuba, as he and a large Cuban governmental delegation arrived in Managua on May 29.

Despite the extraordinary responsibility occasioned by the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, which was being held simultaneously in Havana, the Cuban leadership immediately responded to Nicaragua's appeal by sending a high-level delegation.

According to daily front-page press accounts in Cuba, the Cuban delegation toured the country, working with the Nicaraguan government's commissions, to assess the extent of the damages and determine what aid from Cuba would be most effective. In talks with the Nicaraguan leadership delegation that came to Cuba, Fidel Castro assured them that even if emergency aid affected the pace of Cuba's own development plans, Cuba would do whatever was within its means.

The Cuban leadership also took advantage of the fact that high-level delegations from more than 90 countries were in Havana for the conference of the Nonaligned Movement to press other governments to respond to Nicaragua's emergency needs with substantial material aid.

The offer of the Argentine military junta to send 7,000 tons of wheat to Nicaragua, for example, was a great help. It is also an indication of the degree to which that dictatorship — today under heavy assault by British and U.S. imperialism — has been forced to turn for support to precisely those same revolutionary forces it was trying to militarily overthrow only weeks ago.

The toll continues to mount in Nicaragua as the flood waters recede and the extent of the damage can be assessed. When the final count is in, it is expected that the death toll will top 100. More than 70,000 have been left homeless or have had their livelihoods directly affected. Agricultural production has been devastated: 60 percent of the corn and banana crops lost; 30 percent of rice seedlings swept away; 50 percent of the land prepared for cotton planting inundated. Thousands of tons of sugar, cotton, and coffee in the warehouses ready for export were destroyed.

As Nicaraguan Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce summed it up while visiting Cuba, the losses can only be compared to those suffered during the final days of the liberation struggle in 1979 or in the 1972 earthquake that devastated Managua.

"Our evaluation of the situation," he said, "leads us to the conclusion that we have practically been pushed back to where we were on the day the revolution triumphed."

To Cubans, the situation Nicaragua faces today is reminiscent of the early years of the Cuban revolution. They too inherited an economy that was in shambles. Substandard housing conditions left the majority of the population vulnerable to any natural disaster. Cuba faced an economic blockade and military actions organized by U.S. imperialism, including the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. In 1963, the island was hit by Hurricane Flora, one of the worst in Cuban history. It left some 1,500 dead and caused economic damages similar to those suffered by Nicaragua today.

Among those to die in the Nicaraguan floods was a young Cuban teacher, Ana Virgen Robles. She drowned while try-

ing to save the life of a child when the boat in which they were being evacuated capsized. To the Cubans, this death of an internationalist teacher is just one more natural bond that links their fate to that of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Similarly, the round-the-clock effort of the Celia Sánchez Construction Brigade has received proud coverage in the Cuban press. The brigade, named after one of the most prominent leaders of the Cuban revolution and made up of Cuban volunteers, has been repairing bridges vital to reopening communications and supply lines to León, Nicaragua's second-largest city. To respond in any other manner to the needs of the Nicaraguan revolution would be unthinkable

to the Cuban people.

This political process today unfolding in both Cuba and Nicaragua, the deepening of the revolution in both countries as they work together to meet their common needs, was captured with great accuracy in an exchange between Raúl Castro and a young worker in a Managua factory. The Cuban delegation was touring an important factory that produces chicken coops and other products needed by the rapidly expanding poultry industry in Nicaragua. As they were about to leave the plant, Verónica Cardoza, on behalf of all the workers, told Raúl:

"For 20 years the Somozaist dictatorship prevented Nicaraguan workers

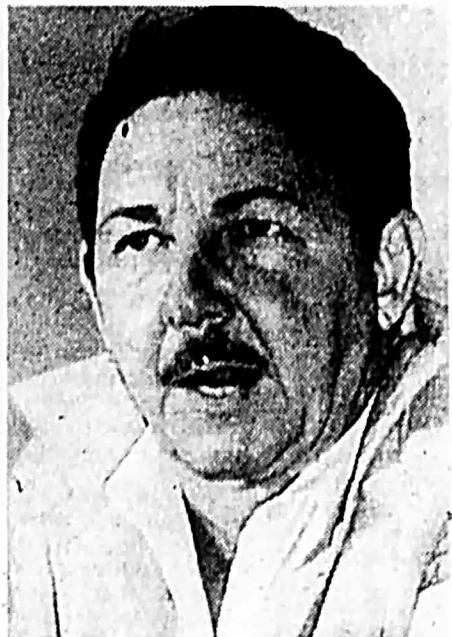
from having any relationship with the people of Cuba. But a mere 34 months of full freedom has been enough for the Nicaraguan people to learn what the Cuban revolution and its people really are. We want them to know that without the collaboration, aid, and internationalist spirit of Cuba this modest factory would not exist."

To this heartfelt expression of gratitude, Raúl replied with equal truth: "Even more important than the collaboration Cuba has offered Nicaragua is what Nicaragua has given Cuba and the rest of the peoples of the world through the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution."

From Intercontinental Press



Left: Militia members and local volunteers build dike in Managua. Right: Vice-premier Raúl Castro headed Cuban delegation to assess damage and determine aid needs.



Photos by Barricada

Activists in Miami answer appeal

BY BOB SCHWARTZ

MIAMI — Nearly a ton and a half of clothing and food was flown out of Miami International Airport to aid the people of Nicaragua, which was devastated by a major flood.

Hours after Nicaragua issued an appeal for aid, antiwar activists in the Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association (LACASA) began organizing collections.

St. John's Lutheran Church, located in central Miami in a predominantly Dominican community, opened its doors to receive, sort, and pack donations.

After three local TV stations carried the story with a phone number for pledges and the *Miami Herald* reported it on page one of Sunday's local section, the calls began pouring in.

Donations are still coming in. After four days, enough has been collected for

one shipment, but work is continuing and further shipments are planned.

Contributions have come from throughout South Florida, from people who simply heard the appeal on the news.

The favorable coverage, on Spanish- and English-language television, and the response from Latino working people as well as small businesses, has apparently upset right-wing Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles.

Shortly before the first shipment was to leave, right-wing Spanish-language radio stations began broadcasting accusations that the relief was organized by a "communist committee," and called for "demonstrations" when the material is turned over to the Nicaraguan consulate. Such provocative calls have, in the past, led to right-wing physical attacks.

But antiwar activists here plan to continue the drive for humanitarian aid despite these threats.

How you can help

In cooperation with the flood relief program of the Nicaraguan government, Casa Nicaragua in New York has made an urgent appeal to American citizens to help raise funds and collect supplies for refugees.

Casa Nicaragua has opened a special bank account for financial donations. It is: Nicaragua Relief Account, Casa Nicaragua, No. 01033210, Amalgamated Bank of New York, 11-15 Union Square, New York, New York 10003. For tax purposes Casa Nicaragua is a non-profit organization with tax deduction number: Tax Exempt 13-3045101.

Money, food, clothing, and medicine can be taken directly to:

- CASA Nicaragua, 19 West 21st St., New York, New York (212) 243-2678.

- The Church World Service, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York.

Large quantities of medicine can be delivered directly to the Nicaraguan Consulate, 820 Second Ave., New York, New York.

Further reading on Latin America revolution



Sandinistas Speak

Speeches, writings, and interviews with leaders of Nicaragua's revolution.

By Tomás Borge, Carlos Fonseca, Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, and Jaime Wheelock.

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Fidel Castro on Chile

Education for Socialists

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Speech by Fidel Castro to the Tenth World Trade Union Congress in February 1982.

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Militant/Arnold Weissberg
North Carolina congressional candidate Meryl Lynn Farber

Petitioning completed in N.C.

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — Socialist campaigners completed a three-week petitioning drive here May 28, collecting almost 13,000 signatures to place the Socialist Workers Party and its 5th Congressional District candidate, Meryl Lynn Farber, on the ballot in November.

Campaigners found deep antiwar sentiment and resentment against economic and social cutbacks.

One woman signed, she said, because she has three sons in

the army: "I'll sign anything to stop the government from going to war. I don't want my sons dying in another Vietnam."

On the last day of the petition drive, 1,300 signatures were collected in Charlotte. Farber stood behind a table with a sign that read: "No war. Help us put a worker on the ballot." TV cameras filmed an enthusiastic crowd that lined up to sign.

Stop U.S. wars, says Wash. rally

SEATTLE — Nearly 60 people attended a Socialist Workers Party campaign rally here May 22.

Many of them were antiwar activists. That reflects antiwar activity here: On March 27, 10,000 marched against U.S. intervention in El Salvador; on April 16, 14,000 rallied for disarmament.

Chris Remple, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, called for U.S. and British hands off Argentina.

Tahir Allero, from revolutionary Grenada and a member of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society, also spoke.

Fred Halstead, a garment worker in Los Angeles who was a national leader of the movement against the Vietnam War, said it was easy to see that the U.S. government is the threat to

peace.

"All you have to do," he said, "is look at a map. Put a blue pin everywhere there's a U.S. military base, and a green pin where the Russian military bases are. The blue pins form almost a perfect circle around the green ones."

Halstead also explained why the bilateral nuclear freeze proposal is a trap for antiwar activists.

Ala. socialist on plant closing

BIRMINGHAM — "Blackmail" was the word used by Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Alabama, to describe the planned shutdown by U.S. Steel of its Fairfield steel plant.

"Companies like U.S. Steel and Pullman Standard claim they are not making enough money . . . and demand more concessions from steelworkers," Boyers said. "U.S. Steel cries poverty, yet it had plenty of money to buy Marathon Oil."

Alabama employers have thrown more than 200,000 onto the jobless lines, he pointed out. Black youth are hardest hit. In Montgomery, 79 percent of Black youth can't find jobs.

The reason for the layoffs, he said, "is the capitalist rule that

no one can work and nothing can be produced, except for profit. We believe the need for jobs and a decent standard of living for all is more important than profits for the rich."

Celebration in Newport News

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia — Eli Green and Cappy Kidd weren't elected to the City Council here in the May 4 elections. But they held a victory rally that night nonetheless.

The two socialist candidates and their supporters had a lot to celebrate.

More than \$150 was contributed to their campaign by their co-workers, including from 14 steelworkers.

Several steelworkers campaigned for Green at the Teneco shipyard where he works.

During a six-week campaign, the candidates spoke before more than 700 high-school students, 30 of whom signed up for free introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*.

The campaign got wide coverage on TV and radio and in newspapers.

The victory celebration reflected the kind of people drawn to the socialist alternative. As students and sailors left the celebration to prepare for finals and duty watch, four rail work-

ers walked in straight from their union meeting. Three shipyard workers came later in their workclothes, off second shift.

W. Va. SWP files petitions

CHARLESTON — Petitions to put two socialist coal miners on the ballot in November were filed here at the State Capitol Building May 28.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates are William Hovland for U.S. Senate and Adrienne Benjamin for Congress. Both are members of the United Mine Workers.

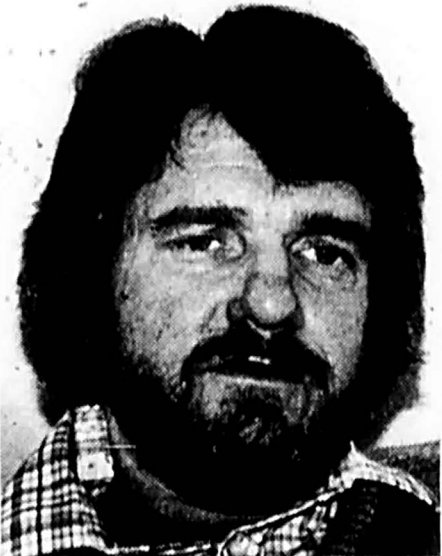
More than 13,400 signatures were filed for Hovland and 3,900 for Benjamin. The law requires 4,934 for Senate and 1,796 for Congress.

Not since 1936 have socialist candidates been on the West Virginia ballot.

Three days before the signatures were turned in, the state Supreme Court refused, 3-2, to hear a challenge to the primary election law that imposes a fine or jail for anyone who signs a third-party or independent nominating petition and then votes in primary elections.

This column was prepared from reports by Jim Carson, Jeanette Dawson, Amy Hush, Brian Williams, and others.

Nebraska socialist enters gubernatorial race



Militant/Stu Singer
We should be sending farmers and grain to aid Nicaragua flood victims, says socialist Joe Swanson.

BY D. M. WILLIAMS

LINCOLN, Neb. — "I am saying that Nebraska and the entire country need a government of workers and farmers to carry out policies in the interests of the majority, not of the tiny minority of bankers and businessmen who own the government and the Democratic and Republican parties."

With these words Joe Swanson, a rail worker and member of the Socialist Workers Party, announced his candidacy for governor of Nebraska at a well-attended news conference here June 8.

Swanson pointed out: "War is the biggest issue. Billions are being spent on war, when people need jobs and farmers need help." The Marine Corps veteran denounced U.S. involvement in Britain's criminal colonial war against Argentina, U.S. support to the El Salvador dictatorship, and the secret U.S. war against Nicaragua.

"Nicaragua has just been hit by the

worst floods in its history," he pointed out. "I say, let's use government money to send some Nebraska farmers and grain down there to help them out, instead of attacking them and refusing to trade with them."

"What we need is a foreign policy of peace and cooperation, not war, bullying, and arrogance. Instead of supporting murderous dictators, a workers and farmers government could aid and support revolutions against poverty and oppression."

Swanson said one of his first acts as a candidate would be to protest U.S. wars at the United Nations June 12. "I will also denounce Israel's terror raids against the people of Lebanon," he stated.

A railroad switchman and member of United Transportation Union Local 305 for 22 years, Swanson challenged his opponents — Republican Governor Charles Thone, an attorney, and Democratic businessman Robert Kerrey — to

debate the issues of the campaign.

The news conference was covered by three local television stations, three radio stations, and the *Lincoln Star* and *Lincoln Journal*. The coverage was quite serious and took special note of Swanson's proposals for agriculture, the mainstay of this state's economy.

He charged that the Democrats and Republicans "claim to be for the farmer, but in reality they are beholden to the banks, insurance companies, and grain cartels that are putting farmers out of business."

"We need a workers and farmers government that could cancel the debts and mortgages of family farmers and offer interest-free credit so that they could work and produce the food the world needs."

He said he hoped his campaign "would be an example for other workers and farmers to take their own political action." He called for the formation of a labor party based on the unions. Such a party, he said, could "take the lead in fighting against U.S. war policy, for jobs, against budget cuts, for women's rights and Black rights, and for the interests of all workers and farmers."

To be on the November ballot, Swanson and his supporters will have to gather 2,000 signatures on petitions by August 24. They plan to launch this effort at a campaign rally June 26 at the Clay-ton House in Lincoln.

The campaign can be reached at (402) 475-2255; P.O. Box 30209, Lincoln, Nebraska 68503.

Minn. candidate hits war, union-busting

BY JOHN GAIGE

MINNEAPOLIS — Bill Onasch, a 39-year-old machine operator at Litton Microwave in Minneapolis, is running for U.S. Senate in Minnesota on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Onasch was local president of his union, Local 1139, United Electrical Workers (UE), for three years, and recently served four terms as Litton shop chairman for his local.

Onasch and his supporters campaigned at a May 8 peace demonstration that drew 3,000 participants.

In the march, which went through the heart of Minneapolis's Indian community, the leading and most militant contingent was organized by the American Indian Movement, which chanted "Hell no, we won't go," and other antiwar slogans.

Socialists sold 125 *Militants* to the crowd. In a statement distributed at the demonstration, Onasch termed Washington's massive nuclear arsenal "the ultimate threat to the struggles of people in Central America, where bloody

conventional wars are going on today."

He called for a "100 percent tax on the war profits of companies like Honeywell, FMC, Sperry-Univac, and Control Data."

The statement also explained that "only a government of workers and farmers can secure peace and eliminate the war budget, the largest in history, and use those funds to reconstruct an economy of useful, peaceful production."

Toward that end, he advocates a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement.

On May 29, Onasch joined 150 unionists and community activists protesting "Litton the lawbreaker" in front of that company's Minneapolis plant.

In 1977, Litton moved 1,000 jobs to a nonunion plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. The UE organized workers there in a drive in which Onasch participated. In 1980 the Sioux Falls workers voted the union in. But Litton brazenly harasses and fires union activists in the plant.

Onasch told the *Militant* that Litton has a nationwide corporate policy of

union-busting. It includes, he said, refusing to negotiate, firing workers illegally, and closing plants and shifting production to nonunion facilities.

The Minneapolis rally was attended by teamsters, auto workers, and members of other unions. Speakers said Litton should become as hated a symbol to the labor movement as J.P. Stevens, the notorious textile company that for years has resisted unionization.

Litton workers coming off the first shift responded enthusiastically and joined the rally.

Onasch, in a well-received campaign statement, said, "The workers already laid off by the runaways and closings are not the only victims. Virtually every other employer is using the threat of closings to try to extract wage and other concessions from workers."

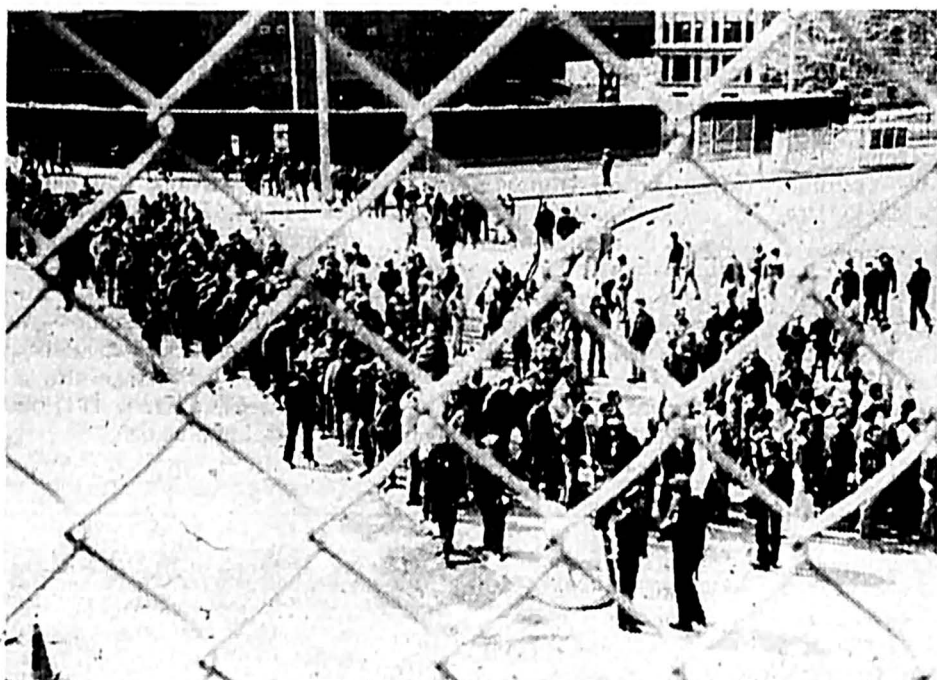
He challenged his Democratic and Republican opponents, Mark Dayton and Dave Durenburger, to a debate, charging that they falsely pose as "peace" candidates and have no solutions to unemployment, inflation, and the bosses' austerity drive.

Marxism and the Working Farmer

An *Education for Socialists* bulletin. Includes "American Agriculture and the Working Farmer," by Doug Jenness; documents and speeches by Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Fidel Castro. 62 pp., \$2.50.

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Unions open talks with GE, Westinghouse



Three-day strike last April at GE's Schenectady plant (shown above) is indicative of electrical workers' mood as their unions head into negotiations. "Farming out" of work to nonunion shops, which provoked walkout of 8,000 in Schenectady, is a major issue in contract talks.

GE strike during Vietnam War

In 1969, unions on strike against General Electric joined forces with the movement against the Vietnam War.

The Student Mobilization Committee, the largest campus antiwar group of the time, supported the strike, pointing out that GE was making millions in profits from the war.

SMC organized picket lines at GE offices, protested GE recruiters on campus, and joined with strikers on their picket lines. The unions sponsored and helped build these actions.

In this way, attention was brought to the strike, and a step was taken by the labor movement to oppose the war.

The following statement, under the headline "IUE, UE endorse SMC action," was issued by Charles Kearns, then UE director of public relations, and William Bywater, then president of IUE District 3, on Dec. 8, 1969. It was published

in the Dec. 19, 1969, issue of the *Militant*.

"UE and IUE welcome the Student Mobilization Committee's show of support for working people on strike against the General Electric Company.

"GE workers throughout the country are making tremendous sacrifices in their struggle to achieve a decent standard of living for themselves and their families, and to prevent GE from establishing a union-busting formula in this country.

"UE and IUE are gratified that students are becoming more and more aware of the fact that GE policies are having harmful effects not only on its employees but on the nation as a whole.

"The GE workers are fighting this billion dollar corporation with their weapon of withholding labor. They are deeply appreciative of all the assistance they get in this struggle."

BY LORRAINE SOCKACI

CINCINNATI — Contract negotiations have begun between General Electric and Westinghouse and the 13 unions that represent 140,000 workers employed by these two electrical giants.

The GE contract expires June 27, that at Westinghouse July 11. Negotiations began in May.

Unions involved include the United Electrical Workers (UE), International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), International Association of Machinists (IAM), United Auto Workers (UAW), International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), and others.

At GE fewer than 50 percent of the workers are organized in unions. Also, there is no master GE or Westinghouse contract, supplemented by local agreements, as is the case in the auto and steel industries.

However, the 13 unions involved formed a Coordinated Bargaining Committee (CBC) for the 1966 negotiations. CBC met a severe challenge in 1969, winning a 101-day strike at GE. Since that time, the unions have mapped out negotiating strategy and have collaborated during contract talks.

GE has a long history of vicious, anti-labor practices. The most notable was "Boulwarism," named after Lemuel Boulware, a former company vice-president.

Boulwarism amounted to shoving lousy contracts down GE workers' throats on a "take it or leave it" basis. It was facilitated by the cold war, during which union militants were witch-hunted, unions were severely weakened, and electrical workers were divided into rival unions.

GE practiced Boulwarism until the successful 1969 strike.

In the past few years, GE has begun extensive automation of its plants. The *Wall Street Journal* reported in 1980 that GE intends to automate half its assembly lines by 1984. Moreover, work is continuously farmed out from GE's unionized facilities to nonunion or weakly organized "satellite" plants.

The threat of jobs being sent out of unionized plants is used as a club against workers to enforce speedup and work discipline.

Like all corporations facing contract negotiations, GE has been spreading gloom and doom in company newsletters for the past year. Most GE workers, however, see through the corporation's poor-mouthing and don't want to accept takebacks when they know GE is making hefty profits.

GE amassed \$1.65 billion in profits last year. In the first quarter of this year, its net profits rose 5 percent.

These profits got a substantial boost from the government. Not only did GE in effect pay no federal taxes for last year — it took advantage of tax leasing provisions passed by Congress last year, and got a \$90 million rebate.

Westinghouse, too, is recording record profits: \$438 million, a 9 percent gain, last year.

Stockholders' dividends are up at both corporations: GE, 25 percent; Westinghouse, 28.6 percent.

Job security — including farming out work, subcontracting skilled trades work, plant shutdowns, and automation — is shaping up as the major concern of GE workers in the contract talks. Most workers also want substantial wage and cost-of-living increases.

Today, major corporations are demanding, and for the most part getting, contract givebacks. The union movement is weakened by decades of class-collaborationist leadership, and workers are reeling under the effects of inflation and unemployment.

At the same time, the mood in the plants — as evidence in the three-day walkouts recently at GE plants at Evendale, near Cincinnati, and in Schenectady, New York — is militant. Note should also be taken of the recent successful strike by UE workers at American Standard in Pittsburgh.

The political context in which the negotiations take place is the government-employer war on workers at home and stepped-up war abroad. Opposition is deepening among workers to the war-austerity policies; the electrical contract fight will be another test in this battle.

Lorraine Sockaci works at the GE Evendale, Ohio, plant, and is a member of United Auto Workers Local 647.

Satchel Paige (1906-1982): victory in defeat

Leroy was the best I ever saw. If his career had run its full course in the major leagues, Paige would have held every record there was.

— Bill Veeck, former major league baseball owner.

They said I was the greatest pitcher they ever saw. I couldn't understand why they couldn't give me no justice.

— Leroy (Satchel) Paige

BY STEVE BRIDE

Next time someone tells you they saw all the great ballplayers, ask them who they mean.

If they start naming Ted Williams, Joe DiMaggio, Dizzy Dean . . . then they never saw all the great ballplayers.

There was Josh Gibson, who could hit a ball farther than anyone and who died young. There was Buck Leonard, whom some thought better than Lou Gehrig. There was Cool Papa Bell, who stole bases.

And there was Satchel Paige.

From 1924 to 1947, Satchel Paige pitched about 2,500 games, 55 of them no-hitters. In 1933, he was

fact, they were teams of the Negro leagues, the parallel professional baseball associations made necessary by Jim Crow.

They would play a game in one town, then pile into battered cars and head for the next town. Often they slept in those cars, because no hotel in the next town would take them. Sometimes they spent hours before gametime getting the field into shape. Nobody made much money. Paige says he started at \$250 a month.

But they were good, very good. And the white players in the so-called major leagues knew it.

"Paige is the best pitcher I have ever seen," Joe DiMaggio once said.

On rare occasions, a Negro league team would lock horns with a white all-star team. Twice on such occasions, Paige dueled Dizzy Dean, considered the premier pitcher of his day: "Satchel is worth \$200,000 of any big league's money," Dean would later say. Dean was in a position to know. Paige had beaten him both times.

Years went by, and Satchel Paige became a backroads legend: a symbol of the great Black players who should have been flying to New York, but were driving to Biloxi instead. Paige would be the only one of them to make it to the majors.

In 1948, one year after Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color barrier, the Cleveland Indians signed a 42-year-old rookie named Satchel Paige. He won his first three starts for the Indians, including two shutouts, before a combined crowd of 201,829. In 1952, at the age of 46, Paige was named to the American League all-star team. He pitched a total of five seasons, then retired.

Eighteen years later, he became the first of the Negro leagues players to enter the Hall of Fame. Gibson, Leonard, Bell, and a handful of other Black players soon followed.

Satchel Paige died June 8, 1982, at age 75.

In their obituaries, the media took the usual opportunity to rewrite some history.

"By the 1940's," said the *New York Times*, "major league owners could no longer ignore the incandescence of the likes of Paige, Josh Gibson and Buck Leonard in the Negro leagues."

That is nonsense. As this paper, the *Militant*, noted in our October 6, 1947, issue:

"No team would hire such outstanding Negro stars as Paige the pitcher, Gibson the catcher and many others. . . ."

"It was the pressure of the Negro people and their organizations, and the change in the social atmosphere created during the last generation by the rise of the CIO, that made possible the so-called Robinson experiment."

That pressure eventually exploded into the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

The media also marked Paige's death by asserting once again that segregation in baseball is a thing of the past. That isn't true, either.

In baseball, the pitcher and catcher handle the ball most often. They control the pace of the game. Blacks are excluded, almost systematically, from these positions.

As for Paige, the fact that he put on a major league uniform at age 42 hardly vindicates the system. Rather, it vindicates the determination of one man. In his prime, Satchel Paige could overpower any batter alive. Ultimately, he overpowered every obstacle before him, too. But by then he had passed his prime. Really, his is a story of victory in defeat.

* * *

In 1965 Satchel Paige, now 58, pitched three more innings for the Kansas City Athletics of the American League. He allowed only one hit.

Some time later, Paige was hired as a coach by the Atlanta Braves. He still needed 158 days to qualify for the only thing major league baseball ever had to offer him: a pension.

AS I SEE IT

31-4 with 16 shutouts, an average of 15.4 strikeouts per game, and a string of 62 consecutive scoreless innings. In 1934, he won 104 of 105 games he pitched. In 1935, he started 29 games in 29 days.

You won't find these records in any book. And unless they followed teams with names like the Birmingham Barons, Pittsburgh Crawfords, and Kansas City Monarchs, most fans never saw the man who set these records.

Because baseball was segregated, and Satchel Paige was Black.

The papers called them "barnstorming teams." In

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Think you've heard everything? — The Reagan administration issued a report on America's elderly which advises



Harry Ring

that it's a misconception to think old people are victims of inflation, poverty, bad housing, etc. In fact, the report assures,

America's seniors are "the wealthiest, best fed, best housed . . . older population in our history."

Sounds logical — "UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., June 9 — The Japanese government said today that it is building up its military forces as a first step toward eventually reducing the level of armaments in the world." — News item.

In time for the funeral — Discussing the cutbacks in plant safety inspections, OSHA assures, "We'll still respond to employee complaints if they allege

imminent danger, and we'll have an inspector there within ten days if the complaints allege potential physical harm."

Not to worry — The Treasury Department has selected 50 alternate sites to print money and postage stamps if its Washington printing plant is leveled in a nuclear attack.

No fuss, no muss — Why risk scandals with under-the-table payments, juggled grades, etc? The American Council on Education is recommending that blue-chip athletes at major col-

leges "be paid a market wage rather than artificially constrained 'grant-in-aid' Ideally, the athletes need not be students, so as to avoid all the admissions and eligibility questions."

Suggestion Department — If you still haven't figured out what to do about Father's Day, Hammacher Schlemmer in New York has a solar operated sunbathing lounge which revolves for a more even tan. \$4,000.

Alternate idea — If Dad has ideological reservations about

solar energy, call Macy's for their ostrich skin brief case with a gold-plated lock. \$1,500.

Spreading it around — The slated July 1 income tax deduction will mean a total savings of \$2.9 billion for the 31.7 million taxpayers earning \$15,000 or less. But \$3.6 billion will be split up by the 162,000 taking in over \$200,000 a year.

Heat and hot water too — An ad for a New York co-op advises: "Civilized — Cosmopolitan — Very Correct." From \$147,000 to \$1 million plus.

—CALENDAR—

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Israel's War Against Lebanon. Speaker: Zehdi Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization representative to United Nations; Eva Chertov, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress; others. Fri., June 18, 7:30 p.m. Arab Social Club, 89 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445 or (212) 852-7922.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Jobs Crisis and Labor's Response. Speakers to be announced. Sat., June 19, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Film: El Salvador: Another Vietnam. Traducción a Español. Sat., June 19, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd., near Vermont. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Grenada: A Revolution in the Caribbean. Speakers: Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California; others to be announced. Sat., June 26, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd., near Vermont. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

Imperialism and the Malvinas Islands: A Marxist Analysis. Speaker: Caroline Lund. Tues., June 22, 6:30 p.m. dinner, 7:30 p.m. class. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation requested. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

Racism and Immigration in the U.S.: A Brief History. Speaker: Maymay Gong. Thurs., June 24, 6:30 p.m. dinner, 7:30 p.m. class. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation requested. Ausp: Youth for Mel Mason. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

San Jose

Three Classes on the Black Struggle. By Clifton DeBerry, chairman, San Jose Mel Mason for Governor Campaign. Wed., June 23: "Black Nationalism"; Wed., June 30: "Independent Black Political Action"; Wed., July 7: "The Combined Character of the Coming American Revolution." All classes 7:30 p.m. at 46½ Race St. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

Film: From the Ashes . . . Nicaragua Today. Sat., June 26, 7:30 p.m. Casa del Pueblo Multipurpose Room, 200 S Market St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

Nuclear Weapons and the Bilateral Freeze. Speaker: Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now: A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*. Sat., July 3, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Israel: A Threat to World Peace. Speakers

to be announced. Sat., June 26, 7:30 p.m. 50 Flat Shoals Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally Speakers: Beth Julien, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Dave Ellis, SWP candidate for 10th Congressional District; Reja-E Busailah, Palestinian leader; Bill Scanlon, Oil Chemical, and Atomic Workers; Steve Licht Irish activist; Craig Honts, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, recently returned from Cuba; Pablo Cruz, activist in Puerto Rican independence movement; Billy Jones, president, Stonekey Tenants and Taxpayers Association. Sun., June 20, 6:30 p.m. reception 7:30 p.m. rally. Sheraton Inn, 28th and Meridian St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Film: Ecocide: A Strategy of War. Speakers: David Welters, Socialist Workers Party others. Sun., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Defend Democratic Rights: Protest Ban on Travel to Cuba. Speakers: representative of Venceremos Brigade; Chris Gavreau, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sun., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

How to Stop the U.S. War Drive. Speakers: Russ Bellant, cochair, Committee Against Registration and the Draft; Ismael Ahmed, director, Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services; Pam Jones, Communist Workers Party; Pancho Medrano, Mexican-American Local Organizations; Susan Apstein, member, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks and Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., June 27, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

In Defense of Labor's Democratic Rights. Speakers: Leonard Robinson, international representative, United Auto Workers Region 5; Carlos Welty, Missouri vice-president, American Agriculture Movement; Dr. James De Clue, president, St. Louis NAACP; John Studer, executive director, Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., June 19, 6:30 p.m. reception, 7:30 p.m. rally. Bel Air West, 4630 Lindell Blvd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

We Need a Workers and Farmers Government. Socialist Election Campaign Rally. Hear Joe Swanson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Nebraska governor. Sat., June 26, 6:30 p.m. reception, 7:30 p.m. rally. Clayton House, 10th and O St. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Nebraska Socialist Workers Cam-

paign. For more information call (402) 475-2255.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Mideast War: Palestinian Freedom vs. Israeli Aggression. Speakers: Rashid al-Banna, Palestinian radio journalist, producer of "Middle East Report: Regional Focus" on WBAI-FM; Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 19, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

The Truth About Cuba: What the U.S. Government is Trying to Hide. Speaker: Holbrook Mahn, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from tour of Cuba. Slide show. Fri., June 25, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Bronx

United Assembly to Elect a United Committee for Puerto Rican Independence in the United States. Speakers: Irving Flores, Puerto Rican nationalist hero; others. Cultural activity. Sat., June 19, 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. Hostos College, Combo Room, 475 Grand Concourse. For more information call (212) 893-3802 or 538-6512.

Manhattan

Demonstration to Mark 29th Anniversary of the Execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Fri., June 18, 12 noon to 2 p.m. U.S. Courthouse, Foley Square. Ausp: National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. For more information call (212) 228-4500.

Nicaraguan Women in the Revolution. Seminar and slide show. Sat., June 26, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. 777 UN Plaza. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua.

The Women's Movement at the Crossroads. A speakout: panel to be announced. Sat., June 26, 8 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Socialist Campaign Rally: Jobs, Not Bombs! Stop the War Moves at Home and Abroad! Kurt Landefeld, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Ohio governor; Alicia Mewel, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Joe Lombardo, SWP candidate for 2nd Congressional District. Sat., June 26, 6:30 p.m. reception and buffet, 8 p.m. rally. Greenwich Tavern, 2440 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$5, \$1.50 rally only. Ausp: Ohio Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

U.S.-backed Wars Around the World: the Caribbean, Malvinas, and Lebanon. Speakers: Jack McKinney, columnist for Philadelphia *Daily News*, just returned from assignment in Nicaragua; Mike Finley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., June 19, 7 p.m. 5811 N Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS

Houston

"Boom Town Goes Bust": The Recession

Hits Houston. Speakers to be announced. Sun., June 20, 5:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

San Antonio

Socialism: What It Is and How To Fight For It. Two classes: "What is Marxism?" Sun., June 20; "What is the Soviet Union?" Sun., June 27. 1 p.m. 337 E Josephine St. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1982 Texas Campaign. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Thatcher and Reagan: Partners in Aggression. The British War Against Argentina. Speaker: Susan Browne, chairwoman, Salt Lake City Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., June 26, 7 p.m. 677 S, 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

War and Revolution in the Middle East. Speakers: Ali Abed, Palestinian high school teacher in Newport News; Craig McKissic, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

The Women's Movement and the Fight Against War Today. Speakers to be announced. Sat., June 26, 7:30 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Washington's Secret War Against Nicaragua. Speakers: Jim Levitt, Socialist Workers Party, toured Nicaragua in 1980; Beverly Bernardo, reported for *Intercontinental Press* in Managua; Teresa de Renteria, Friends of Latin American People; slide show. Sun., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Jobs Not War! Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Peter Seidman, SWP candidate for governor; Cheryl Hidalgo, SWP candidate for 5th Congressional District. Sun., June 27, 6:30 reception, 7:30 rally. VIP Lounge, 4704 W North Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Wisconsin Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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A 'neoconservative' rewrites Vietnam War

Why We Were in Vietnam. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1982. 240 pages, \$13.50.

BY SUZANNE HAIG

In the opening chapter of *Why We Were in Vietnam*, author Norman Podhoretz complains that "by April 30, 1975 [when the last troops left], the debate over Vietnam had already been settled in favor of the moral and political position of the antiwar movement. . . .

"The lesson of Vietnam," he laments, "was that the United States, not the Soviet Union and certainly not Communism, represented the greatest threat to the security and well-being of the peoples of the world. . . . We were the counterrevolutionaries, we were the imperialists, we were the enemies of freedom and self-determination."

Because of the unrelenting struggle of the Vietnamese people and the rise of a powerful U.S. antiwar

BOOK REVIEW

movement, Washington was forced to withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

The experience of Vietnam has deeply affected the consciousness of the American working class to this day. For Podhoretz, this is a big problem, and it is this that he tries to deal with in his book.

'Hostility' of youth

"Millions of young people growing to maturity during the war developed attitudes of such hostility toward their own country and . . . its institutions," Podhoretz states, "that their willingness to defend it against external enemies in the future was left hanging in doubt."

It is this "hostility" toward Washington's war policies that is the object of Podhoretz's wrath. *Why We Were in Vietnam* is among the most celebrated of a spate of recent books, articles, and other phenomena seeking to reopen the debate on the war and attempting to prove that Washington was correct to intervene in Vietnam and the antiwar movement was wrong to oppose it.

To do this, Podhoretz resorts to rewriting history, slandering the current Vietnamese government, and denouncing the anti-Vietnam War movement and the goals it fought for.

But this book is more than a distortion of history. *Why We Were in Vietnam* could easily have included the subtitle, *And Why We Have To Be in Central America Today*. The book is aimed at undermining current antiwar sentiment and preparing the American people for the new Vietnams under way in countries such as Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

Podhoretz is regarded as a leading "neo-conservative," a title bestowed upon one-time liberals and social democrats who have moved to the right. He is editor of *Commentary* magazine, a mouthpiece for right-wing propagandists. It was in *Commentary*, for example, that Jeanne Kirkpatrick wrote her essay defending military dictatorships that supposedly won her the post of U.S. representative to the United Nations.

Contrary to what millions of people in this country and around the world recognize, Podhoretz argues that Washington's genocidal war on Vietnam was "an attempt born of noble ideas and impulses."

Podhoretz bewails the fact that the antiwar sentiment today is an obstacle to Washington's ability to pursue other such "noble wars" to "contain communism."

Podhoretz gives a history of what he considers the disastrous consequences of Vietnam for the ruling class in this country. Following the war, Washington was forced to modify its policy of direct foreign intervention with U.S. troops.

"The Truman doctrine," Podhoretz writes, which "had committed the United States (at least in principle) to intervention anywhere and everywhere in the world against the spread of Communism" as in Korea and Vietnam, was replaced by the "Nixon Doctrine."

He defines this doctrine as furnishing arms, materials, and economic aid to military dictatorships, but not — at least temporarily — U.S. troops.

For example, under the Carter administration, "the U.S. would first help weaken, and would then do nothing to bolster, its surrogate in the Persian Gulf when the Shah's turn came to be threatened and finally overthrown," he states.

Podhoretz calls for deepening U.S. military involvement around the world, including the use of troops if necessary — whatever the consequences.

Aggressive ideological offensive

This must and can be done, he argues, if Washington goes on an equally aggressive ideological offensive at home to try to confuse and push back antiwar sentiment — a policy, in fact, that is already being carried out by the Reagan administration.

Washington must argue, Podhoretz says, that the military dictatorships it supports are better than "totalitarian" communism and that its war policy is pursued for noble ideals.

Podhoretz supplies what he considers some necessary weapons for this ideological offensive.

The "moral soundness" of Washington's foreign policy, he claims, has been "overwhelmingly vindicated by the hideous consequences of our defeat" in Vietnam.

"The antiwar movement," moreover, "bears a certain measure of responsibility for the horrors that have overtaken the people of Vietnam."

What are these horrors? Podhoretz draws on several opponents of the war who have since turned against Vietnam.

He quotes Peter Berger, formerly an activist in Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, who wrote in 1980: "I was wrong [about Vietnam] and so were all those who thought as I did. Contrary to what most members (including myself) of the antiwar movement expected, the peoples of Indochina have since 1975, been subjected to suffering far worse than anything that was inflicted upon them by the United States and its allies."

Hardships in Vietnam

Podhoretz cites economic hardships in Vietnam to day and charges the government there with gross denial of democratic rights. The situation is so repres-

sive, he says, that hundreds of thousands of people have fled since 1975 (the so-called boat people).

It is true that Vietnam has serious economic problems. They don't stem from the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, however, but from the devastation resulting from the war and from the continued military and economic offensive against the revolution being conducted right now by Washington and its allies.

The United States, Japan, and countries in Western Europe have imposed an economic blockade against Vietnam, attempting to shut it off from world trade and denying it urgently needed food and medicine. Washington has refused to come through with the \$3.2 billion in reconstruction aid it agreed to under the terms of the 1973 Paris Accords.

Washington stood by the massive invasion of Vietnam by the Chinese government in 1979 and is supporting Peking's border raids against Vietnam today.

The Reagan administration is currently backing right-wing armies in Laos and Kampuchea that are conducting attacks on Vietnam's border. Vietnam has been forced, at great expense, to send troops to defend the governments in these two countries against imperialist-backed armies.

Despite these attacks, Vietnam has taken important strides in combatting hunger and illiteracy, beginning to rebuild its devastated urban and rural economy, and building up a health care system. With massive aid, rather than military pressure and economic strangulation, it could achieve far more.

Attack on liberals

Podhoretz has aimed his arguments at liberals and intellectuals who opposed the war, hoping they will renounce their views:

He denounces writers such as Susan Sontag and Mary McCarthy who were "not previously known for their sympathy with communism" but who went to Hanoi and wrote "rosy accounts" about the North.

Since the book was published, at least one opponent of the Vietnam War mentioned by Podhoretz has buckled under the pressure of the ruling-class offensive. Last February, Susan Sontag, speaking at a meeting in New York City on the events in Poland, equated communism with fascism, renounced her previous support for the Vietnamese revolution, and called on other intellectuals to examine their conscience as she has done and embrace anticommunism.

Podhoretz may be able to win over some others like Sontag to join him in the role of intellectual flunky for the Reagan administration's war policy, but few workers are ready to embrace "the noble cause" of another Vietnam.

Podhoretz's book, however, is not something to be discounted as the ravings of a right-wing extremist. It is a component of the broader campaign by the ruling class to reverse antiwar sentiment and justify imperialist foreign policy in order to escalate U.S. involvement in the wars in Central America, as well as U.S. backing for imperialist aggression from the Malvinas to Lebanon.

For this reason, it is necessary for antiwar forces to take on Podhoretz's arguments. We must clarify the nature of Washington's bipartisan foreign policy, its bloody record, and point out that it is the U.S. government that is the threat to world peace.

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Why the 'Times' disliked June 12

The *New York Times* did not like the June 12 peace demonstration.

After tipping its hat to the worthy ideals of the action, a June 13 *Times* editorial asserted, "Yet the very size and fervor of this movement makes it inarticulate."

Actually, it was this authoritative voice of American capitalism which was rendered nearly inarticulate by the idea of nearly a million people marching in the streets and declaring, with fervor, their opposition to war and nuclear weapons.

What's really needed, the *Times* advises, is an "intellectual" approach.

One good place to begin," it says, "is with those marchers who would eliminate the problem by banning the Bomb."

Ban the Bomb? The *Times* freaked out. "They're dreaming," the editorial stormed, "No force on earth can reliably destroy all nuclear weapons or guard against the making of more."

As counterposed to the mad "dreamers," the *Times* offers what it modestly describes as the "sane" approach — establishing a balance of nuclear terror in the world.

Nothing less than "deterrence" will do, declares the *Times*. Even a freeze or reduction in nuclear stockpiles is too much.

It warns: "Deterrence . . . might not survive a freeze on nuclear arsenals; even incautious reductions could damage it."

The editorial does concede a flaw in this "sane" theory of deterrence — "it has no answer for what to do if it fails."

Putting aside what could prove a rather definitive flaw, "deterrence" has done nothing to prevent an ever increasing number of "conventional" wars waged by the United States and its imperialist allies.

It didn't prevent U.S. aggression in Korea and Vietnam.

It did not deter the "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba.

It has not blocked Washington's intervention in the Salvadoran civil war.

Nor its escalating covert military operation against revolutionary Nicaragua.

Nor did it prevent the savage British aggression against Argentina, no less Israel's monstrous war in Lebanon.

It is not simply a matter that these reactionary wars, and the numerous others that could be cited, have taken a harsh human toll.

What must be recognized is that the greatest danger of nuclear outbreak stems precisely from these "small," "conventional" wars.

If Washington, or its allies, should find themselves

with their back to the wall in one of these conflicts, can it be doubted that they would be ready to resort to nuclear weapons?

Yet the *Times* insists that we must learn to accept "the logic of stable deterrence."

Meanwhile, its editorial suggests, stay home. Don't protest.

The *Times*, and those it speaks for, hated and feared June 12. They correctly saw it as the historic event it was, a giant outpouring of people determined to make their voices heard on this issue.

They recognize that June 12 signified the potential for the emergence of a movement of unprecedented scope to oppose ongoing imperialist wars.

The *Times* says that we must lower our sights.

"People," the paper asserts, "want a voice in what is done in their defense. . . . They want to help manage what they cannot escape, the risk of annihilation."

Is that what the multitude marched for? To "help manage" an inescapable risk of nuclear incineration?

The *Times* itself doesn't take that bit of nonsense seriously, so it switches course and concludes its editorial attack on the march with the admonition, "Anxiety is not enough."

That's true. It's not enough. But what really bugs the *Times* is that masses of Americans are moving beyond a well-founded anxiety into action.

And as they move, their political sights will expand, not grow more limited.

"No force on earth" can eliminate the bomb, asserts the *Times*.

No force? That's false too. The working people of the world — and most particularly its powerful American component — have the social power to erase the nuclear scourge from the face of the earth.

The main cause of wars today is the imperialist drive for profits. Only by disarming the capitalist rulers, including their control over nuclear weapons, can we achieve peace. Working people in the United States more and more see the relationship between wars for profits abroad and the attacks on them at home.

We are being squeezed by a steadily escalating employer offensive against our rights and living standards, while our youth face being dragooned into wars they have no stake in abroad.

These class battles will deepen in the times ahead. And in the course of them, working people will come to see the need to overturn the government of big business and bankers and replace it with one of workers and farmers that will lead the fight to abolish capitalism and all its attendant evils, including imperialist war.

Who is aggressor in war between Israel and Arabs?

Thousands of Palestinians are being slaughtered in Lebanon today. The Israeli government says the Palestinians are the aggressors and that it is only retaliating in self-defense. Why are there so many Palestinian refugees in Lebanon? Why did they go there in the first place?

In the article "Why the Arab Peoples Fight Israel," published in the October 26, 1973, *Militant*, David Frankel explains how the state of Israel was formed by expelling many of the Palestinians living there and subjecting those who remained to second-class citizenship. Below are excerpts.

In 1917, when the British Lord Balfour announced, "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National home for the

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Jewish people," only 11 percent of the population of Palestine was Jewish.

Having promised to one people the land of another, Balfour explained in a memorandum to the British government, "In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country."

The British saw the Zionist community as a bulwark against Arab nationalist aspirations. The Zionist settlers were bound to support British rule, since the establishment and maintenance of the Zionist state could only be achieved with the backing of imperialism.

Throughout the 1930s, Jews fleeing the terror of Nazism in Europe were forced to come to Palestine because of the refusal of the U.S. and Britain to allow them entry. This continued after World War II as well.

The hundreds of thousands of new immigrants were organized by the Zionist movement to confront the Palestinians as enemies. Boycotts of Arab labor and agricultural products were organized to build up a separate Jewish economy. Arab workers were barred from the Jewish trade-union federation, and when the Palestinian people rose up against British colonial rule in 1936-39, the Zionists sided with the British.

In November 1947 the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into two states. This was a violation of the right of the Palestinian people to determine their own future. At that time there were 1,280,000 Arabs in Palestine out of a total population of 1,874,000.

The Palestinians demanded a single, independent Palestine, in which both Arabs and Jews could live. What prevented this was not the hatred and irrationality of the Palestinians, but the determination of the Zionists to carve an exclusive Jewish state out of an Arab country.

Moshe Dayan explained this very well in the September 30, 1968, *Jerusalem Post*. "Every solution — including the establishment of a bi-national state — faced the alternative of either making allowances for the views and desires of the Arabs and putting an end to Zionism," Dayan said, "or carrying on with immigration, land purchase and settlement while denying the right of the Arabs of Palestine to determine the future of the country."

The Israeli state was founded on the expulsion of the majority of the Palestinians and on the suppression of those who remained. The maintenance of the Israeli state requires the maintenance of this injustice, and this is the root of the ongoing conflict between Palestinians and Israelis.

Although apologists for the Israeli state often claim that the Palestinians became a nation of exiles voluntarily, the truth is well documented by the Israelis themselves. Menachem Begin, who was the leader during the 1948 war of the right-wing terrorist organization, Irgun, wrote in his book, *The Revolt, Story of Irgun*:

"The legend of Deir Yassin [a village where the Irgun carried out a massacre of some 250 Arab men, women, and children] helped us in particular in the saving of Tiberias and the conquest of Haifa. . . . Arabs throughout the country . . . were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened uncontrollable stampede."

The nature of the Israeli settler-state ensures that such atrocities will continue as long as Israel exists.

British troops seize Malvinas Islands

Continued from Page 1

- Placing several batteries of modern anti-aircraft missiles on the islands.
- Installing mobile ground radar systems.
- Stationing at least one naval squadron of fighters and destroyers.

The costs of maintaining this huge military outpost off the coast of South America will be considerable. Thatcher is already asking for assistance from Washington — which stood so solidly behind her the past 10 weeks.

To justify this expense, her advisers argue that if the Soviets "gain control of and then close the Panama Canal," the Malvinas would assume great importance as a strategic base. But more to the point, it will be an imperialist fortress close to the southern cone of Latin America, where struggles of the oppressed people challenge imperialist domination.

The Anglo-American war against Argentina, while dealing a defeat, has also aroused the justified wrath of Latin Americans from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego. It has strengthened the anti-imperialist opposition among millions.

The Thatcher government is trying to use its military victory to continue its jingoistic campaign in Britain. But its gains along this line are bound to be shallow. The \$2 billion cost of the war against Argentina, plus the huge cost of maintaining a military base in the South Atlantic, will be borne out by the working class. And the workers are already suffering the worst layoffs since the 1930s, skyrocketing inflation, and cuts in wages and social services.

The fact that the patriotic campaign wasn't able to make much of an effect on the turnout for the London peace demonstration of 200,000 on June 6 shows the difficulties the British employers will have in using their war drive to help get workers to go along with their attacks at home.

In Argentina the masses rallied to the defense of

their country against the Thatcher-Reagan aggression. Hundreds of young men lost their lives or were wounded in battle, and thousands have been taken prisoner.

But the majority of people don't think that the military junta heading the defense did everything it could. And, most of all, they don't feel they are getting an honest account from the government of why the military defeat occurred.

Thousands are demonstrating to express their anger and to demand President Leopoldo Galtieri's resignation. They are chanting "Argentina, Argentina," "Mentiras" (lies), and "The boys who died will not be sold out by chiefs."

The savage treatment of the demonstrators by the junta's police is spreading the anger even more widely.

During the war the junta, no longer receiving support from Washington and under pressure from the masses, began to grant concessions to the mass movement. It hoped to stave off a social explosion of the kind that swept Argentina in the early 1970s and led to the end of the last military dictatorship in 1973.

"The experience that culminated in 1973 is quite present in all of our minds," Col. Bernardo Menéndez, vice-minister of the interior, told a Buenos Aires radio station June 9, "and there exists the most firm determination not to repeat it."

But, as events are showing, these hopes may be dashed by the Argentine working class and farmers, who want a government that will fight effectively against imperialism, grant democratic rights, institute policies that will protect them from the worsening economic crisis, and tell the truth.

The best way working people in this country can help that struggle is by demanding the withdrawal of British forces, a halt to all U.S. support of London, and recognition of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas.

Speedup and layoffs in a Georgia garment shop

BY SYBIL WHITE

ATLANTA — They tell you when you hire in where I work that they never have layoffs. That's because, the personnel department explains, there's no union "to force excessive hiring" during peak sales periods.

The plant, in a rural town about 40 miles from Atlanta, makes bras. The workforce is about 80 per-

UNION TALK

cent female; most of us make \$3.75 an hour, plus piecework if we exceed production quotas.

A few weeks ago all 600 of us were told by the company president that if depressed sales didn't pick up we would be working shorter hours.

Still, no one would be laid off he promised — except for those on maternity, sick, or other leave. They wouldn't be allowed to return.

But soon, despite the promise, at least six workers had indeed been laid off. Two worked in my department.

One was an older woman who had just started working here because her sick husband can't. The

other was a young woman, the sole supporter of her 20-month-old daughter.

They are also trying to force out a young woman in my department who is two months pregnant. Everyone knows that's so they won't have to pay maternity benefits.

The two plant managers walk around every day to see who isn't working hard enough. Supervisors stand beside your station, arms folded, to watch how fast you work.

Workers here are worried. We know there aren't many jobs out there. Some plan to work part-time at fast-food chains.

We know, too, that the owners of the company aren't hurting. They aren't looking for part-time jobs.

A few months ago, the price of materials went up. They raised the prices on the bras we make and raised our production quotas at the same time. The bosses don't pay; we do.

The bosses are using the economic crisis to increase our exploitation. They're speeding us up when there's less to do, making us pay for their crisis.

Workers in my department have come up with a simple solution to layoffs — reduce production quotas so we won't be forced to work so fast. There would be

no reduction in wages, no layoffs, and no reduction of production.

But the bosses won't buy that. At a department meeting last week — where they tried to convince us to take vacation and sick time now — a woman suggested, "We could just slow down." The supervisors just shook their heads and smiled.

We need protection against their attacks on us. We need to control such things as rate of production, production quotas, etc. And we need a union.

At lunch one day a young woman said, "Reagan is taking all the money and putting it into war." Another woman commented, "Yeah, and that's why there are so many jobless."

Many of the young men in the plant know that Reagan has a job ready for them — in Central America. One 18-year-old worker explained that he had registered for the draft only because he was about to get married and couldn't deal with the government trying to prosecute him. He said, "but if they try to send me to war I won't go."

One day during a discussion about El Salvador one Black woman said, "If Reagan thinks we should go down there — let him go. I hope he goes — and stays."

LETTERS

Argentina I

I have been receiving the *Militant* for the last four weeks and have enjoyed reading a paper that presents the news from a different perspective.

However, your support of Argentina in the Malvinas Islands war continues to baffle me.

I agree that British occupation of the islands was a lingering example of British Imperialism that should be ended. But should it be ended by the fascist military dictators of Argentina?

According to Amnesty International, a source which your own paper quotes occasionally, over 20,000 people have "disappeared" in Argentina in the last seven years. The vast majority of these "disappeared" are trade unionists, socialists, peasants, and in general anyone who doesn't agree with the fascists.

The fact is that the Argentine government is trying to stop a socialist movement in Argentina by the extermination of the members of that movement.

A better position for socialists to take would be one of neutrality — support neither fascist Argentina nor Imperialist Great Britain — with United Nations control of the islands as the best solution at this time.

Timothy Breen
Cincinnati, Ohio

Argentina II

I consider myself a Marxist and a socialist and I find your paper quite informative and interesting in its treatment of many subjects. However, I cannot agree with your strict Trotskyist stand on several important topics.

On a purely ideological basis I cannot understand your position on the conflict over the Falklands. In supporting Argentina it seems to me that you are hurting the working-class interests of the working class in Argentina.

In this undeclared war there are two imperialist powers fighting one another — both to the

detriment of the working class in both their countries. The working class in both countries bears the brunt of this struggle and neither working class will come out ahead no matter who wins.

Further, Britain's relationship to the Falklands was not imperialistic in the strict sense. A native economy was not subverted to further British interests. There were no indigenous Argentines there that were oppressed or exploited.

How does it serve working-class interests to support one imperialist power over another? The ruling classes in both countries are the real enemy. To support Argentina you have to resort to the same type of thinking that characterized the Hitler-Stalin pact in World War II.

The Galtieri regime that you say you do not support is undermining class interests of workers in Argentina. In defending Argentina, no matter what the reason, you are indeed betraying the working class in that country. There can be no other result.

A British victory in the Falklands would not increase the subjugation of Argentina to foreign capital. From a Marxist viewpoint it does not further the working-class interests of either country to win or lose. Working-class interests of both countries suffer. Working-class interests can only be served by the total opposition to war in both countries.

By supporting the fires of nationalistic imperialist war as waged by Argentina you cannot at the same time say you support the working class in that country. Imperialist war serves only the fascist capitalist ruling class in that country at the expense of the workers.

Erich Aggen
Kansas City, Missouri

School militarization

On May 19, 75 irate people attended a meeting of the New York City Board of Education to protest High School Memorandum 82, which was addressed to all high school principals and superintendents. The memo said that "principals shall encourage access to their guidance departments for recruiters from all branches of the service."

The memo also encouraged use of the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude test by school

guidance counselors.

At the meeting 10 Black high school students, members of Youth Engaged in Social Change, handed out a position paper opposing two junior ROTC programs already present in two city high schools and any further military recruitment in the schools.

They called New York "the youth unemployment capital of the nation" and said the "message to young people is that the only place they can get jobs is in the expanding military establishment." They opposed the huge cuts in federal funds for education while the government is building up the military, and demanded a retraction of memo 82 and the institution of draft counseling in the schools.

A nun pointed out that "recruiting youth to the military is like taking a collection for the Rockefeller family." A Black high school student asked, "Will the military be the only job left in the future for me?"

A veteran of World War II said that it was "bad enough that the government is trying to convince us that we can survive a nuclear war, but on top of that they're trying to enter directly into our schools to recruit for that military machine."

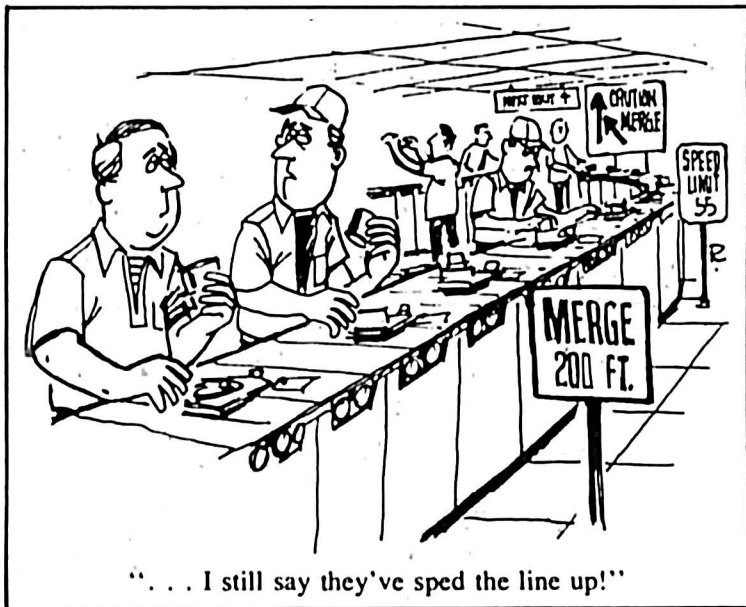
Simon Meyers, a teacher, said he didn't want another plaque like the one at his Brooklyn high school dedicated to the dead youth of the Vietnam War.

A high school student active in Mobilization for Survival told the audience he refused to register for the draft.

All the students who spoke demanded draft counseling in their schools.

The audience also gave a good response to Susan Jacobson, a garment worker and Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 14th Congressional District. After pointing to the 60 percent unemployment of Black and Hispanic youth in New York, she demanded that the U.S. government start a massive jobs program for youth. She said, "When the Board of Education invites the military to high schools, it is aiding the U.S. government's sponsorship of war in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Malvinas. The schools should defend students who refuse draft registration, not push them into the military."

Jacobson demanded the re-



traction of memo 82 and the abolition of ROTC in New York City schools.

Marian Adams
Brooklyn, New York

Price controls

I read the article on price controls (*Militant*, May 21) with interest. I have always understood that we should oppose wage-price controls because prices can always be manipulated upwards while wages remain frozen. This opposition to general price controls is quite understandable.

But what about situations where specific prices are controlled without any wage controls? I am thinking of controlled prices of monopolies such as the telephone and electric utilities?

More pertinent is the question of rent controls. Here in California rents are going through the roof: leaving some lower paid workers literally roofless. Granted that most local rent control ordinances do a very poor job of protecting tenants, do we oppose such measures in principle?

Hayden Perry
Oakland, Ca.

New hit in Cuba

On my recent *Militant* tour to Cuba I noted that the song "Tiburón," by two Latinos, Willie Colón and Ruben Blades, was a big hit with the Cuban people.

I heard it everywhere: in stores, nightclubs, hotels. I know why the Cubans like it so

much: it's an anti-imperialist song.

The "tiburón" of the song is the shark, American imperialism, that is roaming the Caribbean. The words tell of the ruthlessness of the imperialist shark and the danger it presents to the peoples of the Caribbean.

Some of the words: "Don't sleep my brothers. Watch out! Hit him hard, without wavering, with courage. In union there is strength and salvation. . . . What a beautiful flag. . . . In the Caribbean we must not sleep, so that he won't eat our sister, El Salvador!"

Thanks to Willie Colón and Ruben Blades. The album is called "Canciones del Solar de los Aburridos" and is on the Fania label.

Daniela Dixon
Brooklyn, New York

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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U.S. warship menaces Nicaragua: a new 'Gulf of Tonkin' plot?

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA — Washington's undeclared war is being escalated a further notch in the waters just off the northwest coast of Nicaragua.

The warship *U.S.S. Trippe* was sighted in the Gulf of Fonseca just three miles off the coast June 7. Nicaragua's protest of this clear violation of its territorial waters was not only rejected by the United States, but the U.S. imperialists had the gall to turn around and claim that Nicaragua was the aggressor.

The *Trippe*, armed to the teeth with heavy guns, guided missiles, and sophisticated eavesdropping equipment, was designed to serve as an escort/reconnaissance vessel for sea-borne invasion forces.

When a Sandinista patrol vessel first spotted the *Trippe* in Nicaraguan waters and began to approach it, the *Trippe* dispatched an armed helicopter.

The helicopter, according to the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, flew toward the patrol boat in a threatening manner. The patrol boat then fired several warning shots, sending the helicopter back to the warship.

Nicaragua's formal protest of the incident was ignored by Washington, which responded with a triple insult.

- The United States lied, claiming that "at the time of the attack both the *U.S.S. Trippe* and the helicopter were in international waters more than 12 miles from the Nicaraguan coast."

- The United States tried to turn the victim into the criminal by claiming it was the injured party and delivering its own "protest" to the Nicaraguan government.

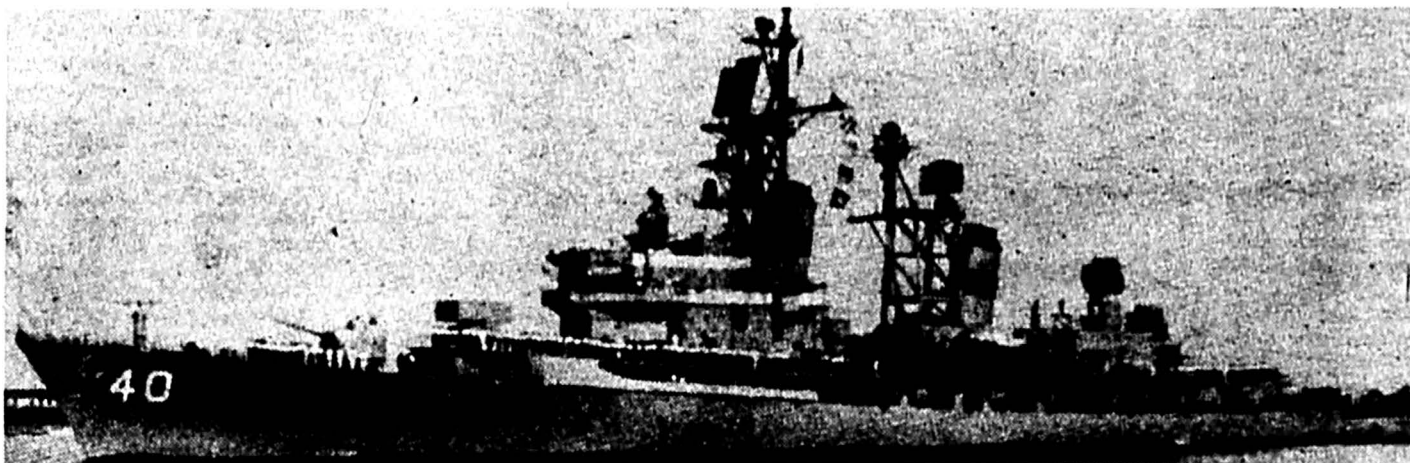
- The United States made clear it intends to continue such provocations, terming the *Trippe's* violation of Nicaragua's sovereignty "routine naval activity." ("That was the only truthful part of the U.S. message," Sandinista TV news commented June 8. "For the United States such threatening actions are 'routine.'")

And that was just in the U.S. public note of "protest." The U.S. representative who presented the note also delivered orally what the Managua daily *Barricada* described as an "arrogant threat of armed aggression."

These highly provocative actions by Washington must be taken seriously. They are reminiscent of the infamous "Gulf of Tonkin incident" in August 1964. That was when then-president Lyndon Johnson claimed that North Vietnamese had attacked a U.S. warship off their coast. Johnson used the "incident" to justify a massive U.S. escalation of the Vietnam war.

Carefully weighing its response in an increasingly tense situation, the Nicaraguan government renewed its demand that the United States remove its warship from the country's territorial waters.

"We are intransigent in defending our sovereignty and inalienable rights," an editorial in the June 14 *Barricada* stated, but our aim is to reply "to insol-



A U.S. destroyer off Nicaragua coast. Provocations by such ships escalated June 7 when *U.S.S. Trippe* came within three miles of Nicaragua's shores.

ence with restraint, to provocation with patience."

More than Nicaragua's patience is being tried. The country also remains under ongoing military pressure on the ground from the counterrevolutionary forces located just across the border in Honduras. There some 4,000 to 5,000 counterrevolutionaries are permanently based. An estimated 800 more operate inside Nicaragua, sowing terror in remote rural areas.

These opponents of the revolution that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship are trained, armed, and paid by the U.S. government, which currently has 100 military advisers in Honduras.

More than half a dozen clashes between these counterrevolutionary bands and the Sandinista military occurred in the first two weeks of June. This brings to nearly 70 — or one every other day — the number of attacks that have oc-

curred so far this year. That is, since Reagan put into effect his \$19 million CIA program to destabilize Nicaragua.

Clashes this month have included:

- Early June. Fourteen counterrevolutionaries and three Sandinista frontier guards were killed in a clash near Waspán, on the northeast border with Honduras.

- June 2. Near Karawala, some 130 miles to the south, three terrorists were killed in a confrontation with Sandinista security forces.

- June 3. A unit of 50 terrorists armed with mortars and machine guns crossed over from Honduras near the northern border town of Cinco Pinos. They were driven back across the border, at the cost of three wounded Sandinista soldiers.

- June 8. A band of 15 counterrevolutionaries that had been terrorizing peasant settlements in the north, near the border town of Jalapa, was

broken up. Four counterrevolutionaries were killed.

- June 9. Two attacks near Cinco Pinos. One Sandinista soldier was killed in a mortar attack from the Honduran side of the border. Two more were killed and four wounded in an ambush on the Nicaraguan side shortly after the mortar attack.

- June 10. Five Sumo Indians working as literacy instructors in northern Zelaya Province were kidnapped and taken to Honduras, where their fate remains unknown.

More trouble can be expected from the north. On June 10 the new ambassador to Honduras from Chile promised the Honduran dictatorship increased military aid from the Pinochet junta. Ambassador Humberto Redersén, who is also a general in Pinochet's army, said the aid would include both supplies and advisers.

S.F. march hits Central America wars

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — Some 50,000 people rallied here June 12 against nuclear weapons, U.S. intervention in Central America, and the Reagan administration's war on poor and working people.

The marchers were young and old, grandparents and grandchildren, veteran activists and newcomers to political action, babies in strollers. A sense of serious purpose prevailed.

Summing up the themes of the protest, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) President James Herman declared, "We are here as victims of a brutal and greedy administration that punishes people in order to build weapons."

The mile-long demonstration across the city was led off by a contingent of trade unionists carrying banners opposing U.S. intervention in Central America. Members of the Machinists, Communications Workers, and ILWU participated along with rail workers, teachers, and printers. Labor participation was organized by a special June 12 coalition task force.

One of the largest banners was carried by the Mission District Latino contingent. The sign declared, "We want jobs, not war — Stop the deportations." Bay Area Asians for Nuclear Disarmament also carried a giant banner reading, "Hiroshima, Nagasaki — No more bombs."

A chanting group of solidarity activists from Casa El Salvador, Casa

Nicaragua, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and other organizations marched with placards demanding an end to U.S. intervention and an end to the draft.

A group of supporters of Palestinian rights were cheered as they marched into the rally site chanting "PLO, PLO, PLO."

There were also contingents from the University of California's Berkeley campus and from San Francisco's Urban High School, which postponed its graduation ceremony to allow students to take part in the protest.

Speakers at the rally following the march included ILWU President Herman, Daniel Ellsberg, a woman representing the Palestine Liberation Organization, the president of the Salvadoran Women's Association, and local politicians.

Some speakers concentrated on support for the bilateral nuclear freeze proposal, and people in the crowd were petitioning to place the proposal on the state ballot. But the overwhelming concern of the marchers was with Washington's wars.

Several of the speakers noted that, in addition to protesting against a possible nuclear war that could destroy humanity, it was important to protest the aggression that Washington is carrying out right now.

Philip Wheaton pointed out that the U.S. government was already deeply involved in "conventional" wars in Central America. He noted that 40,000 Nicara-

guans, 30,000 Salvadorans, and 25,000 Guatemalans have been massacred by U.S.-supplied guns and bullets.

Even though there may not be a nuclear war in the next 10 years, Wheaton said, hundreds of thousands of people most assuredly will be killed by traditional weapons.

"We must stand unalterably opposed to the traditional war that the U.S. is waging in this hemisphere," Wheaton declared to cheers and applause.

Black leader Jesse Jackson, head of the Chicago-based Operation PUSH, declared that the antiwar movement also had to oppose racism "wherever we find it."

"We are all opposed to the concentration camps of yesterday," Jackson said. "We have to oppose the concentration camps of today. Right now there are 2,700 Haitians in 14 concentration camps in this country. It costs \$3 million a month to keep Black people from coming into this nation. We must oppose racism wherever we find it. We must free the Haitians — that is part of our movement as well."

Appealing to Blacks to get involved in the movement, Jackson explained "There is a relation between the Pentagon and poverty. Every billion for the Pentagon takes away 1,300 jobs from Black people."

"Peace begins here," Jackson said. "Don't look to Russia, look to America. We must stand up, and stand up right now."

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