

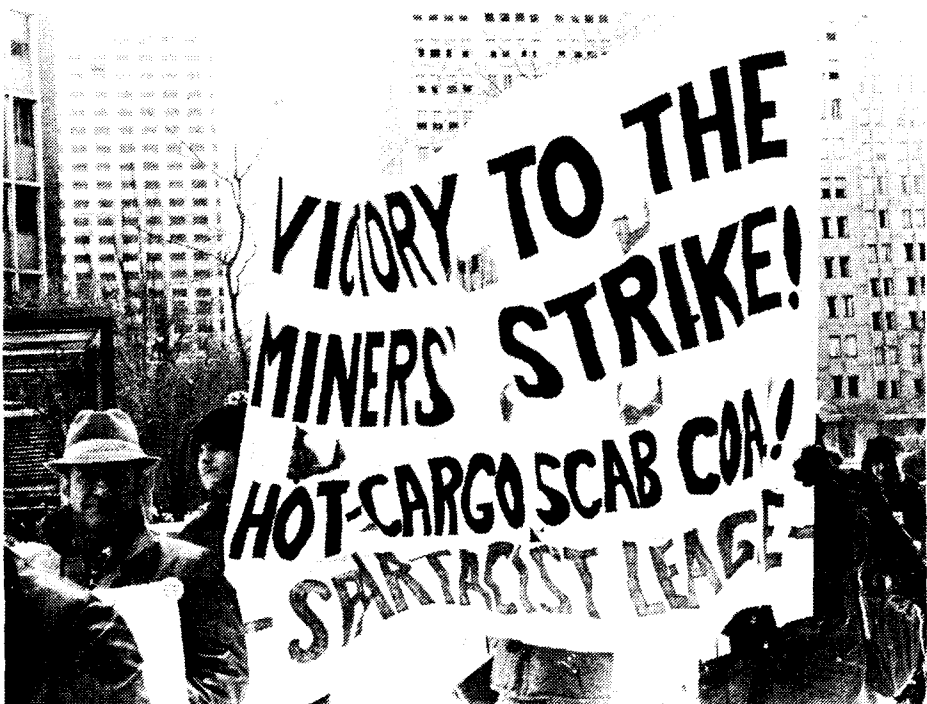


Striking miners stop scab coal train in Southern Illinois.

Renold Ferguson/St. Louis Post-Dispatch

## Smash Taft-Hartley!

# BURN CARTER'S CONTRACT!



WV Photo

SL banner at miners strike support demonstration in Pittsburgh, February 6.

FEBRUARY 28—Nearly 160,000 coal miners have waged the most explosive and militant strike struggle in the last 30 years. With courage and determination, the ranks of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) have shut down not only their own mines but the scab mines which threatened their strike and the very existence of their union. Already two miners have been killed defending their picket lines and hundreds arrested, but still the strike has remained 100 percent solid.

After already throwing back one abominable sellout agreement worked out by UMWA president Arnold Miller and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), the crucial showdown in the strike is fast approaching. If the current giveaway contract proposal is turned down by the membership—and there are plenty of indications that they may do just that—the stage is set for a mammoth confrontation between the miners and the bosses' government. The entire labor movement must pre-

pare now to take action in defense of the UMWA strike!

The success of the miners strike has surpassed the worst fears of the federal and state governments, the coal operators, the steel and energy barons and the rest of big business. Corporate executives who three months ago sat smugly atop mountains of stockpiled coal and sneered at the miners are now squealing with fright. With utility and industrial stocks rapidly dwindling to crisis levels requiring widespread power cutbacks, the miners have seized a position of strength that has thrown their enemies into a cold sweat. It is vital that the mine workers hold fast and fight for victory.

With the bosses' backs to the wall, Jimmy Carter has been stepping up the pressure, announcing an eleventh-hour "settlement" on nationwide television Friday night. Carter backed up his appeal for ratification with a pistol pointed at the miners' heads: if they didn't agree to the contract proposal

*continued on page 4*

## Kronstadt and Counterrevolution.....6

# One Man, One Vote! For A Constituent Assembly!

## Imperialist "Majority Rule" Hoax in Rhodesia

On February 15 Rhodesian prime minister Ian Smith beamed to reporters in Salisbury as he announced an agreement with black leaders Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningwe Sithole and Jeremiah Chirau. Termed an "internal settlement" by Smith, he hopes it will preserve Rhodesia as a bastion of white privilege by adding some black faces to the government and conceding a black majority in a powerless "parliament."

The "moderate" blacks who have added their authority to the agreement with the brutal white supremacists, were quick to proclaim the Salisbury pact as the realization of their goals of "majority rule." And Sithole was dispatched to London to sell the accord to British imperialism as the answer to its Rhodesian quandary. The Tory *Sunday Times* (19 February) was easily convinced: "a dazzling coup," it said.

Other imperialist spokesmen were less impressed. David Owen, foreign secretary of Britain's Labour government, initially hedged, then under pressure from Tory MPs in the House of Commons called it a "significant step toward majority rule." Jimmy Carter's front man for Africa, UN ambassador Andrew Young, however, criticized the settlement as not addressing "the issues that have 20,000 people fighting."

The answer to both Smith's and Britain's dilemma, however, requires an end to the drawn-out guerrilla fighting which continually threatens to disrupt the fragile stability of southern Africa. Smith fears for the future of white domination in Rhodesia while the Western imperialists are worried by the spectre of Soviet influence through arms aid to the guerrillas. And on this count, any illusions which may have existed as to the ability of Smith's accord to undermine the guerrilla efforts were quickly dispelled.

A spokesman for the Patriotic Front, the uneasy and often bloody alliance of Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), denounced the agreement as "meaningless and worthless as the paper on which it is written." Nkomo himself said, "We intend to finish him [Smith]." Perhaps most

significantly, the Zambian government, upon whose support and territory ZAPU depends, declared that "...the internal settlement will never end the war in Zimbabwe."

The guerrilla leaders' intransigence does not represent militancy so much as a simple recognition of the obvious. The Salisbury agreement is an ill-fated attempt to perpetuate the extreme colonial privileges of a tiny white minority which is outnumbered by blacks 19-to-1. Although the racist regime in Salisbury has survived for 13 years since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, faced with such overwhelming odds its ultimate fate is sealed.

Even the modest level of guerrilla activity in recent years—minuscule compared to the intensity of FRELIMO's independence struggle in Mozambique, for instance—has strapped the poorly equipped Rhodesian army and caused severe economic dislocations. The military drain on the economy amounting to nearly \$1 million a day, increased attacks on white farms and guerrilla forays into the cities have given rise to a stampede from the country. Estimates are that the white population declined by 12,000 (or 4 percent) in 1977 and these numbers probably do not include those whites who have gone "on vacation."

Smith's strategy is twofold. On the one hand he is attempting to give the appearance of making concessions to black leaders in order to enhance both his and their authority. For example, he ostentatiously abandoned his long-held support for a "qualified franchise" in favor of "universal suffrage." At the same time, he is attempting to assure the white population that their posh existence will remain unchanged.

Thus most of the negotiated agreement consists of a series of guarantees to whites. The key feature of the accord grants them 28 seats in a 100-seat parliament. Twenty of these seats are to be elected by separate white balloting; candidates for the remaining eight seats, while elected by common ballot, will be nominated exclusively by whites. These 28 seats will give the tiny privileged minority an effective veto power over legislation. Thus the Smith/Muzorewa agreement, touted as "majority rule," in fact amounts to "one white, seven votes."

In addition there are guarantees against nationalizations. While the guerrillas are offered "amnesty" and the option of retraining and integration into the new army, there is little doubt that the core of that new army will be the current security forces. For those whites who remain edgy, the agreement guarantees that they may retain dual citizenship (one-third of white Rhodesians hold Rhodesian passports, one-third hold South African passports, and one-third British passports) and receive pensions outside the country.

The black leaders have been quick to allay white fears. Thus Sithole (who was



Ian Smith, right, announcing terms of the agreement with moderate black leaders: from left, Bishop Muzorewa, Elliot Grabbellah and Jeremiah Chirau.



Rhodesian soldier "interrogates" suspected guerrillas.

once sentenced for conspiracy to assassinate Smith) and Muzorewa have apparently conceded that the obdurate Rhodesian Front leader and long-time premier will play a key role in the transitional administration, possibly as its leader.

The ability of Smith to sell an agreement preserving the racist status quo as a significant compromise certainly depends on his ability to portray his "moderate" black cohorts as legitimate representatives of the black masses. Muzorewa and Sithole have accordingly been none too modest in their claims of popularity. According to Muzorewa, 80 percent of the electorate will back his United African National Council in the elections. Sithole, who has been more or less isolated since his ouster from ZANU, claims to have the support of 4,500 blacks in the guerrilla forces. Their contribution to the establishment of a black-ruled Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) will be to lay down their arms when he receives his portfolio!

But the legitimacy of all three of the "moderate" blacks is more than suspect. Chirau, a government-paid tribal chief that Chirau's resignation from that post never opposed Smith and, in fact, served in his cabinet at a salary of \$35,000 per year. There were widespread suspicions that Chirau's resignation from that post was engineered in order to give Smith a black "leader" to negotiate with. Sithole owes his return to Rhodesia to South Africa's patronage.

Muzorewa, in many respects the key to the settlement, has in fact been greeted by tens of thousands at rallies throughout the country. But "Muz" owes much of his prestige simply to his position as bishop of the American Methodist Episcopal Church in Rhodesia and his membership in a Shona-

speaking tribe. While ZAPU/ZANU militants were being driven into exile or murdered, Muzorewa was attending bible colleges in the U.S. His appointment as ANC head in 1971 was a reflection of his non-affiliation with any faction.

In order to shore up his credentials as a militant, Muzorewa engaged in a little transparent bravado during the negotiations. When Smith celebrated the opening of negotiations by ordering a murderous foray into Mozambique, Muzorewa announced a boycott of the talks—for a few weeks. A similar boycott, prompted by insults from the Rhodesian negotiator, resulted in the "victory" of the eight commonly elected fully white parliament seats.

The short-term viability of the Smith/Muzorewa agreement depends in large measure on support from the principal imperialist powers involved, the U.S. and Britain. The British bourgeoisie and even sections of the petty bourgeoisie retain considerable ties with and sympathy for their Rhodesian kith-and-kin. The Tories will make it a major election issue if the Labour government pressures Smith to deal with the black "extremists" like Mugabe.

American imperialism is freer to subordinate racist solidarity to longer-term strategic interests. However, both imperialist powers want, above all, to avoid a war to the finish, which might allow the Soviet bloc to provide decisive military support to the Zimbabwe nationalists. Thus the U.S./British policy is to induce *all* the African nationalist groups to accept the kind of "majority rule" that is acceptable to the 4 percent white population.

The current Smith maneuver raises a number of problems for Washington

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### WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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

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

No. 195 3 March 1978

# S-1437 Threatens Labor, Left, Democratic Rights

## Nixon Lives in Liberal Crime Code

Nixon's reactionary omnibus criminal code, the infamous S-1 bill, died in Congressional committee in 1976—but it has been born again as Senate Bill No. 1437. The "reformed" bill, co-sponsored by liberal Senator Teddy Kennedy and arch-conservative Representative John McClellan, breezed through the Senate and is now before the House of Representatives, where it has a good chance to become law.

The original S-1 was killed by liberal opposition which included the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *Wall Street Journal*. The bill, sparked by Nixon and Attorney General John Mitchell's search for a legal cover to go after the anti-war movement, reflected as well the Republican administration's appetite to amplify "dirty tricks" against its "enemies list" of fellow bourgeois politicians. The new S-1437, while maintaining all the reactionary legislation aimed against the left, has removed the most noxious portions of S-1 which threatened other sections of the bourgeoisie—hence its general acceptance and liberal support.

Particularly hailed by liberals is S-1437's dropping of S-1's notorious "Official Secrets Act," so that publishers like the *Times*' Punch Sulzberger will no longer be susceptible to government prosecution, as in the "Pentagon Papers" case (although reporters and "informants" like Daniel Ellsberg may still be scapegoated). Also dropped was S-1's provision for vastly expanded government wiretapping—in the post-Watergate period bourgeois politicians are naturally sensitive to *such* excesses, which the Nixon administration proved could and would be used against the capitalist party out of power.

We warned during the battle to smash S-1: "The bill was drafted before Watergate and there will be considerable pressure in bourgeois circles to change and amend it in the direction of a pure and simple 'get tough on crime and reds' bill" ("Smash S-1," *WV* No. 85, 14 November 1975). This is in fact precisely what has happened.

S-1437 is a dramatic example of the dangers inherent in the liberals' post-Watergate reforms. The bill streamlines the present criminal statutes to give the capitalist government a more efficient, wide-ranging weapon to use against its real enemies—the left, the labor movement, blacks and any potential source of massive social discontent.

### Son of S-1

Like S-1, the new bill claims to "reform" the many contradictory and outdated criminal statutes. However, its real purpose is to give the federal government a stronger hand in dealing with potential social protest and political mobilization. The extent of liberal politicians' expressed concern for "democracy" can be judged from some of the provisions of this legislative monster.

The new bill places many crimes once on state books under the jurisdiction of the federal government. This means not only an added battery of eager U.S. attorneys to prosecute such cases, but more ominously an enlarged and more powerful internal secret police. Thus the FBI "reformers" are building an even bigger, and from their point of view better, FBI.

In its legal attacks on the rights to politically demonstrate and organize, the spirit of S-1 is alive and kicking. One recalls John Mitchell's fear and hatred as he watched anti-war demonstrators marching in front of the White House and under his window. While for Attorney General Griffin Bell the

demonstrators are rallying for different causes, his view and his fears are identical.

S-1437 seeks to ban demonstrations in front of the White House, among other severe restrictions, so that protests like the militant coal miners' demonstration last August and the demonstration against the bloody Shah of Iran—where police tear gas actually caused White House guests to choke—will no longer embarrass the administration. The Carter administration rightly fears explosions of rage by the black masses subjected to poverty and despair; the unleashed militancy of the working class, as demonstrated by the present miners strike; and above all, the threat of revolutionary political leadership of mass social struggles.

S-1437 is particularly threatening to the right to strike. Even "legitimate" strikers could be accused of "extortion" under its provisions, and it declares open season on wildcats. The attempts of United Mine Workers militants to stop the mining and transport of scab coal would certainly open them up to criminal prosecution by the federal government under S-1437.

The bill makes it a crime to "obstruct a government function by physical interference," which would of course legally prohibit virtually every mass demonstration. Any act which "impairs military effectiveness" is now defined as "sabotage"—the threat to antiwar, anti-military demonstrators is crystal clear. Revolutionaries like the Spartacist League—which raised the slogan during the Vietnam war, "For Labor Strikes Against the War"—could be considered "saboteurs."

"Conspiracy" charges may now be brought without the government needing to prove conscious intent, or even that any criminal act ever took place. Similarly charges of "riot" need no proof of intent, merely that a state line was crossed in the process of implementing a demonstration—a "streamlining" which would eliminate the prosecution's difficulties in the "Chicago Eight" and "Washington 10,000" cases. They want quick, harsh class "justice" for demonstrators in case of black revolt in the ghettos. They want to prepare for mass arrests, and this time they want to make them stick.

Under S-1437 there is no need for the cops to read "Miranda warnings" (a list of legal rights) before they beat "confessions" from arrested suspects. The bill also provides for "preventive detention" without bail for a whole host of crimes. Clearly S-1437 is preparing for some future "emergency."

### Liberals, Reformists Support S-1437

This time the liberals are supporting the bill. After all, they argue, it's better than S-1. The *New York Times* (23 September 1977) editorialized:

"Some liberals, President Carter observed dryly last spring, are hard to please: 'If they get 95 percent of what they want, they can only remember the other 5 percent.' That problem seems to be afflicting the patient effort to revise and reform the Federal criminal laws."

Of course the *Times* is not likely to get arrested on the basis of the "5 percent." Post-Watergate liberals also claim as a victory the dropping of the 1940 witch-hunting Smith Act, which has in fact been a dead letter in the courts for years. But S-1437 has plenty of teeth, and seeks to breathe new life into the anti-Communist McCarran Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 as the basis for criminal penalties.

S-1437 in all its threatening and grotesque aspects is the result fondly hoped for by the liberals and the



WV Photo

Wildcatting miners protest cut in health benefits. Under S-1437 not only is wildcatting illegal, so is picketing the White House.

reformists who tail them. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Communist Party (CP) were in their element during the surge of liberal opposition to S-1. CP General Counsel John Abt called for a "broad based campaign to send the bill back to the drawing board for complete revision and 'reform' by the House and Senate Judiciary Committee" (*Political Affairs*, 1975 [our emphasis]). Now that S-1437 has swept past the Senate, what is their response? The CP denounces the "bad aspects" of S-1437 while trying to cover their past political responsibility for the "reformed" bill by claiming it is "both a victory and a threat" (*Daily World*, 4 June 1977). What a classic example of Stalinist cynicism!

### Down with Reactionary Anti-Labor Legislation!

The key to smashing such reactionary and anti-labor legislation as S-1437 lies in mobilizing the labor movement. The reactionary Meanyite AFL-CIO bureaucracy, however, not only does not oppose, but often supports and even participates in drafting anti-labor laws. In 1975, even after Nixon's S-1 had become the target of mass opposition, Meany smothered a motion to oppose it at the AFL-CIO convention. This time around the AFL-CIO actually passed a motion supporting S-1437 "with reservations."

Even more treacherous is the labor bureaucracy's drive to enact Meany's brainchild, the "Labor Reform Act" which passed the House in late 1977 and is now awaiting action in the Senate. Touted like S-1437 as a "streamlining" bill that would speed up NLRB certification procedures for unions engaged in organizing drives, the Labor Reform Act includes provisions for increasing the availability of employer injunctions against strikers. This section is aimed particularly against wildcat strikes and at militants like those in the United Mine Workers who are engaged in a desperate struggle to regain their right

to strike.

The Meanyites and their toadies on the left are once again issuing pious statements about how their "friend" Jimmy Carter and his allies on Capitol Hill will help the unions. But labor will not reverse the drastic decline in its organized strength (from 35 percent to 20 percent in the last decade) through reliance on the bourgeois state. All government control of the labor movement must be *opposed*, rather than streamlined or "reformed." Yet Meany—who recently declared he would not oppose the use of Taft-Hartley against the miners—has not made one step to mobilize the ranks of labor for the necessary fight to oppose Taft-Hartley in its *entirety*, including particularly its right-to-work laws illegalizing the union shop—the notorious Section 14B.

S-1437 and the Labor Reform Act are threats to the labor movement and to the democratic rights of broad sectors of the population. They must be defeated! The future of such legislation will ultimately be decided in the course of the class struggle, as the heroic example of the coal miners' militancy proves. After all, the only reason Carter has thus far hesitated to employ the Taft-Hartley Act against the UMWA is for fear that the miners would flout it, providing a vivid proof of the power of the working class to defeat reactionary bourgeois attempts to smash it.

Down with S-1437! Defeat the Labor Reform Act—Down with Taft-Hartley! ■

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# Burn Carter's Contract...

(continued from page 1)

immediately, a Taft-Hartley injunction and government seizure of the mines was next on the agenda. But slicker politicians than Carter—namely Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman—have tried these threats and the miners outlasted them every time. The Democratic administration has refrained from these strikebreaking measures so far only because it is afraid they wouldn't work.

At the height of the historic 1937 sitdown strike which led to the foundation of the United Auto Workers through a fierce struggle against General Motors, the embattled strikers faced a similar situation. Their strike had been enormously successful in shutting down the company, but the strikers were faced with political attacks, public vilification and corporate intransigence. At that moment one strike leader expressed the strikers' determination in a message to CIO leader John L. Lewis: "We got 'em by the balls. Squeeze a little." That is our advice to the miners now.

Carter's contract should be voted down, torn up, burned in bonfires and its ashes flung back at the government and the mine bosses' faces! With the coal operators, industrialists and capitalist politicians on the run, now is no time give in. If the miners reject the government-engineered sellout, they will certainly be attacked for greed, causing flu and pneumonia and damaging the "national interest." Their attackers will be the oil, steel and coal magnates who regularly gouge the American people with their monopoly control; and the government which spends billions on weapons and sends hundreds of thousands to their deaths in imperialist wars.

If Carter invokes Taft-Hartley, seizes the mines and/or sends in troops it will split the country on sharp lines: for or against the miners. The union movement must throw its tremendous power behind the strikers. Of course, backstabbing labor traitors like AFL-CIO head George Meany or UAW president Doug Fraser have already lined up behind Carter and the bourgeoisie. But for hundreds of thousands of steel workers slaving under a no-strike agreement, auto workers straining under the speed-up of the assembly line and millions of unionists throughout the country, the miners strike has stirred admiration and hope. If the government moves against the coal strikers to attempt to force them back to work, general protest strikes should be called to repulse the strike-breaking offensive.

## Prayers and Sweet Talk

It was no accident that the announcement of the "tentative agreement" on February 24 came neither from officials of the UMWA nor from



Wide World

Several hundred miners converge on Superior River Coal Company to stop flow of non-union coal in southern Ohio.

the BCOA but from the mouth of the "chief executive" of the capitalist class. Despite Carter's transparently disingenuous praise of the "free process of collective bargaining," everybody knew this contract was written, promoted and foisted on the miners by the heavy hand of the federal government.

Carter coupled his announcement with a condescending "man-to-man" personal appeal for ratification so filled with false flattery that it drew hoots and guffaws in coal field bars where miners gathered to watch the news. But the president ended up with a threat: "If it is not approved without delay... I will have to take the drastic and unsatisfactory legal action which I would have announced tonight."

Two days later Carter sought additional help and was in a Washington, D.C. church praying for a yes vote. Though personally afraid to venture out into the coal towns, UMWA president Arnold Miller predicted a ratification, launched a \$40,000 media blitz and threatened district officials and International representatives with disciplinary action if they didn't "use their best effort to secure approval by the members."

But despite all the threats, appeals and cajoling, there was a growing indication that the miners would reject the government-imposed contract. While Carter was praying, 2,000 angry miners rallied in West Frankfort, Illinois and denounced the sellout. The next day over 200 district leaders called to Washington for a briefing on the terms left the Capitol Hilton meeting

(which Miller wisely ducked out of just as it began) with widespread grumbling. "How can I sell this?" was the often-repeated remark to *WV* reporters on the spot. One union staffer, pointing to the critical need to organize the non-union miners who produce nearly 50 percent of U.S. coal, lamented, "I don't think we'll organize much with this contract."

Some members of the union's 39-member Bargaining Council, which had been completely bypassed in the drum-head negotiations and learned of the settlement by watching Carter on TV, began openly attacking the agreement. Most significantly, miners voted down, by a two-to-one margin the putative "pattern-setting" Pittsburg and Midway contract reached earlier in hopes of maneuvering a BCOA pact.

Though the horrible vacuum in leadership in their union and the wearing effects of the long strike must be taking their toll on the strikers' morale, for the miners to settle now for the government/BCOA/Miller terms would be a disaster. Nearly three months ago the miners walked off their jobs for the right to strike, restoration of their health cards, guaranteed and equalized pensions and safety in what is the U.S.' most dangerous industry. The proposed contract answers none of these demands and, in fact, is far worse than the sellout only narrowly ratified in 1974.

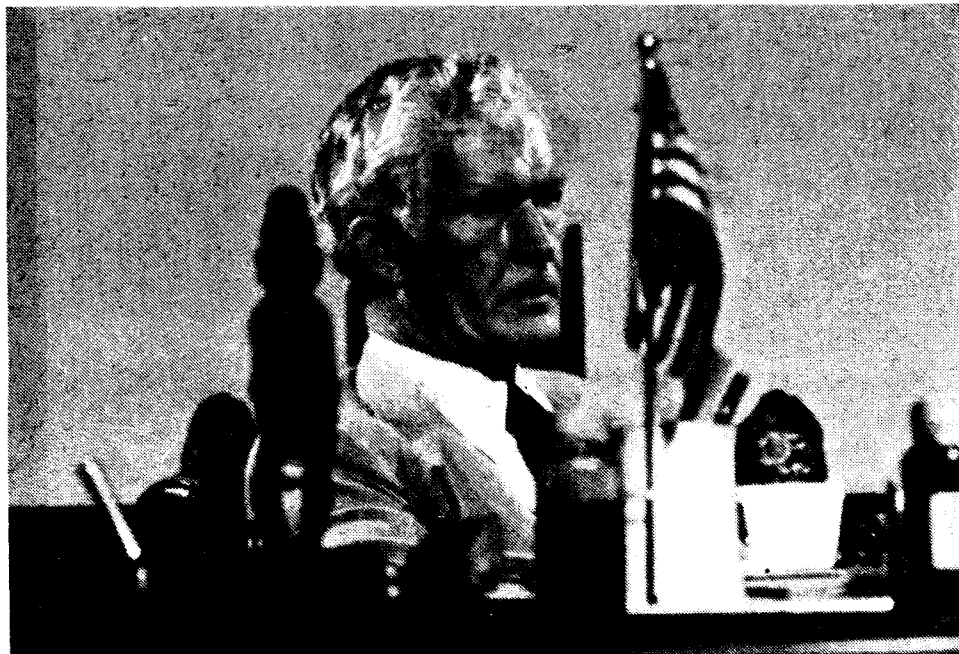
Both the miners and the operators know this strike was not a run-of-the-mill strike over wages and fringe benefits. It is a fundamental conflict

with the bosses attempting to qualitatively weaken the union and demoralize the miners. What the coal operators are mainly interested in is cracking the tremendous solidarity that has always been the great strength of the UMWA. By their massive wildcat strikes the coal miners have shown that they will not allow the operators to pick this union apart a mine at a time

## Rip It Up! Burn It!

The big business press is playing up wailing complaints of BCOA executives over the "concessions" they have made since their initial February 6 deal with Miller, thrown back in disgust by an outraged membership. By their intransigence and solidarity, the miners *have* beaten back a number of the BCOA's take-away demands. The current contract proposal does not contain the earlier clauses allowing incentive speed-up schemes, probation periods for new employees, Sunday work, the unlimited right of unionized companies to process non-union coal or \$20-a-day fines for wildcaters.

But deleting these provisions does not gain a single thing for the union. Even if some of the teeth have been removed, every major point the coal bosses have demanded is accepted in principle. Everything *new* in the proposal is a crippling step backwards for the UMWA. If this is accepted the miners will have been on strike for three months, demonstrating exemplary militancy and forcing the bosses to nearly exhaust their stockpiled coal...in ex-



Newsweek

Arnold Miller



David Vick/Charleston Gazette

Miners protest Miller contract in Charleston.

change for a contract which allows the firing of "strike instigators" (i.e., any picketer) and dismantles the hard-won health program!

Here are the details:

- **The mine bosses will gain new powers to fire miners who strike**, often the only weapon available to halt flagrant company abuses. Any miner who is on a picket line or who has "otherwise been actively involved in causing an unauthorized work stoppage" can be fired and "an arbitrator shall not have the authority to modify or change the penalty imposed by the Employer." Miners who refuse to cross a picket line are no longer subject to firing as they were under the original BCOA/Miller contract. Nevertheless, simply being on a picket line, at any mine of any BCOA company is sufficient cause for dismissal. This would effective-



WV Photo

#### U.S. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall

ly ban the "roving pickets" which have been the major weapon in the miners' arsenal.

A related "absenteeism control" provision provides for firing miners after only two consecutive unexcused days off the job.

- **The miners' health cards will not be restored.** Previously the miners' medical system provided virtually total "cradle to grave" benefits. Now working miners are to be shifted onto commercial-carrier insurance plans with deductibles ranging from \$325 to \$700 a year. The UMWA-funded coal field clinics and hospitals will lose their backing and probably fold.

- **The dismantling of the union's health and pension trusts** was one of the major stumbling blocks in the previous pacts. In the new contract the facade is maintained, but the substance of the dismantling is the same.

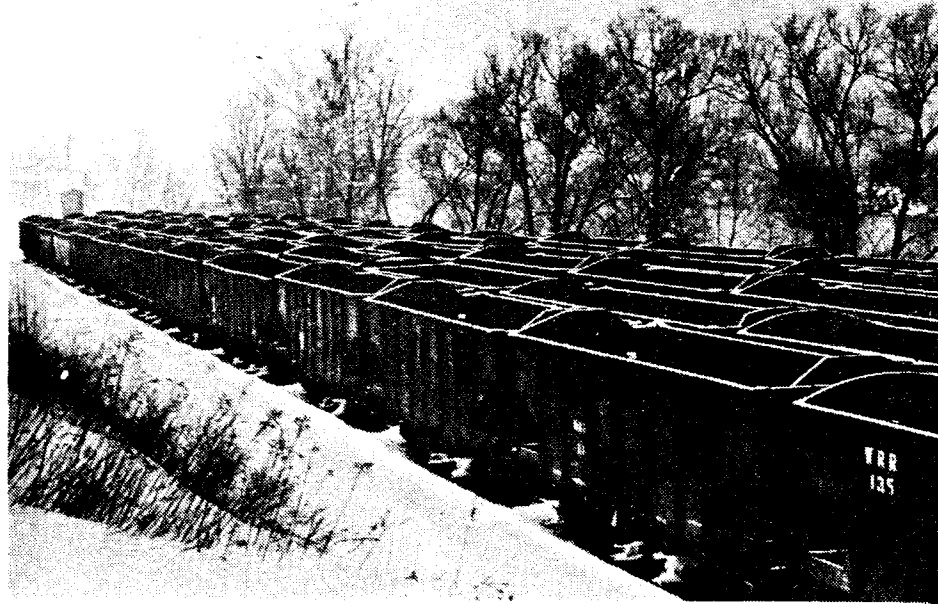
The "1950 fund" for already retired miners will continue with tonnage-royalty contributions, but all working miners, their families and those retired after 1975 will be shifted onto company-by-company health insurance and pension plans.

No improvements in pension benefits were made over the earlier agreement, nor was the gross inequality between miners who retired before 1975 and those who retired after equalized. Older miners will receive a poverty-level \$275-per-month maximum pension at the end of the proposed three-year contract, while those who retired after 1975 will get about twice that, with a token \$25 increase over three years.

- In the contract, the union concedes that "low productivity is a serious matter" and agrees to **establish a joint union-industry "development committee"** to meet regularly and seek ways to "examine the means by which unauthorized work stoppages may be eliminated" and "low productivity" may be solved. In other words, the union consents to help police a no-strike policy and speed up its own members.

- **Miners may receive less money than under the original February 6 BCOA/**

3 MARCH 1978



WV Photo

#### Miners picketing has cut off production of scab coal, stockpiles to near depletion.

**Miller agreement!** In the earlier proposal wages were boosted \$2.35 over three years but the automatic cost-of-living escalator was eliminated. The dropping of COLA, won only in 1974, provoked considerable opposition.

With the new agreement, COLA is "restored" by a sleight-of-hand that could actually result in workers getting less money than they were offered earlier!

In the current proposal a flat wage increase of \$1.80 is guaranteed (\$1 the first year and 40 cents in each of the following years). In the first year of the contract there is *no* cost of living provided. In the last two years a maximum of 30 cents is provided annually for cost-of-living adjustments. Thus, the maximum that the miners can get is \$2.40, only a nickel more than they were offered earlier. But if the consumer price index should not rise enough to hit the 30 cent annual "cap" they could actually receive *less* than the \$2.35 promised earlier!

- As in the original BCOA/Miller pact, **the training period**, when new miners must work together with an experienced senior miner, is **cut in half**, from 90 to 45 days. In the mines, where the accident and death rate is seven times that of any other industry, more maimings and murder will result from the bosses' greedy desire to rush ill-trained miners to the coal face.

The coal operators would undoubtedly like to have obtained even more take-away provisions and instituted more strict controls on the combative miners. But particularly after the February 6 "tentative agreement" debacle, the miners were in a state of open rebellion against their own disgraced leadership and were clearly not going to accept the more obviously obnoxious of the terms Miller had agreed to.

As it is, the mine bosses got plenty of what they wanted. On the key issues in the strike—the right to strike, health and pension benefits, safety—the proposed contract would be a serious setback for the miners. Both the miners and the operators knew this strike was not a run-of-the-mill strike over how much more in wages or fringe benefits the workers would get. It was a fundamental conflict over power—with the bosses attempting to qualitatively weaken the union. The principles in the proposed contract strengthen the coal operators' hand on every point. And, for all their grousing, the mine owners would not have gotten this far were it not for the hamfisted intervention of the Carter government on their behalf.

#### Carter Strongarms the Miners

For nearly three weeks the federal government has been in a frenzy trying to devise a way to end the coal strike. As

utilities in the 12-state East-Central coal-dependent region began to exhaust their stockpiles, mandatory power cutbacks sparked politicians and industrial consumers to predict disaster and to demand that Carter do something. Ohio is just days away from an anticipated 50 percent reduction in electricity, Indiana's three power companies have already cut back voltage 22 percent and employers threaten thousands of layoffs. With the spectre of the lights going out, the coal strike became more than a confrontation between the militant miners and a hard-lining employers' group. It became a crisis for the entire capitalist class.

When Arnold Miller's February 6 settlement went down in flames, the Carter administration began to swing its full resources against the miners. Energy Secretary James Schlesinger devised schemes for sharing electric power and shipping non-union coal to power-starved areas. Attorney General Griffin Bell lined up behind the state troopers (and in Indiana, a thousand National Guardsmen) riding shotgun for scab coal deliveries and ordered the FBI, federal marshalls and Justice Department offices to be on "alert" to maintain "law and order" against the miners. A cabinet-level coal strike "task force" held nervous meetings daily in the White House to plot the government's next moves.

The problem for the federal government was that a frontal assault on the union didn't seem practical or particularly wise. No one in the administration felt that miners would obey a back-to-work order under the 80-day "cooling-off" provision of Taft-Hartley. The traitor-chieftain of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, backed up by United Auto Workers president Doug Fraser, urged the government to seize the mines and order the miners back. Carter obtained virtually unanimous support for such a move from Congressional leaders in two White House conferences last week, but there was little confidence that this ploy would work either. And all the politicians feared the bloody and politically explosive results of sending federal troops to try to re-open the mines.

If the strike was going to be stopped by the federal government, the best bet seemed to be manipulation of the miners union from within. So for the second time in this decade, the Labor Department

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Coal strikers and supporters rally in Pittsburgh February 6.

WV Photo



# Kronstadt and Counterrevolution

In March of 1921 the garrison of the key fortress of Kronstadt, located on an island in the Gulf of Finland a few miles from Petrograd, revolted against the Bolshevik government. The mutineers held Kronstadt for two weeks, until the Soviet regime finally retook it by a direct assault across the ice resulting in great bloodshed on both sides. The rebels claimed to be fighting to restore a purified Soviet power freed from the monopoly of the Communists; the Bolsheviks charged that the revolt was a counterrevolutionary mutiny and that, whatever the sailors' intentions, it could only aid the White Guards.

Ever since, supporters of the Kronstadt revolt have claimed that this event proves the anti-working-class nature of the Bolshevik regime, demonstrating that there is really no significant difference between Leninism and Stalinism—or, more specifically, that the latter flows naturally from the former. In fact, the Kronstadt uprising has become the center of a great myth, assiduously propagated by the anarchists but seized upon by a whole array of anti-revolutionary forces ranging from social democrats to tsarist restorationists.

The principal aim of the "hue and cry over Kronstadt" is and always has been to discredit the Marxists' struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and in particular to smear Trotskyism, the contemporary embodiment of authentic Leninism. Thus the famous pamphlet of the anarchist Ida Mett (*The Kronstadt Commune* [1938]) was written to deflect Trotsky's devastating critique of the Spanish anarchists' treachery in the suppression of the Barcelona May Days of 1937.

Today once again there is a growing congruence of imperialist and pseudo-leftist denunciations of the USSR. The advent of the Democratic administration of Jimmy Carter marked the ascendancy of post-Watergate liberalism in the U.S. and the attempt to refurbish the ideological credentials of American imperialism internationally. While Carter has been unable to alter the post-Vietnam world balance of power, he has managed to line up an unholy alliance of cold warriors and ostensible socialists behind his "human rights" crusade against the Soviet bloc.

Thus it is only a matter of time until Kronstadt again becomes a rallying cry for anti-Communism, this time no doubt including a "self-criticism" by some ex-Trotskyist revisionists of the Bolsheviks' suppression of the 1921 revolt. As the fracturing Maoists froth against "Soviet social-imperialism"; as the reformist Socialist Workers Party proclaims to anti-Soviet Shachtmanites and De Leonists, "Our party is your party"; as Ernest Mandel & Co. praise the "progressive features" of Eurocommunism, it falls to the international Spartacist tendency to uphold the



Lenin and Trotsky with Red Army soldiers who defeated Kronstadt rebels.

Penguin

necessary measures undertaken by the Bolshevik revolutionaries in their hour of greatest danger.

The relevant facts about the Kronstadt revolt have been assembled by a pro-anarchist scholar, Paul Avrich, in his book, *Kronstadt 1921*. Published in 1970 and reissued in paperback four years later, the Avrich book is qualitatively superior to all previous anti-Bolshevik Kronstadt studies, both the philistine works of liberal academics and the "leftist" tracts of such figures as Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Anton Ciliga and Ida Mett.

In the edition of Mett's pamphlet on Kronstadt produced by the anti-Leninist "Solidarity" grouping in Britain, the publishers "recommend in particular" Avrich's book. The well-known British periodical *Anarchy* devoted a special issue to Kronstadt, featuring a lengthy review of *Kronstadt 1921*, which while differing with some of Avrich's judgments praises its factual content in the following terms:

"*Kronstadt 1921* will from now on be the standard source of information about what happened at Kronstadt. The great value of the book is that it gathers in one place all the significant facts about the rising, with full reference to the accessible sources... firmly establishing the rising in its various contexts."

Avrich himself contributed an introduction to this issue of *Anarchy* in

which his political outlook is made explicit: "The Kronstadt sailors," he writes, "were revolutionary martyrs fighting to restore the idea of free soviets against the Bolshevik dictatorship, and their suppression was an act of brutality which shattered the myth that Soviet Russia was a 'workers' and peasants' state'."

We, too, strongly recommend this book to every would-be communist. For, despite his sympathies with the anti-Bolshevik rebels, Avrich has conscientiously assembled the relevant facts (while digging up some important new ones) and his book is therefore invaluable to revolutionary Marxists. If "libertarians" have drawn comfort from *Kronstadt 1921*, that is testimony only to their incurable political muddle-headedness and resultant incapacity to interpret the facts before their eyes.

### Unrest in the Countryside, Starvation in the Cities

The Avrich book, despite its openly partisan stance toward the rebellion, provides decisive evidence that the victory of the Kronstadt uprising would have given tremendous aid to the counterrevolutionary White Guards who were lying in wait in imperialist naval and army bases ringing Red Russia. Although defeated in the civil war, the tsarist counterrevolutionaries

awaited the first opportunity to pounce on a Soviet regime presiding over a famine-stricken country with its industry devastated and the rural areas rife with peasant unrest.

The events at Kronstadt are simply not comprehensible unless they are seen against the social background of Russia in 1921 and linked with the events of the preceding three years. Avrich tells it well enough:

"...the winter of 1920-1921 was an extremely critical period in Soviet history. Although the military struggle had been won and the external situation was rapidly improving, the Bolsheviks faced grave internal difficulties. Russia was exhausted and bankrupt. The scars of battle were visible in every corner of the land. During the last two years the death rate had mounted sharply, famine and pestilence claiming millions of victims beyond the millions who had fallen in combat. Not since the Time of Troubles in the seventeenth century had the country seen such suffering and devastation. Agricultural output had fallen off drastically; industry and transportation were in a shambles. The time had come to bind up the nation's wounds, and for this a shift was needed in domestic policy... this meant the abandonment of 'War Communism,' a program improvised to meet the emergency of the Civil War. As its name implies, War Communism bore the harsh stamp of regimentation and compulsion. Dictated by economic scarcity and military necessity, it was marked by an extreme centralisation of government controls in every area of

social life. Its cornerstone was the forcible seizure of grain from the peasantry. Armed detachments were sent into the countryside to requisition surplus produce with which to feed the cities and to provision the Red Army.... "There is little doubt that compulsory requisitioning... saved the Bolshevik regime from defeat, for without it neither the army nor the urban population could have survived. Yet the inevitable price was the estrangement of the peasantry.... To the peasants the Bolshevik Revolution meant first and foremost the satisfaction of their land hunger and the elimination of the nobility, and now they wanted only to be left in peace. Entrenching themselves on their new holdings, they guarded suspiciously against any outside intrusions.... As the Civil War deepened and requisition teams descended into the countryside, the peasants began to regard the Bolsheviks as adversaries rather than as friends and benefactors....

"Yet the bulk of the peasants, for the duration of the Civil War, continued to tolerate the Soviet regime as a lesser evil than a White restoration. However acute their antipathy for the ruling party, still more did they fear a return of the gentry and the loss of their land. The food collection squads, it is true, often met with resistance in the villages, resistance which claimed more than a few Bolshevik lives, but the peasants shrank from armed opposition on a scale serious enough to threaten the existence of the government. However, with the defeat of Wrangel's army in the fall of 1920, the situation changed rapidly. Now that the White danger had evaporated, peasant resentment... flared up out of control. Waves of peasant risings swept rural Russia.... The insurgents... had no coherent program, though everywhere their slogans were the same: 'Down with requisitioning,' 'Away with food detachments,' 'Don't surrender your surpluses,' 'Down with the Communists and the Jews.' Beyond this, they shared a common hatred of the cities."

*Kronstadt 1921*

For anarchists, Maoists, New Leftists and other anti-Marxists there is no essential difference between the peasant small-property holder, or would-be small-property holder, and the urban factory worker. Both are part of "the people." But all of historical experience—from France in 1848 to Portugal in 1975—confirms the elementary Marxist notion that the peasant is *not* inherently collectivist and anti-capitalist in political tendency, but rather pursues that policy which appears to support his immediate economic aims: to gain the land, where he does not have it; to defend his ownership and free use of his plot where he does have it.

The peasant is a primitive small businessman. He wants easy credit, low prices on the things he buys and high prices on the things he sells. A landless peasantry, or one which sees itself threatened with dispossession by the landlords, can thus be brought to support the socialist proletariat. A landholding peasantry which feels secure against landlord restoration is something else again. The Russian peasantry of 1921, which Avrich describes with none of the false sentimentality of many anarchists, was not a socialist force but a *problem* for the socialist forces. The Kronstadt mutiny, made by peasants in uniform, was not fundamentally different from the other peasant risings described above by Avrich.

Had production been maintained in the urban centers, the Soviet government could have obtained the necessary agricultural products from the peasantry through the "normal" medium of the market. But, as Avrich correctly depicts it, the situation in the cities was:

"...in many ways worse than in the countryside. Six years of turmoil had shattered the nation's industrial economy. Although published statistics vary in many details, the picture which emerges is one of near collapse. By the end of 1920 total industrial output had shrunk to about a fifth of 1913 levels.... "Many large factories could operate only part-time, and their work forces dwindled to fractions of what they had been four or five years earlier. Some

important sectors of heavy industry ground to a complete standstill. And in consumer-goods enterprises total production fell to less than a quarter of prewar levels.... Compounding the disaster were two additional factors: the throttling effects of the recent Allied blockade and the disorganization of the country's transportation system.... "The breakdown of the railroads held back the delivery of food to the hungry cities. Provisions became so scarce that workmen and other townspeople were put on starvation rations.... the factory hands seldom had enough to nourish themselves and their families, and they

many liberals and anarchists, provides an eyewitness account confirming this conclusion:

"At no time did the revolutionary workers form more than a trifling percentage of the masses themselves. In 1920-1921, all that was energetic, militant, ever-so-little socialistic in the labor population and among the advanced elements of the countryside had already been drained by the communist party, which did not, for four years of civil war, stop its constant mobilization of the willing—down to the most vacillating. Such things came to pass: a



Kronstadt sailors demonstrating in 1917 called for "All Power to the Soviets."

joined the droves of city folk who were abandoning their homes and flocking to the countryside in search of food. Between October 1917 and August 1920... the population of Petrograd fell from almost 2.5 million to about three-quarters of a million, a drop of nearly two-thirds. During the same period Moscow lost nearly half its inhabitants...."

### Dictatorship of the Decimated Proletariat

Avrich's competent description of the objective situation confronting the Bolsheviks in 1921 should challenge the smug prejudices of the anarchists and syndicalists who share his anti-Bolshevik bent. But the denizens of the "libertarian" left's ivory towers are undismayed by hard realities. Blithely they charge the Bolsheviks with "abandoning workers' control of industry" during this period. One is tempted to reply: *what workers, what industry?* The fact is that the militant, class-conscious proletariat that the Bolsheviks had led to power in 1917 had been chewed up during the Civil War, leaving its advance guard (the Bolshevik party) suspended above a sea of hostile peasants.

Victor Serge, a former Left Oppositionist who subsequently broke with the Trotskyist movement by taking up cudgels against the Bolsheviks over Kronstadt, and who is now a darling of

factory numbering a thousand workers, giving as much as half its personnel to the various mobilizations of the party and ending by working only at low capacity with the five hundred left behind for the social battle, one hundred of them former shop keepers.... And since, in order to continue the revolution, it is necessary to continue the sacrifices, it comes about that the party enters into conflict with that rank and file. It is not the conflict of the bureaucracy and the revolutionary workers, it is the conflict of the organization of the revolutionists—and the backward ones, the laggards, the less conscious elements of the toiling masses."

—New International, February 1939

Perhaps the Bolsheviks brought it all upon themselves? The egocentric ignoramus Emma Goldman assures readers of her *My Disillusionment in Russia* that the peasants "gave willingly and generously" until the brutal Bolsheviks, apparently, out of sheer malice, dissolved the peasant Soviets and left the peasants' grain to rot. (The understanding she displays about the psychology of the Russian peasant is matched only by her observation that Russians in general are "capable of almost anything except sustained effort." This she does not, however, blame on the Bolsheviks, who are to blame for everything else.)

Other "libertarian" critics have had 50 years now to give us their views on this question: what is the anarchist answer to

the Allied blockade, flooded coal mines, torn-up railroads and blasted bridges, etc., with the consequence that there was nothing to trade the peasantry in exchange for its grain? If Avrich thinks there was another path, he conceals this from his readers. His anarchist reviewers do not indicate any disagreement with his description of the reality that the Bolsheviks had to deal with. The truth is that they offer no other program because they have none. The anarchist objections are not so much to the measures the Bolsheviks took to deal with the reality facing the Russian workers as a refusal even to recognize that reality itself.

The Bolsheviks did not ignore the reality they faced. They took the measures necessary to deal with it—with mistakes, undoubtedly, and excesses. But when has there been a revolution without them? Had they waited for the peasants to "willingly and generously" turn over their grain out of good will, had they permitted the enemies of the revolution to carry on agitation behind the lines, then there would have indeed been no Kronstadt tragedy... because there would have been no revolutionary conquests left to defend. Rather there would have been, at best, a Petrograd Commune, drowned in blood, a subject for condescending doctoral theses to be placed on the library shelves along with academic studies of Luxemburg and Gramsci, who are considered safe subjects for sympathetic study because, after all, they lost.

The great crime of the Bolsheviks, from the viewpoint of their "democratic" critics, is that they *won*. For the first time in history, a propertyless, oppressed class took and held power, proving in practice that the proletariat can indeed rule.

### Revolt of Demoralized Elements

The Russian working class had been altered, and not for the better, by the terrible material privations which ensued upon its seizure of power. And the garrison at Kronstadt had changed too. The Kronstadt of 1921 was not the revolutionary Kronstadt of 1917 or 1905. Trotsky observed that:

"A revolution is 'made' directly by a *minority*. The success of a revolution is possible, however, only where this minority finds more or less support, or at least friendly neutrality on the part of the majority. The shift in different stages of the revolution, like the transition from revolution to counterrevolution, is directly determined by changing political relations between the minority and the majority, between the vanguard and the class.

"Among the Kronstadt sailors there were three political layers: the proletarian revolutionists, some with a serious past and training; the intermediate majority, mainly peasant in origin; and, finally, the reactionaries, sons of kulaks, shopkeepers and priests. In Czarist times, order on battleships and in the fortresses could be maintained only so long as the officers, acting through the reactionary sections of the petty officers and sailors, subjected the broad intermediate layer to their influence or terror, thus isolating the revolutionists, mainly the machinists, the gunners, and the electricians, i.e. predominantly the city workers....

"Yes, Kronstadt wrote a heroic page in the history of the revolution. But the civil war began a systematic depopulation of Kronstadt and the whole Baltic fleet. Already in the days of the October uprising, detachments of Kronstadt sailors were being sent to help Moscow. Other detachments were then sent to the Don, to the Ukraine, for requisition of bread and to organize the local power. It seemed at first as if Kronstadt were inexhaustible. From different fronts I sent dozens of telegrams about the mobilization of new 'reliable' detachments from among the Petersburg workers and the Baltic sailors. But already in 1918, and, in any case, not later than 1919, the fronts began to complain that the new contingents of 'Kronstadters' were unsatisfactory, exacting, undisciplined, unreliable in battle and doing more harm than good.... those sailors who remained in

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# Horn of Africa ...

(continued from page 12)

were to the sultanate of Oman to counter the guerrilla insurgency there.

Cold warriors in Washington have also gone on the warpath over the massive Soviet military intervention in the Horn. National security warrior Zbigniew Brzezinski has been most strident, arguing that the U.S. must consider all options for directly confronting the Russians in the Horn and elsewhere in Africa. In recent weeks Brzezinski has become more openly critical of the so-called "keep cool" Africa policy associated with President Carter's black front man Andrew Young.

Among the black African states absolutely no sympathy exists for the Somalis. Regardless of their sometimes differing views about the "danger of Soviet penetration," the member states of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in their majority regard Somalia as the "aggressor" in Ethiopia. If the members of the OAU can agree on nothing else, they stand as one on the "principle" of the "inviolability of borders."

Unlike Somalia, which is ethnically homogeneous, all (!) other black-ruled countries in sub-Saharan Africa are composed of more than one tribal people or ethnic group (and more often than not of a crazy-quilt patchwork). Since the European colonialists drew their borders with an eye to "divide and rule," a single tribe or people often has been dismembered and divided between more than one country, while two or more historically antagonistic tribes have often been forced together in a single state.

Recrudescence of tribalism and secessionism have been the legacy of the colonial division of Africa. But the bonapartist regimes which have emerged in the process of "decolonialization" are incapable of solving the elementary bourgeois-democratic tasks of national integration and the harmonious and just resolution of intercommunal or tribalist conflicts. No matter how irrational or unjust, these borders are enshrined as sacred by this OAU.

Given the deep-seated opposition of the OAU to the Somali claims over the eastern third of Ethiopia, the northern province of Kenya and Djibouti, the Carter administration so far has refrained from openly providing Somalia with any military aid. Even Brzezinski has implicitly acknowledged that any military aid to Somalia would very likely have to be funneled through a U.S. client such as Saudi Arabia or the Shah of Iran.

Meanwhile, the U.S. has sought to put diplomatic pressure on the Soviets to force them to circumscribe their role. Shortly after the Ethiopian counteroffensive was mounted Carter warned Boris Ponomarev, head of a visiting delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet, that expanded Russian or Cuban military involvement in the Horn of Africa would adversely affect prospects for ratification of any new strategic arms limitation agreement or the joint discussions over military presence in the Indian Ocean. And in mid-February Brzezinski's deputy, David Aaron, headed up a high-level American diplomatic mission to Addis Ababa where secret meetings produced a Russian pledge that the Ethiopian war would not be widened if the U.S. agreed not to arm Somalia.

For Marxists the massive Soviet military intervention on the side of its blood-stained clients in Addis Ababa does not alter in the least the fundamentally reactionary character of the Derg and its brutal policies of national oppression. On the contrary, by rushing military aid to the Ethiopian army the Russian and Cuban forces in



Somali youth brigade

Cambio 16

Ethiopia become its direct ally in grinding the rebellious oppressed minority peoples into bloody submission.

Already the Soviet military intervention has enabled the Ethiopian air force to intensify its truly genocidal terror bombing of civilian sites in Eritrea. Towns which in the past have not been the targets for the deadly raids of the Ethiopian air force have been blanketed with napalm and high-explosive anti-personnel bombs.

Since the attacks were renewed on January 1, thousands of Eritrean civilians have been forced to flee their razed villages and smoldering huts and to trek to the safety of the south Sudan, where one million Eritrean refugees (one third of the population!) now live in squalid camps. And similar methods of "pacification" can be expected during and after the Ethiopian re-conquest of the Ogaden, where even now the scorched-earth policy of the Ethiopians has included air attacks on anything that moves across the Ogaden desert, including camels (which outnumber the Ogaden nomads by severalfold).

Especially now, Marxists must champion the elementary democratic right of the oppressed tribes and peoples of Ethiopia to *political secession*. As long as Ethiopia remains a "prison house of peoples" (as Lenin dubbed the tsarist empire), the development of proletarian and socialist consciousness among the toilers will be poisoned by chauvinism on the part of the oppressor Amharas and petty-bourgeois nationalism among the multiplicity of oppressed peoples. Thus, we call for the military victory of the anti-junta forces fighting in Eritrea and the Ogaden against the Ethiopian army. Although the latter is spearheaded by Russian and Cuban units, this fact is not central.

At the same time, however, Marxists warn against placing the slightest political confidence in any of these nationalist, tribalist or feudalist insur-

gent forces. In Eritrea, which is the most cultured and economically advanced province of Ethiopia, each of the three rival guerrilla groups aspires to political power with an outlook not qualitatively different from that of Idi Amin in the period of his rise to power. Each of the three groups has demonstrated that, if militarily victorious, it would seek to establish bonapartist rule by wiping out its rivals. Again and again the uneasy truces between these guerrilla forces has exploded in all-out fratricidal bloodletting, the most recent only last month. It is not difficult to imagine what kind of "people's democracy" these parties would bring to Eritrea. They are akin to the Ethiopian junta out of power, but they *are* Eritrean.

The Somalis of the Ogaden region were incorporated into the Ethiopian empire in 1896. The British ceded that section of their Somali protectorate to the Emperor Menelik in return for his promise not to aid the Mahdist rebellion in the Sudan.

Thus, unlike the Eritreans, the Somali people of the Ogaden historically have fought not to form an independent state in the Ogaden but rather to merge with the Somali republic. As a result of successive partitions and annexations imposed by the Italian and British colonialists, the Somali people today are divided between four distinct state entities. In addition to the Democratic Republic, the eastern third of Ethiopia (comprising the provinces of Ogaden, Bale, Sidamo and Arussi) and the Northern Frontier District of Kenya together hold more than half of the population of the tiny former French territory of Djibouti is populated by a Somali-related people, the Issas.

Historically the goal of Somali nationalism has been to recreate "Greater Somalia" through merging the present Somali Democratic Republic with the "lost territories." Even today

maps printed in Somalia show the "lost territories" as part of the republic, and recognition of "Greater Somalia" is written into the state constitution.

When Somalia was able to score some significant military successes inside Ethiopia last summer (notably, cutting the rail line connecting Addis Ababa with its sole remaining sea outlet, Djibouti), Somali leader Barre recognized the vulnerability of the Ethiopians in the vast Ogaden and threw his regular army forces behind the Ogaden insurgents. Of course, the Mogadishu regime denied direct Somali military intervention so as not to provoke the OAU. But it was clear that Somalia had militarily intervened to bring the Ogaden under its control.

In the aftermath of last summer's Somali invasion of Ethiopia, we wrote of the war, in part as follows:

"Marxists support the democratic right of the Somali people in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti to reunite with Somalia. However, in the recent fighting (in which the efficient Russian-trained Somali army has effectively taken the Ogaden) this issue is subordinated to the reality of a war over territory between two equally reactionary, capitalist states."

—"Marcy and Mengistu," *WV* No. 180, 4 November 1977

In that article we incorrectly viewed the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia as a border war ("a war over territory") not fundamentally different in kind from the way between India and Pakistan over the disputed territories of Kashmir or the series of wars in the Maghreb (Morocco vs. Algeria, Libya vs. Egypt). While it is true that the nationalist regime in Mogadishu was more than eager to settle scores with its historic foe Ethiopia, this position ignores the fact that the immediate aim of the Somali "invasion" of the Ogaden was elimination of the yoke of Amharic domination over a section of the Somali people. One can make an analogy with the struggle of the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia against the Great Russian domination. Before World War I Poland was divided between tsarist Russia, Hapsburg Austro-Hungary and Wilhelminian Germany. Thus the national unification of the Polish people required secession from three separate states. Had the Polish parts of Germany and Austro-Hungary won independence and merged at the time of the Russian revolution of 1905, such an independent Polish state might indeed have invaded Russian Poland to liberate its oppressed people by force of arms. Such a war would have been a legitimate struggle for national liberation, no less so than an insurrection limited to Russian Poland.

As Marxists we support the right of all Somalis to combine in one state entity no less than the Eritreans. To deny that right to the Somalis of the Ogaden just because imperialism drew a border through the living body of this people, one section of which achieved statehood, would be to legitimize and accept the imperialist-imposed boundaries of Africa.

## Another Angola?

Some defenders of the Soviet bloc's support to Mengistu's Ethiopia may draw a parallel with the Angolan war of fall/winter 1975-76, where the Cuban army undeniably played a progressive role in defeating the South African invasion. But the mere presence of armed Cubans in Africa does not a progressive war make. There are fundamental differences between the war over Ogaden today and the Angolan conflict two years ago.

The defeat and withdrawal of the Portuguese colonialists set the stage for fighting among three Angolan bourgeois-nationalist groups in the summer of 1975. While Holden Roberto's National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) was based on the Bakongo people and Jonas Savimbi's UNITA on the Ovimbundu, both these groups, as well as the more urban-based



Soviet transport planes airlift arms to Addis Ababa.

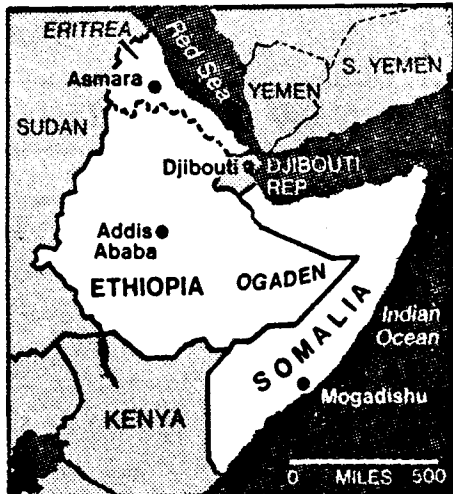
Coufort/Gamma-Liaison



People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which also had a tribalist component, were fighting for state power over the entirety of the territory formally ruled as a Portuguese colony.

Thus a victory for any of the three groups would necessarily have resulted in the oppression of one or another of the peoples of Angola. As Leninists, and not Stalinists or New Leftists, we did not accept the MPLA's "socialist" rhetoric and diplomatic ties to the Soviet bloc as a license for tribal oppression. In the first phase of the Angolan war, we therefore took a defeatist position on all sides of the intra-nationalist conflict, while defending all the nationalist groups against the Portuguese colonialists and army (see "Civil War in Angola," *Young Spartacus* No. 35, September 1975).

By the time the Portuguese pulled out, no effective state existed in Angola.



The Horn of Africa

Thus with the South African invasion in November 1975 and the Cuban counterthrust the Angolan conflict became essentially internationalized. South Africa is both an ally of U.S. imperialism and a local imperialist power in its own right. At stake was the threat of a transformation of Angola into a de facto South African colony and a bastion of the American sphere of influence in Africa. The tribalist interests of Roberto's FNLA and Savimbi's UNITA had become subordinated to the imperialist conquest of Angola and Angola had become the arena of a proxy war between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet degenerated workers state. With this fundamental change in the character of the war, our position became one of military support to the Cuban/MPLA forces against the American-backed South African offensive (see "Stop Imperialist Drive on Luanda!" *WV* No. 87, 28 November 1975).

The war over Ogaden is fundamentally different from both the first and second phases of the Angola conflict. Somalia is not seeking to conquer the Ethiopian state and dominate the Amharic people, and is in any case totally incapable of doing so. Its goal is

limited to detaching its own national territory, Ogaden, from the oppressor Ethiopian state. This defines the Somalis' struggle as a just war of national liberation.

In Angola the Soviet-backed Cuban army opposed an imperialist assault. Today Brezhnev and Castro are in effect supplying mercenaries for the bloody butcher Mengistu so he can keep Ethiopia a prisonhouse of peoples.

It is, of course, not to be ruled out that the conflict in the Horn of Africa could become fundamentally internationalized. If the U.S. or even a sub-imperialist power such as Iran, were to decisively intervene on the Somali side politically and militarily, then the essential character of the war would accordingly change and the Somalis' just aspirations for national liberation would become a subordinate element. But given the international response to the conflict thus far such a prospect would appear remote.

### For Proletarian Internationalism in Africa

While recognizing the right of all the Somali people to self-determination, we do not support the concept of "Greater Somalia" advocated by Mogadishu. Rather the Leninist approach to the national question is fundamentally *negative*: opposition to every manifestation of national privilege or oppression. "Greater Somalia" will inevitably be a vehicle for national injustices and reactionary irredentism.

Most graphic is the claim which the Somali regime makes over the "lost territory" of Djibouti. Only about one-half of the population of this territory is ethnically related to the Somalis (the Issas). The other half consists of the Afars, who are not Somali and in fact the two peoples have a long history of murderous hostility. To annex the territory of Djibouti to a "Greater Somalia" would involve either driving the Afars out of their homeland or else subjecting them to systematic national oppression. In any case the real prize in Ethiopian-Somali squabbling over the former French colony is control of the port. In this potential source of armed conflict Marxists take no sides.

In very backward regions of Africa the bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism is incapable of progressive nation building. The classic bourgeois-democratic revolutions lifted the fetters of feudal oppression, but in the epoch of capitalist decay the weak bourgeoisies of the ex-colonial countries are *incapable* of breaking the chains of imperialist domination or even of overcoming tribalism and feudalistic-religious obscurantism. "Democratic Somalia" is a fanatically Muslim state whose national hero is the "mad mullah," Abdullah Hassan.

In "scientific socialist" Somalia, which has yet to create a proletariat out of its nomads who raise camels as the country's main export, the Koran-thumping government staunchly upholds traditional Muslim feudal social codes. Here, as in so many African and Asian societies, adolescent girls (an estimated 90 percent!) are subjected to infibulation—clitoral circumcision and the sewing closed of the vagina, usually performed with hideously unsanitary implements by amateur midwives—so that their fathers can market them as "chaste" brides in later years. Far from being socialist, Somalia has not even had such barbarous practices flushed away by a bourgeois revolution, which historically liberated women from the yoke of chattel slavery.

Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which in the Horn of Africa must centrally rest on the Ethiopian and Eritrean proletariats, could the Somali people achieve national emancipation without infringing upon or brutally denying the legitimate national rights for other peoples of the region. ■

# Stalinists Spin Over "Progressive" Generals

For a Stalinist of either the pro-Moscow or pro-Peking variety, choosing the correct side in a political conflict would appear to be the easiest thing in the world—one always supports the "progressive peoples." But the poor Stalinists seem to be having a devil of a time in the drawn-out fighting in the Horn of Africa. And no wonder. Not only do all the peoples claim to be progressive, but from the point of view of the Kremlin and the Forbidden City they're unreliable, changing from progressive to reactionary and vice versa in a twinkling.

For years after its independence in 1960, "progressive" Somalia was the Soviet Union's main ally and showpiece in Africa. Yet today the Somalis are described in the Communist Party's *Daily World* as "reactionaries" while the Ethiopians are now called "progressives," "patriots" and "revolutionaries." At the same time, the Maoists, who once hailed His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie of Ethiopia as an "anti-imperialist friend of China" and then hailed the military junta which overthrew him, now proclaim:

"The Chinese people...highly appreciate the Somali people's indomitable spirit of defying brute force and daring to struggle. Justice belongs to the Somali people; victory belongs to the Somali people!"

—"Somali People's New Awakening," *Peking Review* No. 48, 25 November 1977

Behind the rhetoric of concern for the just struggles of the "progressive peoples" and behind the kaleidoscopic shifts of political position regarding the Horn of Africa stand naked Stalinist opportunism and the total subordination of program to the dictates of the respective nationalist bureaucracies.

How did the "progressive" Somali allies of the Soviet Union become the "reactionary" Somali "aggressors" against "revolutionary" Ethiopia? After the military coup in 1974 which toppled Selassie from the throne, the United States, afraid that the generals were too radical (they needn't have worried), discontinued arms sales to Ethiopia. This pushed the military junta (known as the "Derg") into the arms of the USSR.

Unwilling to give up its foothold in Somalia, the USSR attempted for as long as possible to consolidate its influence in the region by straddling the growing conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia. But last summer, enraged at the USSR's continued sale of arms to the Derg (while hypocritically counseling peace between these two avowedly Marxist states), Somalia evicted the Soviets from its territory. It was only at this point that the USSR and its loyal supporters "discovered" that Somalia's "past socialist orientation" had been "deflected into nationalist ambitions." This "discovery" has compelled the Soviet Union to bomb the Somali and Eritrean guerrillas (now "reactionary rebels") to whom they once gave aid.

The Marcyite "Third World" cheerleaders of Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism, the leading proponents of "global class war" against U.S. imperialism, also withdrew their support from the Eritrean guerrillas with the arrival of Soviet and Cuban troops in Ethiopia and proceeded to hail the Ethiopian "revolution."

If the pro-Peking Stalinists' political contortions seem even more capricious than those of their pro-Moscow comrades, it is probably because the Chinese had less to lose. Without a foothold in either Somalia or Ethiopia, the Chinese have been willing to support whoever

happened to be opposing the "main enemy"—the Soviet Union.

Before its criminal alliance with U.S. imperialism, Peking opposed the regimes in both Ethiopia and Somalia, while providing aid to Eritrean guerrillas. After 1971, however, the Chinese Stalinists, while remaining hostile to Somalia, discontinued aid to the Eritrean rebels and established friendly relations with the U.S.'s ally, Selassie. The feudalistic "Lion of Judah," who had furnished Ethiopian troops for imperialist interventions into the Congo and Korea, was hailed for his contributions "to the promotion of the cause of anti-imperialist unity in Asia and Africa."

Selassie's fall at the hands of a military junta which proceeded to attack the workers movement and intensify its genocidal war against the Eritrean independence struggle in no way deterred the Chinese and their supporters. "The Ethiopian Government," they wrote, "pursues a policy of non-alignment, supports national-liberation movements, upholds African solidarity and has actively developed relations of friendship and co-operation with other African countries and developing countries."

Today, of course, with the Soviets entrenched in Ethiopia and expelled from Somalia, things are viewed quite differently in Peking. Although China will not supply Somalia with arms for fear of unduly antagonizing the anti-Somalia Organization of African Unity, the justice of the Somali cause is proclaimed in *Peking Review* and dutifully echoed in *The Call* (organ of the Communist Party [M-L]) and even in *Revolution* (organ of the shattered Revolutionary Communist Party). *The Call* describes the regime of the Derg as "a fascist reign of terror against the workers." *Revolution* similarly speaks of the regime it formerly supported as one of "massive repression by the fascist military junta."

While Mengistu piles up corpses of student leftists and unionists in Addis Ababa's Revolution Square and napsalm Somalis and Eritrean villages, Somalia's Siad Barre carries favor with Saudi sheiks and the Shah of Iran. The Moscow and Peking bureaucracies, in turn, praise their "Marxist-Leninist" general of the moment and revile his opponent (who only a few months earlier had been their man). At the end of the chain the American Stalinists just tag along behind their bureaucratic masters, switching "progressive peoples" and "revolutionary leaders" every few months as the diplomatic carousel turns. Such unprincipled zigging and zagging has nothing to do with Marxism.

As we stated in the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet "China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism" (1976):

"Unlike Stalinists and Pan-Africanists, Trotskyists realize that in the epoch of imperialism the weak bourgeoisies, the bonapartist military cliques, the feudalists and the tribalists of Africa are incapable of carrying out even the essential bourgeois democratic tasks of achieving genuine independence, bourgeois democracy, national unification, agrarian reform and rapid industrial development. These petty-bourgeois strata on the one hand are tied to foreign capitalists and the native ruling elites (be they capitalists, feudalists or tribalists), and on the other hand stand in fear of the toiling masses.

"Only the proletariat in a revolutionary alliance with the downtrodden peasants and tribal peoples can solve these tasks, but the proletarian power in so doing passes over into the anti-capitalist struggle which is the beginning of the socialist revolution." ■

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# Burn Carter's Contract...

(continued from page 5)

ment was told to pull all the strings it could grab inside the UMWA.

In 1972 Nixon's Labor Department virtually ran Arnold Miller's campaign against the corrupt gangster Tony Boyle. But, installed in power, Miller proved disastrously incapable of keeping the miners in line, as the government had planned. Three massive wildcats in as many years disrupted the government's hope for stable production in the coal fields. Though narrowly re-elected with a 40 percent plurality last summer, Miller then spectacularly blew whatever remaining authority he had in the union with his treacherous agreement with the BCOA in early February.

By agreeing to financial penalties and firings for wildcat strikes and miners who refused to cross picket lines, by giving up the UMWA's health and pension funds, by his wholesale capitulation to the BCOA on every point, Miller became the most hated man in the coal fields.

Thousands of miners rallied in West Virginia, western Pennsylvania, southeast Ohio, Illinois and Kentucky demanding that Miller resign. Recall petitions circulated at a whirlwind pace. Ten thousand out of Illinois' 12,000 UMWA miners, for example, have already signed and signatures are pouring in from all over the coal fields. Miller, surrounding himself with bodyguards and packing a pistol, went into semi-seclusion.

If the miners hated Miller, the government no longer found him a very useful vehicle for its influence. Carter got negotiations resumed by ordering both sides to the White House while Labor Secretary Ray Marshall took direct control of the talks and began searching for those within the union with whom a deal could be cut.

Step One in the plan was to expand the union's negotiating team beyond the discredited Miller and his handpicked bargainers. Three "dissidents" from the union's Bargaining Council, composed of district presidents and International Executive Board representatives, were added at the government's and BCOA's request. Step Two was a high-pressure campaign to line up a new leadership in the union that could bargain a contract and make it stick.

With threats, patriotic appeals to the national interest, and the flattery of high-level government attention that all aspiring bureaucrats crave, Labor Department and Mediation Service officials began sorting through the Bargaining Council. Even key local leaders were flown to Washington for "consultations" with under-secretaries of labor.

A striking confirmation of the currently leaderless state of the UMWA is that, with Miller effectively out of the picture, no new leader has clearly emerged to even seek the allegiance of the ranks. The leadership alignment that existed at the time of last year's presidential election, when UMWA secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick and IEB strongman Lee Roy Patterson challenged Miller for the union's presidency, has collapsed. Patrick opted out of the union for a high-paying government job while Patterson returned to the west Kentucky mines as a quiet, disgruntled critic. The half of the International Executive Board that previously supported Miller would not now touch him with a ten-foot pole.

The UMWA ranks have demonstrated their militancy repeatedly in this explosive strike. What they urgently need is a leadership that can lead this struggle to a real victory: unlimited right to strike, full funding of the health funds, big pension and wage boosts. This would defeat the BCOA's attempt to gut the union's past gains, and the UMWA has the strength to do it. But among the International and district-

level leaderships there is no one presenting a class-struggle program for victory. In fact, most of the prominent militant-talking IEB representatives have been just as quick to run to the Labor Department as Miller. And it is the massive interference in the union by the bosses' government that constitutes the gravest threat to this strike.

Thus, District 17 vice-president Cecil Roberts has already declared his desire to be the next UMWA president but is cautiously supporting ratification. District 21 IEB member Donald Lawley grabbed media attention for a while by denouncing Miller, but voted for the P & M contract that served as the pattern-setter for the BCOA pact. Illinois District 12 president Kenneth Dawes was put on the negotiating team, bought a new white shirt and headed off to the White House full of fury. But, as one Bargaining Council member told WV, "Seems like Dawes changed overnight after his trip to the White House."

It was Dawes who provided the government with its key breakthrough. After prolonged secret negotiations with a non-BCOA company and local officials—masterminded by the Mediation Service and Dawes—an agreement was announced with the Pittsburg and Midway Coal Company, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil, on Monday, February 20. The Labor Department immediately seized on the P&M agreement and started boosting it as a "pattern-setter" for the BCOA. On Wednesday, February 22, Labor Department pressure convinced the Bargaining Council, which had approved the P&M agreement by a 25-13 vote, to submit it to the BCOA as the "bottom-line" it would accept for a national contract.

The Carter government was in a jam. Just as earnestly as the coal operators, it wanted iron-clad sanctions against coal field strikes to insure uninterrupted production for its coal-oriented energy policy. But the federal government was also subject to the pressures of corporate executives and coal-state politicians who wanted an early end to the strike. Sensitive to the general needs of the capitalist class, the Carter administration put the squeeze on both the union and the BCOA to accept the essentials of the P&M contract. Now with his TV announcement, well publicized prayers and threats of force he is trying to shove this take-away contract down the miners' throats.

The coal miners do not lack perseverance, determination and valor. What they lack is a leadership willing to stand up to the federal government and coal operators and say: No!

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The miners must reject the sellout pact being offered them. Their next step must be to demand the convening of a special convention to elect a bargaining team willing to fight for their most essential demands: the right to strike, full health benefits, high and equalized pensions, the right to a safe job. It takes only five UMWA districts to convene such a convention. UMWA militants must elect district-wide strike committees to force such a convention.

Just as important, the miners must not be allowed to stand alone as we come down to the crunch in this crucial strike. All labor has a stake in the coal strike! If the miners, the most militant and combative section of the U.S. working class, are allowed to be beaten down, the rest of the American proletariat will suffer for it. Though some of the gilded leaders of the trade unions stab the miners in the back by promoting federal strikebreaking measures, there are thousands upon thousands of workers who are looking to the miners strike as a proof that it is possible to fight the bosses and the government and win.

An example came from the January 26 meeting of the United Steeworkers (USWA) Local 65 at U.S. Steel's Southworks plant in Chicago. Miners from Harlan County, Kentucky, drove 12 hours to get to the meeting. Bessie

Lou Cornett, a leading militant of the Brookside Women's Club in the 1974 Harlan strike, appealed to the assembled steelworkers: "We need you to do more than send money or speak to the press. We'd like the steelworkers to come out and join us." Stressing that a steel strike now, in the face of mass layoffs, would benefit the steelworkers as well as the miners, Cornett said the miners needed the steelworkers support or they "would be set back 30 years."

Just three weeks before, a group of Local 65 militants had raised the same call for a joint strike. Wild cheers and applause greeted the miners' appeal. The steelworker ranks must take up the miners' call, repudiate the union bureaucracy's no-strike pledge and strike in defense of their own and the miners' needs.

If the government dares to invoke the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley law on the miners, seizes the mines or runs troops into the coal fields, general protest strikes must be the labor movement's response. The miners urgently need powerful solidarity action! Against their do-nothing misleaders, transport and rail workers must refuse to handle scab coal. Steel must be shut down. And the entire labor movement must rise up in protest at any attempt to smash the miners' determined resistance. The coal miners are in the forefront of all U.S. labor. Victory to the Miners Strike! ■

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# Kronstadt...

(continued from page 7)

'peaceful' Kronstadt until the beginning of 1921, not fitting in on any of the fronts of the civil war, stood by this time on a level considerably lower, in general, than the average level of the Red Army, and included a great percentage of completely demoralized elements, wearing showy bell-bottom pants and sporty haircuts."

—“Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt” (April 1938) in Leon Trotsky, *Writings, 1938-39*

Although as a non-Marxist he denies the importance of this crucial fact, Avrich does confirm Trotsky's description of the change in composition of the Kronstadt garrison:

“There can be little doubt that during the Civil War years a large turnover had indeed taken place within the Baltic Fleet, and that many of the old-timers had been replaced by conscripts from the rural districts who brought with them the deeply felt discontents of the Russian peasantry. By 1921, according to official figures, more than three-quarters of the sailors were of peasant origin, a substantially higher portion than in 1917, when industrial workers from the Petrograd area made up a sizable part of the fleet.”

Kronstadt was, in fact, simply another of the peasant uprisings whose character is adequately described by Avrich, albeit by uniformed peasants with enough remnants of revolutionary tradition to give their formal program a more palatable taste than the slogans of their rural brethren.

The class character of the revolt helped determine the response—or, rather, lack of response—to it in the cities. As Trotsky noted, although the workers of Petrograd had been subject to the same consciousness-destroying processes as the Kronstadt sailors, and were “hungry,” “irritable” and “dissatisfied,” yet:

“The Kronstadt uprising did not attract the Petrograd workers. It repelled them. The stratification proceeded along class lines. The workers immediately felt that the Kronstadt mutineers stood on the opposite side of the barricades—and they supported the Soviet power.”

—“Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt”

This observation is confirmed from yet another political quarter by the anti-Communist historian Leonard Schapiro (who simultaneously throws some light on the “generous” peasantry):

“... whereas in Petrograd the relations between townfolk and peasantry had been exacerbated through the extortionate barter prices which the peasant extracted on the black market for his food, if not the majority of the sailors were of peasant origin and consequently felt more sympathy than townfolk with the hardships which the forcible state food collection inflicted on the peasantry. The political picture in the two towns was therefore entirely different.”

—*The Origins of the Communist Autocracy*

And still another confirmation of the character of these peasant sailors during this period comes from Victor Serge, who describes measures taken to recapture an outlying Kronstadt fortress which had, during an attack on the city in 1919 by the Whites, gone over to the counterrevolutionary forces:

“The actual operations leading to the sailors' capture of the fort of Krasnaya Gorka were directed by Bill Shatov [a Russian-American anarchist who had returned from the United States and worked closely with the Bolsheviks in defense of the Soviet power]. I was present at a private meeting in his room at the Astoria, which concerned the best method of using the crews of the Fleet. Shatov explained that these merry youngsters were the best fed in the garrison, the best accommodated, and the most appreciated by pretty girls, to whom they could now and then slip a tin of food; consequently none of them was agreeable to fighting for more than a few hours, being concerned to get a comfortable sleep on board ship.”

*Memoirs of a Revolutionary \**

The social and political character of the Kronstadt mutineers was revealed in their program, characterized by Avrich as having:

“... an overriding preoccupation with the needs of the peasant and small producer and a corresponding lack of concern for the complexities of large-scale industry... the Kronstadt program paid comparatively little attention



Red Army soldiers take positions on ice during attack on rebelling Kronstadt sailors.

to questions affecting the industrial proletariat.”

The reviewer of Avrich's book in *Anarchy* magazine rhapsodizes over the Kronstadt mutineers as expressing “revolutionary class-consciousness of the Russian proletariat at its peak.” Since the anarchists cannot distinguish proletarians from peasants, that is, social classes, it's not surprising that they display a similar blindness when surveying class consciousness. We cannot do better than quote Avrich on this score:

“Although the rebels... denied any anti-Semitic prejudice, there is no question that feelings against the Jews ran high among the Baltic sailors, many of whom came from the Ukraine and the western borderlands, the classic regions of virulent anti-Semitism in Russia. For men of their peasant and working-class background, the Jews were a customary scapegoat in times of hardship and distress. Traditional nativism, moreover, led them to distrust ‘alien’ elements in their midst, and the revolution having eliminated the landlords and capitalists, their hostility was now directed against the Communists and Jews, whom they tended to identify with one another.”

Here was that “spontaneous” consciousness which anti-Leninists of all stripes extol in distinction to the socialist consciousness which wicked Bolsheviks attempt to introduce “from the outside,” and which the Kronstadt sailors had indeed thrown off.

Avrich gives us a close-up of one particular “peak” of consciousness when he describes the diary of a sailor stationed at the Petrograd naval base during the mutiny:

“In one particularly vicious passage he attacks the Bolshevik regime as the ‘first Jewish Republic,’ and labels the Jews a new ‘privileged class,’ a class of ‘Soviet princes’... calling the government ultimatum to Kronstadt ‘the ultimatum of the Jew Trotsky.’ These sentiments, he asserts, were widely shared by his fellow sailors, who were convinced that the Jews and not the Russian peasants and workers were the real beneficiaries of the revolution... Such beliefs, no doubt, were as prevalent in Kronstadt as in Petrograd, if not more so.”

And in the one mainland mutiny in sympathy with Kronstadt, among the riflemen of the 27th Omsk division stationed at nearby Oranienbaum, this anti-Semitism was openly expressed. Spurred on by their ex-tsarist commander (who later said that he had been waiting for just such an opportunity), the soldiers raised the war cry, “Go to Petrograd and beat the Jews.”

Although support for the Kronstadt uprising can be dismissed, for serious revolutionists, on the grounds of the preceding general considerations alone, it will nevertheless be instructive to examine in detail the mutiny's immediate pre-history, course of events, and subsequent political evolution. Prior to Avrich's researches, the “case against Kronstadt” rested on the—entirely adequate—social characterization of the revolt as a petty-bourgeois outburst against the beleaguered workers state, an outburst which would have opened the door for capitalist counter-

revolution.

The defenders of Kronstadt have centered their arguments around refuting the contemporary Bolshevik charges of a White Guard plot and extolling the revolutionary purity of the mutineers. Avrich has, as our extensive quotations have shown, accepted and further substantiated the Marxist description of the social context and character of the revolt. But it is the original discoveries of this pro-anarchist author that are the most important contribution of this book, for they fully confirm the Bolshevik and not the “libertarian” line on Kronstadt.

In brief, the attentive reader of *Kronstadt 1921* will learn that:

1) A few months before the revolt its principal leader attempted to join the Whites but was turned down.

2) A few weeks before the revolt a White agent stationed near the base sent his headquarters a detailed report on the military and political situation inside the fortress, with the information that the Whites had recruited a group of sailors on the inside who were preparing to take an active role in a forthcoming uprising there.

3) The principal leader of the revolt (the would-be White recruit) did in fact play an important role in turning a mass protest meeting into a decisive break with the Bolshevik government.

4) After being defeated at Kronstadt, the leaders of the revolt fled to Finland where, a few weeks later, they entered into an open and conscious alliance with the White counterrevolutionaries. The joint program agreed to include the establishment of a “temporary military dictatorship” after the Bolsheviks had been overthrown.

These facts blow to smithereens the anarchist myth of “revolutionary Kronstadt” rising up against “Bolshevik dictatorship” and fully vindicate the decision of the Communist government to retake the mutinous garrison by force.

\*The “Solidarity” grouping has issued extracts of this book, dealing with Kronstadt and Serge's doubts and criticisms of the Bolsheviks' suppression of the mutiny, but they did not include this most revealing paragraph. Perhaps they will include it in the next edition of their pamphlet now that we have called it to their attention. After all, surely they do not wish to be listed in the company of those “Trotskyists and sundry others who have indulged in a systematic campaign of misrepresentation and distortion” about Kronstadt.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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# Rhodesia...

(continued from page 2)

and London. Their own “initiative” done in by the “nuance” of whose army would control the transition to “majority rule,” they must respond to the Salisbury agreement. Not to support it entails the risk of assuming responsibility for its failure. To support the agreement would mean alienating Patriotic Front leaders, particularly the pivotal Nkomo.

Ultimately, much hinges upon the response of the five front-line states, with Zambia and Mozambique being crucial. These countries have chronic economic problems exacerbated by the closing of their Rhodesian borders. While imperialist hopes may have been buoyed over reports that Samora Machel had ordered the Patriotic Front to remove more than 1,000 guerrillas from Mozambique after the November raids, Kaunda's recent statements did not indicate second thoughts by Zambia.

Imperialist confidence in Nkomo belies his current posture as an intransigent militant. In fact what has marked the 20-year history of African nationalism in Rhodesia has been endless infighting, bloodletting and betrayals, as rivals jockey for supremacy and international sponsors. The original ANC headed by Nkomo maintained its complete loyalty to the “Crown,” and if Nkomo currently condemns the Salisbury agreement as “the greatest sellout in the history of Africa,” he forgets his own acceptance of the 1961 Rhodesian constitution, which was worse. *The Sunday Times* (9 October 1977) of London detailed capitalist Roland Rowland's sponsorship and funding of Nkomo and Sithole. The *Times* article alluded to a consortium of business interests who regard Muzorewa as “well meaning but inept” and would like to ensure that the “right man” (Nkomo) wins.

Regardless of the short-term viability of Smith's ploy the possibilities for the colonial privileges of the small white settler caste are nonexistent. Compared to South Africa, where whites comprise 20 percent of the population and have been there for centuries, white Rhodesian roots are negligible.

The white settler population in Rhodesia is too small to suppress the guerrilla attacks and too large to agree to simply turn state power over to the black nationalists. Having established its independence from Britain in 1965, the white supremacist Rhodesian Front government is hardly going to accept any form of black rule now.

As communists, we give unconditional military support to the oppressed blacks of Rhodesia in their struggle against the white colonial settler state. But we have no illusions that a victory for the Nkomo/Mugabe forces would bring to the black masses either democratic rights or peace. A victory of the Patriotic Front will undoubtedly be followed by tribalist bloodletting as in the rest of neo-colonial black Africa. And the end result will be some bonapartist despot on the order of Machel or Neto.

Confining the struggle within the narrow framework of bourgeois nationalism will also mean the continued subjugation of the black masses to poverty and wage slavery. On the morrow of victory, the Nkomos and Mugabes—aspiring exploiters one and all—will prove as implacable class enemies of the African workers and peasants as the white settlers. Only through the establishment of a Zimbabwe black workers and peasants government in the framework of a socialist federation of southern Africa, will industry and agriculture be put in the service of the oppressed. This requires the construction of a Trotskyist party and concrete links with the massive and combative black proletariat of South Africa. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Storm Over the Horn of Africa

Over the last few years the power balance in the Horn of Africa has shifted about as unpredictably as the sands of its desert wastelands. Once dominating the blistering East African region through its client Ethiopia, U.S. imperialism was frozen out by the "Marxist-Leninist" military dictatorship which came to power after the collapse of the imperial monarchy of emperor Haile Selassie. For nearly two decades having its toehold in black Africa restricted to "Islamic socialist" Somalia, the Soviet Union quickly jumped into Ethiopia. It seemed that the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy had indeed turned the tables on the U.S. imperialists.

But the grand scheme of the Kremlin to extend its diplomatic influence over the entire Horn of Africa ran into trouble last summer when Somalia decided that the time was ripe to annex the Somali-populated areas under the domination of its historic foe Ethiopia. Preferring neither to fight nor to switch, the Soviet Union attempted to straddle the conflict over the Ogaden, the arid region of eastern Ethiopia. Then, much to the glee of the U.S. bourgeoisie, Somalia gave its 6,000 Russian advisers the boot, deciding that the path of Ghana, Egypt and the Sudan was preferable to the "non-capitalist road."

While Somalia went shopping for a new sponsor in the West, the Soviet Union was left with Ethiopia, a country that was sliding into political chaos and territorial disintegration. Convulsed by bloody internal power struggles and resting on an often mutinous military, the Ethiopian junta headed by that latter-day Chiang Kai-shek, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, has mounted an escalating campaign of savage mass murder of political opponents, in particular even suspected sympathizers of the underground Guevarist Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party.

Outside the capital city of Addis Ababa the junta has had to contend with secessionist guerrilla forces fighting to throw off the imperial rule of the dominant Amharic people over the multiplicity of national and tribal minorities which have been forcibly subjugated in this prisonhouse of peoples. After sixteen years of waging a bitter guerrilla war, nationalist insurgents in Eritrea have captured virtually all of this strategic coastal province, keeping the remaining demoralized Ethiopian military units pinned down in the capital city of Asmara and the port of Massawa. Addis Ababa became effectively landlocked when its only open port, Djibouti, was closed after the tiny territory was granted independence by the French last year. Forced to fight three separate guerrilla groups in the northern provinces of Tigre and Bebelemir with a lumbering "peasant army," the Ethiopian junta also lost the southern province of Bale to the Oromo Liberation Front and then the Ogaden to the Somali army.

But in the last few weeks events have again taken a new turn in the Horn. When the Ethiopian army proved too demoralized and unreliable to effectively stop the Somali seizure of the Ogaden, (the once elite Third Division mutinied in September and allowed the key town of Jijiga to be taken without a



Pro-government rally in Addis Ababa.

Campbell/Sygma



Soviet military advisers in the Somali capital.

Delluc/Viva

fight) the Kremlin decided that if its Ethiopian sphere of influence was to be much of a sphere at all, then a massive military intervention would be necessary.

Beginning several months ago but increasing dramatically during the last few weeks, military hardware and personnel from the Soviet bloc have been poured into Ethiopia on a massive scale. Round-the-clock airlifts have flown an estimated several thousand crack Cuban troops and over 1,000 highly trained Russian and East German military advisers into Ethiopia. At the same time, Soviet and Bulgarian naval vessels docking at Massawa have unloaded thousands of tons of advanced weapons, including hundreds of MiG and SU-7 fighter bombers, T-54 tanks and advanced missile systems.

On January 22, while even Western intelligence sources were debating the significance of the Soviet arms buildup in Ethiopia, Russian and Cuban units spearheaded a tightly coordinated Ethiopian counteroffensive aimed at regaining the Ogaden. From the Ethiopian base at Diredawa MiG jet fighters

undoubtedly flown by Russian or Cuban pilots (the American-trained Ethiopian air force simply couldn't learn to handle the Soviet planes in such a short period of time) took to the air to bomb and strafe advanced Somali positions between the ancient walled citadel of Harar and Babile, a militarily strategic town 25 miles to the east along the main (and only) road leading to Jijiga and the Somalia border beyond. On the ground tanks and motorized artillery and rocket launchers pushed out of Diredawa northward along the rail line leading to Djibouti and simultaneously eastward from the highlands down into the barren Ogaden.

Despite the superior firepower and mobility of the Russian/Cuban-spearheaded Ethiopian forces, the Ogaden rebels and Somali army regulars have evidently retreated only a few dozen miles at most. According to the few reports of independent journalists who have recently observed the fighting in Ogaden, the Somalis have been dislodged from their positions around Harar and the hamlet of Fiambiro but have dug into the jagged ridges and

boulder-strewn ravines of the Ahmar mountains flanking the main road to Jijiga. Reportedly these bunkers have provided the Somali forces with sufficient cover from the air attacks and artillery barrages that they have been able to hold their ground and even stop the Ethiopian advance, at least for the moment.

Just how long the Somali forces can hold their own in the Ogaden remains to be seen. What is certain is that Somalia does not have the military capacity to be an equal match for the Russian/Cuban-led Ethiopian counteroffensive. When the Ogaden campaign was launched last July, Somalia had an estimated 300 tanks; today only 30 reportedly remain in action. Likewise, only nine of its original force of 52 MiG fighters are operational, while all 11 of its helicopters have been put out of commission.

From the outset of the Russian/Cuban-led Ethiopian counteroffensive, Somali president Muhammad Siad Barre has sought to internationalize the conflict. To the pro-Western Arab states and Iran, Barre has warned that an Ethiopian victory in the Ogaden would enable the Derg (junta) to concentrate its vastly more powerful forces on reconquering Eritrea—which, if successful, would open the strategic Red Sea ports of Massawa and Asmara to the Soviets. To the U.S. imperialists Barre portrays expanded Russian presence in the Horn of Africa as an immediate threat to world peace: "If the Russians are not thrown out of this region, the third world war could break out" (quoted in *Time*, 27 February).

In response, the Saudi Arabians have already bankrolled arms purchases by Somalia; most recently, Saudi oil money bought 43 Cobra helicopter gunships from the U.S., to be delivered to Somalia through Spain. Moreover, Egypt has indicated its readiness to send some of its aging Soviet-supplied tanks, while the Shah of Iran has dispatched a team of military advisers to Somalia to determine whether Iranian forces should be sent to the Ogaden as they

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