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Newspaper of the
Revolutionary
Socialist League

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

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No. 11

LABOR MUST FIGHT! SMASH POLICE-STATE PLANS!

BY JACK GREGORY

"Inflation at anything like the present rate would threaten the very foundation of our society. . . . I do not believe I exaggerate in saying that the ultimate consequence of inflation could well be a significant decline of economic and political freedom for the American people."

The speaker is Dr. Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and one of the most far-sighted administrators that the ruling class has. Every class-conscious worker, every revolutionary, should mark his words well. They point the road the corporations will take in the coming period.

FUTURE IN JEOPARDY

"The future of our country is in jeopardy," Burns warned in this May 26 address, meaning the future of the capitalists who control the country. His message is clear.

To save itself, capitalism will savagely attack every democratic right the working class has wrested over the course of decades. No measure will be too severe for the possessing class in its time of crisis.

To get a better idea of what the capitalists have in store for American workers, we need only look across the Atlantic to Britain. The crisis matured earlier there, and the ruling class is more direct about its plans.

Four months ago The Economist, voice of British capitalism, grimly threatened that inflation "will either be slowed . . . by a government which virtually abolishes trade unions; or else it will accelerate into hyperinflation, prices will multiply many times over in a few years."

And just in case there are any doubts about where the path of "hyperinflation"

would lead, The Economist had warned a month earlier that "No country which has sustained a rate of inflation of over 20 per cent for long has been, or has remained, a democracy."

The rhetoric about preserving "democracy" is hypocritical. The Economist is clearly telling British capitalists to act now, in the name of preserving democracy, to smash the trade unions and destroy the democratic rights of the workers. "Hyperinflation," it fears, will create a situation in which bourgeois rule will be endangered by an aroused working class. Better to take the initiative right away.

Burns has the same idea. Because the conflict in America is not yet as sharp as that in Britain (where the bourgeoisie engaged in a national lock-out during the recent coal



Michigan state police attempt to break Dow chemical workers strike recently. Unions must organize defense guards to protect picket lines.



Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Burns demands massive unemployment to cure capitalism.

strike), he is not quite as open in stating the means to be employed. He recommends halting inflation through more unemployment and through "disciplining" spending by workers.

ONLY THE BEGINNING

But this is only the beginning. Paul Samuelson, a liberal economist, has stated that Burns' "tight money" policy at the Federal Reserve Board (restricting credit to

increase unemployment and slow inflation) will lead to "killing off a million jobs and tens of billions of dollars of real income" by year's end. And, warns Samuelson, these measures will barely reduce inflation at all.

But Samuelson has no alternative other than increasing credit and government debt, which will multiply the rate of inflation. At root, runaway inflation is generated by stagnation of the productive forces, the inability to qualitatively expand real production.

The capitalists must try to depress the living and working conditions of the proletariat to accumulate enough capital to introduce new technology and expand production. The choice, as they see it, is between a ruthless attack

on the working class today or an accelerating inflation which will force them to destroy all democratic institutions tomorrow.

To reverse inflation, several million workers must be thrown out of their jobs. These are the unstated methods behind Burns' strategy. They will require a head-on war against the labor movement. They will also mean creating depression conditions that would collapse into a world-wide economic crash.

WORLD CRACK-UP

The ruling class' fear of inflation, its willingness to take the harshest measures, is well grounded. The turbulent international economy is play-

Cont'd. next page

SMASH POLICE-STATE PLANS!

Cont'd. from p. 1

ing havoc with the social order in force since the end of World War II. Every week, another country erupts. Every week, another government falls.

African revolutionaries have toppled Portugal's Caetano dictatorship and the Portuguese workers squared off against the new Popular Front government of the military, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Party. Ethiopian workers and stu-

a totalitarian command society dominated by a bureaucratic state.

Burns and *The Economist* are speaking to the capitalist class. They are urging the corporate masters not to be lulled by cheery optimists who sing that recovery is just around the corner. They are warning that the deadliest weapons will be needed, and that now is not time to be fooled.

Democratic institutions are

egy of relying on the military arm of the capitalist class resulted in tragedy for the workers of Chile. When brutal despotism is needed to preserve their rule, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to use the most barbaric measures.

Workers in this country must have no illusions that the U.S. capitalist rulers are any different. Indeed, they were behind the Chilean army's bloody coup! The "democratic heritage" of

in to crush the labor movement.

No wonder the *Wall Street Journal* applauded the ruthless Chilean generals: "Military rule is never a pleasant solution. But given the total collapse of the Chilean economy that Salvador Allende had engineered, unwittingly or by design, some form of totalitarianism was in the cards."

Workers can place no faith in "American traditions" to ward off the blows that are coming. The trade unions will receive the heaviest pounding from the capitalists. The American labor movement, the largest in the world, poses the gravest potential danger to the ruling class' plans to drive down the workers' living standards. But the trade unions must be willing to fight.

The labor bureaucracy has no stomach for a fight. On the contrary. They are ceding defeat even before the real battle has begun. As *The Torch* has repeatedly warned, I.W. Abel, George Meany, Albert Shanker and their associates are spearheading a campaign to give away the most basic weapon labor has, the right to strike.

Despite real wages' falling more rapidly in the U.S. than in nearly any other industrial nation, despite the threat of mass unemployment, the bureaucrats have kept strikes at one of the lowest levels of the entire post-war period.

Labor's reformist leadership has the same disastrous strategy that led to tragedy in Chile. They trust in the bourgeois state and the capitalist system to preserve

the globe, the economic crisis that the bourgeoisie cannot solve, demonstrates that the American working class will be facing the most ominous challenge yet from the capitalists in the coming period.

Advanced workers must patiently explain to the rest of the proletariat that defeat can be avoided, that a winning strategy does exist.

The Watergate scandal and the economic crisis have revealed the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and both capitalist parties, Democrats and Republicans alike. They provide the most fruitful opportunities for us to counterpose the burning need for the working class to restructure society in its own name and its own interests—a workers' government.

GENERAL STRIKE

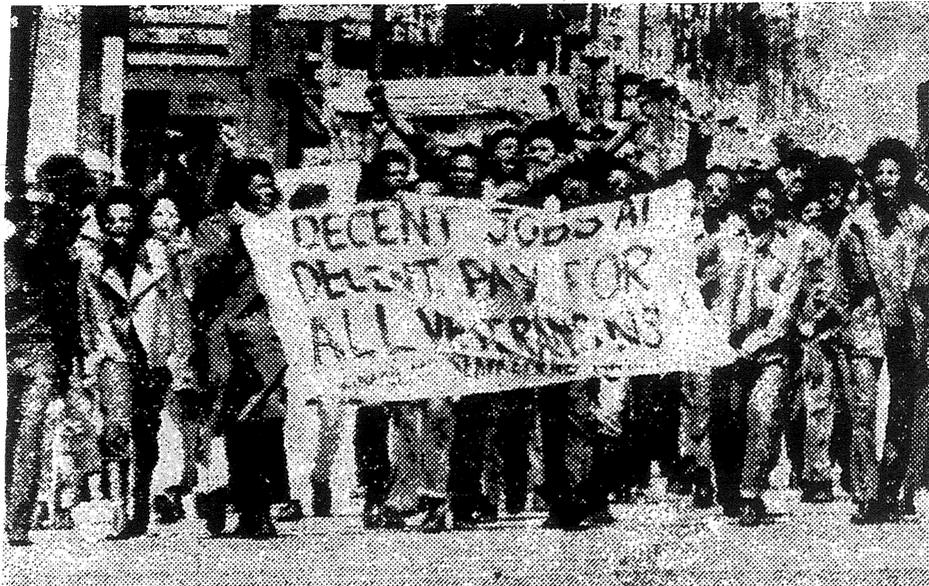
Imagine if today the trade unions were to organize a general strike demanding Nixon's removal, calling for a shorter work week to provide jobs for all at no cut in pay, complete cost-of-living protection. Imagine if the labor movement were to build a revolutionary labor party and call for new elections, with their slogan being "the workers' government." Imagine if labor had leaders who took to heart the lessons of Chile and began organizing armed workers' defense guards to prepare for the coming battles.

This is not the course being pursued by the class collaborationist labor bureaucracy. But it is the necessary way forward for the working class, the strategy that advanced workers must win the mass to by beginning to argue for it today.

THE ONLY ROAD

It is this road that will lead to the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party in this country firmly linked with revolutionary groups around the globe. It is the road to the reconstruction of the international revolutionary party, the Fourth International, which will provide the revolutionary leadership essential to replace the betrayers of the CPs, SPs, and the traitorous labor bureaucracy.

The deadly plans of the international capitalist class show that capitalism has nothing but misery and ruin in store for the working class. The victory of socialism over capitalism is not a question of preference. It is a matter of life and death.



Black veterans demand jobs. Unions must call for shorter work week to provide jobs for all with no cut in pay.

dents continue their month-old battle with Haile Selassie's archaic monarchy. The determined struggle of the British miners brought down Heath's Tory government. Governments have fallen in West Germany, Italy, France, and Canada. In the U.S., Nixon is playing out the string; his removal seems a matter of time.

The American ruling class knows that the class struggle racking the rest of the world will not bypass the U.S. unless inflation, stagnation, and economic decline can be checked. But increasingly, they realize that they can only stabilize their system at the expense of the mass of American workers.

And so now Arthur Burns warns that the nation is in jeopardy, and that economic and political freedom may have to be sacrificed. He is not alone.

Richard Goodwin, a liberal former aid to John F. Kennedy, has mournfully concluded in his recently published book, *The American Condition*, that American capitalism can only survive by stripping away all democratic forms and replacing them with

not sacred to the capitalists. When profits are high, the economy is expanding, the society is stable, the ruling class grudgingly concedes certain elementary rights to dampen class struggle and help the system operate smoothly. But when crisis

America will prove no more defense to the working class here than it did to the Chilean proletariat.

Recent American history is rife with other examples. In 1946-48, when the U.S. corporations shook before a massive strike wave, President



growing unemployment lines.

strikes at social order, when bourgeois rule starts shaking, the forms of freedom are ruthlessly attacked.

REMEMBER CHILE

Last September's bloody coup in Chile is a striking illustration. Allende and his CP and SP supporters never tired of repeating that Chile had a "strong democratic tradition," that a coup was impossible, etc., etc.

This popular frontist strat-

Truman refused to admit that World War II was over, and he threatened martial law against the trade unions.

The coal mines and the railroads were put under temporary government ownership; their owners were made colonels in the U.S. army, so that military measures could be taken against the unions.

Time after time, when American capitalism has been in crisis, state militia, the National Guard, and even federal troops have been sent

labor's prerogatives.

But Burns' message is clear. The message of *The Economist* is clear. The lessons of Chile are vivid. Every revolutionary worker must heed them well. A deadly struggle is coming, a struggle in which the ruling class will adhere to no rules and know no limits.

We cannot chart a precise timetable. The onslaught may come this year, or it may be temporarily postponed. But the events sweeping across

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by Jon Coleman

An event that took place in Detroit last month dramatically highlights the potential and the need for workers' defense guards. As well, it illustrates the danger of placing a shred of faith in reformist leaders to insure the safety of the masses.

RACIST HARASSMENT

When two large chunks of concrete were thrown through her front window in the middle of the night recently, Mrs. Maytroit Richards decided that she could no longer stand the racial harassment that she and her six children have endured for nearly ten months. She was ready to move her family out of the house they bought last July in an all-white neighborhood on Detroit's West Side.

Volunteers from Detroit's labor unions sprang to the defense of the Richards family. They formed five-person defense teams which spent nights in the house and maintained surveillance around the clock.

For as long as the workers' defense squads were in operation, between May 17 and 24, the Richards suffered no harassment at all. But within 24 hours after the guards' removal, someone tried to kick in a side door and a cardboard covering a broken window was ripped away.

NAACP

Why were the union-staffed teams removed? The blame rests with the reformist National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The NAACP had organized the defense squadrons, but all along they saw workers' defense as a stop-gap measure until the racist Detroit police could provide "more protection." When Detroit mayor Coleman Young and police commissioner Philip Tannian assured the NAACP that they had the situation well in hand, the workers' teams were withdrawn.

An Important Example Union Members Defend Black Family



Mrs. Richards displays damage to her home in Detroit. Police "protection" provided no security against racial harassment.

Joseph Madison, executive director of the Detroit NAACP, however, has leaped to the defense of the police. He told a reporter for *The Torch* that it really wasn't certain that there had been incidents at the Richards' house after the police squad appeared on the scene. It might just be that the Richards had a case of "the jitters," he said, adding that the NAACP had

of police thugs on the Detroit city payroll, repeatedly made the headlines for unprovoked murder of blacks—and STRESS was recruited out of the ranks of the Detroit police. Mayor Young recently announced the formation of a new police squad to isolate and pick off the leaders of mass confrontations—the usual flimsy excuse for arresting black militants.

In contrast, workers' defense guards provide the most stable protection possible against racist attacks, including those of the police. The recent "Zebra" police attacks on the entire black population of San Francisco (under the guise of searching for black members of the Symbionese Liberation Army) is the sharpest expression of the mounting onslaught directed at the black community.

Racist terror is now combined with open violence aimed at the trade unions. Vigilantes met the strike of Hortonville, Wisconsin teachers, killing one picket and injuring others (see *Torch* No. 10). Police in Midland, Michigan, are carrying on a months-long terror campaign against United Steeworkers members striking against Dow Chemical.

These attacks are not "errors." The deepening economic crisis and the visible rot of the society evident in the Watergate scandal is bringing the most brutal elements in capitalist society to the fore. Increasingly, workers who resist unemployment, inflation, and speed-up will meet bloody resistance from vigilantes, company-organized goons, and police. More and more, blacks will receive the

most barbaric treatment when they demand the democratic rights promised and denied them for so many decades.

The workers' defense guards in Detroit, organized at a moment's notice, show that the working class is capable of throwing up groupings that provide real security. The trade unions, with their numbers and power, could easily build truly massive defense organizations which would be strong enough to repel the escalating attacks.

But the trade union leadership is not interested in such organizations. Like the NAACP, they count on the ruling class's own police to maintain order. When vigilantes, goons, and cops batter workers' heads in, they mumble a few hollow words, and on occasion may make token gestures like the NAACP's Madison did in the Richards incident.

Labor's rotten leadership has not stopped short of copying the capitalist's gangster methods for use against the rank and file. Last summer, UAW bureaucrats led by Doug Fraser, vice-president of the auto union, organized a goon squad armed with pipes, clubs, and guns to break up a sit-in at Detroit's Mack Avenue Chrysler plant.

ARMED WORKERS' DEFENSE

Trade unionists and the black masses cannot wait for their reformist leadership to secure their well-being. Today, advanced workers should start raising the concept of armed workers' self defense.

There are natural ways to introduce the idea into struggles—for example, picket lines should be transformed into armed workers' teams capable of warding off marauding police and company hoodlums. The unions should be pressed to come to the aid of embattled blacks, organizing defense squads like the one in Detroit.

The bloodthirsty plans of the American ruling class have their model in the massacre of the Chilean proletariat in the wake of the September coup. The reformist Allende and his CP and SP cronies disarmed the workers in the face of the right-wing threat.

There is still time to prepare American workers for the battles that lie ahead. But there is no time for complacency. The preparation must begin at once.

FASCISM

When fascism took power in Italy in 1922, the Social Democratic trade union and government leaders in Germany assured the workers that "Germany was not Italy" and that fascist attacks could not possibly take place in their land. After Hitler's triumph, the French reformists and centrists sang the same tune, only to see a fascist movement several hundred thousand strong arise there, too.

American workers must not be lulled. The savage attacks of the international bourgeoisie are beginning anew. They must be repelled by a militant working class, thoroughly trained in the tactics of armed workers' defense.



Armed union pickets rout cops in 1934 Minneapolis General Strike.

The Detroit police then hurriedly concocted an "anti-racial harassment unit," which drove past the Richards' home every fifteen minutes. This, of course, provided no security at all: witness the racist harassments that took place as soon as the cops took over defense from the workers.

no plans to re-introduce workers' defense committees at the home.

The NAACP's reliance on the police makes a mockery of real defense. The Detroit police are notorious for their persecution, killings, and even torture of blacks on the most transparent pretenses. STRESS, a certified gang

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Workers' Democracy and Public Meetings

An Open Letter to the Spartacist League

Dear Comrades,

Twenty supporters of the Spartacist League (SL) disrupted a forum held by the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) in Detroit on June 8. Through prolonged and repeated heckling, baiting and shouting—making it impossible for any other speakers to be heard—your supporters finally succeeded in forcing a physical confrontation and their own expulsion from the forum.

We consider the incident to have importance beyond the conduct at this particular forum. The right of a socialist organization to hold public forums to put forward its views is an essential aspect of workers' democracy, a phrase which the Spartacist League is fond of invoking in its own defense. But your supporters demonstrated convincingly on June 8 that they have no respect for the democratic right of other organizations.

Before elaborating this point, we will recount the events leading up to an culminating in the expulsion of Spartacist supporters from our forum.

DISRUPTION

The forum began with a presentation by RSL Political Committee member Shelley Kramer on "Lessons of the Chilean Defeat." From the outset of the discussion period following the presentation, your supporters began noisily interrupting speakers, demanding that they be recognized instead of others. Even when, within a relatively brief period of time, two SL supporters were given the floor, the systematic disruptions did not cease.

We were compelled to inform SL supporters repeatedly that unless they ceased their outrageous behavior and allowed others to be heard, we would have no recourse but to expel them from the forum.

Finally, your supporters got to their feet as a group and announced their intention to leave. But instead of doing so, they proceeded to mill around, loudly insulting members of the audience, and tried to take control of the meeting themselves. At this point we began to escort the single most disruptive individual from the hall.

RESTRAINT

A group of your supporters then began pushing and shoving the RSL members who were escorting this individual out, and we were therefore forced to physically evict all your supporters. Even then, we exercised great restraint to see that the two sides did not come to blows.

It is transparent that your supporters packed the meeting, seeking the first opportunity to disrupt. Perhaps your Cleveland supporters, who were the most repugnant provocateurs in attendance, were acting out of their own misconceptions of what is principled behavior in the workers' movement. We hope that this is not your organization's conception.

WEATHERMAN TACTICS

Not since the Weatherman wing of SDS have we seen such disgraceful attempts to prevent political discussion. The Weathermen, you should recall, rarely needed to resort to physical violence to break up meetings and forums. Heckling, shouting, drowning out speakers, and attempting to seize control of the floor invariably enabled them to accomplish their goal. These were the self-same tactics employed at our forum by your supporters.

The behavior of SL supporters constituted the most flagrant violations of the democratic norms of the workers' movement. We hope that the leadership of the Spartacist League is aware of the proper means of conducting forums, but this incident gives us reason to wonder. Perhaps it would be best if we explained a few basics.

The purpose of a forum is to provide an

opportunity for an individual or organization to put forward its viewpoint. Surely, you must realize that a forum is not a debate.

A forum is called by a single organization for the purpose of presenting its own views on a given subject publicly. That organization has the right to set the rules of procedure at its forums. Other political tendencies which decide to attend the forum must abide by those rules.

The sponsoring organization may decide to allow opponent tendencies to speak at its forums. If so, it will also reserve the right to decide how many representatives of those tendencies may speak.

To claim that each and every SL supporter who attends an RSL forum has a right to speak there is absurd. We have no intention of surrendering control of our public forums to you every time you decide to pack it full of your own supporters.

"GOOD JEWS?"

Members of the RSL scrupulously observe these democratic procedures when attending forums given by other groups. We tried to explain this to your supporters on June 8.

We reminded your supporters that, for example, at a recent forum held by the International Socialists, RSL members requested an additional speaker from the floor after only one of us had been recognized to speak. When our request was denied, we made no attempt to prevent the IS forum from proceeding.

For this, one of your supporters at our June 8 forum called us "Good Jews."

What can we make of this slander? When we fail to disrupt the IS forum, we are called "Good Jews." When, proceeding from the same conception of forums, we refuse to allow our public meetings to be broken up, your supporters charge us with being "hooligans."

A debate is something quite different. Debates are organized to do what forums cannot and are not meant to do—to give two opponent organizations a chance to dispute each others' views on equal terms.

In a debate, both sides are given equal time to speak. To this end, the two organizations involved consult before-hand to set down ground rules which are mutually acceptable to them both. The debate is planned, prepared, and advertised by both organizations.

We are willing and eager to debate the Spartacist League. We have done so in the past, and we are still awaiting your answer to our proposal for a debate between our respective national leaderships.

ROWDYISM

But we insist on our right to hold forums as well, and we will not submit to any attempts to disrupt them through systematic rowdyism. We will not have the terms of our own forums dictated to us by would-be intimidators who resort to breaking up our meetings when their pompous demands are rejected.

We are afraid that your supporters' tactics will greatly hinder future efforts to build real united fronts. The united front can only be genuine if the various tendencies can maintain the fullest right to put forward their independent positions, while criticizing those of other tendencies. Your supporters, unfortunately, seem to understand only the latter aspect while trampling on the former.

Our Cde. Kramer has now spoken on the Chilean coup in Chicago, New York, and Detroit. Each time your supporters have intervened, but never have they so much as murmured a word about Chile. Do you agree with our analysis or not?

From your behavior we can only assume that you are far less prepared to draw out the lessons of the

Chilean events than we, and are somewhat embarrassed by your ignorance. But comrades, please be so kind as to not obstruct us in performing a vital duty.

Your supporters' disgraceful behavior makes your calls for "workers' democracy" ring hollow. We urge you to investigate the behavior of your supporters thoroughly and to take them to task. Their disruptive methods have no place in the workers' movement. They can only impede the exchange of views and building united fronts and make a mockery of the vital concept of workers' democracy.

We have no wish to exclude supporters of your organization from future RSL forums. We hope you will see to it that the incident of June 8 is not repeated.

THE EDITORS

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Dear Ed

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LETTERS

Send letters to:
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Hospitals in Decay

Dear Editor:

Working in a large metropolitan hospital, I face the decay of capitalism every day. Not only is the present system proving itself incapable of providing decent health care, but at the same time it tries to put the burden of salvaging itself (and its profits) on the backs of the workers.

This hospital, like others, has invested in sophisticated, highly expensive equipment that is needed by very few patients, and which is available in other nearby hospitals. Clearly this kind of investment hopes to heighten prestige and profits and nothing more. Likewise a glamorous new addition was built, running into the millions.

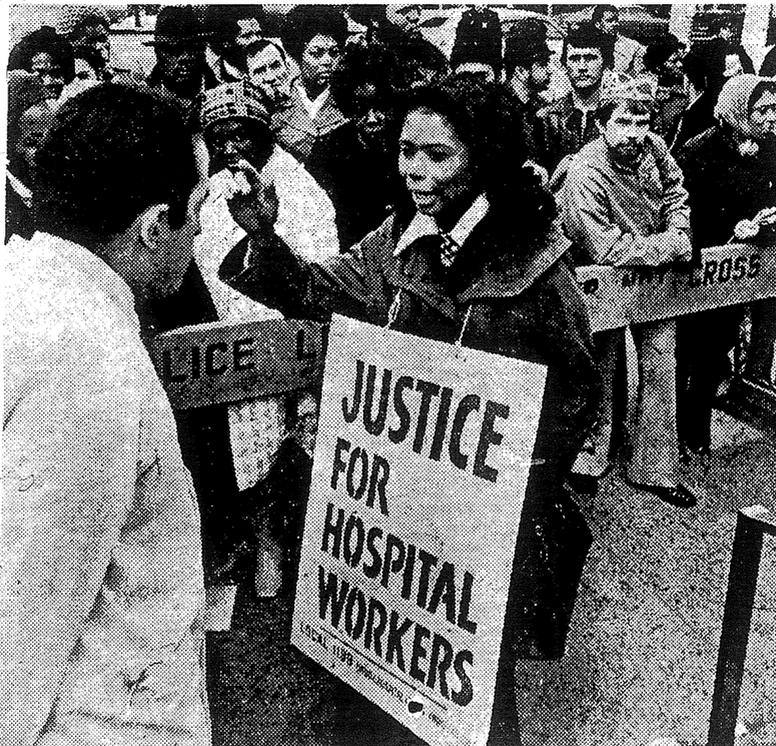
And now? Now there aren't enough patients to keep the beds occupied, not enough use of the equipment for it to "pay for itself." Certainly I am not against adequate, modern medical facilities. But this duplication of rarely-used services and needless expansion in search of greater profits is hardly having the effect of providing better health care.

The room cost per day has skyrocketed to \$100, and in some cases as high as \$210. And we who work there are finding ourselves increasingly short-staffed, overworked to the point of not being able to give adequate patient care, and constantly harassed to maintain dozens of "money-saving" measures.

All this is done to "spread out" the cost of these fiascos!! And these are only a few examples.

But the story has another side. As this

rape continues, our eyes are opened. In a heated discussion about our staffing problems, one nurse stated, "A few years



Hospital worker argues with physician during hospital strike in New York. Hospital administrations and doctors demand prestige building and "special equipment" while workers and patients pay the cost.

The General Strike

Dear Editor:

I thought the article in Torch #8 on the Seattle general strike was excellent in showing that the general strike is an important part of American labor history. That history is still with us, for the heritage of a general strike never entirely disappears from a city's labor movement. The sense of power and the knowledge that a general strike can happen remain long after the strike itself is over.

The heritage of the Seattle general strike of 1919 reappeared in March of 1974, when the King County Labor Council voted for a general strike to increase fuel allotments.

San Francisco saw a bloody, but victorious general strike in 1934. And twice over the last three years, San Francisco has been on the verge of a general strike.

In a number of other cities over the last few years (Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York), the question of the general strike has

been posed.

In all of these cases, the labor bureaucracy has been successful in heading the strikes off, and snatching defeat from the

Wants Program

Dear Torch Editor:

I feel better after reading the last issue of Torch (#8) just because of the article by J. Coleman ["Runaway Shops Rob Auto Workers"]. He has so effectively explained runaway shops and also (and more especially) set forth a program for correcting the condition. This gives me hope.

So much of your paper spells bitterness

ago they tried to unionize this hospital, and I wasn't interested. But I certainly am now. We need some protection! We need a way to fight back!"

And some of us are becoming aware that not just this hospital, but the system as a whole needs to be changed drastically. Capitalism is strangling us as it struggles to survive. In our anger and through our unity lies the potential for creating a society that bases itself in the needs of people, and not the need for profit. I read The Torch, and look to your for leadership.

Yours for socialism,
A Chicago nurses' aide

Fight Fascism

To the Editor:

New reports of incidents involving small town vigilante squads and members of the racist National Socialist White People's Party emerge almost daily. The Nazi and fascist banners have again been raised.

These events are only small indications of the ever-worsening plight of the petty bourgeoisie. Increasingly crushed by the bourgeoisie's desperate needs for more and higher profits, the middle classes are actively seeking a way out of their situation.

Historically, the petty bourgeoisie is attracted to whichever class it sees as being the most capable of victory—of solving the immense crises at hand. Fascistic groups are now preparing to openly offer themselves and their leaderships to the petty bourgeoisie as the only viable alternative to economic and political anarchy.

But the fascist "answer" for the middle classes is an illusory one. The basic contradiction of capitalism, the falling rate of profit, would remain unchanged. Fascism would only further consolidate all capital in the hands of the big bourgeoisie. Although looked upon by many sections of the middle classes as being the only way to defend themselves, ultimately the petty bourgeoisie would only be helping to hand power to their own worst enemy.

The working class must stand firm in the face of these events. It is up to the proletariat to show the petty bourgeoisie that only a movement in the interests of the entire working class, i.e., socialist revolution, is capable of saving the petty bourgeoisie from ruin.

It is the proletariat which can and must expose the truth behind such slogans as "equal sacrifice" and counterpose demands which the middle classes can immediately understand and relate to—such as the nationalization of banks under workers' control to provide cheap credit to all; state aid to farmers; etc.

But to carry through with these immense tasks facing the working class, a revolutionary leadership is required to lead the class in struggle. The petty bourgeoisie, and less advanced layers of the working class, will be won over only by being offered a revolutionary leadership, standing on socialist programs, backed by the advanced layers of the proletariat, and ready to struggle for the seizure of power—ready to fight for a workers' government through to the end.

It is clear to me that the Revolutionary Socialist League understands the need for building such a leadership internationally as the most crucial question posed to the class today. In fighting for socialist programs, the RSL carries forward the work of rebuilding the Fourth International as the world revolutionary party capable of leading the working class to victory against fascism and world war.

Yours in struggle,
S. Parker
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Sincerely,
A Friend for a better world

by Cliff Gordon

Everywhere, capitalist politicians are praising the "detente," promising the world's peoples a "new era of peace." But everywhere, the capitalist governments are preparing for war.

This is clearest of all in the United States, the most powerful imperialist power in the world. As Richard Nixon clinks champagne glasses with Brezhnev and Chou En-lai, his military strategists are mapping out battle plans for World War III.

The reason for these preparations is not hard to discover. World War II ended with a deal between the two chief imperialist powers (the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.) which gave each of them a slice of the world to plunder.

For decades, both powers felt relatively satisfied with the settlement. There were disputes and shoving matches between them, of course, but the dominant theme was inter-imperialist stability.

Today, this stability is collapsing. The international crisis of capitalism is destroying it.

The end of the post-war capitalist boom means that neither of the imperialist giants can feel secure or stable. Both sides watch helplessly as their economies stagnate, as their supply of essential commodities (like food and fuel) shrinks.

LOOTING

Capitalism knows only one answer to such a situation: LOOTING. The U.S. and Russian capitalist classes are dramatically stepping up the exploitation of their own working classes. At the same time, both powers are eyeing each others' international empires, seeking out ways to add to their own plunder at the expense of their opponent's.

The most recent example of this jockeying took place in the Middle East. During the October war, both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. maneuvered frantically to defend and expand their power over the region's resources.

Months before the war even broke out, one U.S. government official made clear just how Washington views the situation in that area. Mr. Elmer Bennett, assistant director of the Office of Oil and Gas told one reporter: "Our dependency on oil from the Middle East has become so great that our control of the region and external influence decisions... could be used as an expeditionary force in the Middle East that could make Vietnam seem like

PENTAGON PLANS WORLD WAR III



General Goodpaster

a picnic." (Denver Post, May 29, 1973)

ARMS STRATEGY

The new situation is evident in the changes taking place right now in Washington's arms strategy. While U.S. imperialism felt secure and relatively satisfied with its world position, its nuclear strategists concentrated on preserving the status quo, on simply holding onto what it already owned. With stability a thing of the past, the strategists now look on war as a positive means to readjust the world balance of economic and political power.

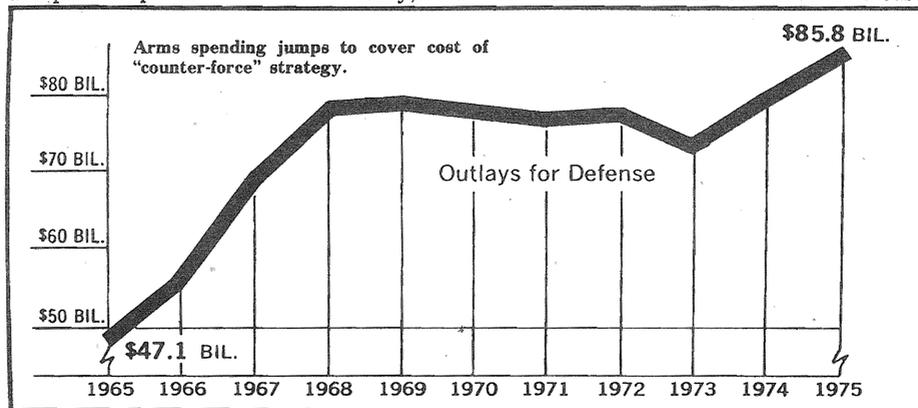
values—its industrial and population centers. The idea was to deter your enemy's attack by making clear that enough of your own weapons would survive such an attack to do unacceptable damage to the enemy in a second-strike retaliation.

Targeting weapons on industry and population (called "counter-value") was, in other words, aimed at deterring nuclear war altogether. It was tied to a mainly defensive or "second strike" strategy. It was the logical doctrine for a period of inter-imperialist stability.

Today, the old "MAD"

The chief component of counter-force are the so-called "silo killers"—missiles that can destroy the best-defended underground missile silos maintained by the enemy. Three years ago, the Pentagon told the Congress that "It is the position of the United States not to develop a weapons system whose deployment could reasonably be construed by the Soviets as having a first strike capability."

Today, exactly this kind of weapons system is the pride of the Pentagon planners. Nearly half of the U.S.'s land-based



The centerpiece of U.S. military power is its 7,100 nuclear warheads which are presently zeroed-in on targets within the U.S.S.R. B-52 bombers—440 of them—armed with hydrogen bombs round out the U.S.'s arsenal. This massive deployment of weapons was originally built around a concept known as "Mutual Assured Destruction" (or "MAD"), as the experts called it. MAD was aimed at discouraging a nuclear attack by an enemy.

Under MAD, nuclear weapons were made as invulnerable as possible to a first-strike attack by the enemy and were aimed at the enemy's most treasured

strategy is being scrapped. In February, Nixon asked Congress for a military budget of \$85.8 billion for 1975, an increase of eight per cent over 1974 allocations. He explained that the extra funds were necessary to re-fit the U.S. nuclear arsenal for a "counter-force" rather than a "counter-value" role.

FIRST STRIKE

"Counter-force" is, in fact, a first-strike, an offensive strategy. It calls for aiming missiles not at industry and cities but at the enemy's missiles. The idea is to strike first, knock out the enemy's ability to counter-attack, and thus win, not deter, the war.

missile force, along with a large section of its submarine missile-launchers, have now been equipped with the MIRV system, a missile system designed specifically for "silo-killer"—that is, a first strike—work.

MIRV means Multiple Independently targeted Re-entry Vehicles. A MIRV-ed missile is armed with 10 to 14 warheads, each of which is aimed at a separate target.

Defense against MIRV is extremely difficult because these targets cannot be determined from the flight of the carrying missile. The Soviets are expected to have their missiles MIRV-ed by 1976.

Work has already begun in the U.S. on a refined version known as MaRV (maneuverable re-entry vehicle). This will make it possible to steer each warhead in flight after it has been released from the missile.

TACTICAL WEAPONS

In the meantime, U.S. imperialism is also streamlining the rest of its war machine for practical preparation for war. General Andrew Goodpaster, the U.S. commandant of all NATO forces, is now asking Congress for an extra one billion dollars this year to strengthen NATO's ability to fight "small-scale" nuclear war in Europe.

More and more, nuclear weapons are being designed for practical use in combat rather than as "unthinkable" weapons with which to discourage war.

Goodpaster promised Congress in June of 1973 that "Achievable new weapons of lower yields and greater accuracy could increase military effectiveness, while reducing the possible collateral damage, thereby increasing their utility as well as acceptability in NATO planning for employment in NATO countries and the adjacent areas in which they would most likely be used." (New York Times, January 27, 1974)

EUROPE

That Europe will once again become a battleground for settling imperialist conflicts is not questioned by ruling-class strategists today. It is simply a matter of finding the means of focusing the damage this will cause to the continent's wealth. They believe they have found it in nuclear weapons that are capable of precision destruction.

Neither the U.S. nor the Russian ruling classes want a new world war. But that is not the point. The point is that both of them want what only war can bring—a fundamental change in the international

imperialist carve-up, a bigger and better chance to plunder the peoples of the world and thereby ease their own agonizing economic and political crises.

CHOICE

The choice facing mankind is, simply, "Socialism or barbarism." Now as never before, revolutionary Marxists bear on awesome responsibility. They must make this clear to their fellow workers. They must rebuild the only weapon which can put an end to capitalism and imperialist war once and for all—the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution.

by Chr

The military stage in the 1 of Portugal's The long, he African guer against 180, troops in played a major mining the Caetano dict

HEROIC

Despite t and the herdi population in camps, the g bled the occ The successfu Mozambique (FRELIMO) the immediat generals' Apr

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But they wil cially because "democratic" represent is for Portugal. For backward capit the epoch of decay, capital more and mor military, whet with a civilian which refuse t guese capitali choice but to fr ism's army.

REMEMB

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by Chris Hudson

The military coup in Portugal on April 25 marked a new stage in the freedom struggle of Portugal's African colonies. The long, heroic fight of the African guerrillas since 1961, against 180,000 Portuguese troops in three colonies, played a major part in undermining the stability of the Caetano dictatorship.

HEROIC CAMPAIGN

Despite torture, napalm, and the herding of the African population into concentration camps, the guerrillas slowly bled the occupying armies. The successful offensive of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) this January was the immediate spark for the generals' April coup.

Today the African rebels have half-won their struggle for independence. But that struggle is being betrayed by the new Portuguese Provisional Government, and the betrayal is being aided by the Stalinist Communist Party of Portugal and the Socialist Party foreign minister, Mario Soares.

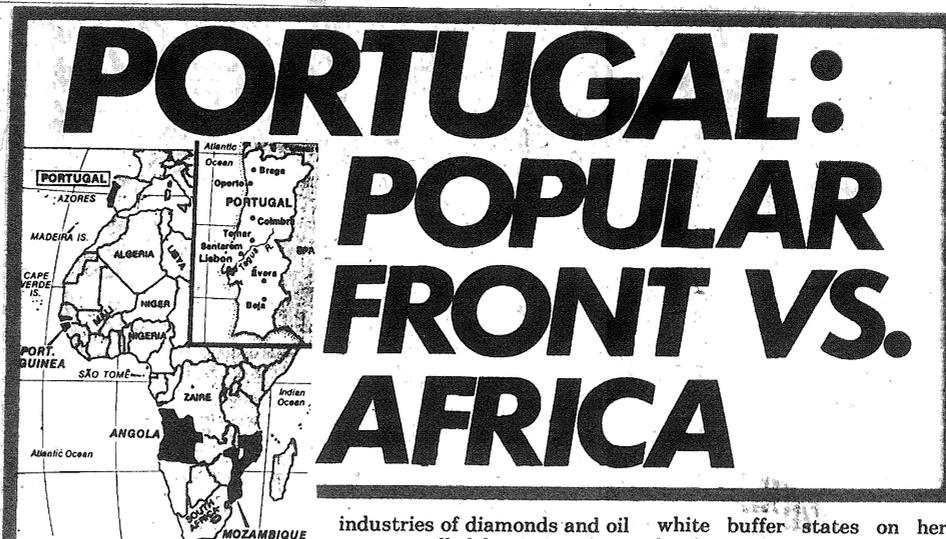
The winning of independence for the colonies requires the one step which these parties, up to their necks in General Spínola's Provisional Government, will not take—calling out the Portuguese masses to force the grant of independence. To do this, the CP and SP would have to be willing to overthrow the Provisional Government.

But they will not do so, precisely because the civilian, "democratic" capitalism they represent is already a ghost in Portugal. For Portugal, a backward capitalist country in the epoch of capitalism's decay, capitalist rule must more and more lean on the military, whether openly or with a civilian mask. Parties which refuse to fight Portuguese capitalism have no choice but to front for capitalism's army.

REMEMBER CHILE

The Portuguese Communist Party covers up this key fact by painting up the army as a bastion of democracy—just as the Chilean CP echoes Salvador Allende's praise for the "professionals and democrats" of the Chilean army. Portuguese CP Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal proclaimed at a news conference on May 17 that to strengthen democracy, "it is absolutely essential... to make the new alliance of the working class and the armed forces irreversible."

This "alliance" of the workers with their future butchers is simultaneously an alliance with Portuguese, European and United States imperial-



ism.

What is at stake for Spínola in "Portuguese" Africa is not some misty-eyed idea of colonial glory but a hard-headed business proposition. The loss of the colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau would be an economic hardship for the whole imperialist system, not only for Portugal.

This is least obvious in Guinea-Bissau, whose importance to Portugal is mainly symbolic. It is most clear in Angola, where any grant of independence "seems remote," according to a report in the May 25 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, because "huge investment is beginning to reap large profits for Portuguese and international companies."

SUPERPROFITS

Imperialist firms, both in Portugal and outside, reap huge superprofits from their trade with the colonies. Buying the colonies' products at far below world market prices, these or other firms sell their goods at higher than world prices through their "protected" colonial market. Portuguese capitalism depends on this colonial relationship; other imperialist states find it highly profitable.

Portugal once used the African colonies to export millions of slaves to Brazil and the rest of the Americas. Now Portugal exports 80,000 slave laborers a year to South Africa's mines, and profits from the colonies' oil, iron ore, diamonds, coal, coffee, sugar, peanuts, and other products. Giant Portuguese conglomerates like the Companhia Uniao Fabril and Champalimaud suck well over \$100 million a year in net transfers out of the African colonies.

The U.S. and European bourgeoisies are in just as deep. The United States buys almost half of Angola's coffee exports. The major Angolan

industries of diamonds and oil are controlled by U.S. investors.

Especially important are Gulf Oil's concessions in the tiny territory of Cabinda, a part of Angola separated from the rest of the colony by the Congo estuary. These oil fields, partly financed by Chase Manhattan Bank and First National City Bank of New York, presently produce 7.5 million barrels of oil a year. That is more than enough for Portugal's domestic consumption of 5 million barrels and a handy substitute for increasingly expensive Persian Gulf oil. Exxon has oil investments in Guinea-Bissau.

white buffer states on her borders, but also the "less obvious concern" of France.

French investments in uranium in neo-colonial Gabon, French military bases in the Comoran islands, and French, British, and American investments throughout Africa would be in danger if the nationalist armies gained real power in the Portuguese colonies.

SPINOLA'S PLANS

The new Portuguese government, which remains a capitalist, imperialist government, intends to hold on to its African profits in one way or



Portuguese troops behold "dissident" in Mozambique.

South Africa, too, has a giant interest in the Portuguese colonies. South Africa is a major investor in the Cabora Bassa Dam project on the Zambezi River in Mozambique and the Cunene hydroelectric project in Angola.

These projects will supply power not only to the Portuguese colonies, but to South Africa and Rhodesia. They were meant to permit greater settlement of white colonists and more foreign investment.

C. L. Sulzberger, a major political analyst for the U.S. bourgeoisie, pointed out in the *New York Times* of May 15 not only the obvious danger to South Africa in the loss of

another. In this it is backed by the rest of the West European capitalist class.

Spinola's original idea was to maintain Portuguese control through a scheme of "federation." This scheme has been rejected by the African rebels. The present plan is for the rebels to disarm, not in return for the promise of a referendum in a year.

This is a worthless promise, as those who have waited for the "free elections" promised in Vietnam in January 1973 will recognize. The offer is meant only to buy time for Spinola to strengthen his control in Portugal and spon-

sor neo-colonial stooge parties in the colonies.

WHITE INDEPENDENCE

If this scheme fails, a further possibility now being openly considered by knowledgeable bourgeois observers is Portuguese-European connivance in a "unilateral declaration of independence" (UDI) by the white settlers with some token blacks to provide a "multi-racial" cover. Already, two small white parties in Cabinda have merged on a program demanding either independence for Cabinda or federation with Portugal.

"Freedom" for these colonialists means the freedom to keep sitting on Cabinda's giant oil supplies. Similar noises are being made in the other colonies.

The Portuguese CP and SP are covering up the enormous interests of Portuguese and European capitalism in the colonies, promising that the capitalist Provisional Government will (as Soares puts it) "respect self-determination with all its consequences."

But not quite all. Soares' fellow-SP'er, Minister of "Inter-Territorial" (colonial) Affairs Antonio de Almeida Santos, says that independence must guarantee "the continuity of Portuguese commercial and cultural interests" in the colonies. No one has yet explained what are the "cultural" interests of these dealers in slave labor, but it is clear that this "socialist" stooge knows what side his bread is buttered on.

CP MOVES RIGHT

In turn, the Portuguese Communist Party is moving quickly to the right in response to the needs of the bourgeoisie. In addition to condemning strikes, the CP was conspicuously absent from a demonstration of 5,000 persons in Lisbon on May 25 demanding immediate independence for the colonies.

The Portuguese working class and the African peoples—especially the African workers who have begun strike and protest actions of their own in the last two months—are logical allies against the regime which wishes to crush them both.

Instead, the Portuguese CP, in line with the world Stalinist strategy of the Popular Front, has united itself with Portuguese and allied imperialism, against the Portuguese workers and colonial masses. Its calls for the "unity of the people"—which means unity with the capitalists—are thus actually dividing the Portuguese workers from each other and from the colonial peoples.

Britain: Wilson vs. the Workers

by Paul Benjamin

Three months ago, British workers voted the British Labour Party, led by Harold Wilson, into office. The workers regarded the Labour Party victory as their victory, a victory against wage controls, against the union-busting Industrial Relations Act, against the ruling class.

The Torch declared throughout the election campaign that the Labour Party represented only the reformist face of capitalist rule. We urged revolutionaries in Britain to give critical support to the Labour Party in the elections, force it to take power, and expose its class-collaborationist policies to the working class.

CRISIS

Wilson is now faced with the job of preserving an economy which is deteriorating under the blows of the world capitalist crisis. In February, Britain's balance of payments deficit was over one billion dollars, the largest deficit in history. The inability of Britain's outmoded industry to compete on the world market has led to an inflationary spiral which will hit a rate of 20 per cent inflation by the end of the year.

REVOLUTIONARY TASKS

From his point of view, Wilson has no choice but to move against the working class. But in doing so, he can only reveal the chasm which exists between the workers' aspirations and his own pro-capitalist policies.

Revolutionaries in Britain must use every betrayal of the Wilson government to demonstrate the practical consequences of its fundamental commitment to capitalism. Only revolutionary socialists will be able to put themselves forward as the most consistent defenders of working-class interests. They will win the opportunity to present a positive revolutionary alternative to reformism, a program for the socialist reconstruction of the British economy.

WILSON STRATEGY

For the moment, Wilson has bought social peace by transforming himself into a broken-down pensioner of American imperialism. He has taken out a \$2.5 billion loan from the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund.

In return, his Foreign Secretary James Callaghan has pledged loyal support to U.S. policy in Europe and the Middle East.

In its domestic policy, the

minister of Labour, Michael Foot, blandly announced that "Those who have already made agreements on the basis of current arrangements (Phase Three wage controls)



British Prime Minister Harold Wilson. Wilson hopes secret "social contract" with top union bureaucrats will turn aside workers' wage offensive and keep him in power.

Labour Party has junked its electoral platform of reforms. Instead, Wilson has maintained the Conservatives' own economic program while elaborating his own refinements to the attack on the proletariat.

CONTROLS CONTINUE

Throughout its campaign, the Labour Party brayed its opposition to the mandatory wage controls imposed by the previous Conservative Party government. It boasted of its resistance to the Conservative bid to attach the continuation of mandatory controls to the new government's own economic program.

But in the midst of this rhetorical resistance Wilson's

will be expected to stick to them. Those making settlements in the transitional period will similarly have to keep in line with the rules."

The Labour Party committed itself not only to police the defeats suffered by the working class last fall, but also to expand the attack on workers' wages embodied in the Conservative's Phase Three controls.

TAX ATTACK

In presenting its budget the government trumpeted that it would "soak the rich" to save the British economy. But as Denis Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer (Finance Minister) admitted, "In one way or another my budget

calls on the majority of the British people to make some sacrifice for the survival of their way of life."

In fact, the Labour Party's income tax proposals, along with a host of direct and indirect sales taxes, are directed mainly against British workers and the hard-pressed British petty-bourgeoisie. They will foot the bill for maintaining the government's financial stability and international credit rating.

"SOCIAL CONTRACT"

The British labor bureaucrats have insisted that Wilson's government represents the Promised Land for the British proletariat. The bureaucrats, as committed as is Wilson to capitalism, know they have no alternative to offer.

Even before the election, the bureaucrats were negotiating the terms of their sell-out. The result was the secret "social contract," a strikebreaking conspiracy to keep the working class in line.

In return for minimal social reforms, a rent freeze and pension reforms—the British Trades Union Congress (Britain's AFL-CIO) volunteered to act as Wilson's cops in the labor movement, to achieve by guile what the Conservative government was unable to win by force.

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

The TUC quickly renewed its promise not to use the recent miners' victory as a standard for future contracts. The bureaucrats pledged to "use their influence" to prevent strikes and hold down wage claims for the rest of the year.

Jack Jones, the "leftist" head of the Transport and General Workers Union, announced that "the greatest advances will be made, in my opinion, as the proposals for a massive build-up of conciliation and voluntary arbi-

tration materialize." (Jones' words bring to mind one of Lenin's favorite stories—the one about the idiot at the funeral chanting "Many happy returns of the day.")

ILLUSION OF STABILITY

This capitulation has temporarily saved Wilson and his government from an immediate showdown with the proletariat. As one Cabinet minister told the *New York Times*, "We've been lucky. We've managed to create the illusion of stability."

This "illusion of stability" can endure only so long as the British proletariat accepts its leadership's sell-out policies. British workers are already demanding the opening of a new wage offensive which has the potential of throwing "conciliation" into the trash can.

WAGE OFFENSIVE

British electrical workers, who were forced to accept Phase Three wage controls last fall, have now overridden their right-wing leadership and voted overwhelmingly to



British miners' strike against wage controls won 35 per cent wage hike and brought down Conservative government.

junk their old contract and re-open wage negotiations. They have pointed the way for the millions of workers who were betrayed by the TUC's sell-out policies.

By next fall at the latest, the core of the British proletariat will be fighting to recover the ground lost in the past two years. 200,000 railwaymen, 100,000 shipbuilding workers, 200,000 printers and newspaper workers, and 120,000 postmen are negotiating new contracts. With the miners' victory before them as an inspiration and an example, large sections of the proletariat have demanded that its leadership smash Wilson's attempt to maintain Phase Three wage controls.

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Workers

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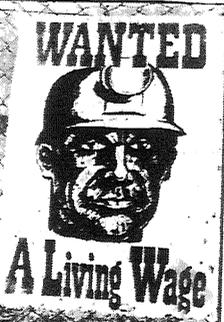
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by Chris Hudson

India's two million railway workers have been defeated by overwhelming force after a 20-day national strike.

The Gandhi regime crushed the strike by jailing between 30,000 and 50,000 workers—from the head of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation to tens of thousands of picketers and other militants. The eviction of strikers from government housing and the use of scabs and Territorial Police (the Indian equivalent of the National Guard) to move the trains completes the picture.

Despite the overwhelming force brought to bear by the capitalist government, this defeat was avoidable. What was needed was a conscious battle plan for the workers to counter the government's battle plan.

A revolutionary strategy would have involved (1) a campaign throughout the Indian working class to demonstrate that this individual strike was a key test of strength and determination between the working class as a whole and the capitalist class; (2) a full-scale general strike of all India's workers in defense of the railwaymen; (3) the arming of the picket squads and the formation of a workers' defense guard to prevent arrests and the movement of trains by police and scabs.

The potential for success of such a policy was great. Tens of millions of Indians today are rebelling against the vicious Congress Party regime. The wave of strikes, food riots, demonstrations against corruption and inflation in several states, is a

Illusion of Democracy Indian Rail Defeat

mighty sign of the weakness of the Gandhi regime.

These things show the readiness of the masses to follow a revolutionary initiative from the one class whose size and power offers the only prospect of success.

At the start of the strike, the railwaymen's coordinating committee declared, "The entire working class is with us." This was proved correct eight days later when a one-day general strike completely paralyzed Bombay, the proletarian capital of India, and disrupted economic activity in Calcutta, Madras, and other major cities.

But this general strike, which was not called until the rail strike was already faltering, remained an isolated protest gesture rather than a real, full-scale strike aimed at breaking the government offensive. Moreover, the workers' leaders relied on the spontaneous solidarity of India's workers with the demands of the railwaymen for higher wages and bonuses. This sense of solidarity was great, but the leaders refused to present the strike as one part of a unified, determined campaign for gains for the entire working class.

Instead, the only display of determination came from Gandhi. Her policy of maximum confrontation was engineered with class-conscious



Indian rail workers demonstrate as strike begins. Union leadership's failure to unify all workers behind strike led to defeat.

brutality. Her aim was not just to defeat, but to crush her first sharp challenge from the working class on a national scale, in order to intimidate the rest of the class.

An especially despicable role was played by S.A. Dange, head of the pro-Moscow Communist Party of

India. Dange's long-time support for the Congress Party regime is dictated both by standard Stalinist capitulation to the "national bourgeoisie" and by Moscow's specific strategic interests. During the rail strike, he combined "criticism" of Gandhi's tactics with back-

stage pressure on the rail unions to call off the strike.

The lessons of this defeat must be learned. Gandhi followed a policy of class against class. Even over the objections of some individual capitalists, she ruthlessly used the state power in the interest of the capitalist class against the entire proletariat.

This policy, moreover, won the international bourgeoisie's seal of approval. In an editorial on June 4, the *New York Times* mildly suggested that Gandhi's tactics (50,000 strikers herded into jail!) were "open to criticism." But, then again, cheered the *Times*, Gandhi's "impressive victory," her "grit and determination," staved off "intolerable new inflationary pressures." With this open contempt for democratic rights, this open applause for the crushing of the hopes of two million workers, the *Times* served notice of its own policy for American workers.

The proletariat must match Gandhi's class-against-class policy with its own. Isolated strikes, however militant, are not enough to win the just demands of the workers against conscious class violence such as Gandhi employed. The Indian working class must in the future set its own entire strength against that of the capitalist state.

Each single strike must be used as part of a strategy to mobilize, strengthen, arm and train the working class to overturn the state power. The defeat of the railwaymen, which seriously set back the working class but has not smashed its fighting strength or its organizations, must be used to drive this lesson home.

Con Edison Swindles New York

by Walter Dahl



200 demonstrators against rising electric rates in New York. Workers face deteriorating services, higher costs, as result of capitalist economic decay.

The country's largest electrical utility, the Consolidated Edison Company of New York, tottered to the brink of bankruptcy last month and was saved from total financial collapse by a gigantic swindle of the public arranged by the state legislature and New York's Governor, Malcolm Wilson.

Con Ed had failed to pay its dividend this year for the first time since 1885. Its financial crisis, coupled with a near-collapse of New York's Franklin National Bank, brought back memories of the 1970 Penn Central Railroad bankruptcy.

Then, too, the federal government stepped in to subsidize Penn Central to prevent a

chain-reaction of bankruptcies of corporations and banks. This time the New York state government intervened.

The state government has bailed out Con Edison by giving the utility \$500 million for two partially completed power plants that Con Ed could not afford to finish. The state will complete construction of the plants for an additional \$300 million and then sell the power produced by the new plants back to Con Edison at cost. The state will finance the \$800 million deal by selling tax-free state Power Authority bonds.

BANKS STRIKE IT RICH

Con Edison will turn most of its \$500 million over as interest payments on debts and dividends to its stock-

holders—mainly three giant banks (Morgan Guarantee, First National City Bank, and Chemical Bank New York Trust Company).

These banks will also be the major purchasers of the high-interest no-tax bonds floated by the state. Thus the banks can cash in on their unprofitable investment in a utility whose management has run it into the ground for years, and transfer their investment into risk-free state guaranteed loans at much higher profits.

The victims of the swindle are the working people of New York. Workers will be forced to pay mounting electricity and gas bills as well as higher taxes to pay the debt-service on the state bonds and to make up for the lost taxes on

Cont'd. next page

GAY CIVIL RIGHTS DEFEATED

by Judith Garson
and Jim Martin

On May 24, the New York City Council defeated Intro 2, the homosexual civil rights bill, in a vote of 22-19. Liberal councilmen had earlier committed themselves to voting for the bill; they had earlier thought it to be watered down sufficiently to be considered "safe." (The bill had been in committee for many months, and came to a vote only by removing any explicit mention of transvestites.)

An energetic campaign by moderate and conservative homosexual organizations, appealing to ruling-class "enlightenment" seemed to have won wide-spread support among liberal councilmen.

But that was before they encountered the virulent and costly opposition of the Uniformed Fire Officers' Association, the policemen's unions, the American Legion, the rabbinical associations, and above all the Catholic Church. With all the resilience of corn mush, the liberals caved in to these reactionary forces.

THE FAMILY

What is behind the reactionaries' hostility to this bill?

A rare front-page editorial in Catholic News on April 25 helped to fan the anti-gay hysteria by stating, "Homosexuality is an increasing threat to sound family life in our city today. We must make every effort to promote the principles and values of the family as the basic unit and foundation of society."

As the decay of capitalism progresses, the bourgeoisie will mobilize every reactionary

sentiment—racism, sexism, chauvinism, and religious superstition—in order to attempt to forestall the awakening of genuine consciousness on the part of the working class. Defense of "family life" is necessary to the ruling class since the breakdown of the family can weaken the hold of bourgeois ideology over the working class.

Throughout history, homosexuality has been repressed as a threat to the family in its various stages of development. But homosexuality is a perfectly natural and harmless variant of human sexuality, though not the dominant one.



Gay activists demonstrate against discrimination. New York defeat shows "liberal" capitalist politicians will not defend democratic rights against ruling-class reactionaries.

CLASS RULE

Homosexuality poses a threat only to a society based on class rule. It is thus consistent for those who fanatically seek to maintain capitalism and who seek to dictate "family life" as the only "proper" way to live to

support the persecution of homosexuals. In the name of "decency", these barbaric reactionaries endorse and support victimization of innocent people only because they are harmlessly different from what established custom declares to be the norm.

This victimization extends from housing and job discrimination to the most vicious police brutality and harassment of homosexuals by special vigilante groups, who have arisen in New York City neighborhoods from time to time to drive gays out of this city, a city to which large numbers of gays have migrat-

of persuasion aimed at ruling-class institutions is a hopeless dead-end. The weakness of liberal "support" to gay rights is illustrated by a New York Times report of liberal councilmen's dilemma: "They're perplexed," one staff member said. "There aren't any thumbs pointing up or down, no directives. So they look up at the ceiling for spiritual guidance. They look up to their mail boxes. They look at each other. They look in the mirror. They just don't know what to do."

This cowardice and indecision is all that can be expected from liberal capitalist politicians. Here, as elsewhere, they can never be counted on to resist the onslaught of the most anti-democratic forces within their own class.

The demand for full rights for homosexuals cannot be won by a struggle confined to a narrow concern with gay liberation alone, no matter how militant, no matter how shocking, no matter how much attention it may attract. Only by adopting a revolutionary perspective for overthrowing capitalism itself can gay activists hasten the day when individual freedom will genuinely begin for all. This means joining fully in the fight to build a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class armed with a program for the socialist reconstruction of society.

THE WORKING CLASS

The suppression of the democratic rights of any grouping in society makes easier the suppression of the entire working class. Nevertheless, the labor movement has usual-

ly maintained a blind hands-off attitude towards gay rights, adapting to the prejudices of the most backward workers. The Communist Party even labels homosexuality a "capitalist sickness."

Workers must learn that only by defending the democratic rights of all can they preserve their own freedom and ultimately their own survival. Behind the attacks on one oppressed group or another lies capitalism's need to marshal its forces for a decisive attack to "discipline" the working class as a whole. Every bourgeois democratic right defended today will make it that much easier for the working class to defend itself tomorrow. Every right lost, every reactionary law passed, will make the proletariat's struggle that much harder.

LENIN

In *What Is To Be Done*, Lenin wrote, "Working class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter what class is affected. Moreover, that response must be a Social Democratic (i.e., revolutionary socialist) response and not one from any other point of view."

The proletariat can emancipate itself only by standing as the defender of the interests of all the oppressed. In so doing, the proletariat will become the leading class pointing the way to the construction of socialism, to the birth of a classless society and the end of social oppression altogether.

profits, led to the state rescue operation last month. Under a capitalist government, however, state takeover means only a more direct milking of the working class.

WORKERS PAY

The bankers and utility bosses who swindled artificial profits out of Con Edison in the first place now get amply paid back for their achievement. The New York public, having suffered through years of a sputtering and expensive electric supply, now find their rates and taxes skyrocketing—and service deteriorating even further.

The worsening economy means that federal and state governments will increasingly step in to prop up staggering

companies. Workers, already bending under the combined impact of inflation and taxes, will be made to carry this unbearable burden, too.

Capitalist nationalization of industry has nothing in common with the socialist program of nationalization of basic industry without compensation and under the control of the workers. The reward for capitalists' looting and destroying basic industry must be expropriation (seizure without payment), not compensation. The funds the state needs to take over industry must be confiscated, not borrowed at murderous interest rates from the capitalists.

These are the first steps a workers' government would take towards the socialization of the means of production.

Con Edison

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the once privately-owned power plants.

Con Edison's problem reaches far deeper than its need for immediate cash. It is suffering from the same severe capital shortage which lies behind the overall economic crises of this period. The tendency of the rate of profit to fall, the Marxist law that underlies capitalist crises, becomes especially vivid in the case of utility financing. So do capitalists' attempts to avoid the consequences of falling profits through financial swindles like artificially pumping up the value of the

industry's assets.

Power plants are the largest single industrial investments in the U.S. today, each plant costing several hundred million dollars. Consequently, utilities' sale of power are generally too low to pay for plant construction out of current profits. Declining profits have to be supplemented by vast loans from banks and other financial institutions. Almost 70 per cent of Con Edison's capitalization in 1969 was in the form of debt.

Interest payments on this giant debt are the utility's foremost payment obligation, so maintenance, wages, and new construction are cut back.

ed in order to escape the even more repressive environment found elsewhere.

STRATEGY FOR GAYS

Without support from the working class, the struggle for gay liberation is doomed to failure. The moderate strategy

For example, Con Edison's spending on plant additions fell from \$334 million in 1964 to \$305 million in 1969—just before a series of power failures occurred in 1970. During the same period Con Edison's net income rose by 27 per cent.

Business Week magazine has cited utility accountants who believe that "power companies deferred necessary expenses in the past" and are now catching up by boosting utility rates. The rates are not the fault of the Arab oil boycott, as Con Ed claims, but a permanent policy of making high profits for bankers and investors.

Con Edison's collapse, based on high capital costs and financial manipulations designed to conceal declining

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advierte que la na y que la libertad tal vez tendrá que estar solo.

Richard Goodw consejero de John libro reciente The ("La condición an do tristemente a el capitalismo an sobrevivir despojar todas sus forma poniendo en su totalitaria domin burocrático.

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¡QUE NO SE NOS

El sangriento septiembre 1973 ejemplo impresion partidarios del PC cansaban de repet ejército tenían un "democrática", qu imposible, etc., etc

Esta estrategia ista" de poner fe en la clase capitalista trágico para los Cuando hace falt brutal para prese burguesía no duda más bárbaras.

Los obreros en e deshacerse de las gobernantes capita en alguna manera d jellos estaban det golpe del ejército "ción democrática" defensa al proletar Chile.

HISTORIA DE E.

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Las minas de ca carriles fueron puest del gobierno provi

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advierte que la nación está en peligro y que la libertad económica y política tal vez tendrá que ser sacrificada. No está solo.

Richard Goodwin, un liberal que fue consejero de John F. Kennedy, en su libro reciente *The American Condition* ("La condición americana"), ha llegado tristemente a la conclusión de que el capitalismo americano sólo podrá sobrevivir despojando a la sociedad de todas sus formas democráticas y poniendo en su lugar una sociedad totalitaria dominada por un estado burocrático.

BURNS NO ESTA SOLO

Burns y *The Economist* le están hablando a la clase capitalista. Les están insistiendo a los jefes corporativos que no se deben dejar dormir por los optimistas sonrientes quienes cantan que la recuperación del sistema está a la vuelta de la esquina. Están advirtiéndoles que necesitarán las armas más mortíferas y que ahora no es el momento para dejarse engañar.

Las instituciones democráticas no les son sagradas a los capitalistas. Cuando los beneficios son elevados, la economía está en expansión y la sociedad está en una situación estable, la clase gobernante concede ciertos derechos elementales para aplacar la lucha de clases y ayudar al funcionamiento tranquilo del sistema. Pero en cuanto una crisis amenaza el orden social, cuando el orden de la burguesía empieza a estremecerse, las formas de la libertad son atacadas despiadadamente.

¡QUE NO SE NOS OLVIDE CHILE!

El sangriento golpe militar de septiembre 1973 en Chile es un ejemplo impresionante. Allende y sus partidarios del PC y el PS nunca se cansaban de repetir que Chile y su ejército tenían una "fuerte tradición democrática", que un golpe era imposible, etc., etc.

Esta estrategia "frente popularista" de poner fe en el brazo armado de la clase capitalista tuvo un resultado trágico para los obreros de Chile. Cuando hace falta un despotismo brutal para preservar su orden, la burguesía no duda en usar las medidas más bárbaras.

Los obreros en este país tienen que deshacerse de las ilusiones de que los gobernantes capitalistas de E.U. son en alguna manera distintos. De hecho, ¡ellos estaban detrás del sangriento golpe del ejército chileno! La "tradicción democrática" le servirá de igual defensa al proletariado aquí que en Chile.

HISTORIA DE E.U.

La historia reciente de E.U. está repleta de más ejemplos. En 1946-48, cuando las corporaciones americanas se estremecían ante una ola masiva de huelgas, el presidente Truman se negó a admitir que había terminado la Segunda Guerra Mundial y amenazó con imponerles ley militar a los sindicatos.

Las minas de carbón y los ferrocarriles fueron puestos bajo propiedad del gobierno provisionalmente; los

dueños fueron nombrados coroneles en el ejército de E.U. para que se pudieran tomar medidas militares contra los sindicatos. Truman amenazó con reclutar al ejército a todo huelgista para así aplastar el levantamiento de los obreros.



"... a organizar guardias de defensa compuestas por obreros armados ..."

Una vez tras otra, cuando el capitalismo americano ha estado en crisis, la milicia estatal, la Guardia Nacional, e incluso las tropas federal han sido enviadas a aplastar al movimiento obrero.

"INEVITABLE"

No es una sorpresa que el *Wall Street Journal* haya aplaudido a los sanguinarios generales chilenos. "El orden militar nunca es una solución agradable. Pero dado el colapso total de la economía chilena, causado inconcientemente o a sabiendas por Salvador Allende, era inevitable alguna forma de totalitarismo".

Los obreros no pueden tener fe en las "tradiciones americanas" para defenderse de los golpes que vienen. Los sindicatos recibirán los golpes más duros de parte de los capitalistas. El movimiento obrero americano, el más grande del mundo, representa el mayor peligro potencial para los planes de la clase gobernante de hundir los niveles de vida de los obreros. Pero los sindicatos tienen que tener ganas de luchar.

FALTAN PANTALONES

La burocracia obrera no tiene los pantalones necesarios para la lucha. Todo lo contrario. Están concediendo la derrota antes de comenzar la batalla verdadera. La *Antorcha* ha advertido repetidas veces que I.W. Abel, George Meany, Albert Shanker y sus asociados están encabezando una campaña para entregar el arma más fundamental de la clase obrera, el derecho de

huelga.

A pesar de que los salarios reales están cayendo más rápidamente en E.U. que en casi cualquier otro país industrial, a pesar de la amenaza de desempleo masivo, los burócratas han mantenido el número de huelgas a uno de los niveles más bajos de todo el periodo de la pos-guerra.

El liderato reformista de los obreros tiene la misma estrategia desastroza que llevó a la tragedia en Chile. Confían en que el estado burgués y el sistema capitalista preservarán las prerrogativas de los obreros.

Pero el mensaje de Burns está claro. El mensaje de *The Economist* está claro. Las lecciones de Chile están aun vivas. Todo obrero revolucionario tiene que hacer caso de los hechos. Se aproxima una lucha mortal, una lucha en la cual la clase gobernante no seguirá ningunas reglas ni sabrá límites.

No podemos establecer un horario preciso. La ofensiva puede venir este año, o podrá ser pospuesta temporalmente. Pero los sucesos que están arrasando al mundo, la crisis económica que la burguesía no puede resolver, demuestran que la clase obrera americana se estará enfrentando al reto más nefasto que hasta ahora les han lanzado los capitalistas en el periodo que viene.

Los obreros avanzados tienen que explicarles pacientemente al resto del proletariado que la derrota puede ser evitada, que sí existe una estrategia para el triunfo.

El escándalo de Watergate y la crisis económica han puesto de relieve la bancarrota del sistema capitalista y de los dos partidos capitalistas, los Demócratas y los Republicanos. Estos hechos nos ofrecen una oportunidad para contraponer la candente necesidad de que la clase obrera re-estructure la sociedad en su propio nombre y en sus propios intereses—un gobierno obrero.

HUELGA GENERAL

Imagínense si hoy los sindicatos

organizaran una huelga general exigiendo la deposición de Nixon, pidiendo una semana laboral de menos horas para poder dar trabajo a todos sin reducción de salarios, con medidas que protejeran contra el alza en el costo de la vida. Imagínense si el movimiento obrero construyera un partido obrero revolucionario y pidiera nuevas elecciones, con el lema de "gobierno obrero". Imagínense si los obreros tuvieran líderes que tomaran a pecho las lecciones de Chile y comenzaran a organizar guardias de defensa compuestas por obreros armados para prepararse para las batallas venideras.

Este no es el curso que está siguiendo la burocracia sindical colaboracionista de clase. Pero sí es el camino hacia delante que necesita la clase obrera, la estrategia a la que los obreros avanzados tienen que ganar a las masas, comenzando desde hoy a plantearla.

EL UNICO CAMINO

Este es el camino que llevará a la construcción de un partido revolucionario de vanguardia en esta país firmemente unido a los grupos revolucionarios en todo el mundo. Es el camino a la reconstrucción del partido revolucionario internacional, la Cuarta Internacional, el cual proporcionará el liderato revolucionario esencial para poner en lugar de los traidores de los Partidos Comunistas, los Partidos Socialistas, y los traicioneros burócratas sindicales.

Los planes mortíferos de la clase capitalista internacional demuestran que el capitalismo no tiene más que miseria y ruina que ofrecerle a la clase obrera. La victoria del socialismo sobre el capitalismo no es una cuestión de gusto. Es una cuestión de vida y muerte.

traducción de A.V.

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Las sacudidas al régimen capitalista en Portugal hacen que las lecciones del golpe en Chile cobren mayor importancia que nunca.

Una vez más, el Partido Comunista y el Partido Socialista se han presentado como el liderato de los obreros. Como en Chile, están haciendo todo lo que pueden por limitar la lucha del proletariado al reformismo y desviar la revolución socialista. Los militares de nuevo están tomando la postura de defensores de las masas trabajadoras.

Chile: ¡Que nunca vuelva a suceder! demuestra decisivamente cómo los reformistas desarmaron a los obreros chilenos por medio del Frente Popular y cómo abrieron el camino a la sangrienta masacre de septiembre del año pasado. El mensaje de este folleto—la urgencia de repudiar el "camino pacífico" y de tomar el camino de la construcción de un liderato revolucionario—es esencial para eritar que el desastre chileno se repita escala mundial.