

# Australasian SPARTACIST



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**"Give Gough a go"? Workers hoodwinked as . . .**

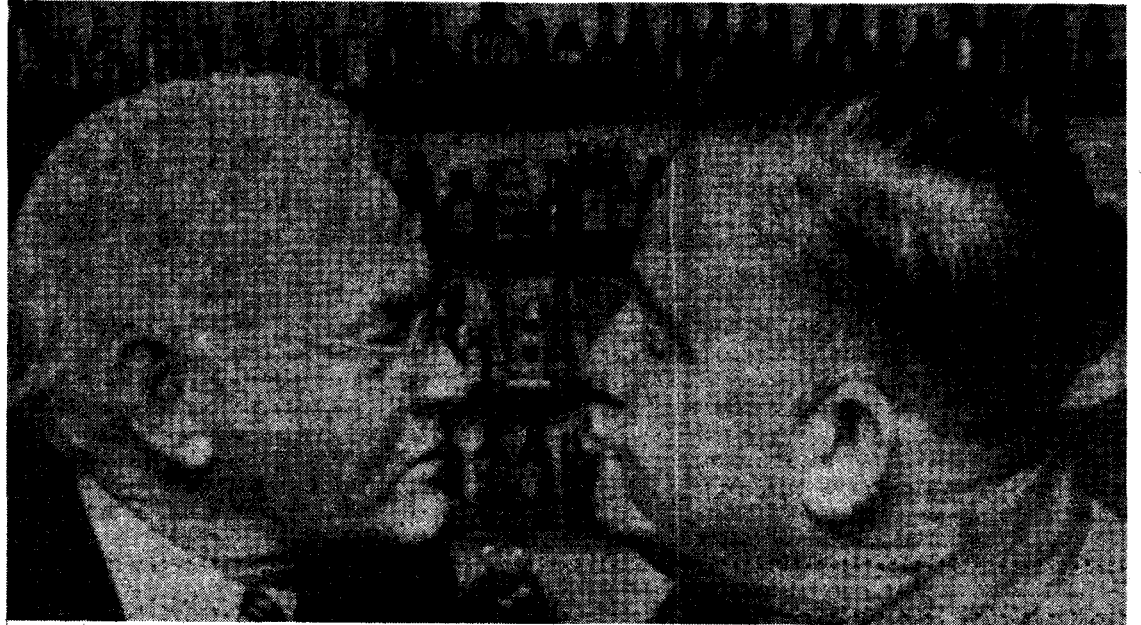
## Whitlam opens anti-strike campaign

Faced with growing unemployment, inflation, a strike wave, and a drop in popularity, the Labor Government of Gough Whitlam has opened an attack on strikes in the first round of a campaign that could become a generalised attack on the working class. As the situation worsens, the labour movement may face a repeat of the betrayal of Labor Prime Minister Ben Chifley, who used troops to smash the 1949 miners' strike -- unless the Whitlam government is first brought down by internal dissension fostered by the resistance of trade-union officials under pressure from the ranks. A small indication of this course can be seen in the threat of government action against pilots who banned flights into and out of Canberra when the government withdrew the offer of a 27% wage rise to Qantas pilots.

The most virulent expression of the government's attack has come from Whitlam's "close comrade-in-arms", senior vice-president of the ALP, president of the Queensland Trades and Labour Council, member of the ACTU Executive, and director of Qantas, Jack Egerton. Accusing the unions of "anarchy" and "irresponsibility", and lack of "regard to the general public or the Australian economy", Egerton pleaded for the Labor Government to be given a "fair go". Reactionary Queensland premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen lauded Egerton as a "statesman" for his remarks.

Labour Minister, Clyde Cameron, who often postures as a

Continued on page two



Clyde Cameron and Jack Egerton, the Labor Minister and the union official: militant-baiting mates celebrate anti-strike rampage.

## Stop the repression in Chile!

### Demonstrate! September 11

Brutal repression continues in Chile under the rule of the reactionary military Junta of General Pinochet which overthrew Salvador Allende's popular front government on September 11 1973. A farcical Junta show trial ended 31 July with a death sentence for four supporters of the Allende regime. The defence of the Chilean working class by the international workers movement remains as urgent as ever.

The Spartacist League has consistently supported united front action against the Junta. Last March, the Spartacist tendency organised an international campaign to highlight the case of Alejandro Romero and Bautista Van Schowen, two leaders of the centrist MIR imprisoned and tortured by the Junta. In Australia this campaign, including demonstrations in Sydney and Melbourne, resulted in a formal inquiry by the Labor Government into their case.

Demonstrations protesting the repression on the anniversary of the coup are being organised in Australia by the September 11 Chile Action Committee (SCAC), based on the following demands:

- For an end to the repression in Chile. Down with the Junta;
- For immediate release of all Chilean political prisoners;
- For unrestricted entry of all Chilean refugees into Australia;
- For an end to Australian complicity with the repression. Break all ties with the Junta;
- Support the struggle of the Chilean working people against the Junta's dictatorship.

The SL endorses the call for the September 11 demonstrations, and calls on all in the Australian workers movement to support them to the utmost.

The SL is participating in the SCAC in Melbourne to help mobilise support for the action.

Sydney — LAN-Chile Airlines, 5 Elizabeth Street  
4.30 pm  
Melbourne — City Square  
4.00 pm

The SL also initially took part in the corresponding committee in Sydney. But in the Sydney SCAC the representatives of other ostensibly socialist groups, including the Communist League (CL) and the Socialist Workers League (SWL), have capitulated to pressure from the CPA and SPA backed Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean People (CSCP), which politically supports the policies of the Allende popular front. They have agreed to allow the CSCP to set up a *closed* speakers' platform at a rally at the start of the planned protest march. Although an open platform is to be provided by the SCAC at another rally at the end of the march, the CL and SWL are willing to allow the CSCP reformists to have the exclusive right to speak for the demonstration at the very start, instituting a special privilege for their rotten political line. The SL insisted that in the event the CSCP continued to refuse to open its platform, the SCAC itself provide such a platform at the open rally. The CL and SWL refused to do so to avoid offending the reformists.

The purpose of such united front actions as the planned demonstrations is to maximise the unity of the working class for concrete action in defence of its interests. But in addition to material defence the Chilean working class needs programmatic clarity. It is therefore essential to maintain *unity in action*, with *freedom of criticism*, extending no a priori privileges to any one political line. The opportunist capitulation of the CL and SWL in Sydney results in a restriction of freedom of criticism, and commits these organisations to accept responsibility for the CSCP line. The Spartacist League refused to agree to do so and has withdrawn from the Sydney SCAC. However, we continue to support the demonstration which we will join.

The Melbourne SCAC has produced a leaflet publicising the demonstration listing the names of its endorsers, including the Spartacist League.

A part of the leaflet intended to mobilise support for the action, for which the endorsers listed must take responsibility, contained one passage which transformed the whole of the text into an explicitly reformist statement. This passage reads,

"The problems faced by the workers and other poor people in Chile *could only be attacked* through measures which aimed at redistributing the wealth of the country, so that all received *enough to live on* instead of a few receiving great wealth while the majority lived in poverty." (emphasis added)

In fact, the problems of the Chilean masses "could only be attacked" by a workers state based on an alliance of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, smashing the capitalist state apparatus on which Allende's bourgeois coalition government rested and expropriating the capitalist class, and not by any social-democratic "redistribution of the wealth" for barely adequate wages under capitalism. The Spartacist League wrongly approved the text of this leaflet prior to its production. A united front committee, while not restricting the right of participants to express their own views, must not itself conduct general propaganda for a definite programmatic line. To do so would transform it into a rotten bloc for (in this case reformist) propaganda. The SL continues to be a part of the Melbourne SCAC, where we will uphold this principle.

In both Melbourne and Sydney demonstrations, the SL will march under slogans additional to those of the SCAC, outlining the way forward for Chilean workers as against the policies of the *Unidad Popular* and its left appendages, the USec and MIR. These are:

**For international working class solidarity!**

**No popular fronts!**

**Smash the Junta through workers' revolution!**

**For a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Chile!**

**Toward the rebirth of the Fourth International!**

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## anti-strike campaign

"union" man, accused "sections of the union movement" of "bloody-mindedness", "selfishness" and causing "near-anarchy", while at the Building Workers Industrial Union conference on 5 August Whitlam called for substantial cutbacks in wage demands to "fight inflation". So extreme were Egerton's and Cameron's remarks that even the bourgeois *Australian* had to qualify its support for them by warning against union bashing (*Australian*, 17 August 1974)! Other union leaders added their own fuel to the fire by raising the spectre of "extremist elements" and proclaiming their own "responsibility" to bourgeois public opinion. In classical red-baiting style, the ever-servile Federated Ironworkers' Federal Secretary, Laurie Short, suggested that it was all the fault of "agitators" in the "Communist Party of Australia and similar groups".

The new anti-strike campaign is a result of the Whitlam Government's failure so far to protect profits by stopping wage rises. One of its more pernicious schemes to curb rising wage militancy has been Cameron's wage indexation proposal. While a wage indexation plan that allowed unions independence to strike could be supported critically, Cameron's package deal would require unions to agree to a "voluntary" wage freeze with a "no-strike" pact and would tie wages to productivity, a recipe for speed-up. Wage indexation would be based on the minimum wage, meaning most wages would continue to fall behind prices, particularly at the higher end of the scale. Wages are eroded so quickly by rapidly rising prices that what is really required is a provision in awards for an automatic monthly cost-of-living adjustment. Such an adjustment must be based on the highest wage in the industry so that while workers who are receiving the highest wages do not suffer cuts, the rises for workers in the lower-paid categories rise much quicker. This approach would make the employers pay for inflation and not the worker -- as opposed both to maintaining relativities at the expense of lower-paid workers, and to cutting relativities at the expense of the higher paid.

Massive unemployment is becoming a reality. Unemployment rose by 18.7% to over 93,000 in July and an additional 8% in the first two weeks of August. While the July figure of 1.59% unemployed is low compared to other advanced capitalist countries, the July movement is in sharp contrast to normal figures for the month. The estimate of a potential 200,000 unemployed is highly conservative.

In this situation, even the union officials who do not support outright the government's attacks are still carrying out policies that are a betrayal of the interests of the workers. One of the more grotesque examples has been in the metal trades where the bureaucrats have recently been running a token campaign to reopen the award. After selling out for \$15 in April, they have now come back with a proposal for the rest of the original \$30 claim. Mass meetings held on 8 and 23 August to discuss proposals by the leadership showed the real character of the bureaucrats' campaign by the lack of organisation and mobilisation of the rank and file. The pernicious effects of this *conscious* policy can be seen by the differences in the mood of the workers at the two sets of the meetings. The 8 August meetings reflected confusion and uncertainty. Many speakers showed an awareness of the effects of the economic downturn and inflation, but drew the conclusions that there must be "restraint" and "responsible behaviour". This backward consciousness (expressed for example by

one worker who echoed the bosses' line of maintaining profits in order to "save" jobs) was exploited by elements in the bureaucracy who encouraged sentiment for a "fair go for Gough". In contrast to the uneven mood at the earlier meetings, the 23 August meetings at Garside and Wentworth Parks in Sydney were characterised by lethargy and demoralisation, as none of the bureaucrats provided any way forward.

The original proposal at the 8 August meetings was to go for \$15. The employers refused to negotiate, however, and the timid leadership put forward at the 23 August meetings a proposal to take the case into the Arbitration Commission, under the court of Mr Justice Moore. Indications are that the bureaucrats will settle for a measly \$6. This obvious sellout is only to be expected from the Arbitration system, an arm of the state designed to maintain the capitalist order and a barrier to the workers advancing their own interests. The proposal to take the issue to arbitration is simply a cover for the cowardice and treachery of the bureaucrats.

At the 23 August meetings, it was clear that the bureaucrats were in control of the situation and had the votes to get their proposal passed. Even so, at the Garside meeting in Sydney Dick Scott (AMWU Joint Commonwealth Secretary) found it necessary to omit from his report that the Victorian mass meetings had rejected the proposal for arbitration, saying that he did not know the results.

While the right wing in the bureaucracy are busy openly selling out the ranks, the fake lefts in the AMWU are busy providing a cover. Primary among these is Victorian Secretary John Halfpenny, a member of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). The CPA has been making much of their proposal, flamboyantly announced by CPA president Jack Munday, for an "autumn offensive". Maybe Munday thinks the CPA can turn class struggle off and on like a spigot. An offensive is needed right now, in the midst of an unprecedented strike wave and burgeoning unemployment. In the unlikely event the CPA's bureaucrats get around to actually launching such an offensive, it should be supported by revolutionaries, at the same time pointing out the limitations of the CPA's demands and clearly warning that the reformist CPA will betray the movement the moment it begins to threaten capitalism. But the real character of the CPA's orientation can be seen in a leaflet issued at the mass meetings in NSW on 8 August, entitled "Metal Workers Must Fight":

"The Labor Government should look in another direction for a solution to the economic problems, like that suggested by Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Jim Cairns. He called for big increases in wages to combat the rising cost of living, strict control over retail prices, heavier taxes on profits, ..."

Cairns -- the man who said recently that workers would just have to "accept" unemployment! And for all their rhetoric, Halfpenny and the CPA demand no more than a more militant fight for \$15:

"Only four months have elapsed since we accepted \$15 as settlement of our \$30 claim. If the \$15 was the result of a 'successful' campaign as claimed by some leaders of the Metal Trades Federation, why are we back today?"

But it was Halfpenny who *initiated* the proposal in March to drop the claim from \$30 to \$18, and CPAer Laurie Carmichael who characterised the April Settlement as a "substantial" gain (*Tribune*, 16-22 April 1974)!

The Communist League (CL), in the 5-18 August 1974 *Militant* (in an article inately titled "Smash the Moore Conference") have developed their syndicalist leanings into an explicit program. It seems that their truncated program "cannot and will not be implemented by the present trade union leadership ...". But that is not all:

"Nor will the present structures and organisations allow a fight around this program. They serve the trade union leaderships ... Thus they also serve the employers in keeping the workers divided ...."

and what is needed instead are "... JOB AND FACTORY COMMITTEES formed on the principle of RANK & FILE DEMOCRACY" (emphasis in original).

As usual, this syndicalist ultraleftism is really just a refusal to struggle politically against the bureaucrats within the unions, the *only existing* mass organisations of working-class struggle. A stunning (and disgusting) proof of this capitulation came at the 23 August meeting when a CL member could say no more than that he supported the leaders' \$15 claim, and later put a motion that discussion be cut off!

In contrast to the various avenues of treachery of the ostensible revolutionary organisations, it was left to the Spartacist League (SL) to provide a pole for class-conscious militants in the metal trades. SL members working in the metal trades intervened in both Sydney and Melbourne with motions for a continuing national strike around the original log of claims and a minimum wage rise of \$25, in addition to calling for rejection of any form of voluntary arbi-

tration, an automatic monthly cost-of-living adjustment based on the highest wage in the industry, and for thirty hours work for forty hours pay to fight unemployment. Speakers supporting the SL resolution at Garside Park pointed out that the workers must not be taken in by the campaign to give the Labor Government a "fair go" to implement strike-breaking pointing out that a real workers government would support workers' struggles to the hilt.

The reformist leadership of the trade unions cannot defend the interests of workers against the attacks of the state. The union bureaucracy uses the Labor Party in power as an excuse to do nothing by urging reliance on reformist parliamentarians who claim to represent workers' interests. At the same time, the bureaucrats serve the Labor Government, as its willing tools to control the union rank and file. In this way, in the context of bourgeois democracy, the ALP in office often serves the ruling class far better than capitalist parties, in integrating the unions into the bourgeois state. The politics of the various fake lefts, who tail various "militant" bureaucrats or capitulate to them, are ultimately a cover for strike-breaking by the Whitlam government.

On the other hand, the open attacks on the working class that the Labor Government is being forced to launch will begin to expose their true role to the masses of workers who have illusions in them. Here again the reformist or centrist pseudo-socialists prevent workers from learning the lessons of this experience. Only if there is an alternative revolutionary leadership in the unions, based on caucuses armed with the full transitional program and acting as an extension of the Leninist vanguard party, can the destruction of these illusions lead on to the final victory over capitalist oppression and exploitation.

## SLL shenanigans in the metal trades

One characteristic of the opportunist Socialist Labour League (SLL) is its attempt to bluff and bluster the working class into accepting its leadership, seeking authority not on the basis of the revolutionary program but through the false demagogic methods of bureaucrats which *inhibit* the development of revolutionary consciousness. An example is the SLL's Metal Trades Caucus (MTC). This Potemkin Village was belatedly resurrected for the second round of mass meetings in the current metal trades campaign. No doubt when the campaign is over it will go back into the closet.

If one is to believe the SLL MTC, it is fighting in the metal trades "for principle" and "to build an alternative leadership". But at the mass meeting in Melbourne on 23 August they presented an amendment which "demanded" that "the State and Federal leaders face up to the responsibility of leadership". *Workers News* (1 August 1974) is even more brazen:

"This [emergency ACTU] conference must unite the whole trade union movement around a socialist program and force the Labor government to institute it." (emphasis added)

Pathetic and absurd as the idea that Whitlam will be "forced" to lead the revolution may be, politically it is *nothing but out-and-out Pab- loism!*

But perhaps the SLL still at least pays lip service to Trotsky's Transitional Program? No chance! At the 8 August mass meeting in Melbourne, SLL members called for the insufficient \$15 and an emergency ACTU congress -- that's all. In their confused panic the Healyites have abandoned the Transitional Program, for a minimum/maximum one: fight for \$15 and join the SLL to expropriate the bourgeoisie. The SLL evidently thinks the transition from the one to the other is automatic. This amounts to an economist/sectarian denial of the role of the Leninist vanguard party in bringing the masses to revolutionary consciousness.

In the same *Workers News* article, the SLL opposes all forms of wage indexation in principle. Supposedly aimed at Cameron's proposals, the article entitled "No to Wage Indexation" attacks the cost-of-living adjustments -- without mentioning the productivity deal and no-strike pledge Cameron's "package" included -- asserting that whatever the details of the indexation, "the result would still be the same, the control and restraint of wages by the government".

Revolutionaries would of course oppose any deal to exchange wage indexation for a no-strike pledge and productivity clauses. But the SLL would also have to reject *all* wage increases granted under the Arbitration system! The SLL has also dropped the Trotskyist demand for a *sliding scale of wages*. Can it be because they think that this, too, is a step towards the "fascist dictatorship"?

### AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

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# Cyprus fiasco topples Greek Junta

**All outside troops out of Cyprus! Down with Caramanlis!  
For immediate elections! Toward a workers government!**

reprinted from Workers Vanguard, No 50, 2 August 1974

July 29 -- Though the final resolution of the current Cyprus crisis is still in doubt, it is clear that its origins lie in the declining political fortunes of the rightist military junta in Athens and an unstable stand-off between ethnic Greek and Turkish elements on the island. Acting through the 650 Greek officers who command the Cyprus National Guard, General Ioannidis hoped for a dramatic success with the coup July 15 in Nicosia, one which would drape the junta in the mantle of Hellenic nationalism and rally all true Greeks to its side.

However, unluckily for him and for the short-lived Greek Cypriot junta headed by one-time terrorist Nikos Sampson, subsequent events demonstrated the direct dependence of all of the principals in the Cyprus drama on the imperialist powers, chiefly the US. It is true that Henry Kissinger's room to maneuver in the Near East is being daily reduced as the various interested parties demand concrete results instead of diplomatic razzle-dazzle. But it has certainly not escaped the notice of Kremlin bureaucrats that out of the confusion have emerged governments in Greece and Cyprus which are precisely what Washington ordered.

The ousting of the "red bishop" Makarios on Cyprus, now replaced by the respectable conservative Clerides, and the painless elimination of the bungling Greek junta (long an international embarrassment to the US) in favor of a civilian cabinet headed by the reactionary Caramanlis and responsible to the military, in the person of President/General Gizikis, did not simply fall from the skies. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (27 July) reports that Kissinger engineered the installation of Clerides as one of the secret conditions for Turkey's signature of a ceasefire; and the *Economist* (27 July) notes that it was the US halt on delivery of military supplies (some aircraft were held up in Spain) which convinced the Greek army to back off from a direct confrontation with Turkey in Thrace and toss the ball back to the politicians.

Cyprus, as the international diplomatic and military activity during the current crisis has demonstrated, is not just another island. Strategically situated in the eastern Mediterranean, it lies at the juncture of the interests of several great and not-so-great powers. (The island has been referred to as the largest unsinkable aircraft carrier in the region.) NATO naval presence in the Israel-Egypt arena, Russian access to its Syrian naval resupply facilities and the ability to supervise the flow of oil from the Arabian peninsula were all directly affected by the Greek coup on the island. Even the now toothless British lion, usually grovellingly servile before US foreign policy, managed a growl in its own behalf in the face of an initial Washington "tilt" toward Sampson and the junta.

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN CYPRUS

To this complex international situation must be added the difficult ethnic composition of the Cypriot population. Although temporary cease-fires have been prettified in the 1960 constitution and other imposing-sounding documents, in reality Greek and Turkish communities on the island remain deeply hostile and far more integrated into the social life of their respective mother countries than into any kind of binational Cyprus. None of the solutions available under present social-economic conditions can possibly satisfy the aspirations of both majority and minority. *Enosis* (union with Greece), "double *enosis*" (partition between Greece and Turkey), ceding sections of Thrace to Turkey in exchange for incorporating Cyprus into Greece and even the continuation of some sort of federated independent Cyprus would involve destructive forced mass population transfers and would contain within them the seeds of further bloody communal and national wars.

"The Cyprus Problem" cannot be solved under capitalism, that is under social and economic conditions which necessarily set one nationality against another; only through the establishment of a proletarian state power and laying the basis for a socialist economy, in which the fruits of labor would be used for the benefit of all, is there any hope of social justice for such interpenetrated peoples.

In modern times Cyprus has always had a Greek

majority, although when it was under the sway of the Ottoman Empire this majority was occasionally subjected to bloody purges by the Turkish overlords. Falling under British rule in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it provided fertile grounds for the classical colonial policy of divide and rule. Turks thus tended to favor British rule, while pro-*enosis* forces dominated among the Greeks.

This situation ended in 1959 when the pro-*enosis* Greek guerrilla forces (EOKA) led by the former World War II fascist collaborator Colonel Grivas and Archbishop Makarios managed to exert sufficient pressure by their terrorist actions to force Greece, Turkey and Britain to look for a new arrangement. The result was the independence of Cyprus, guaranteed by these three powers, under the patchwork constitution of 1960, which simply codified the existing stalemate.

The constitution elaborated a complex dual government structure according to which all important legislative acts were subject to veto by either ethnic grouping. Positions in the administrative apparatus, National Guard, constabulary and public services were to be distributed to each ethnic group by prearranged and arbitrary percentages, as were ministerial posts in the government. These arrangements granted the Turkish minority a substantially greater proportional representation in the government (30-40 percent) than its share of the island population.

The whole house of cards, which in any case was operative only on the condition that both Greece and Turkey accepted the stand-off, fell apart at the first test. Makarios, the first and (to date) only president of Cyprus, attempted almost immediately to "amend" the constitution by abrogating all veto rights, renegeing on the required percentages in public employment and in particular on the specified 40 percent Turkish makeup of the armed forces. The Greek majority was naturally outraged at the "preferential hiring" provisions of the constitution. The Turkish minority, on the other hand, opposed any amendments since it rightly suspected that this would only be a first step toward *enosis*.

The squabbling soon degenerated into the civil war of 1963-64 which led to the reintroduction of British troops as mediators of Cypriot affairs and to a period of several years of terror and counter-terror against the populations of both communities. The fruits of this period (ending in 1967) were the creation of rigid Turkish enclaves and the addition of yet another military contingent, the UN "peace-keeping" force. At present there are six different armies on the island!

Since independence the largest political force on the island has been the Communist Party (AKEL -- Progressive Party of the Working People), which controls a labor federation enrolling half the organized workforce. AKEL received 40 percent of the vote in the last elections and routinely wins all the seats it contests (only 9 out of a total of 35 last time); it could undoubtedly win double as many. In general the Stalinists have given backhanded support to *enosis* and sought a deal with Makarios.

The Archbishop, in turn, has always been more pragmatic than the now-deceased Grivas, who was a committed anti-communist ideologue. While personally a conservative, Makarios was willing to

cooperate with the "reds" provided they did not contest his fragile hegemony over the island's political structure.

The affair between AKEL and the Archbishop was transformed into a marriage as a result of the 1967 colonels' coup in Athens. From that time until last week, union with Greece would have meant, in practical terms, sending AKEL and labor leaders straight into the jails of the junta's



Makarios confers with Kissinger after coup.

torturers. The Stalinists were understandably less than enthusiastic about this prospect. Sensing a similar mood in the Greek Cypriot community, Makarios switched from support for *enosis* to tacitly advocating independence for Cyprus. Apparently his political sense was accurate, for 97.5 percent of the ethnic Greek voters cast their ballots for him in the last presidential elections.

It is ironical that Makarios' more recent difficulties stem from his earlier pro-*enosis* position. It was he who in 1964 invited Grivas to return to the island along with the 650 Greek officers who took over control of the National Guard in contravention of the 1960 constitution. The "unspeakable Nikos Sampson" (*New York Times*, 20 July) was actually a staunch supporter of the Archbishop until 1971. Thus the basis of the coup was laid by the Archbishop, and by its consistent support for him the AKEL also bears responsibility for it.

True to their traditions the Stalinists responded to the officers' coup by once again swearing undying loyalty to the head of the Greek Orthodox Church on Cyprus: "AKEL strongly and angrily condemns the fascist coup staged in Cyprus from outside and urges the people to offer resistance and to rally around the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, who was elected by the people," read a report in the American CP's *Daily World* (17 July). The report "forgot" to mention that only Greek Cypriots voted for the president (ethnic Turks elect the vice president). The Stalinists also neglected to call for a policy of revolutionary defeatism upon the invasion of the Turkish troops (which turned the Cyprus fighting into a Greek-Turkish war in which the working class must oppose both sides). But

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# Feminism vs Marxism:

reprinted from *Women and Revolution*, No 5, Spring 1974

Contrary to an opinion still subscribed to in certain circles, modern feminism did not emerge full-grown from the fertile womb of the New Left, but is in fact an ideological offspring of the utopian egalitarianism of the early nineteenth century, which was in turn a product of the bourgeois democratic revolution. It is noteworthy that the most original theorist of utopian socialism, Charles Fourier, was also the first advocate of women's liberation through the replacement of the nuclear family by collective child rearing. Since utopian socialism (including its



English radical democrat Mary Wollstonecraft.

solution to the problem of the oppression of women) represented the ideals of the bourgeois democratic revolution breaking through the barriers of private property, it was historically progressive. However, with the genesis of Marxism and the recognition that an egalitarian society can emerge only out of the rule of the working class, feminism (like other forms of utopian egalitarianism) lost its progressive aspect and became an ideology of the left wing of liberal individualism, a position which it continues to occupy to this day.

Without question, the most important bourgeois-democratic work on women's liberation was Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* written in 1792. Wollstonecraft was part of a circle of English radical democrats which included William Blake, Tom Paine and William Godwin, whose political lives came to be dominated by the French Revolution. A year before she wrote her classic on sexual equality, Wollstonecraft wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Man*, a polemic against Edmund Burke's counter-revolutionary writings. A few years after, she was to attempt a history of the French Revolution.

While informed and imbued with moral outrage as a result of her own experiences as an unmarried, middle-class woman (she worked as a school teacher and governess), *Vindication* is essentially an extension of the principles of the Enlightenment and French Revolution to women. The first chapter, entitled "Rights and Duties of Mankind", sets the theoretical framework. *Vindication* rests heavily on analogies between the basis for the equality of women and general social equality.

For a contemporary reader, *Vindication* seems a highly unbalanced work. While the description of the role of women continues to be relevant, Wollstonecraft's solutions appear pallid. Her main programmatic demand, to which she devotes the concluding chapter, is uniform education for girls and boys. Even when she wrote *Vindication* this was only a moderately radical proposal. In fact in the very year that *Vindication* was written, a similar educational program was proposed in the French Assembly. Yet generations after the establishment of coeducation and the even more radical reform of women's suffrage, Woll-

stonecraft's depiction of women's role in society continues to ring true.

Although Wollstonecraft was one of the most radical political activists of her day (shortly after writing her classic on women's rights, she crossed the Channel to take part in the revolutionary French government), *Vindication* has an unexpectedly moralizing and personalist character. Like many feminists of our day, she appeals to men to recognize the full humanity of women and to women to stop being sex objects and develop themselves. And there is the same conviction that if only men and women would really believe in these ideals and behave accordingly, then women would achieve equality.

The emphasis on individual relationships is not peculiar to Wollstonecraft, but arises from the inherent contradiction within the bourgeois-democratic approach to women's oppression. Wollstonecraft accepted the nuclear family as the central institution of society and argued for sexual equality within that framework.

By accepting the basic role of women as mothers, Wollstonecraft accepted a division of labor in which women were necessarily economically dependent on their husbands. Therefore, women's equality was essentially dependent on how the marriage partners treated one another. In good part, *Vindication* is an argument that parents and particularly fathers should raise their daughters more like their sons in order to bring out their true potential. But if fathers reject education for their daughters, there is no other recourse. Here we have the limits both of bourgeois democracy and of Wollstonecraft's vision.

The status of women in the nineteenth century represented the most acute and manifest expression of the contradiction between capitalist society and its own ideals. It was this contradiction that gave birth to utopian socialism. Early in the nineteenth century it became apparent to those still committed to the ideals of the French Revolution that liberty, equality and fraternity were not compatible with private property in a competitive market economy. As the most incisive of the pioneer socialists, Charles Fourier, put it:

"Philosophy was right to vaunt *liberty*; it is the foremost desire of all creatures. But philosophy forgot that in civilized society liberty is illusory if the common people lack wealth. When the wage-earning classes are poor, their independence is as fragile as a house without foundations. The free man who lacks wealth immediately sinks back under the yoke of the rich." (Beecher and Bienvenu [Editors], *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier*)

And when Fourier applied the same critical concepts to the status of women, he reached equally radical, anti-bourgeois conclusions. The importance that Fourier attributed to the condition of women is well known:

"Social progress and changes of period are brought about by virtue of the progress of women toward liberty, and social retrogression occurs as a result of a diminution in the liberty of women... In summary, the extension of the privileges of women is the fundamental cause of all social progress." (*Ibid*)

What is of decisive importance about Fourier's concern for women's oppression is that he put forth a program for the total reconstruction of society that would end the historic division of labor between men and women. In Fourier's projected socialist community, children were raised collectively with no particular relation to their biological parents, men and women performed the same work and total sexual liberty was encouraged. (He regarded heterosexual monogamy as the extension of bourgeois property concepts to the sexual sphere.)

Fourier's intense hostility to the patriarchal family in good part derived from his realization that it was inherently sexually repressive. In this he anticipated much of radical Freudianism. For example, he observed, "There are still many parents who allow their unmarried daughters to suffer and die for want of sexual satisfaction" (*Ibid*)

Despite the fantastic nature of his projected socialist communities or "phalanxes", Fourier's program contained the rational core for the reorganization of society needed to liberate women. He was uniquely responsible for making the demand for the liberation of women through the abolition of the nuclear family an integral part of the socialist program which the young Marx and Engels inherited. Engels was more than willing (for example, in *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*) to pay homage to the primary author of the socialist program for women's liberation.

While not giving the woman question the centrality it had in Fourierism, the two other major currents of early nineteenth century socialism, Owenism and Saint-Simonism, were also unambiguously committed to sexual equality and opposed to legally enforced monogamy. The political life of the early nineteenth century was characterized by the complete interpenetration of the struggle for women's liberation and the general struggle for an egalitarian society. Those women advocating women's rights (no less than the men who did so) did not view this question as distinct from, much less counterposed to, the general movement for a rational social order. Those women who championed sexual equality were either socialists or radical democrats whose activity on behalf of women's rights occupied only a fraction of their political lives. The most radical women advocates of sexual equality -- the Americans Frances Wright and Margaret Fuller and the Frenchwoman Flora Tristan -- all conform to this political profile.

## BOURGEOIS RADICALISM AND PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM

Frances Wright began her political career as a liberal reformer with a tract in favor of the abolition of slavery. She was won to socialism by Robert Dale Owen, Robert Owen's son, who immigrated to the US to become its most important radical socialist in the 1820-30's. Wright established an Owenite commune in Tennessee modeled on the famous one at New Harmony, Indiana. In 1828-29, she and Robert Dale Owen edited the *Free Enquirer*, a newspaper associated with the New York Workingman's Party which championed universal suffrage, free public education, "free love" and birth control.

Margaret Fuller, whose *Women in the Nineteenth Century* was the most influential women's rights work of her generation, was a product of New England Transcendentalism and had edited a journal with Ralph Waldo Emerson. Like Wollstonecraft, Margaret Fuller approached the woman question from the standpoint of religious radicalism (the equality of souls).

Fuller was associated with the Transcendentalist commune, Brook Farm, about the time it was transformed into a Fourierist community or "Phalanx", the year before she wrote her classic on women's equality. Shortly after that she went to Europe and became involved in the democratic nationalist movements that were a mainspring in the revolutions of 1848. In that momentous year, she went to Italy to run a hospital for Giuseppe Mazzini's Young Italy movement.

The most important woman socialist of the pre-1848 era was Flora Tristan. She began her revolutionary career with a tract in favor of legalized divorce, which had been outlawed in France following the reaction of 1815. (As a young woman Tristan had left her husband, an act which resulted in social ostracism and continual hardship throughout her life.) Her work on divorce led to a correspondence with the aging Fourier and a commitment to socialism. Among the most cosmopolitan of socialists, Tristan had crisscrossed the Channel playing an active role in both the Owenite and Chartist movements. Summing up her political situation in a letter to Victor Considerant, leader of the Fourierist movement after the master's death, she wrote: "Almost the entire world is against me, men because I am demanding the emancipation of women, the propertied classes because I am demanding the emancipation of the wage earners" (Goldsmith, *Seven Women Against the World*).

In the 1840's the ancient French craft unions, the *compagnonnes*, were transforming themselves into modern trade unions. This process produced an embryonic revolutionary socialist labor movement whose main leaders were Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Auguste Blanqui and Etienne Cabet. Flora Tristan was part of this nascent proletarian socialist movement. Her *The Workers Union* writ-

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# Origins of the conflict

ten in 1843, was the most advanced statement of proletarian socialism up to its day. Its central theme was the need for an *international* workers' organization. (Marx met Tristan while he was in Paris and was undoubtedly influenced by her work.) The concluding passage of *The Workers Union* affirms: "Union is power if we unite on the social and political field, on the ground of equal rights for both sexes, if we organize labor, we shall win welfare for all."

*The Workers Union* devotes a section to the problems of women and its concluding passage indicates the integral role that sexual equality had in Tristan's concept of socialism: "We have resolved to include in our Charter women's sacred and inalienable rights. We desire that men should give to their wives and mothers the liberty and absolute equality which they enjoy themselves."

Flora Tristan died of typhoid in 1844 at the age of 41. Had she survived the catastrophe of 1848 and remained politically active, the history of European socialism might well have been different, for she was free of the residual Jacobinism of Blanqui and the artisan philistinism of Proudhon.

Contemporary feminists and bourgeois historians tend to label all early nineteenth-century female advocates of sexual equality feminists. This is a wholly illegitimate analysis -- a projection of current categories back into a time when they are meaningless. As a delimited movement and distinctive ideology feminism did not exist in the early nineteenth century. Virtually all the advocates of full sexual equality considered this an integral part of the movement for a generally free and egalitarian society rooted in Enlightenment principles and carrying forward the American and particularly the French Revolutions. The American Owenite Frances Wright was no more a feminist than the English Owenite William Thompson who wrote *An appeal of one half the Human Race, Women, against the pretensions of the other Half, Men, to keep them in Civil and Domestic Slavery*. Flora Tristan was no more a feminist than was Fourier.

In the 1840's, a Transcendentalist radical like Margaret Fuller, a nationalist democrat like Giuseppe Mazzini and a socialist working-

class organizer like Etienne Cabet could consider themselves part of a common political movement whose program was encapsulated in the slogan, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity". In its most radical expression, this movement looked forward to a single, total revolution which would simultaneously establish democracy, eliminate classes, achieve equality for women and end national oppression.

This vision was defeated on the barricades in 1848. And with that defeat, the component elements of early nineteenth-century radicalism (liberal democracy and socialism, trade unionism, women's equality and national liberation) separated and began to compete and conflict with one another. After 1848, it seemed that bourgeois society would continue for some time and that the interests of the oppressed, be they workers, women or nations, would have to be realized within its framework. Feminism (like trade unionism and national liberation) emerged as a delimited movement with its own constituency, ideology and organization only after the great catastrophe of 1848 had temporarily dispelled the vision of a fundamentally new social order.

## MARX AGAINST UTOPIAN EGALITARIANISM

It is sometimes written that Fourier regarded socialism more as a means of overcoming women's oppression than class oppression. This is a post-Marx way of looking at politics and not how Fourier would have viewed it. He would have said that he projected a society which would satisfy human needs and that the most striking thing about it was the radical change in the role of women. As opposed to the materialist view that different political movements represent the interests of different classes, utopian socialism shared the rational idealistic conception of political motivation characteristic of the Enlightenment -- ie, that different political movements reflect different conceptions of the best possible social organization. The idealism of early socialism was probably inevitable since it was produced by those revolutionary bourgeois democrats who maintained their principles after the actual bourgeoisie had abandoned revolutionary democracy. The social base of early socialism was those petty-bourgeois radicals who had

gone beyond the interests and real historic possibilities of their class. This was most true of German "True Socialism" which, in a nation with virtually no industrial workers and a conservative, traditionalist petty bourgeoisie, was purely a literary movement. It was least true of English Owenism, which had intersected the embryonic labor movement while retaining a large element of liberal philanthropism.

By the 1840's a working-class movement had arisen in France, Belgium and England which was attracted to socialist ideas and organization. However, the relationship of the new-fledged socialist workers' organizations to the older socialist currents, as well as to liberal democracy and the political expressions of women's rights and national liberation, remained confused in all existing socialist theories. It was Marx who cut the Gordian knot and provided a coherent, realistic analysis of the social basis for the socialist movement within bourgeois society.

Marx asserted that the working class was the social group which would play the primary and distinctive role in establishing socialism. This was so because the working class was that social group whose interests and condition were most in harmony with a collectivist economy or, conversely, which had the least stake in the capitalist mode of production.

Marx's appreciation of the role of the proletariat was not deduced from German philosophy, but was the result of his experience in France in the 1840's. Socialism had manifestly polarized French society along class lines, the main base for socialism being the industrial working class, the propertied classes being implacably hostile and the petty bourgeoisie vacillating, often seeking a utopian third road.

For Marx the predominance of intellectuals in the early socialist movement was not proof that the socialist movement could be based on universal reason. Rather it was necessarily a phenomenon partly reflecting the contradictions of the bourgeois democratic revolution and partly anticipating the new alignment of class forces: "A portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat and in particular, a portion of bour-

Continued on page six

CONTINUED FROM PAGE EIGHT

## Mandel's record . . .

and asserted that, for example in North Vietnam, "the call for political revolution is incorrect -- and extremely dangerous in its implications" (*International Socialist Review*, April 1974). Dangerous it is for the Stalinist bureaucracy -- but essential for the revolutionary struggle of the masses throughout Indochina!

In the colonial and neo-colonial world, Mandel and his Pabloist cohorts have not limited themselves to tailing Stalinists in deformed workers' states, but have gone after various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists as well.

When Pablo arrived in Algiers in 1962 in order to tail the bourgeois-nationalist FLN at close quarters, he became economic counsellor to President Ben Bella, advising the bourgeois state on how to contain the workers movement. With the full knowledge of Mandel and company (and never yet criticised by them for it), Pablo fulfilled this role from 1962 until Boumediene's coup in 1965. And it was Pablo who split from the USec, not vice-versa -- a year after the Reunification Congress, in 1964.

In Ceylon, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) had sided with Pablo/Germain in the 1953 split. Growing progressively more opportunist in outlook under the IS, it finally ended by joining a bourgeois coalition government headed by Sirimavo Bandaranaike in 1964, and was expelled from the USec at the last minute -- with utter hypocrisy, as USec leader Pablo had been a member of a bourgeois government for two years! And the LSSP could legitimately blame the USec itself. When in 1960 the LSSP called for support of an SLFP (Sri Lanka Freedom Party) government, the USec scolded the LSSP leadership, but supported such moves in principle:

"We do not forget that, in the case of colonial and semi-colonial countries, the revolutionary party can give its *critical support to governments with a non-proletarian leadership, be they petty-bourgeois or bourgeois.*" (emphasis added)

Even before, but especially following, the May-June 1968 events in France, the Pabloists in Europe (and in the US) wholeheartedly pursued a line of student/youth vanguardism, embodied in the petty-bourgeois, utopian call for the "Red University", and denying the leading role of the

proletariat in the socialist revolution. So open a repudiation of Marxism was too crude for Mandel, who was forced to develop a series of "theoretical" slogans to explain away the USec's opportunism: the "dialectic of sectors of intervention", the notion of "penetrating" the working class "from the periphery to the centre", etc.

With the resurgence of the class struggle around the world Mandel came up with a new theory, this one tailored to the needs of the USec faction fight, the theory of the "new mass vanguard". The great utility of this idea (and what makes it typical of Mandel's equivocating Pabloism) is that it can be "interpreted" according to specific opportunities to include just about anything, undifferentiated youth, university students, petty-bourgeois urban or peasant guerrilla movements, or just militant trade unionists. Unfortunately for Mandel, at the theoretical level this makes a total mess of Marxism: a multi-class "vanguard" which lacks socialist consciousness!

The most recent example of Mandel's vacillating centrist revisionism is the opportunism of his tendency on one of the most fundamental



End product of Pabloist decay -- Jack Barnes, boss of legalist-reformist SWP in US. (photo: US Militant)

issues facing the working class -- the question of the popular front. The USec first took the position that the Allende government was a popular front (see the December 1971 USec "unanimous" Resolution in *Socialist Review*, May 1972); but when the former Ligue Communiste (predecessor of the FCR) wanted to support the Union of the Left, it was compelled to deny the popular front character of this electoral bloc of reformist workers parties with the bourgeois Radicals in order to maintain its "Trotskyist" pretence. But because there is no difference in essence between the two coalitions, the Ligue and the British IMG both decided that the *Unidad Popular* was not a popular front either (and the

IMG's Robin Blackburn said so explicitly in an article reprinted by the CL's *Militant*, Special Broadsheet no 1, October 1973). Tailing along behind the French and British groups was the Australian CL. At the same time, the SWP/SWL wing of the USec have been busy publishing articles proclaiming the opposite, finding the issue "safe" for a little orthodoxy because it is outside their nationally delimited appetites. What is the USec's position? Last October, a declaration by the USec following the coup simply ignored the question!

The difference between a popular front and a reformist workers party is not at all academic. In a popular front the workers' interests are openly and explicitly subordinated to the program of the bourgeois element, even when it is what Trotsky called the "shadow of the bourgeoisie". A Leninist party must demand that the reformists *break from the bourgeoisie*, warning clearly that any political alliance with the class enemy can *only* lead to disaster. Now the FCR wants to support the MIR, another one of those "centrist revolutionary" parties, which calls for a political bloc with the bourgeois anti-Junta forces and gave its "critical support" to the UP government.

With the expulsion of Mandel's American supporters by the reformist leadership of the SWP in July, the USec now teeters on the edge of a complete international split that would finalise what is already an accomplished fact in Australia, Canada, Mexico, Peru, Spain and now the US.

The impending collapse of Pabloist centrism vindicates those Trotskyists whose fight against the disease enabled them to maintain the programmatic continuity of revolutionary Marxism. With the parallel programmatic degeneration and disintegration of the once anti-Pabloist Healy-Lambert International Committee, these authentic Trotskyists are today represented by the International Spartacist Tendency, born in resistance to the SWP's 1961-63 rush into Pabloist "reunification". The time is long since overdue to come to terms with Pabloism and its betrayals, covered over since 1953 by Mandel's evasions and opportunist apologetics, reinforced since 1963 by Dobbs-Hansen-Novack-Barnes of the SWP. The USec split clears the road for all subjective revolutionaries taken in by its false pretenses to make this examination, and reaffirming the program of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, to regroup for the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■



## Feminism/Marxism . . .

geois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole" (Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*).

The propertied, educated classes could not be won to socialism on the basis of rational and democratic ideals even though objectively those ideals could only be realized under socialism. Along the same lines, women of the privileged class and the ruling stratum of oppressed nationalities cannot in general be won to socialism



SWP "socialist feminist", anti-Marxist Mary-Alice Waters. (photo: US *Militant*)

even though objectively sexual equality and national liberation can only be realized under socialism.

Closely related to the question of the class basis of the socialist movement is the question of the material conditions under which socialism can be established. Reflecting on pre-Marxist socialism in his later years, Engels quipped that the utopians believed that the reason socialism hadn't been established before was that nobody had ever thought of it. That Engels' witticism was only a slight exaggeration is shown by the importance of communal experiments in the early socialist movement, indicating a belief that socialism could be established under any and all conditions if a group really wanted it. The primacy of voluntarism for the early socialists again reflected the fact that their thinking was rooted in eighteenth-century, individualistic idealism which, in turn, derived from Protestantism, an earlier bourgeois ideology.

In sharp and deliberate contrast to the utopians, Marx asserted that inequality and oppression were necessary consequences of economic scarcity and attempts to eliminate them through communal escapism or political coercion were bound to fail:

"... this development of productive forces (which itself implies the actual empirical existence of men in their *world-historic*, instead of local, being) is an absolutely necessary practical premise because without it *want* is merely made general, and with *destitution* the struggle for necessities and all the old filthy business would necessarily be reproduced...." [emphasis in original] (Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*)

Marx's assertion that inequality and oppression are historically necessary and can be overcome only through the *total* development of society, centering on the raising of the productive forces, represents his most fundamental break with *progressive* bourgeois ideology. Therefore, to this day, these concepts are the most unpalatable aspects of Marxism for those attracted to socialism from a liberal humanist outlook:

"... although at first the development of the capacities of the human species takes place at the cost of the majority of human individuals and even classes, in the end it breaks

through this contradiction and coincides with the development of the individual; the higher level of individuality is thus only achieved by a historical process in which individuals are sacrificed...."

"... it is only possible to achieve real liberation in the real world and by employing real means,... slavery cannot be abolished without the steam-engine and the mule and spinning-jenny, serfdom cannot be abolished without improved agriculture, and ..., in general people cannot be liberated as long as they are unable to obtain food and drink, housing and clothing in adequate quality and quantity. 'Liberation' is an historical and not a mental act, and it is brought about by historical conditions, the development of industry, commerce, agriculture, the conditions of intercourse...." (Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*)

It is evident that "women" can replace "individuals" and "classes" in these passages without doing damage to their meaning, since Marx regarded women's oppression as a *necessary* aspect of that stage in human development associated with class society.

Marx's programmatic differences with the utopians were encapsulated in the concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" which he regarded as one of his few original, important contributions to socialist theory. The dictatorship of the proletariat is that period after the overthrow of the capitalist state when the working class administers society in order to create the economic and cultural conditions for socialism.

During the dictatorship of the proletariat, the restoration of capitalism remains a possibility. This is not primarily due to the machinations of die-hard reactionaries but arises rather out of the conflicts and tensions generated by the continuation of global economic scarcity.

This economic scarcity is caused not only by inadequate physical means of production. Even more importantly it derives from the inadequate and extremely uneven cultural level inherited from capitalism. Socialist superabundance presupposes an enormous raising of the cultural level of mankind. The "average" person under socialism would have the knowledge and capacity of several learned professions in contemporary society.

However, in the period immediately following the revolution, the administration of production will necessarily be largely limited to that elite trained in bourgeois society, since training their replacements will take time. Therefore, skilled specialists such as the director of an airport, chief of surgery in a hospital or head of a nuclear power station will have to be drawn from the educated, privileged classes of the old capitalist society. Although in a qualitatively diminished way, the dictatorship of the proletariat will continue to exhibit economic inequality, a hierarchic division of labor and those aspects of social oppression rooted in the cultural level inherited from bourgeois society (eg, racist *attitudes* will not disappear the day after the revolution).

These general principles concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat likewise apply to the woman question. To the extent that it rests on the cultural level inherited from capitalism, certain aspects of sexual inequality and oppression will continue well into the dictatorship of the proletariat. The population cannot be totally re-educated nor can a psychological pattern instilled in men and women from infancy be fully eliminated or reversed.

The rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary transition period to socialism is the central justification for utopian egalitarianism (including radical or "socialist" feminism) in the era of Marxism.

Feminism was one of the three major extensions of utopian egalitarianism into the post-1848 era, the other two being anarchism and artisan cooperativism (Proudhonism). In fact, during the later nineteenth century radical feminism and anarchism heavily interpenetrated one another both as regards their position on the woman question and in personnel. The decisive element in common among feminism, anarchism and cooperativism was a commitment to a level of social equality and individual freedom impossible to attain not only under capitalism, but in the period following its overthrow. At a general ideological level, feminism was bourgeois individualism in conflict with the realities and limits of bourgeois society.

During their lifetimes, Marx and Engels had two notable conflicts with organized feminism -- continual clashes in the context of the struggle for protective labor legislation and a short faction fight in the American section of the First International. While the question of protective labor legislation covered a great deal

of ground at many levels of concreteness, the central difference between the Marxists and feminists over this issue was also the central difference between Marxism and utopian egalitarianism -- ie, the question of the primacy of the material well-being of the masses and the historical interests of the socialist movement vis-a-vis formal equality within bourgeois society.

The feminist opposition to protective labor legislation argued and continues to argue that it would mean legal inequality in the status of women and that it was partly motivated by paternalistic, male-chauvinist prejudices. Marx and Engels recognized these facts but maintained that the physical well-being of working women and the interests of the entire class in reducing the intensity of exploitation more than offset this formal and ideological inequality. Writing to Gertrud Guillaume-Schack, a German feminist who later became an anarchist, Engels stated his case:

"That the working woman needs special protection against capitalist exploitation because of her special physiological functions seems obvious to me. The English women who championed the formal right of members of their sex to permit themselves to be as thoroughly exploited by the capitalists as the men are mostly, directly or indirectly, interested in the capitalist exploitation of both sexes. I admit I am more interested in the health of the future generation than in the absolute formal equality of the sexes in the last years of the capitalist mode of production. It is my conviction that real equality of women and men can come true only when exploitation of either by capital has been abolished and private housework has been transformed into a public industry." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Letter to Guillaume-Schack of 5 June 1855)

Thus Engels recognized in feminism the false consciousness of the privileged classes of women who believe that since they themselves are oppressed only as women, sexual inequality is the only significant form of oppression.

Guillaume-Schack's conversion to anarchism was not accidental, for the anarchists also opposed protective labor legislation for women as an inconsistent, inegalitarian reform. Writing a polemic against the Italian anarchists in the early 1870's, Marx ridiculed the "logic" that one "must not take the trouble to obtain legal prohibition of the employment of girls under 10 in factories because a stop is not thereby put to the exploitation of boys under 10" -- that this was a "com-

CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE

## Cyprus . . .

most of all they "forgot" to mention the need for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie.

As against the Stalinist program of collaboration with "progressive", "left", "anti-imperialist" or even, as in Cyprus, with quite conservative bourgeois forces, Marxists must put forward the program of proletarian struggle against all sections of the class enemy. This does not mean we rule out specific, purely tactical agreements for united *action* against a common enemy. Thus in the first days following the Cyprus coup, up to the point of the Turkish invasion, there was a basis for united action -- namely calling for the overthrow of the junta -- which could have embraced the majority of the island's population, both Turkish and Greek. But not for a minute would this have meant abandoning a policy of political opposition to Makarios and to the Greek and Turkish bourgeois nationalists.

For a historical moment the interests of democracy were flatly counterposed to nationalism among the dominant people on the island. This was seen in the reported instances of pro-Makarios Greeks who were saved by ethnic Turks from the initial National Guard onslaught, and notably in a first-ever united Greek and Turkish Cypriot demonstration against the junta, in London on July 16. At that time the basis existed for a vast popular uprising which would very quickly have become transformed into a battle on class lines within the Greek community. But the condition for successfully preparing this struggle is that the Marxist party not sacrifice its independent proletarian perspective. The absence of revolutionary leadership -- to seize and lead forward this exceptional chance for class struggle across national lines against the reactionary coup -- led straight to the renewed national antagonism and communal violence. By shamelessly aligning itself with Makarios, personification of the ethnically polarized status quo, the Stalinists bear direct responsibility for the degeneration of a historic opportunity for class unity into a resurgence of bloody national hatreds among the masses.

A Trotskyist party in Cyprus would have called for the formation of an ethnically united wor-

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promise which damages the purity of eternal principles" (quoted in Hal Draper, *International Socialism*, July-August 1970).

Because of the catch-all nature of the First International, the Marxist tendency had to wage major internal factional struggles against the most characteristic left currents in the various countries (eg, trade-union reformism in Britain, Proudhon's cooperativism in France, Lasalle's state socialism in Germany and anarchism in Eastern and Southern Europe). It is therefore highly symptomatic that the major factional struggle within the American section centered around feminism, a variant of petty-bourgeois radicalism. In the most general sense, the importance of the Woodhull tendency reflected the greater political weight of the American liberal middle class relative to the proletariat than in European class alignments. Historically petty-bourgeois moralism has been more influential in American socialism than in virtually any other country. This was particularly pronounced in the period after the Civil War when abolitionism served as the model for native American radicalism.

The relative political backwardness of the American working class is rooted primarily in the process of its development through successive waves of immigration from different countries. This created such intense ethnic divisions that it impeded even elementary trade-union organization. In addition, many of the immigrant workers who came from peasant backgrounds were imbued with strong religious, racial and sexual prejudices and a generally low cultural level which impeded class -- much less socialist -- consciousness. In general the discontent of American workers was channeled by the petty bourgeoisie of the various ethnic groups into the struggle for their own place in the parliamentary-state apparatus.

The American working class's lack of strong organization, its ethnic electoral politics and relatively backward social attitudes created a political climate in which "enlightened middle-class socialism" was bound to flourish. Not least important in this respect was the fact that the liberal middle classes were Protestant while the industrial working class was heavily Roman Catholic. Indeed, an important aspect of the Woodhull/Sorge fight was over an orientation toward Irish Catholic workers.

Victoria Woodhull was the best-known (more accurately notorious) "free love" advocate of her day, ambitious and with a gift for political showmanship. Seeing that the First International was becoming fashionable, she organized her own section of it (Section 12) along with remnants of

the New Democracy, a middle-class, electoral-reformist organization, led by Samuel Foot Andrews, a former abolitionist. The Woodhullites thus entered the First International as a radical liberal faction, with an emphasis on women's rights and an electoralist strategy.

Section 12 rapidly retranslated the principles of the First International into the language of American liberal democracy. Needless to say, it came out for total organizational federalism with each section free to pursue its own activities and line within the general principles of the International. Section 12's political line and organizational activities (its official paper, *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* preached spiritualism among other things) quickly brought it into conflict within the Marxist tendency, led by the German veteran of the 1848 revolution, Friedrich Sorge. Section 12 was able to cause much factional trouble, not only in the US but abroad, because its radical liberalism fed into the growing anarchist, electoral-reformist and federalist currents in the International. The Woodhullites were part of a rotten bloc which coalesced against the Marxist leadership of the First International in 1871-72. Woodhull enjoyed a short stay in the anarchist International in 1873 on her way to becoming a wealthy eccentric.

The immediate issue of the faction fight was the priority of women's rights, notably suffrage, over labor issues particularly the eight-hour day. That for the Woodhullites what was involved was not a matter of programmatic emphasis, but a counterposition to proletarian socialism was made explicit after the split with Sorge: "The extension of equal citizenship to women, the world over, must precede any general change in the subsisting relation of capital and labor" [emphasis in original] (*Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, 18 November 1871).

After splitting with the Sorge wing, while still claiming loyalty to the First International, Section 12 organized the Equal Rights Party in order to run Woodhull for president in 1872. The program was straight left-liberalism without any proletarian thrust. It called for "...a truly republican government which shall not only recognize but guarantee equal political and social rights to men and women, and which shall secure equal opportunities of education for all children" (*Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, 20 April 1872).

The general political principles of the Woodhullites were clearly expressed in their appeal to the General Council of the First International against the Sorge wing:

lifted, what forces have been growing unseen below it: who has secretly prepared the best organization, who commands the biggest army of the streets, whose slogans will appeal most to unpractised ears."

There are several similarities to Portugal in the Greek situation following the installation of



100 Cyprian migrants march on Greek Consulate in Sydney to protest Makarios' overthrow.

the Caramanlis government. But there are also important differences. For one thing, there is no apparent leftist sector of the armed forces, and the Communist Party (the KKE) is badly split, with the stronger group, the "internal party", being estranged from Moscow and social-democratic in orientation (similar to the Carrillo CP in Spain or the Australian CP, both of which have experienced splits by pro-Moscow loyalists). Another important factor is the long history of Greek Trotskyism, which after World War II was quite strong. Today both the "United Secretariat" of Ernest Mandel and the "International Committee" of Gerry Healy have Greek sections.

The struggle for political independence of the working class is certainly as crucial in Greece as it is in Cyprus. The absence of a Makarios-

"It [the object of the International] involves, first, the Political Equality and Social Freedom of men and women alike... Social Freedom means absolute immunity from the impertinent intrusion in all affairs of exclusively personal concernment, such as religious belief, sexual relations, habits of dress, etc." [emphasis in original] (*Documents of the First International*, The General Council; Minutes 1871-72)

This appeal was answered by a resolution written by Marx, which suspended Section 12. After cataloguing the organizational abuses and rotten politics, Marx concluded by reasserting the central difference between democratic egalitarianism and proletarian socialism -- namely, that the end to all forms of oppression must run through the victory of the working class over capitalism. Marx called attention to past International documents:

"...relating to 'sectarian sections' or 'separatist bodies pretending to accomplish special missions' distinct from the common aim of the Association [First International], viz. to emancipate the mass of labour from its 'economical subjection to the monopolizer of the means of labour' which lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of social misery, mental degradation and political dependence." (*Ibid*)

While the Marxist case against the Woodhullites centered on their electoralism, middle-class orientation and quackery, the role of "free love" in the socialist movement had a definite significance in the fight. While including personal sexual freedom in their program, the Marxists insisted on a cautious approach to this question when dealing with more backward sections of the working class. By flaunting a sexually "liberated" life-style, the Woodhullites would have created a nearly impenetrable barrier to winning over conventional and religious workers. One of the main charges that Sorge brought against Section 12 at the Hague Conference in 1872 was that its activities had made it much more difficult for the International to reach the strategically placed Irish Catholic workers.

The historic relevance of the Woodhull/Sorge faction fight is that it demonstrated, in a rather pure way, the basis of feminism in classic bourgeois-democratic principles, particularly individualism. It further demonstrated that feminist currents tend to be absorbed into liberal reformism or anarchistic petty-bourgeois radicalism, both of which invariably unite against revolutionary proletarian socialism. ■

like figure and leftist officers in the army may in fact make it difficult for the Stalinists to find someone to sell out to: Caramanlis seems determined to include no one to the left of timid liberals in his cabinet. This will not, however, prevent the reformists from trying. And judging from press accounts of Athens crowds cheering a general's car following the junta's appointment of the civilian cabinet, there are still widespread democratic illusions among the masses which must be dispelled.

The key weapon for confronting these illusions and polarizing the masses along class lines is the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. In the struggle to build a Trotskyist party in Greece, the key to taking the struggle forward, it will be necessary to raise demands which demonstrate clearly that the *demokratia* expected of Caramanlis and Gizikis is a sham. We call therefore for immediate elections to a constituent assembly; no amnesty for Ioannidis and the criminals of the military junta -- try them by elected people's tribunals; immediate withdrawal of all outside (including Greek) troops from Cyprus; Greece out of NATO, US bases out of Greece; restore all democratic rights, including the right to strike and for the labor/socialist press to be published and distributed -- annul the ban on the KKE; expropriate the bourgeoisie, down with Caramanlis -- toward a workers government.

If a revolutionary Trotskyist organization is not crystallized to struggle for such a program, and if ostensible Marxists content themselves with tailing after the masses, not only will great opportunities be lost and the way be opened for the Stalinists to reconsolidate their former hold on Greek workers. In addition, with a popular civilian government in power and much of the population in uniform as the result of the mobilization of reserves, the generals and reactionary politicians could well attempt a confrontation with Turkey over Cyprus. With nationalist passions on the island already inflamed by the recent days of communal fighting, this could lead to mass murder on both sides. Thus as long as bourgeois law-and-order is not threatened by a united mobilization of the workers against capital, the fall of the Greek junta can actually lead to an intensification of nationalist conflicts on Cyprus. ■

kers' militia based on the unions, and for democratic and transitional demands which could have transcended communal conflicts by uniting the working people in struggle against capitalism. Important among these demands would have been a call for expropriation of the large land-owners (including, notably, the Greek Orthodox Church). It would have put forward the perspective of a workers government based on soviets. In contrast, by giving political support to Makarios, AKEL was simply paving the way for a return to the ethnic politics which have polarized Cyprus on national lines for centuries.

Following the Turkish invasion it was necessary to take a revolutionary defeatist position in Cyprus, against both armies in the field. Certainly no support could be given to the Cyprus National Guard and Greek troops who, if victorious, would have rounded up several thousand leftists and butchered them. But while the Turkish invasion opened up the situation and led to the downfall of the Greek junta, proletarian revolutionist could give no support to it as well. Otherwise they would have been endorsing the nationalist atrocities committed by the Turkish forces and giving support to Ankara's goal of, at a minimum, establishing a military foothold and at best forcing a partition of the island. The correct call was to demand the immediate withdrawal of all outside armed forces from Cyprus.

Although the recent events may have strengthened the moderately liberal government in Turkey vis-a-vis the military, the fundamental impact of the Cyprus crisis will be felt in Greece. In Athens it has already led to the stepping down of the reactionary junta that has ruled the country with an iron fist for the last seven years. The military has, however, not disappeared from the political scene, as witness the fact that the junta's "President", General Gizikis, continued in office.

We can now expect to witness a period of increasing class struggle and leftist militancy in Greece. The bourgeoisie is clearly worried about this, which is one reason why they have kept a tight lid on Athens both during and after the first night of the new regime. As the 27 July *Economist* commented apprehensively, "Nobody knows, when the repression of a dictatorship is



# Ernest Mandel's record of Pabloist treachery

Ernest Mandel, the leader of the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), is coming to Australia, preceded by his academic "Marxist" reputation. Although Mandel poses as a Trotskyist, his real politics -- the program and practice of the USec -- are thoroughly revisionist. Because Mandel is well-practised at hiding his capitulationist betrayals with a blend of orthodox generalities and shifty sophistries, the workers movement in Australia deserves to know the real record of this imposter.

Mandel, once one of the leading theoreticians of the post-war Fourth International (FI), sided with the revisionist Michel Pablo when, in 1953, he split the Fourth International in order to pursue his liquidationist policies, which were opposed by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the French Lambert-Bleibtreu group, and the British Healy group. The method, program and organisational practice of Pablo codified in the course of that split a new form of revisionism in the Trotskyist movement. Mandel wavered, first attacking some of Pablo's conceptions in his "Ten Theses" (1951), then conciliating him,

countries) to play a revolutionary role, making Trotskyists at best only an auxiliary pressure group.

Mandel and the USec go so far as to try to deny the existence of such Pabloism. But let Pablo speak on his own behalf. In January 1951 he wrote in a document, "Where Are We Going?":

"The objective process is in the final analysis the sole determining factor, overriding all obstacles of a subjective order.

"The Communist Parties retain the possibility in certain circumstances of roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation."

In a further document, "The Coming War", he discussed the liquidationist "tactic" he called "entrism *sui generis* [of a unique kind]". The real meaning of this policy was made clear by the Austrian Commission of the Third World Congress of the FI, held in August-September 1951:

"The activity of our members in the SP [Socialist Party] will be governed by the following directives: A. Not to come forward as



Rogues' gallery of Pabloism: the big three of the USec's IMT. Left to right: Alain Krivine (FCR), E Mandel, Tariq Ali (IMG). (photo: Rouge)

ending by assimilating Pablo's impressionist world outlook and opportunist practice. The USec today is the political-organisational continuation not of authentic Trotskyism but of *Pabloism*; and Mandel remains the chief spokesman of Pabloist centrism.

Mandel's visit is being sponsored by the two Australian "sympathising groups" of the USec, the Socialist Workers League (SWL) and the Communist League (CL) which have different political lines corresponding to the current international split in the USec. The CL supports the IMT, while the SWL backs the minority "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" supported mainly by the SWP. Their joint advertisement of Mandel's tour has been virtually the only mention in the public press of either group of the other since even before their status was decided by the USec's "Tenth World Congress" early this year. Mandel's public balancing act between the two hostile tendencies should provide a concrete demonstration of the rotten character of the USec's federated bloc -- Mandel's idea of a "democratic-centralist" International.

Pablo and Mandel (also known as Ernest Germain) rose to leading positions in the FI following the physical liquidation of most leading Trotskyist cadres in Europe, at the hands of the Nazis and the Stalinists, during WWII. The unforeseen and unique postwar conditions, which saw the expansion of Stalinism in Eastern Europe; the revolutions in Yugoslavia and China; and the continuing isolation of the Trotskyists brought about by the re-stabilisation of capitalism on the basis of US domination, aided by the open class collaboration of the Stalinists; and the resulting Cold War, produced fertile ground for revisionism by fostering frustration and theoretical confusion in the ranks of the FI.

Pablo in particular responded by abandoning the continuing struggle for the Trotskyist program in order to play the more comfortable role of a left pressure on the Stalinist parties throughout the world. In order to justify this liquidation -- the abandonment of the struggle for an independent Leninist vanguard party -- Pablo concocted an impressionist theory which held (as revisionist always have) that the new conditions made Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy obsolete, old-fashioned. What Pablo termed the New World Reality made of the revolution a supra-historical, onrushing objective phenomenon, that would force Stalinist or social-democratic reformists (or bourgeois nationalists in colonial

Trotskyists with our full program. B. Not to push forward programmatic and principled questions."

(See also "The Rise and Decline of Stalinism", International Secretariat, September 1953.)

It is not accidental that key Pabloist leaders in France (Mestre) and Britain (Lawrence) soon became full-fledged Stalinists. It is these tailist views which the wavering Mandel finally backed in 1953, helping to bring about the effective disintegration of the FI.

Pabloism, like all forms of opportunism, is based on impressionism, changing according to the temptations of the moment. But its constant feature is to seek to pressure some social layer other than the proletariat to the left, be it the Stalinist or Social-Democratic hierarchies, the Ben Bellas, Nassers, or Perons, left trade-union bureaucrats (Piaget) or petty-bourgeois students.

The continuity of Pabloism can be seen clearly on the question of Stalinism, particularly in its Maoist form. Pablo began by speaking of the "transformation of the entire party of Mao Tse Tung into a centrist party" and assumed that Mao had completed all the theses of the Permanent Revolution, leading Pablo to suppress the publication of appeals denouncing Mao's persecution of the Chinese Trotskyists (letter to James P Cannon by Peng Shu-Tse, one of the founding members of the Chinese Trotskyist movement, SWP *Discussion Bulletin* A-15 in 1954). At the "Sixth World Congress" of the "International Secretariat" (the Pabloist wing of the 1953 split) in 1961, they said: "... the Chinese CP, in spite of important bureaucratic characteristics, is much more sensitive [than the CPSU] to pressure from the world revolution." Perhaps that is why the Chinese helped the Indonesian PKI on the road to massacre in 1965; or why they put pressure on the Vietnamese Stalinists to give up half the territory they controlled in 1954 so that Diem could be installed; or why they promoted the "four principles of peaceful coexistence" at the Bandung Conference in 1955! In fact, to the extent Mao was "sensitive" to revolution elsewhere, he was goaded to sell them out wherever possible.

When the SWP reunified with the IS in 1963, a joint document on Stalinism was drawn up which committed both sides of this rotten bloc to the basic Pabloist line:

"Within the framework of the world Communist movement, the Fourth International reaffirms its critical support to the Chinese Communists in their struggle against the neoreformism of the Khrushchev leadership ..."

and hedged on the question of the political revolution in China. Then, during the "Cultural Revolution", an inter-bureaucratic power struggle, the USec initially supported Mao against Liu, even though neither offered an alternative to the masses because both sought to defend the bureaucracy's interests.

When the Cuban Revolution broke out, the USec was not slow to promote Fidel Castro as a true proletarian revolutionist, an "unconscious Trotskyist" who, like Mao and Tito before him, had assimilated the theory of permanent revolution without knowing it; only this time they were completely uncritical, putting Fidel and Che on level with Lenin and Trotsky. The 1963 USec document "Dynamics of the World Revolution Today" touted "the fact that Fidel Castro ... today stresses the decisive importance of building Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries." How inconvenient for this Pabloist "analysis" that Castro quickly fused his apparatus with that of the Cuban Stalinists; backed up the Kremlin internationally (except for a brief flirtation with Peking); and -- among other things -- suppressed the writings of Trotsky in Cuba. Those are actions of a "Marxist-Leninist party", comrade Mandel!

Even more awkward for these revisionists was Castro's support for Allende and the "peaceful road" in Chile -- an issue on which Mandel has had occasion to feign orthodoxy by (sometimes) terming Allende's government a popular front. The USec by its build-up of Castro's "revolutionary" credentials *concretely aided* the betrayals of Allende which paved the way for last year's bloody military coup. The USec has simply avoided comment on Castro's treachery.

What does Castro's regime really represent? Mandel, forced to construct an orthodox facade in the course of the current USec ruckus, at one point wrote:

"The fact that capitalism was overthrown in China through a revolution led by Mao means that from its very inception the revolution was bureaucratically deformed in that country, that the working class has never directly exercised power there."

But the revolutions in China, North Vietnam and Cuba were *qualitatively similar* processes. So what becomes of the USec's revisionist theory of the Cuban revolution -- that the mobilisation of the working class under Trotskyist leadership was *not necessary*, and Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrillas based on peasant forces could establish a *healthy* workers state? And how can that be reconciled with the USec's position on North Vietnam?

The French Mandelite Front Communiste Revolutionnaire (FCR) has been most explicit in proclaiming the revolutionary virtues of the "Vietnamese road" of the Stalinists. Pierre Rousset, a leading member of the FCR, wrote in early 1973 that the North Vietnamese leadership "has assimilated the decisive implications of the permanent revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries" (emphasis in original).

These are the same people who murdered Vietnamese Trotskyist militants in 1945, in hopes of not even independence but "autonomy within the French union"; and who agreed to the 1954 Geneva accords, allowing the rise of Diem, and the recent repeat -- the Le Duc Tho-Kissinger deal. If Ho had assimilated the theory of permanent revolution, why did he never call for anything more than a bourgeois-nationalist coalition government in South Vietnam -- in alliance with "patriotic landlords" -- *even after* the overturn of capitalism in the northern half of the country? (The CL in Australia has echoed the FCR's line, leading it to support the sell-out "nine-point peace plan" in 1972-73.)

Recently, under attack from the SWP, Rousset generalised his theory -- talking about the "empirical or centrist revolutionary [!] formations" in the Chinese, Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions, Continued on page five

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