

TORCH 4

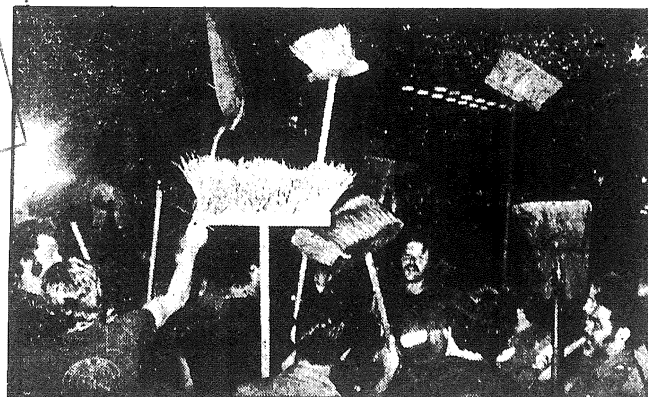
15¢
Newspaper of the
**Revolutionary
Socialist League**

Reconstruct the Fourth International! **July 15-August 14, 1975**

Vol. 2, No. 7

**No Cuts!
No Layoffs!**

PER SEC.
FEB 24 1984
NYP!



N.Y. sanitationmen protest layoffs during recent wildcat strike. Entire working class must be mobilized against the bosses' continuing assault.

LAUNCH A GENERAL STRIKE!

After months of cynically toying with the lives of New York City's working class, the bourgeoisie and its political hacks have finally arrived at a "solution." 20,000 city employees will be fired. Over \$300 million for vital services will be slashed. Medical care, welfare, education, firefighting, sanitation, transit, day care—every vital service will be sharply cut.

Mayor Beame and Governor Carey expect applause from New York workers for "only" attacking the proletariat this hard. New York workers must not passively accept this bourgeois ploy. 20,000 layoffs may seem small when compared with Beame's previous threats to cut back 67,000 public employees. But a loss of 20,000 jobs is intolerable. The elimination of vital services is equally unbearable.

If New York workers accept these cuts, more will follow. Each new city budget will show that the city is more indebted to the banks and corporations. The politicians will repeatedly attack workers' living standards if they

get away with it this time.

The vicious assault must be beaten back right now. This is essential for the entire U.S. working class. New Jersey and Pennsylvania are already following New York City's path in cutting essential services and laying off state employees, while Detroit Mayor Coleman Young threatens to fire 10,000 city workers. The attacks are spreading across the country. New York workers can demonstrate how to defeat them.

There is one way. New York workers must utilize their most powerful weapon, the ability to shut down production. A CITYWIDE GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE LAYOFFS AND CUTBACKS is the answer.

New York workers must actively demonstrate that the proletariat makes the city run, and can close it down. A general strike would deprive the bosses of their cherished profits: it would take control of the city out of the hands of the bourgeois politicians. It could demonstrate to tens of thousands of workers that the

workers can and must rule: a workers' government instead of the bourgeois regime!

Beame and Carey's recent settlement was rushed through under the pressure of a citywide wildcat by sanitationmen, a slowdown by firemen and job actions by other public workers in protest of the layoffs. Their speed in eliminating "legislative roadblocks" was prompted by their fear that the militant actions would lead to a walkout by all public workers.

Their new deal is still a vicious attack. All attempts to buy off one sector at the expense of another must be rejected. For example, the sanitationmen returned to work on July 3 under a temporary lifting of the layoffs (guaranteed by a \$1.6 million loan from their union to the city)! Sanitationmen have stated that they will go back out if even one worker is laid off. This solidarity must be extended to all public workers. If the sanitation layoffs are rolled back by Beame, it will be to lay off more workers in other areas.

After weakening other public employee unions, sanitationmen will be attacked again in the future. Public employees must demand no layoffs and no cuts, backing this call with the strike weapon.

Public employees must demand immediate local union meetings to prepare for a citywide strike. Rank and file-elected committees are needed to take leadership out of the hands of the cowardly bureaucrats who are restraining the struggle. These committees could be the nuclei for building the strike across union lines, seeking unity where the bureaucrats have kept public workers divided.

Public employee unions must appeal to the Central Labor Council to join in the strike preparations, combining this with an individual approach to every trade union. Unorganized and unemployed workers, most dependent on public services, must be

drawn into the struggle, together with every community group that opposes the cuts and layoffs. The cutbacks hit at all New York workers. They must be fought by all.

The banks and corporations created the crisis and profited from it. They continue to profit now. The state-run Municipal Assistance Corporation, the new trustee of the city's finances, is paying more than 9 percent interest to the banks on its recent bond issue. This is 3 percent over the going rate and shows where the needed money really is. Preserve and expand jobs and services—cancel the city debt and make the banks and corporations foot the bill for public services!

The anger and frustration of the New York working class must be channeled into a citywide strike to crush the capitalist attacks and point the way to a workers' government.

**NO LAYOFFS, NO CUTBACKS!
LAUNCH A CITYWIDE GENERAL STRIKE!
CANCEL THE DEBT! MAKE THE BOSSES PAY!
FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT!**

WORKERS SHAKE SPAIN

The 36-year old Franco regime is on the brink of collapse. The strength and combativity of Spanish workers have brought Spain to the brink of massive upheaval, as totalitarian methods can no longer stem the proletarian tide.

The focal point of the struggle is now in the Basque provinces. 100,000 workers in

Bilbao and surrounding cities waged a general strike last month in protest of the "State of Exception" (military siege) being conducted there by Franco. Falangist police receiving "danger pay" have flooded the Basque country. Hundreds have been arrested and tortured and civil rights do not exist.

But brutal measures alone

can no longer do the job. Franco's internal support has completely eroded. Key sectors of the bourgeoisie are looking for a more "democratic" facade in hopes of coopting the mass struggle. Even the Ford Administration is searching for a more stable alternative. The fall of the 82-year old dictator is certain;

Cont'd. p. 12

INSIDE

**Socialism or
Capitalist Misery**

Page 4

India: End of an Illusion

The "Indian Experiment" has failed. Indira Ghandi's suspension of democratic rights shows that imperialism will not develop the "underdeveloped" (imperialized) world and establish stable social systems. The inexorable forces of imperialism and world economic crisis grind the world's toiling masses ever further down. They directly pose the choice: bourgeois dictatorship or proletarian revolution.

Western imperialism banked heavily on creating a showcase in India. The bourgeoisie views India as key to maintaining a semblance of order in the Asian inferno. India receives more aid than any other country; hopes were pinned on India proving the viability of bourgeois democracy.

The crisis blew these dreams to pieces. Industrial growth over the past five years barely reached half the target of eight percent. Grain production stagnates at 100 million tons a year; with population growing at one million per month, this means declining per capita consumption in a country where tens of millions already starve.

Falling world agricultural prices, rising costs of industrial imports, a peasantry kept in chains by the same landowners who support Gandhi's Congress Party, and mounting foreign debt lock India into miserable conditions. Gandhi has turned to ever-harsher measures to deal with the masses' struggle against their misery. She jailed thousands of rail workers last year to break their strike for higher wages. A series of general strikes and student demonstrations were being planned when her new emergency decrees were imposed.

The need to stifle the masses' response prompted Gandhi's "State of Emergency." She used the court decision finding her guilty of election fraud as the excuse for clamping down on the masses.

Gandhi has made a show of "progressive" programs to take the sting out of the State of Emergency. But her new policies consist only of some marginal agricultural reforms which do not

affect the basic conditions of land tenure and threats to civil servants and union leaders to work harder and longer for the same or less pay.

Gandhi holds out a demagogic "carrot" to sections of the peasantry while clubbing the proletariat and most of the peasantry with the very real stick of austerity and repression. Despite her promises, she will not be able to deliver any real improvements. To do so she would have to challenge the domination of the large landowners head-on and break with imperialist domination. She has no intention of doing this. Still less will Gandhi side with the struggle of the proletariat and peasantry to establish socialism in India and spread it internationally, the only lasting solution to the capitalist crisis.

Therefore there will no systematic reforms, and without systematic reforms there can be no reformism. Whether or not Gandhi lifts the emergency decrees, India is plummeting towards Bonapartist strong-man rule. The bourgeoisie must try to break the mass struggle and force even more miserable conditions on Indian toilers in order to stem the crisis.

"Democracy has given too much license to the people," Gandhi complains, meaning too much room for struggle for their needs. She hypocritically asserts that bourgeois democracy is still the "best of all available systems" but that in India it seems to have gone "somewhat off the rails."

Bourgeois democracy is going off the rails all over the world. Political democracy is giving way to dictatorial rule as the world economy declines and the bourgeoisie runs out of the maneuvering room it had during the post-war boom. Bonapartism and then fascism are needed in the crisis.

Political democracy—the freedom of the press and association, the right of opposition parties to form, trade union rights, etc.—is the product of a strong (prosperous) bourgeoisie. In nearly all the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America,

imperialism produced bourgeoisies too weak and dependent on imperialism to build up the national economies. In place of parliamentary regimes came strong-man military or one-party regimes, attempting to create the conditions of capitalist development by statist measures or outright state control. But these measures could not break dependence on the imperialist world market. Inevitably after a considerable period of apparent growth, stagnation has reappeared.

Everywhere the proletariat is on the move, struggling against conditions that grow worse by the day. In England, the pioneer bourgeois democracy, the bourgeoisie openly considers dictatorship. A world revolutionary party is urgently needed to halt the march towards Bonapartist and fascist rule. Proletarian revolution is a life and death question.

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

League Forums

—NEW YORK

NO CUTS! NO LAYOFFS!
LAUNCH A GENERAL STRIKE!

SPEAKER: ROD MILLER

AT ST. PETER'S CHURCH
346 W. 20 ST. (BETWEEN 8TH AND 9TH
AVENUES) IN PARISH HOUSE—
ONE BUILDING EAST OF CHURCH

FRIDAY, JULY 18, 7:30 P.M.

DONATION: \$1.00

INFORMATION FROM: RSL
P.O. BOX 562
TIMES SQUARE STATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036

—DETROIT

BUSING AND THE
REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

SPEAKER: PAUL ALDRIDGE

AT TRINITY METHODIST CHURCH
13100 WOODWARD AVE.
HIGHLAND PARK, MICHIGAN

SUNDAY, JULY 20, 8:00 P.M.

INFORMATION FROM: RSL
P.O. BOX 639
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48221

Crisis Shatters Peronism

"When the time comes, the military does not want people to say we did not give the Peronists a real chance. Better an hour late than an hour early."

This is how a retired officer summed up the plans of Argentine generals who ruled from 1966 to 1973. The military will attempt a coup; the only question left is the precise date.

Imperialist crisis has blown open Juan Peron's old alliance between the labor aristocracy, the military and the Argentine bourgeoisie. Peronist "social-welfare" policies that subsidized the national bourgeoisie and bribed a section of the proletariat have led to a bankrupt treasury, a nation hooked to imperialism and inflation soaring at over 100 percent annually. Neither civilian nor military regimes that followed Peron's fall in 1955 could solve these problems; nor could Peron himself when he returned to power in 1973.

Since Peron's death last summer the crisis has

deepened. Proletarian militancy has mounted and pressure from the ranks has forced the Peronist leaders of the major trade unions into a show of opposition. When Isabel Peron, Juan's last wife and Argentina's current President, tried to roll back wage increases to 50 percent (less than half the inflation rate) and remove price controls, they called a general strike on July 6 that succeeded in winning 100 percent wage hikes.

Proletarian militancy won this victory. The right wing bureaucrats retain their old stripes; they moved only because of the ranks' pressure. Now the proletariat faces a graver threat: the military. Proletarian revolution is the only solution for crisis-ridden Argentina.

The courageous Argentine working class has shown its capabilities. A revolutionary party must be built to lead the workers' struggle before it is "one hour too late."

Can Capitalism Survive?

A silhouette of Adam Smith spreads across the cover of Time magazine's July 14 issue, accompanied by the headline "Can Capitalism Survive?" Inside, Time devotes twelve pages to the question before predictably pronouncing "In sum, there is no alternative to capitalism that credibly promises both wealth and liberty."

Wealth, we suppose, is measured by the millions of unemployed and world's starving tens of millions. Liberty can only refer to the elimination of democratic rights by strong-man rulers.

The real answer to Time's question is: capitalism can only survive by driving the masses into the most miserable conditions. The international social crisis cannot be wished away, and the editors of the mass rag are well aware of this. Their whitewash is intended to convince millions of American workers that prosperity is just around the corner if only they'll do a lot of belt-tightening. Tomorrow Time will agitate for someone, anyone, to solve the crisis

by smashing the working class.

Time posed the question precisely because the bankruptcy of the capitalist system is more apparent now than it has been in decades. The bourgeoisie needs loyal phrase-mongers to sound its virtues in the face of bitter reality.

In passing, Time blamed the economic crisis on "powerful unions" who "keep pushing up wages, and therefore prices" and "Humanitarian programs, such as unemployment compensation, Social Security and food stamps." How can capitalism survive? Tomorrow Time will admit: by breaking the unions the destroying vital service programs. It's bad public relations to admit this (right now).

This disgusting bourgeois propaganda sheet unfortunately finds its way into millions of working class hands. American workers must rely on their own enormous strength and reject the hypocritical bourgeois phrase-mongers who promise them the world today and lull them into passivity.

©1975 by The Revolutionary Socialist League Publishing Company

Editor: Jack Gregory
Managing Editor: Derek Hirst

Correspondence and subscriptions to: P.O. Box 562, Times Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10036
Subscriptions: (including Canada and Mexico) 26 issues for \$3.00; supporting, \$5.00; foreign seammil, \$4.50; foreign airmail (unsealed), \$14.00
Domestic introductory subscriptions: 6 issues for \$5.00; 12 issues for \$1.00

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of The Torch or of the RSL.

—Postal Action Committee Prepares For Contract Fight—

OUTLAW EXPELS REVOLUTIONARIES

NEW YORK—With the expiration of the national postal contracts less than three weeks away, Outlaw, a Maoist dominated group in the NY-NJ area postal unions, has expelled its revolutionary wing. Members of the Postal Action Committee (PAC) were charged with "forming a committee which competes with Outlaw" and summarily expelled. PAC members had actively worked in Outlaw for over two years to put their perspectives before left-moving postal worker militants attracted by Outlaw's surface militancy.

Outlaw's decision to expel PAC clearly exposes the bankrupt strategy

and sabotage the struggle of workers who are prepared, today, to fight for their needs.

Capitalism is in the throes of a vicious economic crisis. It must savagely drive down the living standards of the working class in order to survive. The attack on postal workers must be placed in the context of the attacks on all workers. Revolutionaries must explain that securing even limited gains requires a conscious fight against the capitalist system.

The nature of the capitalist attacks demands a revolutionary leadership, the construction of a revolutionary party, to organize and lead this fight.

strike, Outlaw's leadership argued that this would divide the struggle. The RU explained:

The main way black workers in this particular plant experienced national oppression is not on the job, but in the strict segregation, police repression and general discrimination of the black communities in northern New Jersey.

The denial of democratic rights of blacks cannot be separated from their position in the workforce. Overwhelmingly, blacks are locked into the lowest paying, most oppressive jobs at every level. This is certainly true in the post office where most mailhandlers and clerks are black.

It is particularly disgusting that the RU seeks to deny black workers at NJ Bulk the right to struggle around job-related issues. The Bulk Centers were set up precisely to exclude black workers, whose militancy spearheaded the 1970 postal wildcats. The wildcat was touched off by proposed work schedule changes which would have made it impossible for workers using public transportation to get back home in less than four hours. Black workers were most affected by this, but the changes were inseparable from general harassment of blacks at the Bulk.

RU BOWS TO RACISM

The RU's stance was in no way based on the belief that workplace discrimination against minority workers is nonexistent. This is merely a cover, thin as it is. It flows from their strategy of "summing up the current demands of postal workers." White workers have been deeply affected by racial divisions and by and large do not have high enough consciousness to see that their interests demand that they join with blacks in championing the needs of the proletariat's most oppressed sector. They were not prepared to rally behind the black workers' demands in large numbers. This was no obstacle to the RU: they just chucked the demands out the window, shelving them for "better times" when "the workers are ready for them."

If revolutionaries do not take the conscious lead in fighting against racism, the times will never change. So blatant were their maneuvers that the RU was forced to admit, "Outlaw wasn't able to unite black and white workers as well as it should have to win the strike." Of course not! How

can black workers be won to classwide struggle when they are told that the first commandment of such a fight is to accept racist oppression?

Did the RU learn any lessons from this? Hardly. Their strategy for the current contract fight is based on the same capitulatory tailing of backward consciousness. That's why they expelled PAC.

PAC: P.O. REVOLUTIONARIES

PAC, whose perspectives are supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League, based its strategy for the contract round on objective needs of workers rather than saying what's popular. In a national bulletin, PAC (unlike Outlaw) did not hide its view that the gains of postal workers can only be permanently secured by classwide struggle against the capitalist system.

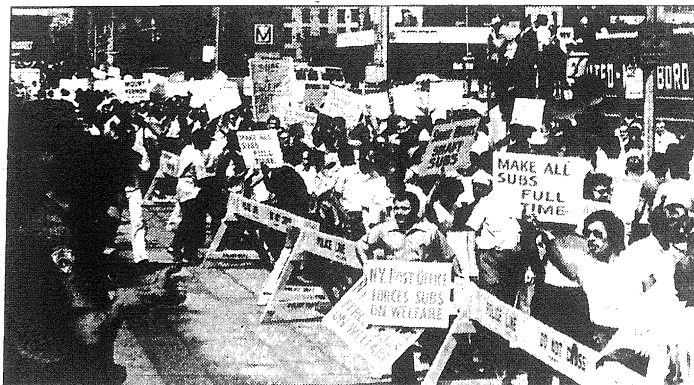
The attacks in P.O. were placed in the context of the overall attacks on the U.S. working class. The immediate needs of postal workers were linked to the needs of all workers. The shorter work week was raised in connection with the demand for jobs for all workers. PAC called for identifying with the struggle of all workers against the layoffs and cutbacks. It exposed the role of the bureaucrats in pushing forward the bourgeois attacks, and formulated a clear strategy for taking the fight out of their hands.

PAC called for nailing the bureaucrats to their pre-contract promises by beginning to organize now for a strike when the contract expires on July 20. PAC proposed the election of strike committees by the rank and file in every union local to form a national network to coordinate the strike and take leadership out of the bureaucrats' hands. PAC called for mobilizing the broadest possible support against the threat of scabbing by the National Guard, raising the need for a general strike of all workers if the troops are sent in.

To win the support of other workers, PAC called for championing the struggle of the entire working class against the capitalist attacks. In particular, it raised the need to make links with other public workers and to fight against the cuts in vital public services:

We must take the demand for greatly expanded public services—more jobs,

Cont'd. p. 7



N.Y. postal workers demonstrate in 1974. Militant P.O. workers struggle against bosses' attack is sabotaged by sellout strategy of bureaucrats and Outlaw.

of the Revolutionary Union, which heavily influences Outlaw's perspectives. The RU describes Outlaw as follows:

We in the RU definitely believe that a high-level organization is necessary to make the revolution... but what is needed in the PO at this time is a broad-based group that is open to any postal worker who wants to fight the bosses and sees that fight as part of a broader fight....

This definition is a cover for Outlaw's real intentions. Anyone who wants to go beyond the level of struggle decided in advance by the RU must be throttled. The vagueness (what kind of broad-based group? What kind of fight?) conceals the RU's real meaning: a revolutionary fight is not needed and the RU will oppose those who disagree.

The RU makes this clearer when they discuss Outlaw's method.

Outlaw's method has been to sum up the demands of postal workers, concretize them into a particular program and rally postal workers around it, and then rely on the masses to force the union leadership to take a position for or against our proposals.

What does this mean? To make itself popular, to appear powerful in the eyes of the left and many workers, the RU lies about what is really needed and adapts itself to workers' current level of consciousness. Although the RU "definitely believes that a high-level organization is necessary to make the revolution" they won't try to win postal workers to this view.

The RU "sums up" the consciousness of backward workers. Today most U.S. workers are conservative. They argue that going beyond "where most workers are at" would divide and weaken the working class. Therefore, at every step, the RU-dominated Outlaw leadership has tried to restrain

This will not be a spontaneous development; revolutionaries must act today to win workers to the need for a vanguard party.

The RU does the opposite. By seeking to contain the struggle to what most workers are ready to accept—narrow reforms—they are literally forced to attack the struggle of the most advanced workers. The attack on PAC is merely one instance of this policy.

During the January 1974 wildcat at the New Jersey Bulk Facility the Outlaw leadership tried to subordinate the struggle of black workers against discrimination to the consciousness of more backward white workers. When black workers demanded that the special demands of blacks at the Bulk be part of the general demands of the

Outlaw Runs From Redbaiting

The RU's determination to win popularity by catering to backward consciousness prevents Outlaw from even defending itself against McCarthyite witch-hunting. While Moe Biller, president of the American Postal Workers' Union's New York local, viciously redbaits them, Outlaw cowers in the corner.

In September, 1974 Biller invited the head of the cops' Red Squad, one Finnegan, to a union meeting. Pictures of Outlaw members taken at the meeting were turned over to Finnegan. Revolutionaries who later formed the Postal Action Committee urged Outlaw to expose this incident to prepare the ranks for a redbaiting campaign by Biller. The RU-dominated leadership blocked this, arguing that exposing redbaiting would scare away Outlaw's supporters. They had to be shamed into reporting the incident.

Biller has escalated the attacks. His front page article in the April-May Union Mail attacks Outlaw for dividing postal workers as the contract fight approaches. He calls Outlaw "union busting hoods," "fascists" and "police agents." Another article in the same issue attacks Outlaw and various left organizations, including the Revolutionary

Socialist League and The Torch, for protesting against the bureaucrats and political hacks at the April 26 jobs rally in Washington. This article warns, "It is time to let the workers know what is going on. More important, doing something about this cancer is overdue."

This is the signal for worse redbaiting and possibly goon-squad attacks. Outlaw's only response is "capitalists always call militants communists in order to divide the workers." This is true. But Outlaw implies that the bureaucrats are right to oppose communists and that Outlaw isn't really red. We agree that Outlaw and the RU aren't revolutionary, but we still call for their defense against the witch-hunt. In contrast, their position paves the way for attacks on all leftists.

Biller "summed up" the anti-communist feelings of most workers and launched a witch-hunt. What can the RU say? Biller uses their method. They can't aggressively defend themselves without "turning off" anti-communist workers.

From start to finish, RU tailism means betrayal. A group that won't defend itself from the hacks will never defend postal workers from the bourgeoisie.

Socialism or Capitalist Misery

U.S. capitalism is brutally demonstrating why its rule must be ended. The imperialist crisis that has caused mass starvation in Asia and Africa is now taking a harsh toll on the American working class, showing that at home as well as overseas capitalism spells misery.

The opening gun in the attack on U.S. workers was the massive auto layoffs. Hundreds of thousands of auto workers have been jobless for nine months and the unemployment rate in Detroit has hit 25 percent. The layoffs rapidly spread from auto through the entire economy.

Now public jobs (supposedly the most secure) and vital public services are under the gun. Government's answer to New York City's 11 percent unemployment rate has been to throw 20,000 public workers onto the streets and to drastically cut back services essential to all working people.

CITIES IN CRISIS

New York's fiscal crisis is the most publicized, but it does not stand alone. New Jersey, faced with a \$384 million budget deficit, is "choosing" between soaking workers through greatly increased taxes and laying off 8,000 workers in the process of slashing education and transportation subsidies. Cleveland has fired 10 percent of its public workers. Detroit Mayor Coleman Young threatens to lay off 10,000 (half the city employees) and has already fired 2,000. 16 percent of Buffalo's municipal workers have gotten the axe. Milwaukee, Seattle and St. Louis are walking the same path, while the state of Pennsylvania has pared tens of millions from its budget. All of the layoffs have been accompanied with drastic reduction in essential services.

The federal government is playing its role in these attacks on workers' living standards. Debt-ridden cities need more federal aid for vital services. They receive less. Despite the depression, the federal government maintains the freeze on social services imposed in 1972. This means major cuts in practice because inflation has both boosted the dollar needs of urban areas and cut the real value of the frozen federal aid (since 1972, inflation has devalued this aid by over 20 percent!).

CAPITALIST MISERY

All of this is in the middle of the worst economic crisis in over 30 years. More than nine million Americans are unemployed by official figures. If workers who have given up job-hunting were counted the figures would be much higher. 40 million live at the poverty level. Housing, education, transportation and health care in the urban centers get worse by the day. Side by side with this misery, fully one-third of American industry stands idle.

Instead of putting idle resources to work to solve the depression, capitalism is creating more unused resources. Instead of consciously eliminating unemployment, the bourgeois government makes the crisis worse.

A rational social system would match unemployed human beings with unemployed machines: it would start up the idle capacity to provide millions of new jobs. It would turn labor's products to eliminating the blight of capitalism: providing decent housing, building more schools and hospitals, constructing adequate transit facilities, and in general raising living standards. The government would

launch massive public works projects at decent pay to guarantee full employment, and these projects too would be geared to filling human needs. It would cut the work week at no loss in pay as a further guarantee of jobs for all.

That's what a rational social system would do. Capitalism does the opposite. To give one example, the \$220.5 million federal social service appropriation to crisis-wracked New York State is actually being lowered by \$3 million next year (the cut is closer to \$20 million when inflation is taken into account).

THE STATE: CAPITALIST TOOL

The criminal role of capitalist government—city, state and federal—is not accidental. The capitalist state's primary loyalty is to the bourgeoisie. Its first responsibility is guaranteeing bourgeois profits.

During the post-war boom the largest corporations received huge subsidies from the federal government (particularly in the form of guaranteed profits on military contracts). The bloated national debt and increased taxes on workers went mainly into the hands of the giant monopolies and banks. Local governments went deeply into debt to the banks, who extracted huge profits from city deficit spending.

The boom masked the fictitious nature of the state debt, overvalued stocks and bonds and the tremendous credit expansion. But now their burden is felt sharply. Bankruptcies, loan defaults and tight money policies mean that banks and corporations demand immediate repayment of credit and loans. Fresh loans are hard to come by.

This situation will get worse. New York's budget gap next year is expected to be \$1.3 billion—double this year's. Even more severe cutbacks and further soaking the over-taxed workers are in the cards.

The banks and corporations are now out to boost their profit rates by making the workers pay. After reaping the rewards of government indebtedness, they insist that the loans be repaid and set exorbitant interest rates for new ones. Instead of refusing to pay the interest, canceling the debt and using the money saved to create new jobs and expand services, government at all levels guarantees the loans and pays them before meeting any other expense.

This is capitalism nakedly exposed. Profits come before human needs. Government, the bourgeois state, is completely wedded to enforcing bourgeois priorities. When profit rates fall, factories are shut down and millions of workers are thrown into the streets. The state intervenes, not on the side of the workers, but to boost profit rates against the proletariat.

The nine million unemployed workers represent the bourgeoisie's attempt to increase profit rates by making fewer workers produce more for less pay. The government cutbacks are the same strategy translated to the public sector.

"FIGHTING" UNEMPLOYMENT

Six months ago the Ford Administration proclaimed the need for public works programs to fight unemployment. Instead, hundreds of thousands of public employees across the country have lost their jobs. Unemployed workers are deprived of services essential to their survival. This is how capitalism "fights" unemployment.

Bourgeois public works may indeed be instituted if unemployment gets worse as reformists try to contain the class struggle by pretending to fight for workers' interests. Leading Democrats and the labor bureaucracy are calling for a return to the Works Project Administration of FDR's New Deal. But the WPA exploited the labor of millions, paying starvation wages under abysmal conditions.

This is what workers can expect from the bourgeois state. Instead of decent jobs at union wages with union representation there will be another forced-labor scheme. Already, New York City has forced welfare recipients to work at welfare rates (under threat of losing all benefits) at jobs normally held by public employee unionists. This kind of public works is aimed at breaking the unions, replacing union wages with welfare rates. It is designed to pit organized workers against unemployed.

There will be no help from the bourgeois state, from Democratic politicians or from labor bureaucrats against the current attacks. The bureaucrats' call for WPA is the demand for the state to institute forced-labor, starvation-pay union busting. It demonstrates their loyalty to capitalism in practice.

The entire situation calls out for the working class to put an end to the anarchic capitalist system and to establish their own rule. The bourgeoisie and its tools, from the state apparatus to the Democratic "friends of labor" to the class collaborationist union leadership, will provide no relief for the embattled workers. The "crisis budgets" in the middle of the depression demonstrate graphically the need for revolutionary socialism.

JOBS FOR ALL

Every worker deserves a job at decent pay under decent working conditions. Workers' rule would guarantee these. Revolutionary socialism, the rule of the working class, would immediately cancel the debts choking the blighted cities. It would expropriate the banks, putting them in the hands of the workers' state, to break the chains they have imposed. Socialism would launch a massive public works program geared to fulfilling the needs of the proletariat.

The workers in power would guarantee jobs for all by shortening the work week. Millions of jobs would be provided by public works, and millions more by starting up the "excess" industrial capacity now standing idle.

For the first time, the tremendous productive capacity of the U.S. could be placed at the disposal of the world's toiling masses. American industry and agriculture has the potential to quickly alleviate the misery inflicted by capitalist imperialism. For example, 50 percent of the fertile wheatland of the U.S. lies deliberately uncultivated: the agricultural monopolies have held back production in order to boost the price of wheat. While millions starve in Asia and Africa, the U.S. capitalists have withheld this country's capacity to feed three times the world's population. Cultivating land to capacity would cheapen food prices and therefore cut profits.

What is true for agriculture is true for industry. The unused capacity, the industry now producing weapons and other forms of waste, could be churning out homes, medical facilities, high-speed trains, clothing and other vital needs. The working class can

unlock the wealth of the U.S. and, indeed, of the entire world.

WORKERS' RULE IS NEEDED

All of this and far more is possible. The prerequisite is smashing bourgeois rule and establishing the rule of the proletariat.

This is the first thing that revolutionary socialists have to say about the public service cuts and the general attack on the working class. Socialism is needed and it is needed right now. We do not tell the millions of unemployed and the tens of millions living at the poverty level to bear these attacks for decades, any more than we tell the starving masses of Asia and Africa that capitalist rule is necessary. We counterpose revolutionary socialism as the alternative.

We pose the need to build a world revolutionary party, to reconstruct the Fourth International, to provide the vehicle for organizing and leading the struggle of the international working class against capitalist rule. The bourgeoisie will no more cede its control over society than it will put profits behind workers' needs. Its control of the state, the military and its agents in the trade union bureaucracy give it formidable weapons to wield against the working class. Its organization must be met and defeated by the leadership of a vanguard party.

In posing the need for revolutionary socialism and a world revolutionary party, revolutionary socialists are the most consistent defenders of the interests of the working class. We realize that most workers in this country have been deeply misled by bourgeois ideology and that capitalism has imposed sharp divisions along national, racial and sexual lines. Because of this, most workers do not today accept the need for socialism.

UNITED STRUGGLE

We seek to win the mass of workers to the revolutionary banner in the crucible of struggle. We are the most ardent advocates of the defense and extension of workers' basic rights and living standards. We openly state that the only lasting way to insure these is socialist revolution and working shoulder to shoulder with workers who disagree, prove in practice that their needs can only be met by destroying capitalist rule and replacing it with the rule of the working class.

This is the method by which revolutionary socialists intervene to defend the needs of the masses and to win them to the socialist cause. Class conscious workers must throw themselves into the immediate campaign against the brutal capitalist attacks armed with this approach. The fight against the brutal layoffs and cutbacks in the public sector is a key battle for all workers. The strategy elaborated in *The Torch* (see page 1 as well as last month's issue) is designed to mobilize an immediate answer by the working class as well as to concretely show that moribund capitalism must be replaced by workers' rule.

We call on class conscious workers to join with the Revolutionary Socialist League in the struggle for workers' rule and the construction of the world revolutionary party, the reconstructed Fourth International. And we call for the implementation of our program to repel the bourgeois attacks, to demonstrate in practice that revolutionary socialism is the only solution for the working class.

Cops Out of the Labor Movement!

3,000 New York cops have been laid off. Their militancy and the rhetoric of Policemen's Benevolent Association President Ken McFeeley has confused many New York workers, who consider cops to be part of the labor movement. This is dangerous.

The cops appear to act like the tens



Cops attacking demonstrator at N.Y. school employees' rally protesting budget cuts. Cops are bitter enemies of all workers.

of thousands of other laid-off city employees. Laid-off police demonstrated angrily in front of City Hall, blocked traffic on the Brooklyn Bridge and called for strike action. Some heckled McFeeley, chanting, "Give us DeLury!" (head of the "sanitationmen's union, which had walked out that day).

Cops want to protect their livelihood. But their livelihood is to act as the armed agents of the bourgeoisie state. They break up picket lines, attack demonstrations of workers and oppressed people, protect law and order for the bourgeoisie and brutalize the working class (especially blacks and other minorities).

There must no illusions about the cops' role. They can only hold their jobs by doing the bosses' bidding, and this means attacking strikes and all other militant workers' actions. Cops directly serve labor's enemies. Their real function is protection of private property—protection of the working class against crime and violence is incidental and worse, as any resident of Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant can testify.

If New York workers' fight against the cuts and layoffs threatens the bosses, the cops will be called in to play their customary role. Heightened class struggle is the best job security

for the police. A citywide strike against the cutbacks would force the rehiring of many cops, but on the wrong side of the picket lines.

Indeed, urban police forces have nearly doubled in the past five years as U.S. capitalism builds up its armed fist as protection against its social crisis. The cops have been hired while most other public job categories are frozen or cut back.

Labor bureaucrats and Democratic "friends of labor" cynically disarm the working class by sowing illusions about the cops. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) organizes cops on a national level, bringing labor's enemies into the trade unions. Paul O'Dwyer, New York City Council President and darling of the city's left-liberals, has gone further: he calls for rehiring cops before all other city workers. O'Dwyer, former top aide of Eugene McCarthy, advocates what the entire ruling class really wants—more cops, less workers.

The disgusting "Fear City" campaign put on by New York police (and firemen) illustrates the cops' role. The "Fear City" propaganda barrage was intended to convince visiting tourists that they risked death by entering New York. It was aimed at saving cops' jobs by creating a climate of

opinion favoring fewer rights for prisoners, fewer restrictions on police, no public investigations of police misbehavior, etc. The cops directly linked their job security to moves in the direction of a police state.

Firemen made a grave error by taking part in this proto-fascist campaign. Fire fighters perform a necessary social function. They are workers in contrast to cops, who are the bourgeoisie's protectors. A police state would mean vicious attacks on firemen, more leeway for cops.

The police layoffs and the cops' angry response are conflicts between the ruling class's political authorities and its armed fist. We urge workers not to be misled—cops are not part of the workers' movement. They are its bitter enemies. As the class struggle increases the proletariat can expect more and more brutality from the police.

We defend neither the cops' "rights" nor their bosses. We call for workers' defense guards to defend unions, all left wing organizations and the entire working class (especially the minorities most harassed by cops) against police and vigilante attacks. The cops will make it clear which side they are on.

**Cops Out of the Labor Movement!
Build Workers' Defense Guards!**

"Big MAC": Bankers' Banquet

The Municipal Assistance Corporation has been hailed as New York City's savior. Its first financial venture shows clearly that MAC's real assistance is to the giant banks.

MAC is a New York State-controlled agency set up to float bond issues for the city. First National City and the other major banks had refused to handle city bonds, claiming that the city was too poor a credit risk. Enter MAC, through which the state gained control of the city's sales tax revenue and clamped a lid on city spending in exchange for backing \$3 billion in bonds.

MAC borrowed its first \$1 billion at 9.19 percent interest. This contrasts with the 7.69 percent that the city

itself paid last year in its most expensive bond sale ever. Last year, interest rates in general were far higher than this year, and the bonds were not backed by the state's top flight credit rating (as they are now). In short, the banks that soaked New York dry are profiting even more from the current crisis, thanks to "Big MAC."

The banks have had an ideal racket. After the city paid interest on a loan, it took out a new loan to pay off the principal on the old one. It paid the interest on the new loan, and then took out another to cover the new premium. This cycle perpetuated itself for decades—some loans, like those on the aged transit system, have actually

been repaid several times over in interest while the banks continue to collect.

The only thing that has changed is that now a state collection agency (MAC) guarantees prompt payment and higher interest rates for the banks. Bankers prefer MAC bonds both because of the higher interest and because MAC gets first claim to city revenue, ahead of all vital needs. MAC bonds are held by the same half dozen major banking houses that handle all municipal finances; they turn a handsome profit every time city funds change hands.

MAC officially estimates that interest on the entire \$3 billion will come to \$385 million this year, but under 9.19

percent rates it will be over \$400 million. This guarantees that the debt service (interest on loans) will grow well beyond its current level: 17 percent of the city budget. On top of this the city estimates that its budget gap next year will be double this year's \$641 million. Combined, these two factors spell more for the banks and less for the workers. There will be more bank profits, more layoffs and more cutbacks.

"Big MAC" and the banks are partners in crime, committing highway robbery against New York workers. Workers' needs before bourgeois profits—cancel the debt and expropriate the banks under a workers' government!

NY Bureaucrats: Slick Sellouts

New York's public employee union bureaucrats are working overtime to defuse the budget cuts powder keg. John DeLury of the Uniformed Sanitationmen and Victor Gotbaum (head of District 37, AFSCME) have come forward with the most imaginative methods of confusing the ranks. DeLury had a tough job on his hands. His reputation as the most militant municipal union leader in the city was on the line. 2,934 of New York's 10,400 sanitationmen were laid off on July 1, the harshest cuts dished out.

The entire union membership responded immediately. The cuts were met with a 100 percent effective wildcat, the most militant action yet against the "crisis budget."

DeLury did not lift a finger. He issued no calls for similar action by other city unions, set up no strike committees to prepare for a protracted strike. He sent telegrams ordering the ranks back to work.

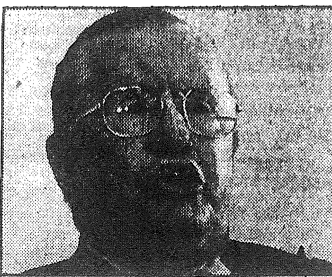
To retain the ranks' confidence, DeLury issued ambiguous statements to the press. Most strikers believed their leader was behind them anyway, figuring that he was just trying to stay out of jail (DeLury spent two

weeks behind bars for the sanitationmen's 1968 strike). DeLury hid behind the state Taylor law (which forbids public employee strikes) to protect his image.

Despite DeLury's cowardice, the sanitation wildcat inspired other public employees to take militant action. Firemen called in sick and slowed down; highway workers closed down the West Side Highway; Parks Department employees threw up picket lines. Pressure mounted for a general strike.

DeLury turned the tide in favor of the bosses. After huddling with city leaders he announced a "victory" that would return all the lost jobs. This was sheer deception. The jobs were restored on a temporary basis, and even at that DeLury offered the city \$1.6 million in union money to pay salaries if the city's budget continued to fall short.

On July 7 Mayor Beame declared that only 750 sanitation jobs will be permanently restored. Over 2,100 workers will be fired. "Militant" DeLury is responsible for this. Another walkout is needed, and this time with no faith in DeLury. The ranks must appeal over his head for other



John DeLury: hack sold out sanitationmen.

unions to join in a citywide strike, and must reject his treacherous "victories."

AFSCME's Victor Gotbaum will try to sabotage any move towards a citywide strike. He announced four years ago that he would never call a general strike against layoffs. Two months ago he gave Beame a club to use against city workers by stating that "the unions have got to give up some of the crap they won at the bargaining table." On July 6 he reached new heights.

Gotbaum begged Beame to sell city bonds to the union at 6 percent interest rates. In return Gotbaum

generously offered to sacrifice AFSCME workers' wage increases. This could reduce the number of layoffs, but at a steep price. The city could easily default on these bonds (as opposed to loans from the banks), leaving the workers with nothing. More importantly, Gotbaum's statement was an invitation for Beame to suggest that the unions completely forego pay increases.

Beame did just that on July 7. While Gotbaum and other bureaucrats rejected this deal, Gotbaum's offer has weakened the unions' position. It accepts the bourgeoisie lie that wage increases are responsible for the city crisis. We can expect an escalation of wage freezes and outright wage-cutting, with the city throwing Gotbaum's arguments back in his face.

Wheeler-dealer bureaucrats are roadblocks to the needed struggle. The rank and file must elect strike committees to take leadership out of their hands and coordinate the movement for a citywide strike against their sabotage. This is part of the vital struggle to replace the bosses' bureaucrat friends with revolutionary leaders who will defend the needs of the working class.

EEC Referendum Passes

BRITISH RULERS TOUGHEN ATTACK

On June 5, British voters went to the polls to decide whether Britain would remain a member of the Common Market (the EEC, European Economic Community). Bombarded with bourgeois propaganda threatening that an "isolated" Britain would face an even tougher economic crisis than at present, the voters gave a two-to-one majority for staying in the EEC.

This was a victory for Labor Party Prime Minister Harold Wilson, but a defeat for the British working class, whose most militant and conscious sections were against the EEC. The "Yes" vote offered no solution to the rampaging crisis of British capitalism.

SENILE IMPERIALISM

Britain's senile imperialism is suffering the combined effects of world inflation and industrial stagnation in the most decrepit economy of any advanced nation. Inflation is nearly 40 percent a year. Government officials predict a 15 percent drop in capital investment and a 10 percent unemployment rate next year. The British workers, who have turned back every government "wage restraint" scheme in recent years, are in no mood to accept the sacrifices the ruling class deems necessary. As a result, sections of the frightened bourgeoisie are openly contemplating dictatorial methods.

The Economist magazine, a main organ of the British financiers, printed an editorial in its June 14 issue called "The Great Dictator." This reference to Hitler was no accident. The editorial called for a number of "politically impossible, i.e., economically practical" policies explicitly modeled after the work of Hitler's economic boss Hjalmar Schacht. The proposals included a total freeze on wages and government budgets; the outlawing of strikes and union bargaining; and banning "all known restrictive labor practices and overmanning in all places of production."

LABOR PARTY'S ROLE

The British ruling class is openly considering the type of fascist or military regime that has come to power wherever decaying capitalism has no longer been able to impose the necessary misery on the proletariat by "democratic" means. The British bourgeoisie, however, will only turn to military or fascist rule when the present parties prove unable to keep order. It prefers to accomplish its aims behind the democratic facade as long as possible. The Labor Government is now providing this facade.

The referendum had two purposes. First, Wilson hoped to "sell" the EEC to the public and discredit the "lefts" in the Labor Party and TUC (Trades Union Council), who opposed the Market. Second, by dealing a blow to the "lefts," Wilson hoped to soften up the working class for further attacks on its standard of living.

As Wilson himself explained, he collaborated with the two bourgeois parties (the Conservatives and the Liberals) against the anti-EEC position of his own party because "the Conservatives succeeded only in taking the Establishment into the Market." In other words, Britain had entered the EEC without working-class support. Now, Wilson promised, "industry, the unions, the whole national community having had the right to vote will accept the decision, and this will mean their full cooperation."

tion in working to solve the great problems facing our own economy and the world economy."

WAGE RESTRAINTS AHEAD

Wilson used the referendum to mobilize public opinion for class collaboration, meaning wage restraints and curbs on the unions. Following the referendum vote, on July 1 Wilson's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denis Healey, called in Parliament for limiting wage increases to 10 percent. This in the face of 35-40 percent inflation! These new proposals are a logical follow-up to the referendum campaign against the Labor-TUC "lefts."

The Common Market offers no cure for British stagnation and inflation. Britain has been a member of the EEC since 1972, and in that time the crisis has only worsened.

EEC: IMPERIALIST CARTEL

The EEC was organized in 1957 to enable the Western European powers to benefit from the imperialist post-war economic boom. It was intended to strengthen Western Europe against rival imperialisms, to grease the entry of U.S. capital investment into Europe and to protect some of Europe's declining colonial privileges against American rivalry. To the better-off sections of the European working classes, under Social Democratic leadership, the EEC promised a renewal of their position as a labor aristocracy feeding on the crumbs from the imperialists' tables.

When the EEC was first formed, the British bourgeoisie remained out. It preferred to work out a better imperialist deal for itself. The six original EEC countries set up preferential trade agreements between themselves and a number of weaker states, including most of the former French colonies in Africa. These arrangements prolonged European domination of West and Central Africa and increased the ex-colonies' economic dependence on their former rulers.

Britain stayed out thinking it could maintain its own domination of the "sterling area," the countries of the former British Empire tied economically to Britain. But British capital was too weak to do so. By about 1970, the United States had managed to elbow British trade and investment out of first place: the sterling area became, like most of the ex-colonial world, a dollar area. The British bourgeoisie applied for membership in the Common Market, which was granted in 1972.

The bourgeoisie's reasons for the switch were summarized recently in a pre-referendum speech by the head of the Confederation of British Industries. "Outside the Community, Britain would prove too weak to compete effectively with the giants—the EEC, the U.S. and Japan—both in terms of exports and of access to raw materials. There is no doubt that British industry is overwhelmingly in favor of remaining in the Community."

THE "MIRACLE" ENDS

But competitive advantages for British capital do not mean solutions for British or European workers. On the contrary, in order to keep their sinking economies afloat, the EEC's member states must carry out ever sharper attacks on their working classes, discriminate even more sharply

ly against agricultural nations, and finally, turn against each other. The "economic miracle" of the post-war boom is long gone and the Common Market is coming apart at the seams.

The economic crisis has exploded the myth of European unity. Internal tariffs have been erected within the "Community" although they are supposed to be forbidden by EEC rules. A series of monetary crises has made proposals for a unified European currency into a bad joke. Four NATO countries chose to buy hundreds of jet fighter planes from the U.S. rather than France in the "arms deal of the century," thus stifling the bourgeoisie's hopes for a Europe-wide aircraft industry.

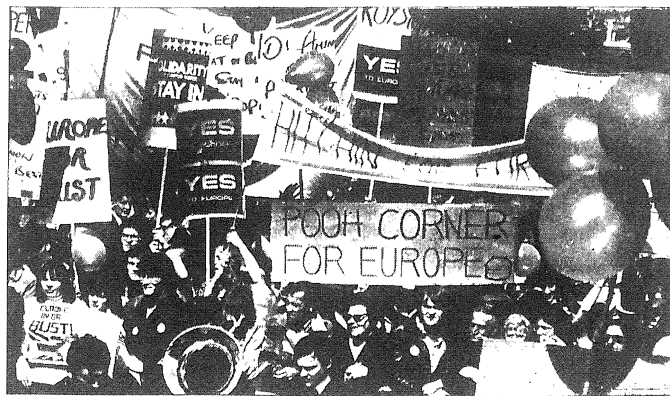
Europe's workers are being hit worst of all. Massive agricultural surpluses have been built up by the EEC and allowed to rot in order to drive up food prices. Four and a half million workers are unemployed in the EEC countries, and thousands of immigrant "guest workers" from Southern Europe, Africa and Asia are being chased out of the Northern European industrialized countries now that their labor is no longer in demand. The working classes, from the six-week general strike in France in 1968 to the militant struggles in Italy, Portugal and Spain today, have served notice that they will not stand to have the crisis shoved onto their shoulders.

The end of the "economic miracle" puts the EEC's real nature into clearer focus. The EEC was supposedly an alternative to European national

The British labor movement was opposed to the Common Market from the start for reasons ranging from nationalist prejudices to genuine internationalist opposition to imperialism. In switching to the pro-Market position, Harold Wilson has simply carried out his role as a servant of capital: he has adopted the viewpoint of the enemy class, which wants to rationalize British capitalism at the workers' expense. But the Labor and TUC "lefts" who opposed the Market nevertheless waged a half-hearted and self-defeating campaign for a No vote. They limited the debate to capitalist terms, promising that the capitalist economy would be better off outside the EEC. For example, they argued that continued EEC membership would maintain rising food prices. But Britain's economy is sliding downhill more rapidly than those of the other EEC countries. Appealing to "national sovereignty" made no sense with Britain a second-rate and declining imperialist power. Conducting the opposition on these lines made a pro-Market vote a certainty.

REVOLUTION OR WAR

For the workers of Britain and every EEC country, opposition to the EEC must be based on the principles of socialism and opposition to imperialism. An internationalist economy, making use of a worldwide division of labor for industry, agriculture and the extraction of raw materials, can never be built by capitalism. Capitalist states, representing the competing



Pro-Common Market forces demonstrate in 1975. "Mao-Tse Tung Says Yes to Europe" slogan supports Mao's right wing "unity" with Western imperialism.

rivalries which had led to two world wars. In reality, from start to finish the EEC was an expression of the same decaying imperialism which had led to World Wars I and II. It lowered some tariff barriers inside its borders only to raise tariffs outside, seeking to weld European capital into a bloc big enough to dominate the agricultural nations and compete with "the giants."

In the epoch of the decline of capitalism, it is only through imperialism that capitalist states can maintain their internal economies. And this can be done only for a time, before new economic crises and new international rivalries blow apart the settlements painfully negotiated by an earlier generation of bourgeois statesmen. This is what is now happening to the Common Market.

interests of national ruling classes, cannot unite peacefully through parliamentary votes and negotiations.

The Common Market was formed as an imperialist economic alliance. Today it is less and less able to overcome the national rivalries between its members and the rivalries between itself, the U.S. and the USSR and the backward countries which are setting the stage for World War III. This is why every worker must be opposed to the EEC. Not capitalist harmony, but the forcible conquest of one state by another, the violent suppression of democratic rights, the virtual enslavement of the proletariat—these are the methods capitalism must turn to in order to resolve its crisis. There is no alternative unless the revolutionary parties are formed that can forge the Socialist United States of Europe in the flames of the world revolution.

Outlaw Expels PAC

Cont'd. from p. 3

not less; more needed services, not less—to all public employees and the entire labor movement. This fight, an integral part of the struggle for Jobs for All and against the erosion of workers' living standards, will find its greatest support among black and Latin workers and unemployed who suffer most heavily in the current crisis.

All this was linked to the need for a fight against the capitalist system under revolutionary leadership. "Our fight is not limited to one contract fight in one industry, as the union hacks would lead us to believe," declared PAC's national bulletin. The bulletin continued by explaining the need for a revolutionary party to dislodge the bureaucrats and lead the struggle of all workers.

This is the way revolutionary socialists intervene. We do not hide our views. We are the most consistent and the best fighters for the immediate needs of the ranks, but make clear that this struggle must be part of the struggle for socialism. We engage with workers who do not accept this in united struggle, demonstrating in practice that the fight for immediate needs must be extended to the fight against the capitalist system.

Revolutionaries do not restrain the struggle of the most advanced elements; we work to win more backward elements to see the need for such a fight. As we have already seen, the RU and Outlaw have the opposite approach.

PAC's perspectives were an immediate threat to the RU-dominated Outlaw leadership. PAC was a group that demonstrated a winning strategy and tied it to the need for socialist revolution. This group didn't hide its

views. It didn't base itself on what was currently popular. PAC could expose Outlaw's hypocritical lies, its fake militancy and restraint of militant struggle.



Picket argues with postal inspector at Jersey Bulk Center wildcat. RU told blacks struggle against on-the-job racism would "turn off" white workers.

The reaction of the RU was immediate. On June 15, the RU introduced a motion in Outlaw to limit the contract fight to three demands: more money, better benefits, defend present jobs. Despite the loss of thousands of jobs through attrition, despite massive unemployment throughout the country, despite the brutal speedup and other attacks on working conditions which postal workers face, and despite the systematic discrimination against blacks, Latins

and other minorities practiced by USPS, the RU demanded that Outlaw limit its program to three paltry points. The RU has lined up with Ford, USPS and postal bureaucrats Filbey and Rademacher by clearly stating that the fight for the real needs of postal workers is not on today's agenda.

Outlaw raises its demands exactly the way the postal bureaucrats do.

The shorter work week is tucked away under "better benefits" and is not used to demand more jobs for postal workers, let alone more jobs for all workers (PAC's demand). There is no strategy for aggressively going after the support of the rest of the working class, no call for a general strike if the National Guard is brought in. Like the bureaucrats, Outlaw calls for "improved grievance procedure" instead of demanding union control of all work rules (Outlaw knows that the grievance arbitrators are USPS tools). And, of course, there is not even a whisper of the need for revolutionary leadership and socialism.

The RU lists in advance the basis on which it will sell out. It will isolate the P.O. struggle and then settle for peanuts, just like the bureaucrats. It does everything it can to limit the struggle to the narrowest reforms.

Championing the proletariat's real needs might "turn workers off." So instead of leading, the RU tails. PAC had to be thrown out because its perspectives expose Outlaw's shame-

ful capitulation.

Expelling PAC from Outlaw is not enough. The RU must try to silence the revolutionaries. PAC members have been harassed by Outlaw members who have tried to prevent them from distributing literature. When thwarted, one Outlaw member warned, "We'll get you later, but we'll get you for good."

BOURGEOIS TOOLS

The RU has not merely put the socialist revolution on the agenda of "some future day." Decaying capitalism forces them to scuttle the needs of today as well. Whether the democratic rights of oppressed minorities or the vital contract needs of rank and file postal workers, the RU leadership stands as one more tool of the ruling class serving to divide and mislead the working class.

The vast majority of the working class today has illusions about the nature of the capitalist system. These illusions provide the basis for the reformist union bureaucracy to maintain its strangle hold over the entire trade union movement. But the reformist outlook of the majority of the working class—an outlook subject to rapid and dramatic change as capitalism's crisis deepens—has nothing in common with the reformism of the RU. The expulsion of PAC from the ranks of Outlaw starkly exposes this fundamental difference.

The RU leadership does not merely suffer from reformist illusions. For them, as with all centrists, a far more treacherous role is reserved; the role of actively struggling inside the unions against revolutionaries who fight for the interests of the working class and for the overthrow of capitalism. It is the RU's pretense of being revolutionary itself which must be exposed. This is the fight which PAC has championed and the fight which PAC will continue—no matter where the RU seeks to hide.

SL WISHES RULING CLASS AWAY

The imperialist rout in Indochina has persuaded almost all of the pseudo-Trotskyist groups that South Vietnam and Cambodia are now workers' states, or—what is the same thing—dictatorships of the proletariat. One surprising exception is the Spartacist League, which has put forth a position lacking even the surface pretense to Marxism.

At a June forum on Vietnam given by the Revolutionary Socialist League in New York, the Spartacists objected to the League's analysis that the new rulers in Saigon were a bourgeois tendency that had overthrown U.S. imperialism but would set up an anti-proletarian, state capitalist regime. The SL insisted, as it has in the cases of China, Cuba and Eastern Europe, that South Vietnam is a "deformed workers state," where power is held by a petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste basing itself on "proletarian property forms."

WHO RULES?

This much we expected. But astoundingly the SL also claimed that South Vietnam was neither bourgeois nor proletarian: not bourgeois, because the capitalists had been expelled, but not proletarian because the working class did not really hold power. The SL explicitly stated that the proletariat is not the ruling class in Vietnam, Russia or any of the other "workers' states. Who is the ruling class? There is none, said the SLers.

This is the grossest mockery of Marxism. They hail workers states and say that workers do not rule these states in any way. But then these societies cannot be workers' states at

all—in a workers' state, the proletariat must be the ruling class.

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transformation period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. (Marx, Critique of the Gotha Program)

The dictatorship of the proletariat means that the proletariat is the ruling class. The SL has "improved" Marx—between capitalist and communist societies they place something which even they admit is not the proletarian dictatorship.

Still more grotesque is the position that there is no ruling class in Russia. One of the fundamentals of Marxism is that every society is divided into classes ("The history of all hitherto existing societies has been a history of class struggles," said Marx and Engels in the opening words of the Communist Manifesto). The class struggle is the struggle of the rulers against the ruled. A ruling class will exist until all classes wither away in full communist society; and classes will not wither away until the state itself dissolves.

The SL, we know (or at least we think!), recognizes the existence of the Soviet state. It does not believe Russia to be communist society. Yet it claims that Russia has no ruling class. This is an absolute repudiation of Marxism.

The Spartacists have run up against the contradictions of their Pabloite beliefs, which hold that Stalinists can lead non-proletarian forces to make the proletarian revolution. To escape

the burden of this theory, the SL has chosen to question the Marxist theory of the state. Instead of recognizing that capitalist rule has not been overthrown, the Spartacists reject Marx's contention that capitalist rule can be succeeded only by proletarian rule.

Not only in the realm of Stalinism does the SL reject Marx's theory of the state. The Spartacists further proclaimed that no Bonapartist regime could be considered either bourgeois or proletarian. France under Napoleon III, Germany under Hitler, as well as the Soviet Union under Stalin from 1923 on, were all cited as examples of non-bourgeois, non-proletarian states. Under Hitler, the German capitalists were not the ruling class, said the SL, since the "petty-bourgeois Hitler gang" held power. This nonsense fits right into the bourgeois theories of pluralism, which worship parliamentary democracy as the only true expression of capitalism. It has nothing in common with Marx.

Trotsky wrote of Nazi Germany: German fascism, like Italian fascism, raised itself to power on the backs of the petty bourgeoisie, which it turned into a battering ram against the organizations of the working class and the institutions of democracy. But fascism in power is least of all the rule of the petty bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it is the most ruthless dictatorship of monopoly capital. (The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany, p. 405)

As for the Soviet Union, despite his failure to see that the Stalinist counterrevolution would culminate in the triumph of state capitalism over the proletariat, Trotsky never made

the mistake of denying that the Soviet Union remained a workers state (the proletariat being the ruling class) until the victory of the counterrevolution. Throughout *The Revolution Betrayed*, for example, Trotsky refers to Russia as a proletarian dictatorship—not because he wished to conceal the crushing of the working class under Stalinism, but because he held out the hope that the revolutionary consciousness of 1917 had not been eradicated from the Soviet workers.

WHO IS SHACHTMANITE?

The Spartacists are not the first to invent a new form of class society for the epoch of proletarian revolution. Max Shachtman, shortly after his break with Trotsky and from Marxism, adopted the theory that Russia was "bureaucratic collectivist," a non-bourgeois, non-proletarian society. James Burnham, Shachtman's partner, believed that both Hitlerism and Stalinism represented a new non-bourgeois form of class rule called managerial society. The SL's frequent attacks on Shachtmanism are only a cover for their own break with Marxism along similar lines.

The Spartacists have not yet seen fit to publish their theory in their press. But their supporters have fought for it in public. We challenge the Spartacist League to state plainly: which class rules in Russia, China and Vietnam (or, for that matter, ruled in Nazi Germany)—bourgeoisie, proletariat, or neither? In choosing whether to embarrass their followers or to repudiate Marxism, the opportunist SL leaders will have an indigestible bone to chew.

CENTRISM IN THE U.S.

EXCERPTS FROM RSL CONVENTION RESOLUTION

For the past four years there has been a lull in the class struggle within the U.S. This is now beginning to change.

The lull has had a powerful impact on the development of the revolutionary and general left movement. The abortion of the 1966-70 strike wave by the 1969-70 recession and the imposition of wage-price controls in 1971 prevented the creation of a substantial layer of subjectively revolutionary elements in the proletariat. At the same time, the ferment among the racially oppressed layers of the working class and petty bourgeoisie was subdued. The general ebb in the level of struggle demoralized the active elements of the left intelligentsia as well.

The extreme left movement suffered tremendously. Small and relatively isolated to begin with, this milieu was subjected to a period of numerical stagnation. In this period a considerable degree of ideological reconsideration and regroupment of forces did occur, and the milieu underwent a process of internal differentiation. Some tendencies which were poorly developed took on sharper forms while others disintegrated. Since the milieu lacked strong ties to the working class, this process was chaotic and partial. The realignments are by no means permanent and the regroupment of forces does not have a decisive character.

OPPORTUNISM ON THE LEFT

Today, after some months of renewed activity on the part of the workers, many political tendencies are growing. The left milieu, however, remains largely isolated from the working class, and as a result the replenishing of forces has been largely limited to the intelligentsia and involves only a handful of workers. The groups that have been growing most rapidly are those which most conspicuously capitulate to the low level of consciousness of the workers, since the methods of these groups (such as the October League and the International Socialists) appear to be most appropriate to intervening in the present trade unionist level of struggle. Economism, in other words, appears to be effective.

Despite this, the relative weights of the left currents have not changed significantly. The Communist Party remains the largest, followed by the Maoist milieu and the "Trotskyist" centrist current. The small size of all these forces and the fact that no current has yet broken significant ground in the working class means that the relative relationships may change rapidly in a period of mass awakening and upsurge.

The "Democratic Socialist" milieu is most directly tied to liberalism and the labor bureaucracy. As a result, the main division within the bureaucracy is directly mirrored in the groups that make up this current. The Shachtman-Shanker Social Democrats-USA long ago capitulated to the right-wing bureaucrats. Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee found its nest among the elements of the "left" bureaucracy. At this juncture, these political tendencies are mere errand boys. As the social crisis deepens, they may become socialist facades for their employers.

CP LOOKS TO POPULAR FRONT

A more important factor is the Communist Party. The CP is presently the largest force on the left. It has a rank and file, a base and a sizable apparatus. The CP's program has a more radical cast than that of the Social Democrats; it calls for a third bourgeois ("anti-monopoly") party, an American version of the Popular Front. At this point, this line is purely nominal, designed at least in part to placate the stratum of young militant black workers in the YWLL. It also enables the CP to appear to be somewhat independent of the Democrats, meshing with the Russians' favorable line towards the present Republican administration (which is pro-detente). Since the detente will not be permanent, the CP's orientation to the Democratic Party liberals will become increasingly dominant as the detente weakens.

In the long run a counter-pressure will intervene. An upsurge in the class struggle will inevitably



Mao Tse-Tung followers constitute largest centrist current in U.S. today. Fundamental acceptance of Stalinism bars Maoist organizations from revolutionary role, despite their militant image.



Communist Party contingent at April 26 Washington demonstration. CP plays blatant class collaborationist role, attempting to coopt mass struggle through Popular Front strategy.

force the CP to adopt a more radical and independent-looking stance. As a result, the CP will thrust forward its Third Party-Popular Front approach in its efforts to coopt the mass struggle.

It is highly unlikely that the CP will achieve anything approaching its strength in the 1930's. The stored-up volatility of the workers, the reduced appeal of Russia, the increased conservatism of the CP's internationally—all of these will prevent the CP from winning the degree of hegemony over the advanced workers it enjoyed in the 1930's.

CENTRIST DANGER

Of all these left currents, the centrist tendencies are the most dangerous to the proletariat, representing the left wing of the corps of bourgeois agents within the working class. Their objective function during serious crises is to maintain capitalism by capturing the most advanced workers and misleading them away from the revolutionary forces. Those centrist tendencies whose program,

strategy and tactics most clearly approximate those of revolutionaries and whose composition is sufficiently proletarian will play this role most effectively. Like the Social Democrats, centrism in its various forms will find a base in layers of the working class. As the struggle escalates they will become the ideological nuclei for future left-sounding misleadings of the workers' movement.

At this time, the general political direction of most groups (in the U.S. and internationally) is toward opportunism, the Popular Front and overt capitulation to capitalism. The escalation of events internationally (and to a much lesser extent in the U.S.) has brought out the opportunist tendencies of these groups. The long period of isolated study groups, sterile propaganda and unrewarding agitation has given way to a period of more open adaptation to the bourgeoisie. The ranks' cynical acceptance of the conservative labor misleadings appears to create a vacuum just to the left of the bureaucrats, a vacuum that the centrists are anxious to fill.

Consequently the centrist groups are tempted to move to the right, exaggerate their numbers and recruit indiscriminately in order to appear as a real alternative to the trade union bureaucrats. The lack of an overt pressure for unity on the part of the workers gives these groups the confidence that they can fill the vacuum they see created by the lack of classwide struggle. This tendency combined with organizational sectarianism leads some groups to see themselves as small mass parties. In centrist groups lacking organizational sectarianism the opportunist impulse gives rise to liquidationism.

MAOISTS WAVER

This rightward pressure will have its impact on all parts of the centrist milieu. Today the centrist milieu is bisected by a line that divides the Maoist currents from the "Trotskyist." Fusions of groups within each of the two currents is likely when the struggle intensifies. But there is nothing holy about the line between the two milieus. Fusions across the divide are also possible, as has been demonstrated internationally in the formation of the MIR in Chile and Avanguardia Operaia in Italy.

The Maoist organizations are the largest component of the centrist milieu in the U.S. The Maoists' ideological origins in the CP enable them to claim continuity with the American revolutionary tradition, as well as to be part of the world revolutionary movement. This latter claim is bolstered by their supposed ideological relationship with China, which in the minds of millions of workers and peasants across the world still represents a beacon of international revolution (far more so than the Soviet Union). The Maoists' ties to the middle class movements of the 1960's gives them a substantial base and periphery among subjective revolutionaries. As a result the Maoist milieu represents the largest collection of subjective revolutionary intellectuals and young workers, including black and brown workers, in the United States today.

These same factors make the milieu highly unstable. Maoism shares the fundamental premises of Stalinism, narrowly defined: "socialism in one country," the two-stage method of the "democratic dictatorship," class collaborationism in the form of the Popular Front, opposition to the Leninist strategy of constructing the revolutionary international, belief in the "counterrevolutionary" nature of Trotskyism. Unlike the mainstream Stalinists,

the M
revol
CP's
organ
ism o
the
incap
appro
The
coupl
foreign
gener
is fu
organ
(Prog
Ad
radic
previ
milie
amon
unfor
On
Leag
theor
slot
(form
View
Work
wing
CLP,
meth

Leon T
this tra

leftism
unsyst
center
differ
busing
bourge
racism
theory
its left
and its
the Am
the ch
hurled
same t
young e
instinct

The
accomp
layers
influen
tee the
The rig
strong i
right wi
strong
tendenci
influent
to remain
remain,
organiza
The ot
trace the
Workers
the mos
common
It has
revolutio

the Maoist cadres see themselves as fighters for the revolutionary heritage of Lenin in opposition to the CP's overt class collaborationism. Thus Maoist organizations vacillate between mainstream Stalinism on the one hand and revolutionary politics on the other, while they remain fundamentally incapable of actually putting forward even an approximation of the revolutionary program.

The development of the class struggle in the U.S. coupled with the rightward motion of Chinese foreign and domestic policy has intensified the general ferment in the Maoist milieu. This ferment is further heightened by the fact that no single organization carries the mantle of Maoism as PL (Progressive Labor) did in the early and mid 1960's.

Additionally Maoism recruits from a pool of radical students and intellectuals who had previously been part of SDS. The instability of this milieu helps to insure that the ideological struggle among the Maoist organizations takes an extremely unformed and chaotic character.

On the right of the Maoist milieu is the October League with its overt economist capitulationist theory and practice. Moving rapidly into the same slot is the newly-formed Communist Labor Party (formerly the CL). On the left are the Workers Viewpoint Group, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and other elements. This left wing sees itself as being far to the left of the OL and CLP, but has not broken from the Stalinist methodology that characterizes the latter. Its

propaganda group but a "pre-party formation" (otherwise known as a "small mass party").

The role of the sectarian cover is perhaps most clearly seen in the SL's approach to the labor movement. The SL represents and expresses the interests of a section of the labor aristocracy. This is the root of the ethnocentrism expressed in its immigration policy and its capitulation to the liberals on the ERA and busing. It also explains the SL's empiricism, in particular its failure to understand the nature of the present epoch and of the current crisis, and its trade union chauvinism, vividly expressed in its opposition to the call for councils of action during the British miners' strike last year. This trade union chauvinism exposes the hollow nature of the SL's rhetoric that accompanies their opposition to state interference in the trade unions. In short, the SL looks at the world with the same general outlook as the trade union bureaucracy.

The SWP has not yet succeeded in carving out its own niche in the reformist labor bureaucracy, but it has certainly tried. It provides uncritical propaganda support for liberal hacks like Arnold Miller. It offers its cadre as errand boys for those bureaucrats who can afford to be adulated in the Militant (newspaper of the SWP). It builds Popular Front-type platforms for bureaucrats to stand on, to be seen hobnobbing with respectable bourgeois politicians while lending themselves to "progressive," but limited, causes. But the SWP has not yet been able to acquire the real leverage with the bureaucracy that an actual base in the labor movement would give it.

The SWP justifies its capitulations on all fronts by means of the Pabliste theory that consistent reformism leads to revolution. The theory arose from the discovery of "workers states" in Eastern Europe, China and Cuba that were created by consistent anti-imperialism, and was extended to include consistent feminism, black nationalism and

propaganda group but a "pre-party formation" (otherwise known as a "small mass party").

The SL essentially acts as the extreme left wing of the bureaucracy, as a trade union leadership with a "revolutionary" program. This forces it to build a wall between itself and other left wing bureaucrats. Yesterday we saw an abstentionist policy toward the 1972 United Mine Workers elections. Tomorrow, as the SL develops as a material force in the labor movement, this abstentionism may give way to explicit capitulations to aspiring "left" bureaucrats. Meanwhile, the SL will most likely retain its organizational sectarianism in its relations with other left groups, particularly those closest to them.

For the immediate period ahead, the advanced workers will most likely cohere around the Communist Party and the Maoist groups. The Maoist organizations will attract the more advanced. By and large, Trotskyism is almost completely unknown to these workers, except in the form of the slanders promoted by the Stalinists. This situation is the direct result of the political immaturity of the U.S. working class, which was created and is maintained by the reformists and Stalinists. As the class struggle intensifies, the political awakening of the working class will increase. More and more, individuals, groupings and then whole sections of the working class will become interested in Trotskyism. Over time, the centrist groups calling themselves Trotskyist will begin to attract revolutionary-minded workers.

The polarization within the labor bureaucracy and the society generally will create opportunities for the Stalinist and centrist organizations. Today they are on the fringes of society. Their influence is marginal. Tomorrow their numbers and influence will grow. The leftward motion of the bureaucracy that will accompany the increase in class struggle will not merely result in the present bureaucratic figures sliding to the left. Much of it will occur as a result of the strengthening of the Stalinist organizations. These groupings, their numbers augmented by rank and file recruits, will be thrust into positions of leadership and will become left wing poles in the labor bureaucracy.

The polarization within the labor bureaucracy and the society generally will create opportunities for the Stalinist and centrist organizations. Today they are on the fringes of society. Their influence is marginal. Tomorrow their numbers and influence will grow. The leftward motion of the bureaucracy that will accompany the increase in class struggle will not merely result in the present bureaucratic figures sliding to the left. Much of it will occur as a result of the strengthening of the Stalinist organizations. These groupings, their numbers augmented by rank and file recruits, will be thrust into positions of leadership and will become left wing poles in the labor bureaucracy.

WORLD CRISIS LOOMS

To sum up, today the dynamic creating international revolutionary crises is fully at work. The international capitalist economy is on the brink of disaster. The nations, taken individually, are facing deepening economic and social crises. Their political systems are under tremendous stress which will intensify in the future. Yet despite all this, the stress has not yet produced complete ruptures. There is no outright collapse. The tendency toward protectionism, national chauvinism and war has just begun to emerge. The class struggle has until very recently been relatively muted; Bonapartism and fascism are visibly threatening only in a few countries and the revolutionary forces remain tiny and at the fringes of society. In all, international capitalism has begun to slide out of its state of equilibrium, which was the result of a temporary stalemate in the class struggle. The two basic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, neither of which was prepared to move over to the offensive, are only beginning to stir.

Under these circumstances, the general drift of political currents has been toward dead center, toward avoiding rocking the boat. This drift caught almost all the forces in the working class—the reformist bureaucrats, the Stalinists and the centrists. On the other side it prevented the emergence of an independent right wing current. The result is that although the overall flow of political events is toward the polarization of society, a massive outbreak of the class struggle, and a radicalization of the working class and its allies, the immediate development appeared to be moving in the opposite direction. Thus the conjunctural lull. How long it lasts cannot be determined. There can be no doubt, however, that it represents the calm before the storm, the prelude to a massive international class confrontation.



Leon Trotsky and Fourth International were the revolutionary continuators of Lenin and Bolshevik Party. RSL represents this tradition; pseudo-Trotskyists capitulate to political opportunism.

leftism, in other words, is subjective and unsystematized. The Revolutionary Union is in the center of the milieu. The RU's practice is not very different from that of the OL although, as in the busing question, the form of its capitulation to the bourgeoisie may be different (the RU adapted to racism out of fear of adapting to liberalism). Its theory however is different, and this gives the RU its leftist appearance. The RU's analysis of Russia and its nominal rejection of a "democratic stage" in the American revolution make the RU vulnerable to the charge that it is Trotskyist (an accusation hurled by the OL and the "left"-Maoists). At the same time, this formal left stance has attracted young elements who have a genuinely revolutionary instinct.

The general dampening of the class struggle, accompanied by the growth of the revolutionary layers of the working class and the growing influence of the centrist organizations, will guarantee the continued instability of the Maoist milieu. The rightward pressure will have a particularly strong impact on the Maoist groupings. The more right wing forces will be pulled towards the CP, and strong pressures will be created within these tendencies to merge with this larger and more influential organization. Since the opposite pressure to remain independent and hostile to the CP will remain, the potential for significant splits in these organizations is clearly present.

The other centrist current consists of groups that trace their origins and ideologies to the Socialist Workers Party and Leon Trotsky. Today's SWP, the most prominent of these, has nothing in common with the SWP of the 1930's but its name. It has won the deserved contempt of all revolutionaries for its habitual attempts to position

even anti-warism. The SWP's extreme opportunism is not an aberration; it stands as a warning to all who accept the method of the Pabliste analysis of the "deformed workers states." It is the method of empiricism.

The Spartacist League is perhaps the most dangerous of the Pabliste groups. Although it is not the largest "Trotskyist" organization, its left stance, its growing influence in the international Pabliste milieu and its increased presence in the labor movement make it the most immediate centrist threat to the revolutionary vanguard in the United States.

The SL has also responded strongly to the conjunctural pressure to the right. Although the SL has always been a fundamentally opportunist tendency, the past year has seen this characteristic assume a manifest form. The SL's lines on busing, the Equal Rights Amendment, immigration, the Middle East, etc., have an explicitly capitulatory character. Increasingly, the SL's work in the labor movement takes on the same form. SL labor caucuses' claim to stand on the Transitional Program is purely superficial and formal. The Transitional Program (in the SL's truncated version) remains something for the middle class intellectuals and occasional union electoral campaigns; trade unionism is good enough for the workers day-to-day political life.

This turn to overt opportunism is accompanied by an organizational sectarianism that is similar to the SWP's. Sectarianism acts as a defense against opportunism, a wall to prevent the SL from carrying its Pabliste, liquidationist program to its logical conclusion. This apparent contradiction was expressed very clearly at the SL's past convention where it proclaimed that the SL is no longer a

UFW Withers Under Chavez

Farmworkers Need Revolutionary Leadership

On May 26th a Texas melon grower, Chestley Miller, opened fire on a UFW picket line with an automatic shotgun. 11 union members were wounded. This is the latest in a long series of vicious attacks on farmworkers struggling to build an industrial union. In 1970, after a five year battle, the UFW signed contracts with grape growers representing 85 percent of the industry. The union had organized nearly 60,000 farmworkers nationwide, and the new contracts provided important gains in wages and working conditions. The hated labor contractor system was "destroyed" and the union hiring hall was established.

Today, five years later, the UFW has a membership of less than 6,000; the major contracts have been lost, wages have been cut, working conditions are as intolerable as ever and the parasitic labor contractors are once again sucking the lifeblood of the farmworkers.

The major arena for this struggle has been California, the most important agricultural center in the U.S. In this state seven percent of the landowners control over 80 percent of the land. The overwhelming bulk of agricultural production is carried out on huge industrial farms owned by the largest banks and corporations such as United Brands, Tenneco, Hunt, Bank of America, etc.

These vultures have reaped incredible profits by paying farmworkers below subsistence wages. Entire families, including small children, work up to 16 hours a day planting, cultivating and harvesting the crops, yet they do not earn enough to feed themselves. The average life span among agricultural workers is 49 years (compared to 70 years in the population as a whole).

The history of the farmworkers is one of struggle, sacrifice and betrayal by the reformist labor bureaucracy. The recent farmworkers' struggle to build an industrial union is a striking demonstration of how class collaborationist labor leaders can cripple and derail even the most militant and determined workers.

DELANO

The forerunner of the UFWA, the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), was formed in 1966 from the merger of the largely Filipino Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and the independent National Farmworkers Association (NFWA), led by Cesar Chavez. AWOC launched a strike in Delano, California in September, 1965 against grape growers who refused to pay the Filipinos the \$1.40 per hour minimum which had been set earlier. Many Mexican workers walked out with the Filipinos and after two weeks the predominately Mexican NFWA officially joined the strike.

By the second week of the strike only 10 percent of the normal workforce remained in the fields, but the growers were bringing in truckloads of scabs faster than UFWOC could recruit them. Chavez quickly emerged as the leader of the strike and concentrated the union's efforts on the Schenley farms (the second largest grape producer in California). UFWOC called for a consumer boycott of all Schenley products, which added considerable pressure to the strike in the fields.

But the key to the successful drive against Schenley was the solidarity shown by Teamsters and Longshore-



UFW demonstration in Sacramento. While militant farmworkers fight for their lives, UFW leadership relies on Democratic Party hacks. Brown bill is latest example of Chavez's "Peace in the fields" deal at farmworkers' expense.

men. The Teamsters shut down the Schenley warehouse in San Francisco and refused to cross UFWOC picket lines in the fields. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) labeled the scab grapes as "hot cargo" and refused to load them on the ships. Faced with this show of strength from the organized labor movement, Schenley signed a union contract in the spring of 1966. The contract called for a 35 cents per hour wage increase and a union hiring hall.

The Farmworkers, relying on their own militancy and the labor solidarity shown by the Teamsters and Longshoremen, had won an important victory. The Teamster and ILWU bureaucracies were not motivated purely out of concern for the farmworkers. In the early months of the strike, UFWOC was an independent organizing committee, not affiliated with any of the other major unions. The Teamster and ILWU leaderships, led by Jimmy Hoffa and Harry Bridges, both hoped to win the Farmworkers to their unions. By the summer of 1966, when UFWOC was



Cesar Chavez preaches nonviolence. He disarms farmworkers while growers, labor bureaucracy and state attack.

ready to affiliate with the AFL-CIO, Hoffa and Bridges cynically called off their support to the UFWOC strike.

The Teamsters did not stop there. At this point they officially began their campaign to bust the Farmworkers. The Teamster hacks began by organizing the scabs at the giant DiGiorgio farms and holding a bogus union election. UFWOC called on DiGiorgio workers to boycott the scab election and the Teamsters' "victory" was ruled invalid. In the new election the growers attempted to coerce the workers into voting Teamster, but UFWOC won by a large margin.

At this point Chavez was faced with a choice. He could continue to rely on the militancy of the farmworkers and the rank and file of the labor movement and fight to build a broad struggle against the growers and against the sections of the labor bureaucracy which obstructed this fight. Or he could forego this route, carefully avoid alienating the labor bureaucracy and substitute a policy of wheeling and dealing with middle class and bourgeois political forces. He chose the latter, and the farmworkers are today paying the price.

Teamster and ILWU support was a crucial factor in the Schenley victory. Even after the betrayals of their own union misleaders, thousands of rank and file Teamsters and Longshoremen continued to support UFWOC on the picket lines, in the boycott and through donations of money, food, etc. But Chavez refused to orient to this sentiment. He made no attempt to mobilize rank and file Teamsters against the Hoffa-Fitzsimmons treachery. After the 1966 victory against the wine producers, Chavez relegated the strike in the fields to secondary importance. Chavez pulled strikers off the picket lines and dispersed the union's forces throughout the country to organize a consumer boycott of the growers' products.

The consumer boycott tactic has generally been used in the labor movement as a last ditch effort to save a strike. Workers have power in their direct relation to the means of production. As consumers, the working class is weak. As a result, the consumer boycott is one of the least effective working class weapons. When used in conjunction with a strong strike and a struggle to have other workers refuse to handle scab goods, the consumer boycott can be a useful secondary weapon.

But the consumer boycott alone cannot build a union. Chavez' decision to divert the resources of the Farmworkers away from fighting for a policy of active labor solidarity with the strike was a capitulation to the capitalist class and its labor lieutenants. Whatever Chavez' intentions, he made himself indistinguishable from the rest of the corrupt labor bureaucracy. Unwilling to fight for a classwide struggle against the growers, Chavez chose to limit the militancy and scope of the farmworkers' struggle. In place of an aggressive proletarian strike strategy he chose nonviolence, fasting and reliance on Democratic Party liberals and the Catholic Church.

CRUSHING DEFEAT

Combined with the strike in the fields and based in part on the wholehearted support of middle class radical movements, Chavez' approach appeared to be successful for a time. The major grape growers signed UFW contracts in 1970. Some of the growers had broken ranks and signed earlier, so the holdouts were anxious to reconstruct unity. Union grapes were on the market, selling better and at higher prices than scab grapes. The 1970 contracts represented a victory for the farmworkers, but in the 1973 contract round the UFW suffered a crushing defeat.

When the 1973 the consummation Teamsters union: The heart contr the field w were a far hiring hall, first year of grievance p year wage involved.

Once th UFW mem up with the farmworker UFW con fought and by this a decided to

The gro surprise; t union. Th provided h as "organ attack the out in fore strikers. S Texas, Mex farmwork

STR

At this p a decisiv members Chavez res capitulation He immed lines remov called off th ously" fast on farmwo selves to th Chavez strikers dis country to o boycott.

Today th former sel Although o their part i able portio Chavez' m time Chav weakened t class consc ers. One of of this m attitude tow

Historical ported millio Japan, the elsewhere t trial farms. first in the began to or by the Jap one groupin were aided reactionary Samuel Gon

The AFL Asians, bla helping to w the "yellow late 1800's immigration Chinese and groups were They were r Filipino wor Mexican imm large number

With the numbers of M bosses had an of cheap lab needed 2,000 for 4,000 and down wages conditions in U.S. Immigra tently done capitalists, ir foreign worker screamed ab needed a stre

But when organize or th tailspin, the

ership



... on
... pence.

oycott tactic has
ed in the labor
ditch effort to save
power in their
the means of
sumers, the work-
As a result, the
s one of the least
class weapons.
In conjunction with a
struggle to have
e to handle scab
oycott can be a
sapon.

er boycott alone
Chavez' decision
resources of the
from fighting for a
or solidarity with
capitulation to the
its labor lieuten-
vez' intentions, he
distinguishable
upt labor bureau-
to fight for a
against the grow-
e to limit the
of the farmwork-
e of an aggressive
strategy he chose
and reliance on
liberals and the

DEFEAT

he strike in the
in part on the
rt of middle class
Chavez' approach
essful for a time.
wers signed UFW
me of the growers
nd signed earlier,
were anxious to
union grapes were
ng better and at
scab grapes. The
esented a victory
but in the 1973
UFW suffered a

When the UFW contracts expired in 1973 the growers, the agri-bosses, consummated an alliance with the Teamsters to break the farmworkers' union. The Teamsters signed sweetheart contracts behind the backs of the field workers. These "contracts" were a farce: an end to the union hiring hall, no wage increase after the first year of a five-year contract and no grievance procedure. Substantial first-year wage increases hid the sellout involved.

Once the sellout was complete, UFW members were required to sign up with the Teamsters or get out. But farmworkers were not about to see the UFW contracts, which they had fought and died to secure, destroyed by this anti-labor alliance. They decided to strike.

The growers' response was no surprise; they were out to break the union. The Teamster bureaucrats provided hundreds of goons parading as "organizers" who were used to attack the picket lines. The police were out in force beating and jailing the strikers. Scabs were brought in from Texas, Mexico and elsewhere. Yet the farmworkers held fast.

STRIKE CALLED OFF

At this point, in late August, 1973, a decisive turn occurred. Two UFW members were brutally murdered. Chavez responded with a sickening capitulation to the bosses' violence. He immediately ordered all picket lines removed from the fields and called off the strike. Chavez "courageously" fasted for three days and called on farmworkers to "rededicate ourselves to the principle of nonviolence."

Chavez once again ordered the strikers dispersed to cities across the country to organize another consumer boycott.

Today the UFW is a shadow of its former self, beaten and battered. Although objective conditions played their part in this tragedy, a considerable portion of the blame lies with Chavez' misleadership. Time after time Chavez chose a course that weakened the unity, militancy and class consciousness of the farmworkers. One of the most blatant examples of this misleadership is Chavez' attitude toward the "illegals."

Historically the growers have imported millions of laborers from China, Japan, the Philippines, Mexico and elsewhere to work their huge industrial farms. The Chinese were used first in the late 1800's, but as they began to organize they were replaced by the Japanese. The bosses played one grouping off against the other and were aided in this work by the reactionary AFL leadership headed by Samuel Gompers.

The AFL refused to organize Asians, blacks or Mexicans, thus helping to whip up a racist frenzy in the "yellow peril" campaigns of the late 1800's and early 1900's. Racist immigration laws excluded both the Chinese and Japanese by WWI; both groups were forbidden to own land. They were replaced by an influx of Filipino workers, and during WWI Mexican immigrants were used in large numbers for the first time.

With the introduction of large numbers of Mexican workers, the farm bosses had an almost unlimited supply of cheap labor. When the growers needed 2,000 workers they would call for 4,000 and use the surplus to beat down wages and maintain unlivable conditions in the labor camps. The U.S. Immigration Bureau has consistently done the bidding of the capitalists, importing thousands of foreign workers whenever the growers screamed about a labor shortage or needed a stream of strikebreakers.

But when illegals attempted to organize or the economy went into a tailspin, the Bureau would begin its deportation raids. With the arrival of

thousands of black and white farmers who were driven from the land in the south and the plains in the 1930's, the growers turned on the Mexicans and Filipinos. Over 50,000 Mexicans were deported during the Great Depression.

Of course the threat of the illegal aliens momentarily subsided when the growers needed strikebreakers to beat back the organizing drives later in the 1930's. The illegals were used as a club to beat down the wages of farmworkers. And the threat of deportation was used against the immigrants, who



Consumer boycott is main tactic of Chavez leadership. Boycott alone can't win. Farmworkers' strength lies in job actions and mobilizing active support of labor union ranks.

faced the prospect of returning to starvation and misery in the most depressed agricultural areas of Mexico.

During WWII the Mexican and U.S. governments agreed to the infamous "bracero" program. Faced with a labor shortage in the U.S., thousands of Mexican field workers were imported under this government-sponsored contract labor system. The grower would decide on the "prevailing wage rate," usually about 30 cents an hour, and the Mexican workers were under contract to accept the growers' conditions. The immigrants were required by law to work through the harvest; even looking for another job was illegal.

The bracero program was slave labor. Any attempt to organize was met with immediate deportation and braceros were constantly used as strikebreakers. Slave labor in the form of braceros was discontinued in 1964, but since that time the use of illegals has continued unabated.

Mexican nationals are imported each year for the harvests throughout the Southwest. As one Florida grower boasted to the Miami Herald in 1974: "We used to own our own slaves, now we rent them."

Today as U.S. capitalism sinks into depression and unemployment skyrockets, the bosses have once again pulled out the spectre of the "illegal aliens." The bourgeois press is full of racist appeals to drive the Mexican workers back to Mexico. The Immigration Bureau deported 788,000 foreign workers last year and pledges that the totals will be over 1,000,000 in 1975.

Meany, Woodcock and the rest of the union hacks are doing the job for the capitalists by attacking foreign workers for "stealing" jobs. But Meany and company are by no means alone in their attacks on Mexican nationals. They can rely on Cesar Chavez to do much more than his share.

Chavez initially supported the racist Kennedy-Rodino bill which would deport and fine "illegal" workers. In the face of fierce opposition from the ranks of the UFW, Chavez was forced to drop his official support for the bill. But his line has remained unchanged.

Wherever illegals are being used as scabs, Chavez has given orders to call the Immigration Bureau in order to deport the Mexican workers. He has even instituted UFW border patrols!!! From fingering illegals in the fields to calling for a massive deportation of Mexicans, Chavez has helped to whip up a racist hysteria against undocumented workers.

In the apple strikes last fall, the Texas melon strikes today, throughout the history of the struggle, Mexican nationals have fought to

fashion the necessity of an international revolutionary leadership to coordinate the worldwide struggle.

Chavez, obviously, will have nothing to do with such a strategy. He prefers to rely on the state and the Immigration Bureau against Mexican workers. His class collaborationist tactics are not exhausted by his racist policy on the illegals. Chavez has imposed a policy of nonviolence on the farmworkers. This is not merely a personal philosophy but one imposed on the entire union; militants who fought against this policy have been expelled.

Coupled with this are his efforts to tie the farmworkers to the Catholic Church, an anti-labor force if there ever was one. Chavez requires a mass before every union meeting, and when his disgusting pacifism leads to the murder of farmworkers (as it has many times) Chavez makes sure that they get a Catholic funeral. This particular policy is a cynical adaptation to the illusions of the oppressed and downtrodden farmworkers and a ploy to bind them to him and his reactionary policies.

Chavez has been even more active in betraying farmworkers to that not so mystical "savior" of the working class: the Democratic Party. In June of 1968 Chavez pulled strikers off the picket lines and sent them into the cities to round up votes for Robert Kennedy. This was the same Robert Kennedy who had helped to break the Steel Strike in 1960 and who had literally written the vicious anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act in the 1950's.

According to Chavez the road to salvation runs through the Democratic Party, and farmworkers can do nothing to alienate this deadly class enemy.

The story of Chavez' betrayals of the struggle of the farmworkers is not yet over. In early June of this year California Governor Edmund Brown, Jr. signed the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. This bill, despite its pro-labor trappings, will be a new weapon in the hands of the bosses and their state in their attacks on the farmworkers. The sops to Chavez are that the bill provides for election machinery for deciding which union, if



UFW striker addresses Teamsters. Chavez leadership has made little effort to mobilize rank and file Teamsters in common struggle with UFW against betrayals of Teamster bureaucrats.

sectors. The correct course is a truly international strategy based on international class solidarity, a united front of workers of every nation against the international capitalist class.

Mexican and American workers must have a common union with common expiration dates. For its international character to be real, the union must champion the rights of all workers; it must fight for a free immigration policy and for full union rights for workers of all countries.

The struggle for an industrial union will succeed only when the labor movement begins a struggle to demand jobs for all. The battle of the farmworkers expresses in sharpest

any, will represent the farmworkers and that the consumer boycott remains legal. In exchange the bill outlaws the labor boycott and the organizing strike, two of the most powerful weapons farmworkers have at their disposal.

The Brown Bill represents a deal between the growers and the labor bureaucracy at the expense of the vast mass of farmworkers. The object is to secure "labor peace" in the fields, since the struggle was becoming costly to the growers and an embarrassment to the state government. In effect, Chavez is given the means to build a union among farmworkers.

Cont'd. p. 15



Spanish workers demonstrate under leadership of Comisiones Obreras. Workers Commissions could be crucial vehicle in class struggle, but Communist Party leadership uses them to break workers' movement.

WORKERS SHAKE SPAIN

Cont'd. from p. 1

the race is between death and his overthrow.

The crisis in the Basque country is part of a broader social crisis sweeping Spain. The Spanish economy, weakest link in floundering European capitalism, is in desperate straits. The lack of political stability in Spain has sent capital streaming out of the country into safer investments. Inflation is over 20 percent this year, with no relief in sight. The economic crisis in Europe has dried up the employment of Spaniards in other countries, and with it the revenues from taxing emigrant labor. Tourism, one of Spain's largest revenue sources, has plummeted and will drop further as the political crisis continues. Finally, the exclusion of Spain from the Common Market (EEC) puts Spain in a singularly unfavorable trade relationship with the rest of Europe.

The political focus of the social crisis is the Franco dictatorship itself. Capitalist Spain must attempt to stabilize itself and prevent economic collapse through massive "modernization" of the economy and integration into Europe. But the reactionary nature of the Franco regime makes it unacceptable to the European "democracies," and thus constitutes a major roadblock to this process. Although repression has escalated Franco is no longer capable of performing his most important function for the bourgeoisie—beating the working class into passivity through brutal and direct assault.

Almost all social forces in Spain, bourgeois and proletarian alike, agree that Franco must go. The real question is what will replace the Franco dictatorship?

The bourgeoisie has its answer: liberal modernization of capitalist Spain based on the class rule of the bourgeoisie and the increased exploitation of the proletariat. Besides getting into the EEC and NATO, rationalizing backward industries and attracting foreign capital into Spain such a program must increase labor productivity and buy off a section of the labor aristocracy, stifling the class struggle to keep the system intact. In this epoch of imperialist decay, this program ultimately leads back to fascism. This is the meaning of the "democratic revolution" being touted

in Spain today. Those working class misleaderships who attempt to confine the proletarian struggle within bounds acceptable to the "liberal" capitalists thereby state their support for this capitalist scenario and its consequences.

To overcome this strategy, the Spanish proletariat must have a leadership which can direct its fight to the end without faltering, without capitulating to the pleas and threats of the bourgeoisie and its agents. Such a revolutionary leadership would mobilize the Spanish masses for the coming struggle. Thus, the key task in Spain is building a revolutionary vanguard party as part of the reconstructed Fourth International, party of world revolution. The Revolutionary Socialist League, nucleus of this international party, is fighting to win the Spanish proletariat to the revolutionary program and banner.

The Spanish proletariat, though not yet fully conscious, has its own aspirations: to smash the bourgeois state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the revolutionary peasantry. This is the strategy of the permanent revolution.

Franco must be defeated. But for his overthrow to result in lasting and significant gains for the masses of the proletariat and peasantry, eliminating Franco must be linked to the working class seizing power in its own name. Working class rule would rip apart the system of production for capitalist profit and tear off the fetters on the productive forces, most importantly on the proletariat itself. Social revolution in Spain would almost immediately tip the scales in favor of the proletariat in Portugal, and provide a tremendous spur to the class struggle in Italy, the rest of Europe, and throughout the world.

The Spanish working class is highly militant and combative. The largest strike wave since the Spanish Civil War of the 1930's has been sustained since 1973. (The recent "legalization" of strikes is a complete farce. Although it is a concession wrested by the strength of the working class, the conditions placed on the right to strike make any effective legal strike virtually impossible.) Well over a million workers have struck since last summer. These actions have included



General Franco and king-designate Juan Carlos review troops in Madrid. Juan Carlos and "democratic capitalists" do not represent real gains for Spanish masses over rapidly disintegrating Franco dictatorship.

factory occupations, general strikes and highly militant miners' strikes.

The rising level of proletarian political organization and consciousness was expressed in the Valladolid general strike in May, which included the FASA-Renault workers (Spain's largest factory). Factory committees were established at each factory, which elected representatives to a general assembly which functioned as central strike committee for the entire city, that is, as a soviet. The Valladolid strike was wrecked by the betrayals of the Communist Party (PCE) which led a "back to work" movement, but the creation of soviets represents a qualitative step forward for the Spanish proletariat in creating fighting institutions of class struggle and of its future class rule. These soviets were also established in the recent Bilbao general strike and must be extended throughout Spain. Through the soviets, the Spanish proletariat, peasantry and soldiers can map out a revolutionary strategy and defeat misleaderships whose real allegiance is to the bourgeoisie: the CP, Socialists and various other centrist forces.

The revolutionary upsurges in Portugal are an important factor in the class struggle in Spain. The overthrow of Caetano and Spínola, and the continuing struggle for power by the proletariat against the "democratic revolution" of the Armed Forces Movement and its left cover, the Communist and Socialist Parties, are an inspiration and source of valuable lessons for the Spanish proletariat. If the utter bankruptcy of the AFM "solution," of any solution short of social revolution, can be understood by the Spanish masses, the same betrayals can be avoided in Spain.

BOURGEOIS DILEMMA

The Spanish bourgeoisie is also looking to Portugal. Franco hopes to use the "social chaos" in Portugal to whip up hysteria among the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, and to stave off the demand for democratization of the regime.

But Franco's support is crumbling rapidly. The Catholic Church, longtime pillar of Francoism, is openly hostile; monarchist elements are wavering. Franco retains firm hold only over the army (even here opposition currents have developed recently) and the Falange itself.

The 82-year old Franco would probably have resigned last year if Carrero Blanco, his hand-picked successor and Prime Minister, had not been blown over a five-story building by a terrorist bomb in December of 1973. The assassination left Franco with only the vacillating Prince Juan Carlos and the equally ineffective new Prime Minister, Arias Navarro. Thus if Franco retired, power would inevitably be handed over to more liberal elements. So Franco hangs on, and as yet the bourgeoisie has not figured out how to get him out without unleashing the class struggle.

The bourgeoisie faces a grave dilemma. Spain must be modernized while the working class is kept in check. The bourgeoisie walks the tightrope of "peaceful succession"—they realize that Franco's repressions are not working, but are acutely aware that any concessions to the working class will give stimulus to the mass struggle.

RATS DESERT SHIP

The more conservative elements of the bourgeoisie, whose chief spokesmen are ex-Francoite ministers Diez Alegria, Fraga and Pio Cabanellas, want no part of the working class. If Franco would only resign, these forces argue, limited "democratization" could take place at the initiative of the new king, and Spain could begin its economic revival while keeping the proletariat completely under wraps.

Their pro only des necessary the Euro Spain's Market an described deserting to be don The U furiously bourgeois overtime Portugal hegemony U.S. can puppet re The U.S. taught th fostering the CIA, among th will be in fail.

The U.S. in Southe the recen Turkey a "inner cir support NATO on made a sp the inter important between U.S. Stat sions wi forces.

The im the expir with Spa contracts their 9,00 territory. bases wer U.S. But v bases from the insta Portugues icance of increased.

DE

The mo forces fea strength is tives' limit class mu thinking it new demo argue. Thu strategy o

The forc tic Junta r the liberal sented by the farce, famous as working c Democratic version of program s protection o "unity of S reforms an European e

The main parties in the convince th its internati need Franco keep the wo than Franco

The Dem internal div the form o monarch to Franco. This the Democra conservative ly one of tac behind Princ his liberal on the fonda Franco regim the father, D who has been Franco. A t Don Juan ha for support b tization and

The shad

general strikes
miners' strikes.
of proletarian
and conscious-
the Valladolid
which included
workers (Spain's
ry committees
each factory,
ntatives to a
e for the entire
soviet. The
recked by the
unist Party
ack to work"
tion of soviets
e step forward
iat in creating
class struggle
s rule. These
lished in the
rike and must
out Spain.
the Spanish
d soldiers can
strategy and
whose real
bourgeoisie: the
various other

upsurges in
ant factor in
Spain. The
and Spinola,
ngle for power
the "demo-
Armed Forces
t cover, the
st Parties, are
ce of valuable
proletariat. If
of the AFM
tion short of
e understood
es, the same
d in Spain.

EMMA

oisie is also
anco hopes to
n Portugal to
ng the bour-
oisie, and to
democratiza-

is crumbling
Church, long-
m, is openly
ents are wav-
rm hold only
re opposition
recently) and

ranco would
last year if
hand-picked
ster, had not
tory building
December of
left Franco
Prince Juan
effective new
avarro. Thus
would inevit-
more liberal
gs on, and as
ot figured out
it unleashing

es a grave
modernized
is kept in
walks the
"succession"—
s repressions
cutely aware
the working
to the mass

SHIP

lements of
chief spokes-
inisters Diez
Cabanellas,
ing class. If
these forces
ratization"
tiative of the
ld begin its
keeping the
nder wraps.

Their proposed democratization is only designed to give Spain the necessary democratic veneer to satisfy the European leaders and speed Spain's entry into the Common Market and NATO. This wing, aptly described by loyal Francoites as "rats deserting the sinking ship," appears to be dominant at present.

The U.S. State Department is furiously courting this wing of the bourgeoisie. The U.S. is working overtime to try to prevent a repeat of Portugal. But the decline of U.S. hegemony worldwide means that the U.S. can no longer establish stable puppet regimes at a flick of the wrist. The U.S.'s blunders in Portugal taught them a lesson: in addition to fostering right wing coups through the CIA, it is necessary to build a base among the bourgeois elements who will be in power if right wing solutions fail.

The U.S. desperately needs an ally in Southern Europe, particularly with the recent defections of Portugal, Turkey and Greece from the NATO "inner circle." While trying to muster support for U.S. foreign policy in NATO on his recent trip, Gerald Ford made a special point of championing the interests of Spain. The most important talks were not those between Ford and Franco, but the U.S. State Department's open discussions with anti-Franco bourgeois forces.

The immediate issue for the U.S. is the expiring mutual defense treaty with Spain, and the renewal of contracts for U.S. military bases and their 9,000 personnel in Spanish territory. Until recently the military bases were not very important to the U.S. But with the removal of military bases from Greece and Turkey, and the instability of the important Portuguese-Azores base, the significance of the Spanish bases has increased.

DEMOCRATIC JUNTA

The more "progressive" bourgeois forces fear that the proletariat's strength is too great for the conservatives' limited measures. The working class must be hoodwinked into thinking it will have a real voice in the new democratic Spain, these forces argue. Thus emerges the popular front strategy of the Democratic Junta.

The forces comprising the Democratic Junta run from the CP and SP to the liberal Catholic bourgeoisie represented by Opus Dei and, to complete the farce, conservative Gil Robles, famous as the arch-enemy of the working class in the 1930's. The Democratic Junta is a right wing version of the popular front. Its program specifically calls for the protection of private property and the "unity of Spain" as well as economic reforms and integration into the European economy.

The main task of the working class parties in the Democratic Junta is to convince the Spanish bourgeoisie and its international allies that they don't need Franco. It must show that it can keep the working class in line better than Franco.

The Democratic Junta is rife with internal divisions. These have taken the form of a dispute over which monarch to support as successor to Franco. This feud, like that between the Democratic Junta and the more conservative bourgeois forces, is simply one of tactics. The SP has lined up behind Prince Juan Carlos who, for all his liberal noises, is seen as carrying on the fundamental traditions of the Franco regime. The CP is supporting the father, Don Juan (Duke of Cadiz) who has been banned from Spain by Franco. A traditional conservative, Don Juan has recently been angling for support by championing democratization and liberal reforms.

The shadow boxing within the

Democratic Junta over the father-son question in reality represents the competition for political hegemony among the various forces which comprise the Democratic Junta itself. Supporting an outcast monarch provides a slightly more leftist tinge for the CP's betrayals, and is designed to keep the working class from questioning why a working class party is supporting the monarchy at all.

In addition, the PCE is using the dispute to increase its own political leverage. The recent Stalinist victories in Southeast Asia, Italy and Portugal have stimulated the Spanish Stalinists to play a more independent role as economic "rationalizers" and ultimately as a state capitalist alternative ruling class.

At the same time the PCE is still one of the most conservative Communist Parties in Europe. It argues that Spain needs democratic capitalism. All mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat was dropped from the PCE program.

The PCE, which generally aligns itself with the Italian CP, has criticized the Portuguese CP for going "too far." The PCE is worried that the actions of the Portuguese Stalinists, even though they remain completely within bourgeois confines, will scare off Gil Robles and Serer of Opus Dei, as well as the European Social Democrats.

The PCE's main strength is in the

stage theory of revolution (to be translated as "the revolution is a long, long time off").

HISTORY OF BETRAYAL

The Spanish proletariat has seen in the past how these claimants to working class leadership behave in a revolutionary situation. The Stalinists in the 1930's were the most ardent defenders of the democratic bourgeoisie against the proletariat and peasantry. They opposed and overturned the expropriation of the landed estates by the peasantry, broke the Barcelona soviets, championed the "regular army" to replace the workers' militias and physically annihilated the most revolutionary elements. In fact, the CP substituted itself for the bourgeoisie, which had gone over almost entirely to Franco.

The Socialist Party played the same role, albeit in somewhat less cynical form. The Socialists never claimed to be doing anything other than defending "democratic capitalism." The governments they headed attacked every working class upsurge in Spain, refused to grant land reforms and generally did nothing without the bourgeoisie's complete approval.

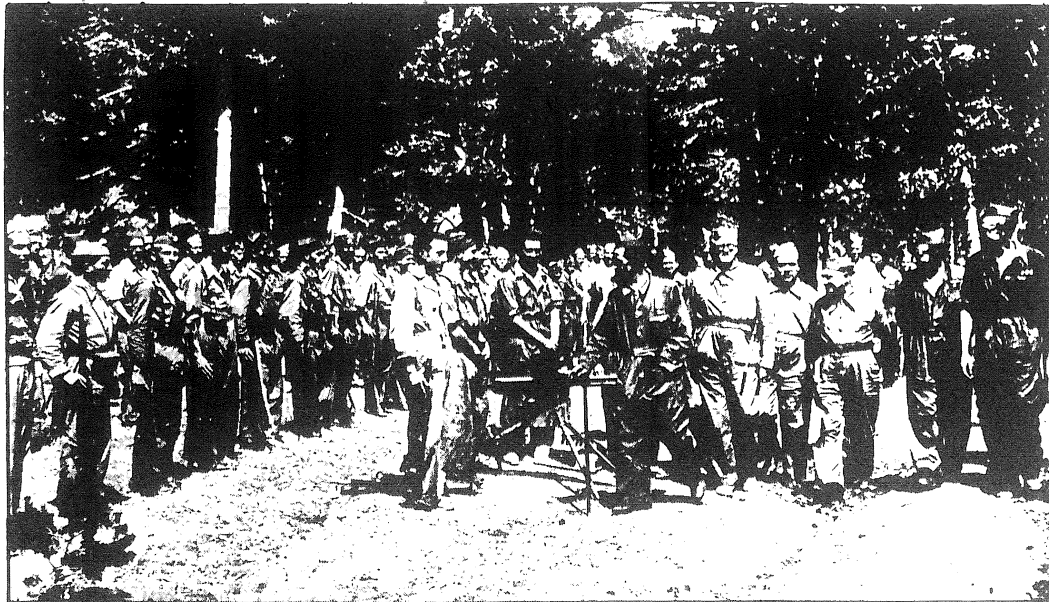
The Anarchists, who no longer exist as a major force in Spain, captured the broadest layer of militant workers in the years of the civil war. However, they proved their utter bankruptcy through their entry into the Popular

Spanish proletariat cannot do it alone. If Spain's tragic history is not to be repeated, either directly through continued fascism, or indirectly through "democratic capitalism," the proletariat must champion the aspirations of the mass of the Spanish population. In Spain, many of the fundamental bourgeois democratic tasks remain unfulfilled. Through fighting for these demands, the proletariat will show that only the workers' state is capable of meeting the aspirations of the masses and thus win the peasantry and other petty-bourgeois sectors as its firm allies.

30 percent of the Spanish population remains small peasants, engulfed in the semi-feudal latifundia system. The proletariat must lead the fight for the expropriation without compensation of all landed estates. Turn over the land to the peasants and peasant cooperatives.

The interests of the proletariat are counterposed to all forms of national and colonial oppression. For the right of self-determination for the Basques, Spain out of Africa. The Spanish proletariat must link the struggle against national and colonial oppression with the fight for social revolution against the common enemy: Spanish capitalism and international imperialism.

The monarchy, one of the most insidious feudal relics, must be completely eliminated. In its place the



Republican troops reviewed by Socialist politicians during Civil War. Revolutionary proletariat showed tremendous strength and heroism but leadership betrayals via Popular Front opened door to Franco victory.

Comisiones Obreras (Workers Commissions) which constitute Spain's illegal trade union structure. The Comisiones could be a vital force in the class struggle, destroying the Falangist unions (CNS) and leading the creation of soviets throughout Spain. But instead the PCE calls for participation in CNS elections and uses the Comisiones to contain the working class movement in reformist channels. The Comisiones were used to lead "back to work" movements in Barcelona, Valladolid and Bilbao. The PCE, along with the rest of the European Stalinists, made no protest when Polish coal was shipped into Spain during the miners' strike.

The Socialist Party (PSOE) provides no alternative to the PCE. The PSOE, completely destroyed in the 1930's, is showing new signs of life. It led a large May Day demonstration in honor of Pablo Iglesias (one of the PSOE's founders) which was attacked and suppressed by the police. However, the PSOE supports the Democratic Junta and puts forward a three

Front governments and their refusal to seize power, although they could have done so, in 1936.

The POUM, which has recently reemerged in Spain, played the most important role of betrayal in the 1930's. Because it was the most left centrist party, it attracted the cream of the Spanish proletariat. In other words, it was in revolutionary opposition to the betrayals of the CP and SP. But faced with a decisive revolutionary situation, the POUM capitulated to the bourgeoisie, tailing the Anarchists and entering the Popular Front, ignoring the warnings and guidance of the international revolutionary leadership of Leon Trotsky, and thus paving the way for the proletariat's defeat.

STRATEGY FOR VICTORY

The tremendous growth of the working class movement in Spain, breaking the yoke of years of fascist domination, points to the potential for socialist victory in Spain. But the

proletariat must fight for the immediate establishment of a revolutionary constituent assembly, elected by universal suffrage of all people over 16 years of age. Such an assembly could immediately grant basic and necessary democratic rights such as freedom of assembly, speech and association, equal access and pay for equal work regardless of age, sex or nationality and a free trade union structure of the entire working class independent of the state.

The proletariat has shown its ability and willingness to fight. It has begun to create its future revolutionary institutions, the soviets. All that is lacking in Spain to bring victory to the proletariat and to the overwhelming mass of the Spanish people is the revolutionary vanguard party to lead this struggle, to give it conscious direction. The most class conscious workers in Spain today must begin this task immediately. Forward to the reconstruction of the Fourth International. Forward to the victory of the socialist revolution.

LETTERS

SEND LETTERS TO: P.O. BOX 562, TIMES SQUARE STATION,
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036

LSC Charges "Distortions"

To the editor:

The number of factual distortions and slanders in your article, "Workers' Defense Guards Fight Racist Attacks" (Torch, May 15, 1975) makes it clear that this is not simply a question of journalistic incompetence, but of outright lies. Firstly, the "Revolutionary Autoworkers' Committee" (RAC) does not exist in our local. Its total presence in local 6 consisted of one very poorly distributed leaflet. The one RAC "member" in the local did not even bother to mention his affiliation to the RAC when he put forward the clarifying amendment to our call for a labor-black defense guard (an amendment which we enthusiastically accepted). Predictably, he also "forgot" to mention his opposition to racial integration in spite of the fact that the motion clearly stated "the struggle for integration of blacks in housing, education, and jobs is in the vital interests of the entire working class."

It was the Labor Struggle Caucus

leaflet which mobilized for the union meeting; a LSC member put forth the motion at that meeting; three subsequent LSC leaflets have built the defense and solicited volunteers; and LSC members have been major organizers of the defense effort. RAC has been nowhere to be seen. In spite of this, the Revolutionary Steelworker (a publication closely associated with the RSL), in an issue distributed for a union meeting of Local 65 (US Steel, Southworks) had the nerve to say that the motion for the defense guard was put forward by the RAC; a self-serving, purposeful, lie!

The RAC "member" in UAW Local 6 put forward a second amendment to the defense motion which called for a rank and file committee to supervise the defense efforts. Although LSC supporters voted for this amendment as a vote against bureaucratic control, its syndicalist formulation allowed the local bureaucrats to climb off the hook. We want the union to be responsible for the defense; using all of its resources to make sure it is

Reply: LSC Caught in Own Trap

To the readers of The Torch:

A single letter cannot possibly take up all the errors in Brother Judson's little piece, but a few comments will let the reader know who is perpetrating distortions about the Local 6 defense work. (The absurd charge that I hid my views on integration was answered in last month's Torch.)

Judson charges that the RAC does not exist in Local 6. For a member of a caucus which is hardly bigger than the RAC (despite the fact that it has been around for some time), to play this kind of numbers game is not only reactionary but absurd. The strength of RAC lies not in its numbers but in the fact that it is a revolutionary pole within the trade union pointing the road forward to the most class conscious workers.

Presumably Brother Judson has had some schooling in the unfortunate fact that revolutionary organizations do not comprise the overwhelming mass of the proletariat today, but that this in no way minimizes their importance nor changes the necessary tasks of revolutionary leadership. What the LSC cannot stomach is that the RAC is becoming such a revolutionary pole.

The RAC leaflet was distributed at the plant gates and in the locker rooms. The LSC learned of the attacks on Brother Dennis from me when I took the first steps in forming the defense effort. Yet the LSC claims it initiated the campaign. The lie is transparent.

The real question is not who did what first, but the content of the work. The LSC has jumped on the defense bandwagon, but the motions they introduced at the union meeting included no specific call for forming a defense guard. This is so clearly true that Brother Judson himself had to quote my motion rather than the LSC's in a leaflet he wrote for the defense steering committee. Can this be refuted? Of course not.

Judson's letter spends several paragraphs on the devastating charge that the RAC motion called for a rank and file committee to supervise the defense guard, preferring the formulation "committee elected by the rank and file." While we long ago agreed that the wording of the second formulation is clearer, Judson has turned his 10th-rate question into a charge of syndicalism and substitutionalism.

But unfortunately for Brother Judson, he will have to turn this charge against the very organization with which he is in political solidarity. In the latest issue of *Workers Vanguard* (No. 72, July 4) the work of the Spartacist-Supported Militant Caucus in ILWU Local 6 is described as follows: "one motion (of the Militant Caucus) which drew particular opposition from the leadership was for a rank-and-file strike support committee." Rotten syndicalist substitutionalism, Brother Judson?

Behind this dispute is the LSC's prime concern of bringing the bureaucrats into the defense effort. Revolutionaries had to prevent the bureaucrats from sabotaging the struggle. The RAC leaflet warned that they would stand in the way, and this was proven in practice.

The LSC leaflet (with its five whereas's) failed to give any such warning and the LSC fought to prevent the steering committee from publicly exposing the bureaucrats' role. In fact, in a letter to *Workers Vanguard* another LSC member admits that the failure of this RAC amendment allowed the bureaucrats to claim that the defense guard was unofficial. Brother Judson has been caught in his own trap.

The charge of substitutionalism is nothing but a cover for the cowardice of the LSC and the SL. Both were unwilling to make a commitment to help protect black families while the struggle was isolated. This was labeled "silly and adventurist"!

successful, just as the union is responsible for the successful carrying out of a fully sanctioned strike. This means including the elected leadership in the running of the defense, not excluding them through "rank-and-fileism." It is through an elected committee, responsible to the whole membership, that we will best be able to carry out union campaigns, and at the same time expose the pro-company stance of the bureaucrats. What was needed was a committee to run the defense, elected by those at the meeting, but open to all union members.

What lies behind the RAC's amendment, however, is not rank-and-fileism, but substitutionalism. The amendment would have had the effect of substituting a small number of rank and filers for the union, not seeing the need to mobilize the broadest section of the union ranks as defense volunteers. Although the amendment failed, this happened, in part, anyway. A rank and file committee was set up, and the bureaucrats, after extensive media coverage, washed their hands of the whole affair, and took no responsibility whatsoever for the defense. Thus the defense was severely weakened.

The same kind of substitutionist thinking lies behind your description of the "united front" fiasco initiated by the Class Struggle League. While members of the LSC, and Spartacist League supporters present, pointed out the urgent need to mobilize the trade unions in an effort to seriously defend the four black families suffering racist harassment at the hands of

the Nazi Party on the SW Side of Chicago, supporters of the CSL and RSL flippantly demanded that "we" (i.e., the 20 or so leftists and militant unionists plus whatever immediate periphery we could mobilize) defend the families. No one from the four families was even at the meeting. A black community organizer and intermediary for the families agreed with the LSC and SL speakers in ridiculing the macho "pick up the gun" rhetoric coming from the CSL and RSL, noting that such tactics, without massive organized backing, would be a set-up for the cops and Nazis to get both the leftists and the black families.

The LSC is consistently trying to mobilize the union around our program, and will, through the course of the struggle, expose and defeat the trade union bureaucrats. In its quest for instant popularity, the RSL has gone to the extreme of reactionary politics—you adapt to the backward sentiments of racist white workers (and also reactionary black nationalists) and line up behind Louise Day Hicks and the KKK in opposing busing and racial integration. Any class conscious worker can see through the opportunism and lack of spine behind your deceitful "short-cuts."

For Class-struggle unionism,
Judson Jones
Labor Struggle Caucus
UAW Local 6

(In the interest of clarity, we have made minor corrections of the author's spelling and punctuation.)

They counterposed mobilizing the trade unions for defense to the revolutionary approach of beginning defense efforts with the limited forces we could muster while pressing in the trade unions and community organizations for a black-labor defense to protect all those threatened by the fascists.

Only when the trade unions move will the SL and LSC tail behind. The position of the LSC is so rotten that they had to drop it in Local 6 to keep any credibility. When a number of workers were eager to start the defense, they jumped on the bandwagon (even though mass numbers were not involved).

According to Judson the LSC and SL engages in efforts to mobilize the trade unions while the RSL engages in macho "pick up the gun" rhetoric. Is this why motions introduced by RSL supporters have been fought for in several locals, passed in a couple and cited in *Workers Vanguard* while the SL can find only the LSC to support? Just as Brother Judson quoted my motion rather than his own, so the SL cites the work of RSL supporters to indicate that the struggle has gone beyond Local 6.

Brother Judson finishes with an obligatory bow to integrationism. One need only point to the practice of RSL supporters in the defense of black rights to show the absurdity of the KKK baiting. Busing and integration are a fraud, illusory reforms that will not advance the living and working conditions of blacks as the entire capitalist economy sinks deeper into decay. Only cynics or militants who are genuinely confused can claim that equal sharing of the misery is a solution when the entire living standard of the working class is under attack. The SL and LSC clearly fall into the first category. We can only hope that Brother Judson, if he is an honest militant, will find his way out of the centrist mire.

Steve Rothkrug
for the
Revolutionary Autoworkers
Committee

P.O. Workers

Dear Editor:

Your article "P.O. Workers Must Prepare for Victory" in the June 15 Torch was excellent. It showed how revolutionary leadership is necessary for postal workers (as for all workers and oppressed peoples) to even stay the capitalist attacks. The program provides the link between this defensive struggle and socialist revolution.

A general strike around this program would pose the question of state power. A revolutionary leadership would carry through this strike to the only real solution—the working class in power.

A general strike called against the use of troops would bring the working class directly against the bourgeois state. It is crucial that there be class-wide action against the use of troops, but more is needed. We must win as many elements as possible in the soldiers' ranks to the side of the working class. This would tremendously weaken the bourgeoisie's power.

If the strike committees have a revolutionary strategy they can do this. The strike committees would address rank and file soldiers, explaining that their interests also lie in ending capitalist misery and brutality. The most oppressed sectors of the class, those least able to secure jobs, are disproportionately represented in the armed forces.

Postal workers are particularly able to speak to rank and file troops—many are ex-soldiers who could get no other job. Strike committees should appeal to the soldiers to respect the picket lines and refuse to scab on the strike. Soldiers should be urged to elect their own committees to replace the authority of the officers.

It is crucial that a revolutionary party be built to implement a strategy to build the necessary bonds of class unity against the power of the officers, the state and the bourgeoisie.

Comradely,
J. Kala

Cont'd
has n
variou
Leadin
the N.
Party.
centris
ings
suppor
"Supp
muddl
have
endors
NAAC
So a
allies,
on the
a str
Instea
good
bosses
line be
What
claime
there
equali
claims
found
procee
jurisdi
cion l
be car

NO

At p
NAAC
plans f
The or
plans b
be bus
66,000
inner-c
while
almost
through
plan in
stantia
educati
system

It is
one pla
his ow
experts
equality
other c
ing to
judge
Whatev
school
educati
year an

One
educati
expect
the bud
Board
year in
forward

Fa

Cont'd
through
and in a
class wa
to use hi
against
and to s
class col
The E
footstep
1930's.
extremely
sions to
tremendo
grows a
assured
Relations
the elect
favor.

Althoug
likely wir
pro-grower
be what de

of the SW Side of
workers of the CSL and
ly demanded that
20 or so leftists and
ists plus whatever im-
ery we could mobilize)
ilies. No one from the
s even at the meeting.
munity organizer and
or the families agreed
and SL speakers in
macho "pick up the
coming from the CSL
ng that such tactics,
e organized backing,
up for the cops and
ch the leftists and the

consistently trying to
ion around our pro-
through the course of
xpose and defeat the
aucrats. In its quest
larity, the RSL has
treme of reactionary
apt to the backward
acist white workers
onary black national-
o behind Louise Day
KKK in opposing
ial integration. Any
worker can see
portunism and lack of
our deceitful "short-
ss-struggle unionism,
Jones
struggle Caucus
ocal 6

of clarity, we have
ctions of the author's
ctuation.)

Workers

P.O. Workers Must
ry" in the June 15
ent. It showed how
dership is necessary
s (as for all workers
oples) to even stay
acks. The program
between this defen-
socialist revolution.
e around this pro-
the question of state
ationary leadership
gh this strike to the
—the working class

e called against the
d bring the working
ainst the bourgeois
that there be class-
the use of troops,
d. We must win as
as possible in the
he side of the work-
ould tremendously
oisie's power.

ommittees have a
tegy they can do
ommittees would
file soldiers, explain-
terests also lie in
isery and brutality.
sed sectors of the
able to secure jobs,
tely represented in

are particularly able
and file troops—
rs who could get no
ommittees should
liers to respect the
fuse to scab on the
ould be urged to
ommittees to replace
he officers.
at a revolutionary
nplement a strategy
sary bonds of class
ower of the officers,
bourgeoisie.

Comradely,
J. Kala

DETROIT BUSING

Cont'd. from p. 16

has met with ready support from various left organizations in the city. Leading the way in this capitulation to the NAACP is the Communist Labor Party. During the past months, the centrist CLP has held several meetings and demonstrations to build support for busing. Under the slogan "Support Busing, Not Fascism" these muddleheaded pseudo-revolutionaries have been able to win the direct endorsement of a local chapter of the NAACP.

So as not to embarrass their liberal allies, they have refrained from calling on the working class to actually wage a struggle for decent education. Instead they preach reliance on the good graces and compassion of the bosses, the left face of the same liberal line being pushed by the NAACP.

What exactly are these self-proclaimed revolutionaries supporting? Is there a shred of the "quality and equality of education" that the CLP claims to defend? If so, it would be found in the court hearings now proceeding in Detroit under the jurisdiction of Judge Robert DeMascio on how the desegregation order will be carried out.

NO HELP FOR EDUCATION

At present, the school board and the NAACP have submitted separate plans for consideration by DeMascio. The only real difference between the plans lies in the number of children to be bused. The board plan involves 66,000 students, but leaves three inner-city school regions untouched, while the NAACP plan will effect almost every school in the city through the busing of 76,000. Neither plan includes any measures to substantially improve the quality of education offered in the Detroit school system.

It is now up to DeMascio to choose one plan or the other or come up with his own from his team of "court experts." Thus, the "quality and equality" championed by the CLP and other centrists will be decided according to bourgeois law, by a bourgeois judge and his appointed flunkies. Whatever busing plan is decided upon, school children will receive no better education this year than they did last year and the year before.

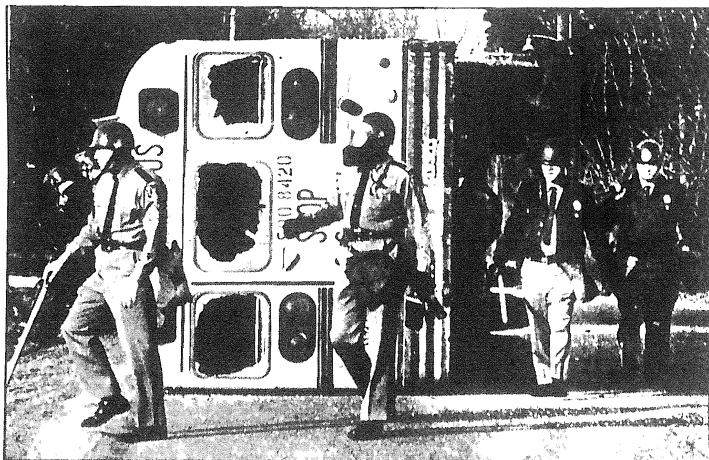
One indication of the kind of education that Detroit parents can expect for their children is reflected in the budget presented by the Detroit Board of Education. For the second year in a row, the board is putting forward a "suicide or survival"

budget. Educational expenses have been cut to the bone in order to pay off the massive debt built up by the school system. Already, the board has laid off 700 workers, most of them teachers.

Instead of expanding the educational facilities, the school board is cutting back. Following the example of Boston, the budget will be cut even more once the busing scheme has gone into effect. Revolutionary and class conscious workers must begin now to build a classwide response to these attacks, which are but one aspect of the generalized attack on the living standards of the working class.

DEFEND THE BLACK STUDENTS

The central focus of this response must be the united front to defend the



Cops show up after bus is overturned in 1970 South Carolina racial violence. Black-Labor Defense Guards must be organized to protect black students.

black students. Given the character of the busing strategy and the events in Boston, militant workers should begin now to mobilize black and trade union defense guards to smash any attempt to terrorize the black children being bused into predominately white neighborhoods. To rely on the "planning" of the bourgeoisie, as Joe Madison has proposed, is to invite defeat.

Once again, Boston offers a clear example of the defense afforded by the bourgeois state. Columbia Point housing project stands near South Boston, the scene of most of the racial violence and the base for the racist forces. In mid-September, the community was attacked by uniformed Klansmen. The response of this black community was

to set up armed self-defense guards on eight-hour shifts around the clock. Several days after the first attack, shots were fired into the project from a nearby roof. The police, less than a mile away, did nothing. It was not until three days later that the cops went into action: 300 of Boston's Tactical Police went into the project, disarmed the defense squads and placed the area under virtual martial law.

This is just one example of what black workers can expect from the armed forces of the bourgeoisie. Detroit blacks have only to remember the history of police brutality suffered at the hands of the STRESS units to understand the role they will play in "defending the black community." Resolutions must be taken into the trade unions, most importantly the UAW, and the community organizations demanding the mobilization of defense squads for the fall.

In addition, the struggle for a decent education for all must be

one. 13,000 new teachers are needed. 3) An end to tracking. Education should be planned with the intention of developing each student's fullest potential.

4) Free transportation to the school that each pupil wishes to attend. This right is denied by the busing plan, where the choice is made by the bourgeois courts.

5) Cops out of the schools! Decent education instead of penal colonies.

6) Jobs and decent income for all. Every student must be guaranteed a choice of a job or free college education upon graduation.

7) Make the bosses pay for education. The bosses reap the benefits of public education through exploiting the skills acquired by the working class. Education should be paid for by the ruling class rather than passing the costs on to the working class. In line with this, all debts owed by the schools to the banks should be canceled immediately.

8) Education under the control of a workers' government. The working class cannot afford to leave the education of the youth in the hands of the bourgeoisie. This must be undertaken with conscious planning by the workers themselves.

The above program offers a clear alternative to the decaying educational system that confronts the working class. Instead of accepting what the capitalists are willing to give, it begins with the real needs of the working class. Through the struggle for this program, black and white workers can forge the unity necessary to turn back the bosses' offensive.

This fight must be begun now. Recently there has been a great deal of discussion on whether or not busing will take place in the fall. In Boston, the final decision was not made until one week before the opening of school. Detroit workers cannot afford to second-guess DeMascio. The pressing needs of the working class in terms of jobs and education will continue to exist whatever DeMascio decides. This strategy must be under way before the forces of the working class can be polarized in fratricidal confrontations over the crumbs from the bosses' table.

The Revolutionary Socialist League is the only organization which has consistently defended the democratic right of blacks without capitulating to the liberal busing strategy. Those centrist forces that are now tailing the NAACP are betraying the workers and the black masses. Revolutionary workers must join the League in exposing their capitulation and building a working class alternative to the continued oppression of capitalism.

boycotts were forbidden, etc. These federal laws were supplemented by hundreds of state laws which outlawed the closed shop, required binding arbitration, made it illegal for public workers to strike, etc. The federal laws specifically excluded farmworkers and for years Chavez and his allies sought to bring farmworkers under the "protection" of Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin.

Chavez changed his line only when he began his romance with the consumer boycott. Today Chavez' support of the Brown Bill closes the circle. The Brown Bill is a trial balloon for a federal agricultural labor law which will be based on the same approach as the existing labor laws. In exchange for machinery to stabilize the base of the union bureaucracy, the union bureaucracy is obliged to accept restrictions on its activities and to use its power to obstruct the struggle of the oppressed and unorganized workers.

Farmworkers will only build a solid

mass-based union when they and the rest of the working class are prepared to offer an independent and united response. Teamsters and Longshoremen must refuse to handle scab cargo. The labor movement must be mobilized to defend Farmworker picket lines. Only armed workers' defense guards backed up by the power of the union can turn back police-grower attacks.

Unorganized workers in the South and Southwest must be organized into fighting unions. And this massive organizing drive must include the workers and poor peasants of Mexico. These oppressed masses have been used as strikebreakers and as a nearly unlimited supply of cheap labor to drive down the wages and working conditions of the entire proletariat. These workers have no interest in maintaining capitalism. When organized they will prove to be chief pillars of support for the farmworkers' struggle and fierce fighters for the proletarian revolution.

Farmworkers

Cont'd. from p. 11

through peaceful channels, i.e., slowly and in a way that does not threaten class war. In return he must promise to use his resultant base as a damper against the unorganized farmworkers and to serve as a general vehicle for class collaboration.

The Brown Bill follows in the footsteps of the Wagner Act of the 1930's. Since the UFW is in an extremely weak position, the concessions to Chavez are tiny and the costs tremendous. Most important, the growers and the Teamsters have been assured that the five-man Agricultural Relations Board which is to oversee the elections will be stacked in their favor.

Although the UFW would most likely win in honest elections, the pro-grower and Teamster Board will be what determines what is "honest."

In other words, if Chavez violates his part of the deal, the Brown Bill can easily be used to weaken the UFW by forcing it to make jurisdictional deals with the Teamsters or to smash the union outright through bogus elections. As the union defeat in 1973 showed, a few election victories settle nothing. This is no doubt crucial in motivating grower and Teamster support for the bill.

The California bill is the most recent in a series of anti-labor laws designed to tie the trade unions to the capitalist state. Especially after WWII with the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts, the federal government took the lead in the attacks on the labor movement. The government could break any strike which "endangered the national interest," union members were forced to sign anti-communist loyalty oaths, labor and secondary

DETROIT BUSING PLAN THREATENS ALL WORKERS

Major class battles loom in Detroit over the implementation of a court-ordered forced busing plan. Already forces are being mobilized throughout the city for the inevitable crisis that will accompany the opening of school in the fall if busing is put into effect. Both the liberal busing advocates and racist demagogues are planning to pit white workers against black workers in a struggle over the rapidly shrinking educational resources available to the working class as a whole.

The liberals' claim that capitalism can grant major reforms to blacks rings particularly hollow given the present state of Detroit. For over a year, the Motor City has been submerged in depression-like conditions. Recent unemployment figures place the number of jobless workers at 25 percent. This figure excludes thousands of youths who never entered the job market, workers who suffer from chronic unemployment and those who are ineligible for unemployment benefits. The figure for black unemployment alone is estimated to be as high as 40 percent.

YOUNG ATTACKS BLACKS

On top of this massive unemployment, Mayor Coleman Young has threatened to lay off 10,000 city workers. The resulting cutbacks in social services will strike most directly at inner-city blacks who depend on these services for their very existence.

It is within this context that the liberals are putting forward the illusion of quality education for blacks through busing. By cynically using blacks' desire for broader educational opportunities as a means of escaping the rotten conditions of the ghetto, they hope to divert the attention of black workers from the deepening crisis that now engulfs the capitalist system. In doing so, they point to white workers as the real cause of black oppression.

This diversionary tactic serves two purposes. First, by fomenting racial confrontations, the trade unions will be severely weakened. Instead of building the unity needed to turn back the bosses' attacks, black and white workers will be fighting among themselves.

The bosses realize that a united working class is a direct threat to the maintenance of their continued rule. They use racism to see that this unity is not achieved.

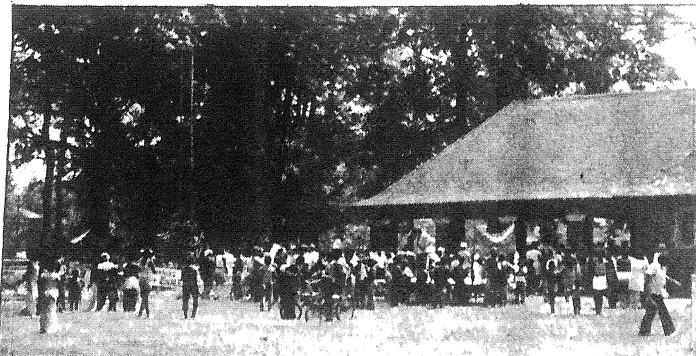
Secondly, black workers have been among the most militant sections of the proletariat. Since the sixties, blacks have been in the forefront of every struggle waged by the working class. This is especially true in the automobile industry.

Black auto workers in Detroit have met the bosses' attacks head-on, giving leadership to the white workers in many cases. The League of Revolutionary Black Workers, despite its political weaknesses, was a major force in the upsurge of the late sixties. This militant example was continued into the early seventies with the sitdowns and wildcats that occurred around the 1973 UAW contract.

Now, with the most vicious attacks since the thirties being unleashed on the ranks of the UAW, the bosses are attempting to insure that the earlier pattern of black workers showing the way forward will not be duplicated. In order to carry out the attacks on the standard of living of all workers, black workers must be singled out and

defeated. With the most militant workers under control, the bosses will then turn on the entire proletariat with a fury.

Busing, as a particular variation on the broader strategy of integration, is the means by which the liberal bourgeoisie hopes to weaken the black workers. While posing as the friend of the black worker, these liberals are consciously drawing blacks into a trap. By interspersing blacks among whites, they hope to make blacks more "civilized," more middle class, which in fact means less militant. But capitalism is no longer expanding and,



Communist Labor Party-sponsored pro-busing demonstration in Detroit. CLP, which sought and won endorsement of NAACP liberals, leads centrist capitulation to busing fraud.

as a result, is incapable of assimilating blacks. Quite the opposite, blacks are used as a scapegoat for the increasing ills of the system.

Blacks must not accept the second-rate status allotted to them by the bosses. Quality education is a concrete need of black people and the working class as a whole. However, the liberals have no intention of improving the quality of education received by blacks.

EDUCATION IS CLASS-BASED

The bosses plan education with the express purpose of maintaining the workers' class position. This is codified in the tracking system. The masses of black and white working class children are placed in programs that leave them semi-literate at the end of their school years—ready for the factory or the dole. Middle class and petty-bourgeois children are prepared to take a position in the government bureaucracy, among the skilled technicians, or in the "business community," and bourgeois brats are trained to rule and clip coupons.

The economic crisis deepens the inequities of capitalism's class-based education. Instead of providing decent schools, the bourgeoisie allows the present rotten conditions to deteriorate even further. Many of the advances made during the years of the post-war boom—reduced class sizes, better-paid teachers, increased opportunities for college admission—are being rescinded today as the bourgeoisie decides that budgets have to be cut back.

BUSING IN BOSTON

The situation in Boston is a case in point. There, the proposed school budget is threatened with severe slashing. The court-imposed busing plan explicitly forbids new school construction until the schools are integrated, despite the finding of the courts' experts that "many of the older schools in Boston are crowded,

ill-heated, dark, odorous and located on cramped sites, as well as below today's standards of fire safety." But any struggle for improved conditions has been sidetracked into the racial battles over busing, in which black pupils have been subject to vicious attacks and one black adult was nearly lynched.

A similar scenario is now taking shape in Detroit. The demands of both black and white workers for decent education are being sidetracked into fighting over who shall bear the burden of the bosses' inability to expand the educational system. A

of the Detroit NAACP, made the attitude of the organization towards the court order explicit in an interview with the Detroit Free Press: "The Detroit-only plan is a very undesirable plan as far as the NAACP is concerned." When asked about the possibilities of a violent racial situation like Boston developing in Detroit, he placed the chances at 50-50. The determining factor, according to Madison, would be the amount of planning that went into the implementation of the forced busing.

NAACP USES BLACK WORKERS

Madison's strategy boils down to using the black working class as fodder for the black middle class aspirations which the NAACP represents. It is directly in line with the aims of the liberal ruling class foundations which have contributed to the funding of the court fight. The Rockefeller Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund and the Carnegie Corporation gave \$50,000 to the NAACP in 1974 to cover the court costs for the next two years. They no doubt feel that their money was well spent.

On the other hand, the Detroit bourgeoisie has hesitated to support busing. The example of Boston has made them unwilling to risk busing in Detroit, where blacks are a key section of the industrial proletariat and have a long history of militancy. The New Detroit Committee, created by the bosses after the 1967 ghetto uprising, is afraid that racist attacks on black children may spark another rebellion by the black masses. So the Committee has turned to funding various groups with the intention of seeing that busing in Detroit is carried out quietly, and is trying to help establish the NAACP as the dominant leadership among Detroit blacks. The Coalition for Peaceful Integration and the Integrated Veterans for Sociological and Economic Progress have pledged 1,500 vets to the NAACP to insure that racist attacks are kept to a minimum. Should any blacks dare to rise in their own defense, the stage has been set for suppressing them in the name of "law and order."

In contrast to the hesitations of the local bourgeoisie, the busing strategy

Cont'd. p. 15

READ the TORCH

Subscribe Today!

I would like to subscribe to THE TORCH.

CHECK ONE.

() 6 issues for 50 cents.

() 12 issues for \$1.00.

() 26 issues for \$3.00.

() Supporting subscription: \$5.00.

NAME _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP CODE _____

P.O. Box 562
Times Square Station
New York, New York 10036

Make all checks payable to THE TORCH.