

SYNDICALISM DISARMS the PROLETARIAT

The Communist League is rounding out three years of struggle. During this time, the League has had to deal with a number of counter-revolutionary tendencies within and around the organization.

From the beginning, the Communist League recognized that the root of every anti-working class deviation in the left was the counter-revolutionary revisionism of the Communist Party of the U.S.A..

Since we were small and correctly believed that we had to concentrate our fire on the main enemy, we were forced to forego any public analysis of the various anti-Marxist, petty bourgeois tendencies that have been contending for the leadership of the so called movement.

It is clear today that one counter-revolutionary ideology has gained supremacy. That ideology can be referred to as the specific Anglo-American form of Anarcho-Syndicalism.

Considering the petty bourgeois, opportunist nature of the movement, it is not surprising that it should embrace the outlook of syndicalism.

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Syndicalism

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Syndicalism is a primitive, petty bourgeois, radical outlook that is based in that strata of society that has been recently pushed off the farm and into the urban proletariat--or recently hurled out of the petty bourgeoisie into the proletariat. This "revolutionary" outlook is based on the most casual and perceptual knowledge.

Syndicalism has been the major trend within the American revolution for the past 100 years. The old Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Syndicalist League, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the Communist Party have all been basically syndicalist.

Originally, syndicalism proposed that the trade union would grow bigger and more powerful until they took over the organization of industry and in fact became the government. Thus the primitive revolutionaries could only see the question of individual capitalists that had to be struggled against. They never saw the capitalists as a class or understood the role of the capitalist state as the principle weapon of the capitalist class.

Inherent in syndicalism is the idea that the workers of each factory will have to liberate that factory and there was no such concept as responsibility of the class as a whole.

Under the present conditions of the general separation of the left from the working class and especially from the trade unions, this concept of individual emancipation was transferred to the social struggle. This explains the growth of organizations that organize women as women, blacks as blacks, chicanos as chicanos, etc..

How is it that such an ideology appears full blown in the United States just before and after the Civil War? The answer is that the working class in the United States was imported from the bastions of syndicalism--Germany, France and Ireland. Whereas the countries of Europe had to develop their proletariat out of the population of the countryside, the U.S. capitalists were able to import the proletarian class from Europe--and these proletarians brought their "revolutionary" ideologies with them. The truth is that the first native born proletarians in the U.S. arrived into the cities from the farms during the great depression. This continued and massive immigration from abroad accounts for the difficulties of developing a Marxism that is at once a universal scientific expression of the proletariat, and at the same time is expressed in terms of the concrete and national struggles of the proletariat in the U.S.

At the birth of the Communist Party U.S.A. a number of syndicalist groups federated, and in truth the syndicalism of the C.P.U.S.A. has never been defeated. From this point of view, it is not surprising that the "New Left" in their battle against the old foggies of the C.P.U.S.A. had to take up the weapons that history handed them. In the history of the working class of the U.S.A. there is nothing but syndicalism. The "New Left" only added a few petty bourgeois deviations and in general headed it in the direction of fascism.

What is the perceptual knowledge of the new breed of Syndicalists? They see men oppressing women, whites oppressing blacks, bosses oppressing workers, and it is from these observations that the entire political program of syndicalism is constructed. And what is that program? Women will overthrow men, blacks will overthrow whites, workers will overthrow bosses, students will overthrow the administrations and so forth.

Marxism is militantly hostile to such programs. Marxism searches for the internal connections and oppositions and is never satisfied with the observation of external phenomena.

Capitalism is a system of oppression and exploitation. As with all class systems, a state apparatus is constructed to guarantee and perpetuate that system. Where modern syndicalism sees a future in which every grouping is doing "its own thing", Marxism sees that capitalism must be replaced with socialism, which is also a system, only a system under the control of the working class. This system must also have a state, a state that protects the majority against the minority. The syndicalists, by attacking everything except the system and the state that protects it makes a mockery of the concept of "revolution".

The general projections of the movement indicate how firm the syndicalist ideology is in control. The women's liberation movement, the student movement, the black left, the "New Left" all testify to this. Although the theoretical and political projections of the movement are syndicalist, the concrete applications transform it into its opposite--with which it is completely united. In practice, syndicalism (which comes from the left) is expressed as modern Populism (which comes from the right). The reason for this is that both of these bourgeois outlooks disregard the basic social motion, which is the class struggle.

Syndicalism has a most destructive effect on the Negro peoples movement. Here, it becomes expressed as an exceptionally rotten form of white

chauvinism.

Throughout the history of the Left in the United States, the Syndicalist intellectuals have seen to it that the division of labor is that the blacks fight, get their heads busted, go to jail or get killed while the white intellectuals do the thinking. They have seen to it that the concept of black-white unity actually means unity of the white petty bourgeois intellectuals in the leadership, with the black toilers. In this formulation the ideals of unity of the working class is effectively set aside and the strength of the Negro Masses is sapped in futile reformist struggles.

In the Communist Party of the U.S.A., this has been and is obvious, but the heirs of syndicalism in the "Left" go even further. Everywhere they have constructed organizations of blacks who fight and get killed and white intellectuals who call themselves thinkers. Whites are allowed to join the groupings who pretend to study "Marxism", while the revolutionary blacks that are attracted to them are sent to this or that black grouping whose struggles guarantee the existence of the white "Left". These syndicalists are saying what the FBI and the master class has always said, that "blacks are good enough to fight but are not capable of thinking." Twist and squirm as you may, Mr. Bourgeois--social development is beyond the wishes and wills of people. An objective law of the class struggle against capitalism is that the complicated science of Marxism-Leninism will unite with the concrete struggles of the proletariat. This unity of opposites will guarantee the success of the revolution. The very living heart of the U.S. proletariat is black and brown. Black people will learn Marxism despite the concealed efforts of the white so-called revolutionary syndicalists.

From the standpoint of syndicalism--it is easy to see the theoretical rationale for this rotten white chauvinism. Since whites oppress blacks the thing to do is to separate them, to build black movements, in the confused and reactionary image of the white syndicalists. In this manner the unity of the class is prevented and the slavery of the Negro toilers is guaranteed--all under the banners of revolution.

It would seem that the most casual examination would show that the emancipation of any exploited class or group is impossible without the overthrow of the system that exploits it. More yet, it is clearly seen that the proletariat cannot emancipate itself without emancipating every oppressed class and group within the country. Therefore, it would seem that every oppressed

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grouping, every exploited class, fights first of all for the unity of the proletariat. That is the overriding condition for its own emancipation.

The line that the syndicalists are following, far from fighting for the unity of the proletariat, is fighting to maintain its disunity. The history of this country shows us that whites organized as whites means only one thing--fascism.

The fascist danger is increasing rapidly. The resistance against fascism is also growing. The fascists have penetrated the left, and through the apparatus called the C.P.U.S.A., have connected fascism and revolution as never before. However, the God-children of the C.P.U.S.A., the "New Left" Syndicalists, cannot escape their responsibility for the lack of unity on the left and in the class.

The Communist League wants to clearly point out the counter-revolutionary and white chauvinist character of syndicalism. We call upon the masses of honest revolutionaries to elevate the concepts of women fighting men, of black fighting white, of students fighting administrators, of workers fighting bosses to the level of the class struggle.

It is time to raise the banners of solidarity of the working class, the banners of the proletariat as the vanguard and liberator of all the progressive and suffering humanity.