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BEHIND THE MID-EAST WAR:



WORLD CRISIS IN OIL!

by Kevin Tracey

The energy crisis is real. It is as real as the capitalist class's desperate drive for profits. It is as real as hunger and cold and war. That is why one single word is coming more and more to dominate domestic and world politics: Oil! The same word also stands for international capitalism's ever-deepening economic and social crisis.

In early October, Richard Nixon suddenly discovered the energy crisis. This new discovery came after months of flat White House denials that anything in particular was wrong.

Finally forced to face reality, Nixon tells us he is preparing a "plan." Judging from the public speeches of his henchmen, Nixon's plan is basically identical to those other brilliant plans now being offered up by Republicans and Democrats alike.

All these plans have one thing in common: none of them will increase the supply of fuel available! And all the planners know it. The best that capitalism today can do, Nixon's Interior Secretary admits, "is to spread the discomfort out."

The new slogan is "Share the Cold." In the history of capitalism's collapse this slogan will rank alongside the U.S. Agri-
Cont'd. pg. 3

Drawing the Lessons of Defeat

CHILE: NEVER AGAIN

by Shelley Kramer

The military coup and the bloodbath unleashed in Chile is a devastating setback, not only for the Chilean working class but for all the workers of Latin America and for all the workers of the world.

But to win the final victory, the world proletariat must draw strength not only from its victories but also from its defeats. It must come to understand the causes for those defeats and determine that the same mistakes will never be made again.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

The disaster in Chile had one single cause: The leaders of the working-class movement in that country—Chilean labor's general staff—were reformists not revolutionaries.

For over a century one single dispute has torn the working class movement of the world: the question of reform or revolution.

Revolutionary socialists from Marx and Engels to Lenin and Trotsky have tirelessly explained that there is only one road to socialism: by winning decisive victory in the class struggle.

Capitalism is a system which enriches its ruling class, the bourgeoisie. No ruling class in history has ever given up its power and privileges without a struggle. The central purpose of the capitalist state is to defend the bourgeoisie's rule with violence: the army, the police, the prisons.

Only by organizing the working class independent of and against the bourgeoisie on a revolutionary socialist program; only by understand-

ing, accepting, and winning the class struggle; only by arming and preparing the working class for the final showdown with the capitalists and their state; only by seizing industry and the land and smashing the
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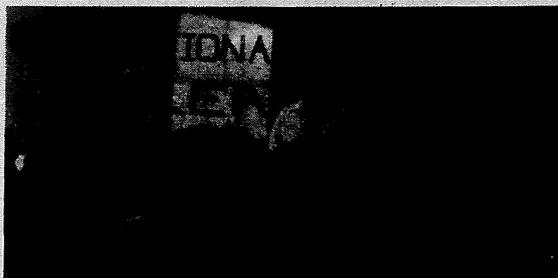
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Founding Convention of the League



Sy Landy, National Secretary of RSL

by Margaret Brecht

The Revolutionary Socialist League held its Founding Convention in Chicago on September 1-3. Delegates were present from Los Angeles, San Antonio, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and New York. Observers from other cities and states attended as well.

The historic importance of this Convention—dedicated to building a new, international leadership for the international workers' movement—was underlined by events unfolding throughout the world.

In Cleveland, the National Socialist White People's Party strutted unopposed down the city's main streets.

In Uruguay, a military junta clamped down its rule onto the workers and peasants. In Chile, the "peaceful road to socialism" ended in a bloody massacre; the Chilean capitalists and military presented the world with another brutal lesson on the facts of class struggle.

FOR A NEW LEADERSHIP

Only an international revolutionary leadership—a leadership which multiplies and focuses the tremendous potential strength of workers and the oppressed—can put an end to the right-wing and fascist advance. Only such a leadership can guide the proletariat to victory in the world-wide class struggle and to socialism. This message was the main thrust of the opening remarks delivered to the convention by the League's National Secretary, Sy Landy.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Basing itself on the methods of revolutionary Marxism, the Political Resolution—adopted unanimously following a full day's discussion—summarizes the lessons of the past decades and the tasks of today.

Against the bourgeois economists and their supporters in the workers' movement, the resolution argues that capitalism's stabilization after World War II was not based on one or another new, ingenious economic miracle but on the defeat of the international working class.

These international defeats were produced by the workers' sell-out reformist and Stalinist leadership world-wide. These defeats permitted the concentration and stabilization of capital in the hands of the U.S. ruling class and, to a lesser extent, in the hands of the state-capitalist ruling class of the U.S.S.R.

Thus despite the fact that the capitalists are completely incapable of raising the level of the productive forces of society, they were able to postpone for a time full-scale crisis with savage attacks on the living standards of the world's workers and oppressed masses and by the advance of U.S. and Stalinist imperialism.

The tremendous growth of the state apparatus which imperialism requires, particularly the military, represents a further drain on the resources of the society, actually aggravating the sources of future crisis. Nevertheless, ardent defenders of "free enterprise" will be forced to back those attempts to resolve capitalism's conflicts which increase the power of the state.

As world capitalism's crisis re-emerges, the urgent need to break down national barriers to international economic planning become sharper day by day. But the convention noted the miserable failure of the ruling classes to achieve such "capitalist internationalism" on any serious basis.

Instead, the deepening crisis strengthens bourgeois nationalism, national rivalries, and national hatreds. The bourgeoisie in each country erects higher and higher tariff barriers around itself to keep "cheap goods" outside. It uses these barriers as fortresses, hiding within them only in order to prepare economic and military assaults on international rivals.

Convention delegates pointed out the necessity for revolutionaries everywhere to meet the nationalism of the capitalists with the internationalism of the world proletariat. Only the firmest working-class resistance to imperialism—resistance leading up through the destruction of capitalist imperialism itself—can bar the door to fascism and a new world war.

To defeat imperialism and its reformist and centrist supporters requires a new leadership for the world proletariat. It requires the reconstruction of the Fourth International, the Trotskyist international workers' party, based firmly

upon a revolutionary Transitional Program.

RULING CLASS STRATEGY

The Political Resolution argues that when the workers' movement is strong, the liberals and reformists try to woo it with reforms, even to the point of promising socialism and allowing the workers' parties to enter the government. But at the same time the right-wing of the bourgeoisie prepares its heavy battalions for the frontal assault on the workers.

When the liberal coalition or Popular Front collapses (and it always does), the liberal bourgeoisie simply hands things

over to the right wing of its own class. The workers are suppressed. The reformist and centrist parties as well as the labor bureaucrats, who had allied with the "liberal" capitalists, are now crushed under the boot of the right-wing "forces of order."

DIVIDING THE WORKERS

Convention delegates pointed to the embryonic forms taken by such developments today. In France and Italy the CP and SP try to join with bourgeois parties to initiate toothless reform governments, while fascism organizes and grows stronger. In the U.S.,

Cont'd. pg. 11

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Statement of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist League

The "October War" in the Middle East is a continuation of the war of 1967 and of the entire politics of the Middle East. It is not a war for democratic aims on either side. The working class can therefore support neither side.

Israel fights to maintain the gains of its 1967 aggression, to maintain control of the Sinai oil seized through that aggression, to maintain the military superiority which allows Israel to occupy Palestine.

Israel is a colonial-settler state, a belated European settler colony in the Middle East. The denial of national rights to the Palestinians, of democratic rights to non-Jewish Israelis, of equality to non-European Israeli Jews, are not accidents but inevitable results of a racist colonial intrusion into the Middle East. Further, Israel is a junior partner of American imperialism and an imperialist state in its own right. For revolutionary socialists there is no question of the defense of such a state.

On the Arab side, the war is fought not to overthrow imperialism but to reach a more favorable accommodation with it—for the oil of Sinai, for the territories lost to Israel in 1967, and to strengthen the Arab states' bargaining position vis-a-vis Israel and the United States.

While the Arab states as well as Israel are tied to world imperialism, it is in a qualitatively different way. Despite all efforts to play one imperialist power against another, they remain tied to world imperialism as the exploited to the exploiter—whereas Israel is tied as the smaller exploiter to the larger. We defend the Arab States against world imperialism. Further, the nationalism of the Arab masses is not the equivalent of reactionary Israeli nationalism—Zionism—nor is it the same as the nationalism of the reactionary ruling classes of the Arab states. Rather, it expresses the Arab masses' aspirations for the unification of the Middle East against imperialism, for the establishment of democracy.

But the bourgeois nationalism of the Arab

ruling classes cannot accomplish these tasks. Within the compass of decaying world imperialism, bourgeois nationalism is ever more circumscribed, especially in backward countries. The bourgeois-democratic revolution in the Middle East is halted half-finished and the statist military and semi-military regimes of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Libya accommodate with the monarchies of Saudi Arabia and Jordan, with Israel, and with world imperialism.

Both United States and European imperialism and the state-capitalist imperialism of the USSR vie in the Middle East, preparing a new imperialist war. The United States remains the main imperialist danger. Today it wishes time for bargain and maneuver, tomorrow it will intervene on behalf of its junior partner and against the OPEC states which have feebly attempted to gain advantages in the oil market. The USSR eggs on the Arab states against Israel in order to outflank American imperialism and establish its own imperialist domination over Middle Eastern oil and oceans.

Only the revolutionary proletariat, through the Permanent Revolution, holds the key to the completion of the democratic tasks of the Middle Eastern colonial revolution. Only socialist revolution can win the battle of democracy and unify the Middle East against imperialism through a Socialist Federation of the Middle East, with democratic rights for Jews and other minorities. Every day's delay in the creation of a revolutionary proletarian leadership hastens the approach of a general imperialist war for the Middle East.

No support to the war! Turn the imperialist war into a class war!

For the self-determination of Palestine! For a Socialist Federation of the Middle East!

Reconstruct the Fourth International and its Middle Eastern sections!

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OIL CRISIS

culture Secretary's answer to shortages and skyrocketing prices in food: "Let them eat cheese!"

WAR

As the energy crisis worsens, imperialism's eyes fix on the Middle East, the key source of world oil production.

The present mid-east war reflects the politics of oil.

The war, naturally, has sent all the world's "great powers" scrambling.

The Arabs count on their oil supplies for leverage in international diplomacy. The normally "friendly" King Faisal of Saudi Arabia now threatens to cut off the U.S.'s oil unless Washington cuts back its support of Israel. Russia, like the U.S., needs Mid-Eastern oil, and hopes to increase its own control over it by backing the Arab coalition.

The United States counts on its agent, Israel, to keep the Arab states off balance and weakened. That way, the Arab capitalists will not be able to dictate terms to Washington. Nixon's fondest hope is that Israel will not only repulse the Arab forces but also smash them in pieces.

The motor force of capitalism is the search for profits. The "profit motive" alone determines what will be produced and how.

In order to expand their profits, capitalists must keep ahead of their competitors. This requires investing previous profits in more modern machinery. Here lies the problem.

Each generation of machinery is more expensive than the last. But at the same time, each generation of machinery gives a smaller boost to efficiency than did the last. The result is a falling rate of profit.

The falling profit rate has two effects. (1) It makes industry less attractive to further investment. (2) It reduces the funds available to maintain and expand production.

These two results merge into one final result: stagnation of the economy.

The falling rate of profit must be counteracted or the capitalists will be ruined. They fight falling profit rates by "cutting costs"—slashing wages, and attacking the working conditions and living standards of the workers.

The capitalists build their factories where workers are more easily disciplined and are forced to live and work at sub-human levels. This is the basis of imperialism. They grab for control over the rest of the world in order to more easily plunder foreign wage-workers and to loot other nations of raw materials like oil.

This is the basic contradiction of the capitalist system, and it is what lies at the root of the energy crisis as well.

Japan and Europe have for a long time been almost totally dependent for oil and oil products on imports. But, until fairly recently, the U.S. had enough domestic production to supply its needs and to use as income-producing exports as well.

The drying-up of domestic supplies makes the American capitalists, too, dependent on foreign sources for their oil. According to the International Economic Report of the President, 1972, net imports of crude oil have grown since 1947 from 296 trillion BTU yearly to, in 1972, more than 4,513 trillion BTU. The trend is similar in regard to petroleum products.

NO "NORMAL" ANSWER

There is no way out of this dilemma by "normal" means. It requires drastic solutions. On the one hand it requires massive investment in new drilling and refining facilities in the US and in developing new sources of energy, such as nuclear and solar power. On the other hand, it means attempting to secure the foreign oil sources from interruption.

Both of these options contain only misery and menace for the working class, those who are going to have to



National Guardsmen had to be called out recently to pump gas for big shots attending Western Governors' Conference in Gleneden, Oregon. Stations closed in protest of federal price controls. The governors gathered to discuss "the energy crisis."

pay the bills for these policies out of their living standards and with their lives.

The attempt to build new sources for energy production in the U.S. runs immediately up against the wall of investment-capital shortage, discussed above.

This was explicitly stated by John G. Winger, a vice-president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, as reported in the Boston Globe of November 11, 1972. Referring to the oil question only, Winger forecast the financial needs of the industry as being **one trillion dollars** in the period up to 1985, "of which we can foresee 600 billion being generated internally. But that leaves \$400 billion, **eight times the amount of capital raised (by the industry) in the past 15 years. No way!**"

Investing in new fields (such as breeder reactors, which create more fuel than they consume; in geothermal energy; in hydrogen power; in solar power; even in the power produced by ocean currents) will cost billions upon billions before the new devices even

leave the experimental stage. These sources of power are long-range solutions, but unless the capitalists can generate sufficient funds to pay for them, they will come to nothing.

The problem is complicated by the situation in the chief oil producing areas of the world. The capitalists have no time to waste. Long before they can get the alternative sources of petroleum launched, the costs of foreign oil may be crippling from the point of view of maintaining profits.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Those countries which produce better than 70 per cent of the world's oil exports, organized in the association known as OPEC (Oil and Petroleum Exporting Countries), have increasingly demanded higher prices for their products. They also demand joint control of the wealth produced in their countries by wells owned by the imperialist corporations.

The prices asked by OPEC have now been raised again, now that the contracts signed with the imperialists

May 22, Fulbright said, "Our present policymakers and policy-influencers may come to the conclusion that military action is required to secure the oil resources of the Middle East, to secure our exposed jugular."

Those remarks were immediately attacked by Nixon and the oil lobby in Congress. Not because they were inaccurate—but because one shouldn't tell too much too soon!

It is imperative for the bourgeoisie that it secure enough capital to finance a program of energy expansion. It needs armed control over the oil-producing countries.

This cannot be accomplished without preparation. Most of all, the minds of the workers must be prepared. An atmosphere of panic must be created before the working class can be forced to sacrifice its wages and standard of living to finance the capitalists' dreams, before it can be led to the slaughter in a new war fought in the interests of the capitalists.

Magazine after newspaper, one television program after another, price raise after price raise will be necessary to lay the groundwork for a real "public opinion" breakthrough by the capitalists.

For the working class, the energy crisis, as well as the capitalist "solution," is deadly.

This winter, American workers will get a bitter foretaste of the cold which accompanied the last Depression. Workers in Britain, for example, have never had central heating. Soon enough, the capitalists plan, the American workers will enjoy the same conditions of life as their European brothers.

In the same way, even the already severe food shortages and staggering food prices only signal the full-scale disaster to come—a return to depression conditions, when livestock is slaughtered and fields left to rot because it is not "profitable" to sell produce.

Thus, the energy crisis is a concrete illustration of the sickness killing capitalist society and the menace with which that sickness and its "cure" threaten the working class here and internationally.

The capitalists cannot resolve the energy crisis—or any other aspect of capitalism's general crisis—because to do so requires putting an end to capitalism itself.

SOCIALIST ANSWER

Only the working class in power can shoulder this task. Only a workers' government can put an end to stagnation in all fields of production. Only a workers' government can plan production rationally—according to what human beings need and not by asking only what makes "profits."

Only a united socialist world can permit international economic planning in place of international capitalist anarchy, rivalry, and war.

Only the working class can qualitatively expand total social production, by unchaining the most potentially creative, revolutionary source of productive innovation—the working class itself in power!

Quoted in the New York Times of

INSIDE TEACHERS' CONVENTION

by Jack Gregory & Mary Robinson

In the face of the greatest attacks against teachers, students, and parents in decades, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) held its 57th national convention in Washington, D.C., over the week of August 20. State and city governments are everywhere on the offensive against teachers. Education budgets are being cut, with consequent teacher layoffs, increased class size, and a general deterioration of the school system.

In this critical situation, the AFT convention should have laid the groundwork for an aggressive counter-attack. Instead, the sluggish opportunists in the union bureaucracy dedicated the convention to the politics of retreat. They spent the union's only national meeting of the year parading their support of anti-labor capitalist politicians, and failed even to debate the well-known differences within the bureaucracy itself, let alone map out the desperately needed coherent, unified national strategy.

Rumors flew prior to the convention that an open rupture would finally occur between AFT president David Selden and the president of the union's largest local, Albert Shanker. Shanker and Selden have frequently disagreed over

which cliques in the Democratic Party and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy to support. Shanker sides with George Meany and the Jackson-Humphrey wing of the Democrats; Selden was a McGovern supporter and is a mild

critic of Meany (although Selden is always the first to sing out that "there could be a lot worse than Meany!").

PIECARD UNITY

But rumors or no rumors, the Selden-Shanker split never reached the convention floor. In order to confront convention delegates with a bureaucrats' solid front, Selden kept quiet. He agreed to keep his differences with Shanker confined to the Progressive Caucus which Shanker dominates and which controls the AFT nationally.

By surrendering to Shanker at the convention, Selden signed his own death warrant in the union. At most, Shanker will now allow Selden to serve out his present term in office as a lame duck.

Selden's decision not to fight Shanker at the conven-



tion was not surprising. Beneath their surface dispute, both men agree on the same fundamental pro-capitalist program.

Both supported wage controls, binding arbitration, and

reliance on the Democratic Party; both refuse to fight for nationally funded education financed by taxing banks and corporations (the only real path out of the budget squeeze in education). Both fear the mass action of the working class. Both reject statewide much less national strikes. Both reject the concept of a labor party which is independent of the Democratic and Republican capitalist parties.

Rather than have an open split in the leadership which might open the way for debate of questions like these on the convention floor, Selden blocked with Shanker to table every controversial question off the floor.

ROTTEN LEADERSHIP

It's not surprising that Selden and Shanker wanted to keep the crucial question of a viable strategy for teachers out of the convention. In the past year, both their strategies have been exposed as rotten to the core.

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Detroit Federation of Teachers

Militant Strike Betrayed

by James Arthur

DETROIT — Mary Ellen Riordan has narrowly managed to sell out the longest strike in the history of the Detroit Federation of Teachers. By a vote of 4907 to 3300, with 2600 teachers not even voting, the DFT has accepted the Board of Education's "final offer," and the strike has ended.

Over the years, the Riordan leadership has consistently settled for contracts which even the most loyal company union would find insulting. This year's contract is no exception. What is different this year, however, is that her ritual sellout has been made more difficult by the teachers' militancy. The DFT split down the middle over the contract, and the pressure of the ranks forced a serious split even within Riordan's own forces. The coming school year will unleash new explosions in the DFT which Riordan is in no shape to handle. The opportunities for revolutionary teachers to counterpose their own leadership to the thoroughly exposed Riordan crowd are greater than ever before.

STRIKE BEGINS

The DFT strike began on September 3, the day school

was held as the first day of classes. The Board of Education had offered the teachers a wage increase of only 5.5 per cent and refused to reduce the size of classes. (In fact it insisted that no ceiling be placed on class size at all.)

The cutting edge of the Board's offer was a "teacher accountability" scheme. This plan provides merit pay for "good" teachers and the right of the Board and its allies—"community authorities"—to transfer or fire any teacher deemed "poor" without having to prove any specific charge at an open hearing.

The accountability scheme means death for tenure and the grievance procedure. It would give the Board free rein to lay off teachers by the hundreds and pile up staggering job loads on those who remain.

The demands initially put forward by the Detroit Federation of Teachers were these: a 9.7 per cent pay increase to make up for losses to inflation during a two-year salary freeze; a quarterly cost-of-living adjustment in wages; a reduction in the legal class size from 37 to 33, and a firm resistance to the Board's "accountability" swindle.

For six weeks Detroit teachers fought the Board's union-

busting tactics. We marched on the picket lines and held massive demonstrations. We risked jail by defying a court injunction. At each new turn we showed our determination to fight for a decent contract and quality education for the children of Detroit.

The settlement which Riordan presented for approval to the DFT on October 14 was a far cry from even her own original modest demands (which of course Riordan swore she would never back down from). By the terms of the settlement, the central issues have been taken out of the membership's reach. Pay and class size are to be settled through binding arbitration. To add insult to injury, Riordan claimed that her "greatest victory" was won over the controversial "accountability" scheme. Whether or not this will be instituted is now to be decided by an "impartial" Governor's commission, chaired by a member of the state Board of Education!

Riordan's betrayal is made all the more disgusting by the courage and determination shown by the teachers themselves. From the first we fought every attempt to break our strike, from the school board and their allies in the

courts, to our own union "leadership."

When Judge Thomas Foley handed down a court injunction against the DFT strike in September, nine thousand teachers gathered at a downtown rally shouted "Hell no! We won't go!"

When the "Michigan Christian Nationalist" movement, an amalgam of black nationalists and poverty pimps, tried to demagogically appeal to black teachers to cross the picket lines, we stood our ground united. When Riordan first announced her intention to accept binding arbitration to a mass rally of 8,000 teachers, she was drowned out by chants of "2, 4, 6, 8—We don't want to arbitrate!" At a meeting held the evening before the final voting took place, not one DFT member would speak from the floor in favor of Riordan's contract.

This show of force sent shivers up the union bureaucrats' spines. To revive their reputations, they made one last phoney show of "militancy." After forcing the contract down the teachers' throats, Riordan dramatically announced that teachers would not return to work until the school board granted amnesty and dropped its "damages"

finances against the DFT. One of Riordan's supporters gave the game away however when she confided to a local newsmen: "Thank God the school board did this [refused amnesty]. The Board brought the union back together again!"

"SOCIALIST TEACHER"

Only one group within the Detroit Federation of Teachers fought for a program which could unite all workers behind the strike and provide quality education for all children. Through our publication, **Socialist Teacher**, the Revolutionary Socialist League presented a program and a strategy for winning the strike. In response to the school board's claims of "bankruptcy," we demanded the only possible solution: **Tax the banks and corporations to finance education!** To enforce this policy, **Nationalize the banks and corporations under workers' control!**

Socialist Teacher warned DFT members before the strike began that Riordan would sell out at the first opportunity. We explained that she, like her fellow union bureaucrats, fundamentally represents the interests of the employer within the labor movement.

Riordan proved this once

most 150 strikes in (up from 89 in the school year), salaries less than 4 per cent with an 8 per cent Teacher unemployment the country is now 6 cent and rising due to combined effects of budget cuts and a steady influx of teachers graduating from education schools.

CHASING THE DEM

At the convention, Selden and Shanker clung to the corrupt strategy of relying on anti-labor Democratic politicians to bail them out. The Selden slogan is "Elect Proof Congress in '74."

The fact is that a cent Democratic Congress would mean only an even capitalist government, worsening of the teachers, students, and

Democrats were to call for wage-price controls (which froze wages and prices). In city and Democratic mayors have through the budget have brought education to the brink of destruction. Democratic Party represents the corporate master class society. Its inevitable dilemmas response to needs is, "We'd like

again in the closing days of the strike. She placed the original contract under lock and key, to allow the members to see them. Socialist Teacher obtained a copy and sent them for the entire DFT membership.

Socialist Teacher consistently and against arbitration. On October 11, when Riordan called out chiefs of the Detroit CIO to give us verbal assurances of support, **Socialist Teacher** and supporters League demanded a general strike of all union support of the teachers. Riordan's reply was the line of the year: "We're about it [a general strike] when it becomes necessary. She proved our central message: only a revolutionary leadership in the union lead teachers in a successful fight for decent educational living standards.

The urgency of our message becomes clearer every day to Detroit teachers. The tops are beginning to feel pressure. At the October DFT mass meeting held at Detroit's Cobo Hall, one of Riordan's trained hatchet men it necessary to angrily **Socialist Teacher** before an audience of thousands.

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Despite almost 150 strikes in 1972-73 (up from 89 in the previous school year), salaries increased less than 4 per cent compared with an 8 per cent inflation. Teacher unemployment across the country is now over 10 per cent and rising due to the combined effects of budget cuts and a steady influx of new teachers graduating from education schools.

CHASING THE DEMOCRATS

At the convention, Shanker and Selden clung to their bankrupt strategy of relying on the anti-labor Democratic Party to bail them out. The Shanker-Selden slogan is "Elect a Veto-Proof Congress in '74!"

The fact is that a 100 per cent Democratic Congress plus a Democratic President would mean only an even stronger capitalist government and the worsening of the plight of teachers, students, and parents.

Democrats were the first to call for wage-price controls (which froze wages but not prices). In city after city, Democratic mayors have forced through the budget cuts that have brought education to the brink of destruction. The Democratic Party represents the corporate masters of this society. Its inevitable crocodile-tears response to workers' needs is, "We'd like to help,

again in the closing days of the strike. She placed the DFT's original contract demands under lock and key, refusing to allow the membership to see them. *Socialist Teacher* obtained a copy and reprinted them for the entire DFT membership.

Socialist Teacher fought consistently and bitterly against arbitration. On October 11, when Riordan trotted out chiefs of the Detroit AFL-CIO to give us verbal assurances of support, *Socialist Teacher* and supporters of the League demanded a city-wide general strike of all unions in support of the teachers' strike. Riordan's reply was the gagline of the year: "We'll think about it [a general strike] when it becomes necessary!" She proved our central message: only a revolutionary leadership in the union can lead teachers in a successful fight for decent education and living standards.

The urgency of our words becomes clearer every day to Detroit teachers. The union tops are beginning to feel the pressure. At the October 14 DFT mass meeting held at Detroit's Cobo Hall, one of Riordan's trained hatchet men felt it necessary to angrily attack *Socialist Teacher* before the audience of thousands. This

but the money's just not there."

But of course the money is there. Taxing banks and corporations nationally is the obvious source of funds for education. By the same token, taxes on banks and corporations could provide funds for housing, hospitals, transit, and other services needed to rebuild our rotting cities.

The only difference between the Republicans and the Democrats is that the Republicans are for slashing public funds outright, while the Democrats are for providing some public money by increasing the already staggering tax burden on working people.

We will not get our hands on such funds without a fight. The capitalist class will resist measures like these with all its strength. But capitalism's crisis offers the working class no other way out. And the fact that an inevitable struggle with the capitalists lies ahead of us only means that workers need a leadership capable of leading them to victory in that struggle.

Only a revolutionary socialist leadership will be eager and able to mobilize the working class as a whole around a winning strategy.

MERGER

A winning strategy for edu-

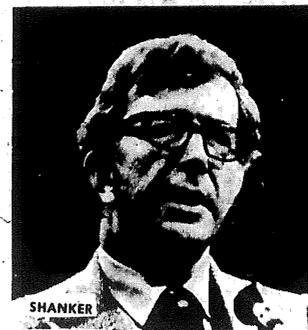
hack's performance gained us new supporters. In the months to come, *Socialist Teacher* will turn up the heat even further.

cation requires first of all forging a militant alliance between teachers and other working people. The first step toward such an alliance is unity among the teachers themselves. The AFT and the National Educational Association (NEA) must be merged into a single teachers' union fighting for a revolutionary program.

Unfortunately, the reactionary leaders of both teacher groups are obstacles to the needed unity. The only kind of unity these bureaucrats could even conceive of would be a bureaucratic merger aimed only at increasing the dues base and lobbying power among capitalist politicians. But for the moment, even a bureaucratic unity is in question.

At its July convention, the NEA demanded as a precondition for merger that the AFT leave the AFL-CIO, attacking the AFL-CIO as racist. The AFT bureaucracy lends credence to these charges with its own bureaucratic-racist practices. At the AFT convention, for example, Shanker successfully opposed a motion that the AFT donate \$10,000 to the United Farmworkers Union, fighting for its life in California. Shanker's justification for his repulsive action? Passing the motion, he whined, would amount to censure of the AFT and AFL-CIO leaderships for not adequately aiding the Farmworkers!

Shanker, in turn, attacked the NEA leadership on the floor of the AFT Convention for its hostility to trade union-



SHANKER

ism, declaring that disaffiliation from the AFL-CIO would be a step out of the labor movement.

The truth is that both the NEA and AFT leaderships are fundamentally racist and anti-labor. Blacks cannot win a human life without a successful struggle against capitalism itself. The trade unions are faced with destruction unless the growing capitalist crisis is solved and the state-employer attack is smashed through revolutionary measures. Both the conservative, pseudo-professionalism of the NEA and the narrow-minded bread-and-butter outlook of the AFT leaders spell disaster for blacks in general and the unions as well.

FOR LABOR UNITY!

In the absence of an ongoing alliance between teachers and other working people, pro-capitalist, anti-union campaigns against the teachers that do have a base in the "community" will increasingly emerge, just as they did in New York in 1968 and in Newark in 1970-71.

Shanker and Selden ignored the strong response by black and Latino parents and students in support of striking teachers in Chicago last spring. Shanker and Selden have done nothing to follow up the support given to the Philadelphia teachers' strike by the bulk of the Philadelphia labor movement.

In sum, Shanker and Selden demonstrated for all the world to see that under their leadership, teachers will follow the educational system as a whole to destruction.

UNITED ACTION CAUCUS

What alternative to the Shanker-Selden gang exists in the AFT? The best-known "opposition" group—the United Action Caucus—revealed itself at the convention as fundamentally no better than Shanker and Selden themselves. The UAC's program calls on the AFT to "take the lead in the American labor movement in moving toward independent political activity outside the Democratic and Republican Parties." But the

door is flung wide open for supporting those capitalist candidates "whose records and programs prove that they will fight for labor's rights."

In a non-election year nationally, the UAC is very willing to include a harmless call for a "break" from the capitalist parties in order to attract those teachers who have already seen through both the Democrats and Republicans. But the UAC will flock to the support of a Ted Kennedy in election year 1976. This is not crystal-ball gazing. The UAC supported McGovern in '72; its New York affiliate, the Teachers Action Caucus, supported every Democratic candidate in the 1972-73 elections!

In Philadelphia, during the past teachers' strike, the UAC blocked with the local bureaucracy and banking interests to fight for increased taxes on working people to pay for education. In general, this disgusting betrayal reflects the strategy of the Communist Party, which supports the UAC and which has helped make it a cozy home for "out" bureaucrats (like Herrick Roth, President of the Colorado AFL-CIO), who are feuding with Shanker but who fundamentally agree with Shanker's pro-capitalist strategy.

FIGHTING PROGRAM

As the crisis in society deepens, all the warring groupings in the AFT—Shanker, Selden, and the UAC—prove themselves more and more to be roadblocks to victory. More than ever, the situation cries out for revolutionary leadership able to unify teachers with other workers and oppressed groups; a leadership which rejects the "rely on the Democrats" strategy and which leads a decisive campaign for an independent party of labor and the oppressed; a leadership which fights for the establishment of a workers' government.

Teachers must take the lead in fighting for an independent party of labor and oppressed groups, a party that will organize the struggle for decent education as well as full employment, automatic cost of living raises, rebuilding our decayed cities, and providing critical public services, and reorganizing production by nationalizing industry under workers' control.

The desperate plight of teachers shows that so long as the capitalists control the society's institutions, they will use them, as they do today, to destroy the lives of teachers and other working people.



Demonstration supporting Detroit teachers strike.

by Bob Wolfe & Chris Hudson

On November 6, New York City will elect a Mayor. Unfortunately, the race has attracted little attention nationally. In fact, the election is important. It shows the direction in which U.S. politics nationally are headed.

For years, observers have been asking the cynical question, "Can New York be governed?" The truth is that it can't—under bourgeois politics. This is what the crisis in New York's

Election of a Mayor

New York Capitalists Search for Strongman

traditional political set-up reflects.

FALLING APART

In New York, the old political alliances are falling apart under the pressure of the society's collapse. The present mayor, John Lindsay, won office in an upset through a Republican-Liberal "fusion" ticket. He won re-election on the Liberal platform alone. Lindsay was a man supposedly "above the old politics" who could therefore "get New York moving again" on a "progressive" platform.

Of course, he did no such thing. New York continues to sink into its own decay. The cost of maintaining the city rises. The burden of both the decay and the back-breaking taxes does not fall on the kings of international finance-capital who dominate New York. No, it is pressed down onto the backs of the city's working class, already reeling under the blows of killing inflation and food shortages.

This has been the essence of Lindsay's "solution." He imposed the cost of mounting city debts and budgets onto the labor movement through a hard, anti-union offensive. The main brunt has been aimed against the many municipal unions which bargain directly with the city.

As a result, strikes have occurred in transit, sanitation, teaching, and other services. Faced with rising anger and militancy among blacks and Puerto Ricans, Lindsay campaigned to turn the city against the municipal unions in the 1968 teachers' strike.

In New York, a pressure-cooker of capitalism's over-all crisis, even the most notorious ruling-class politicians appeal quickly. This year, Lindsay is saying that Lindsay is the elected dog-catcher.

In searching for a replacement, the ruling class instinctively searches for a politician "above politics." The ruling class social conflict leads the

bourgeoisie to again call for "unity" and "reconciliation."

This was the main theme of the New York Times editorial of May 23, which endorsed Herman Badillo, a Puerto Rican candidate unsuccessful in the June Democratic primary.

According to the Times, a key organ of ruling-class opinion, Badillo was in a position to make ethnic and social groups understand their "essential unity as residents of New York." He would bring minorities into the

system without alienating the middle class.

Similarly the campaign propaganda of Abe Beame, the victor in the Democratic primary, emphasized Beame's "expert" image and his supposedly non-political background as City Comptroller.

DIVIDING THE WORKERS

In reality Badillo's idea of "unity" continued in the tradition established by Lindsay. The real strategy was to build a voting block of middle class liberals, blacks, and Puerto Ricans, gas up the air waves with "progressive" rhetoric, and turn the whole combination against the municipal unions.

Badillo argued, for example, that strikes by public employees hurt the poor most, and were therefore racist and should be broken. The alternative of meeting strikers' demands apparently was unthinkable, or at least unmentionable—it could cost the city's corporate masters money.

Beame gained his backing from real estate interests and the heads of some major unions—groups whose real interests are violently opposed to each other. Beame's strategy is to unite those who feel threatened by the anger of oppressed workers, anger expressed both in the ghettos and in the unions where they are increasingly militant.

He will play a double game if elected—keeping the labor leaders pacified by the illusion of influence at City Hall while rousing the conservative fears of these bureaucrats and their supporters by making blacks and Puerto Ricans appear to be the real threat. In reality whatever crumbs he offers to labor will be paid for by labor itself in the form of higher taxes, speed-up, unemployment, inflation, and even greater debt payments.

The other candidates in the field also reflect the breakdown of traditional political groupings. Politically they represent only variations on these same two themes.

Al Blumenthal is a reform Democrat running on the Liberal Party ticket. He stands for a version of the Badillo strategy but doesn't have Badillo's minority appeal. (He also lacks Badillo's support. "Progressive" Badillo has endorsed Beame!)

John Marchi is a Conservative run-



No strong-man here: Biaggi, Blumenthal, Marchi and Beame.

ing on the Republican slate. Mario Biaggi is an openly racist Democrat nominated by the Conservative Party. Both Marchi and Biaggi are appealing to the same racist fears as Beame, but they are doing it more brazenly and without Beame's demagogic "pro-labor" song-and-dance.

An interesting side-show in the campaign is the performance of the Communist Party, which is also on the ballot now.

Under pressure from its own membership—especially its youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League—the CP recently made a great public show of abandoning its long-time support for liberal Democrats. The CP's new watch-word is independent labor political action. "On This basis, it is running Rasheed Storey, a black, for Mayor."

"STALINISTS FOR BADILLO"

Actually, nothing has changed. During the Democratic primary race, the CP downplayed its own candidate in its newspaper, the Daily World, and played up the Beame-Badillo contest. Completely ignoring Badillo's anti-union politics, the Daily World emphasized Beame's racism and argued

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The trucking industry provides no stability either. Small companies are constantly folding, layoffs are a way of life even with the big companies. In Chicago, for example, over 1,000 people have been laid off since the contract settlement.

PIE, a large national company, is down to men with nine years' seniority in its Chicago terminal. The union has done nothing to prevent abuse of the "hiring hall" to control the use of casuals, to prevent terminal closures, or to stop the growth of "satellite" terminals away from the big cities with their major locals.

that the only issue was "Will racism be defeated?"

The June 16 Daily World carried a call by the CP to all voters to unite against Beame. Workers were urged to solidarize with those unions which mobilized against Beame. All this effectively meant, "Vote for Badillo."

In the midst of a deepening capitalist crisis and growing world-wide class conflict, the New York election points the way to disaster for the U.S. proletariat.

The national ruling class increasingly recognizes the uselessness of "the old politics." It is now searching for a "strong-man" who can "stand above politics." That man may employ the union-busting "progressivism" of Badillo and Blumenthal or the law-and-order racism of Beame, Marchi, or Biaggi.

Either way, the strong-man's single purpose will be to break the power to resist of the U.S. working class generally and especially of its most oppressed and most militant sectors, blacks and Latins. And when that strong-man emerges, he will be far more efficient and brutal than these first fumbling tries.

THE ONLY ROAD

Revolutionary workers must mobilize their class around a program for the reconstruction of the cities—a program whose central demand is the nationalization of industry and finance under the control of a workers' government.

The Communist Party's phoney play-acting at "independent politics" only masks the Stalinists' capitulation to the Democrats. The working class has no use for play-acting or surrender.

No, the workers require a party of labor and the oppressed standing on a revolutionary socialist program. This is the only road—the road marked out by the Revolutionary Socialist League.



These very facts show the magnitude of Fitzsimmons' sellout. Because of its numerical strength, and because of its power to shut down all the road transport in the United States, the IBT was in a position to smash the government "guidelines," not only for Teamsters, but for all workers negotiating contracts after the MFA. That was exactly the effect of the \$1.85 settlement in 1970—a settlement whose gains are now gone. A Teamster offensive would have broken labor's compliance with an "anti-inflation" policy under which real income is being slashed and workers are being driven down to the living standards of the 1940s.

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BRITAIN: CLASS BATTLES AHEAD



Rally against Industrial Relations Act last year.

by Paul Benjamin

British capitalism is dying of old age.

In its youthful heyday during the 1800s, Britain was the first and foremost industrial capitalist economy in the world. British capitalism in those days gave the rest of Europe and the U.S. an idea of their own future development.

Today, British capitalism is twisting in its death agony. Its industry is old and obsolete. But the capitalists cannot afford to replace it. Britain's international competitors gnaw at her throat. The society as a whole sinks further and further into scandal, corruption, and decay. The class struggle grows hotter and hotter and threatens the very existence of British capitalism's diseased ruling class.

British capitalism is not alone in its death agony. Capitalism as an international system is dying today. But the process of dying is more advanced in Britain. Once again, Britain shows the other "advanced capitalist" states what the future holds in store for them.

AUSTERITY

Britain's economy has been stagnant since World War II. Until recently, the Conservative Party's Heath government claimed to be stimulating economic recovery, producing a 5 per cent annual growth rate.

Now this claim has collapsed like a house of cards. Economic growth for the next twelve months is projected even by the bourgeoisie at a mere 2½ per cent, as the economy stumbles downhill into a major recession. Consumer prices are expected to go up a staggering 8.1 per cent next year!

The powerful British working class is not accepting Heath's anti-labor attack quietly. Chrysler's British opera-

tions have already been crippled by militant strikes against the wage controls, despite the frantic efforts of union bureaucrats to break the walkouts. British Ford workers have also wildcatted. Ford management replies with threats to pull out of Britain altogether unless the government enforces "labor peace."

The economic crisis is certain to produce new and more violent explosions in the class struggle in Britain. The Heath government plans to guarantee economic "stability" by maintaining strict wage controls even after Phase Two ends. Heath's strategy calls for more attacks on workers' income to "reduce the level of consumption" in Britain.

BLEEDING THE WORKERS

Key to the British government's plans is the "modernization" of basic industry over the next few years. These plans require eliminating at least 15 per cent of the workforce in the steel industry. They call for closing down over 100 mines. They have already eliminated one third of the work force in the gas industry. In short: Heath plans massive unemployment for the present work force. Those who remain at work will be forced to shoulder the tasks of their fired comrades.

Capital for "modernization," in other words, is to be sweated out of the British workers. The capitalist class of Britain knows that if it is

unable to pull this off, it will go down under the blows of its international capitalist competitors.

The ruling class refuses to make concessions to British workers because it can't afford to. It lays out an "austerity program" consciously designed to smash the British workers' living standards because this is what capitalism demands.

That, too, is why the bourgeoisie enacted the Industrial Relations Act—aimed at chaining the unions to the capitalist state machine and breaking the back of the militant shop stewards' movement. It isolates and victimizes individual militants in order to keep Britain "safe"—that is, attractive—for foreign investments.

RANK AND FILE REVOLT

In resisting these attacks on its very existence, the British working class strains at the very limits of capitalism in Great Britain. In doing so, it has set off a struggle for leadership within the workers' movement itself.

The reformist labor bureaucracy can no longer deliver the reforms which once gave it prestige in the eyes of the rank and file. Despite the "socialist" talk of its phoney left wing, the labor bureaucracy remains the servant of the bourgeoisie, tied to its interests, tied to its hopes. It accepts the ever narrower limits permitted to the labor movement by a dying capitalism, and it has neither the will nor the ability to challenge the system itself.

The growing cowardice of the labor bureaucrats produces a counter-reaction in the ranks of the unions. Opposition to

the union tops gives a powerful base of support to the the British shop stewards' movement. The fighting spirit of the workers who support this movement is second to none.

The miners' strike of 1972, fueled by this spirit, won major wage gains in the teeth of government opposition, opening the way for a successful wage offensive by the labor movement as a whole. The dockers' walkouts later that year challenging the Industrial Relations Act brought the government to its knees before the threat of a general strike.

But the Heath government survived these attacks. It was then able to successfully defy the strike wave against Phase Two which broke out earlier this year. The tremendous militancy of the British work force was by itself insufficient to beat back the determined government - capitalist offensive. That offensive can only be broken by a workers' movement led by revolutionary socialists.

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The British labor movement today has no revolutionary leadership. It is paying dearly for this lack.

A fighting strategy is needed which will tap the British workers' growing feelings of solidarity by mobilizing the entire labor movement in support of individual strikes.

Reformist leaders don't dare challenge the capitalist class in this way. As a result, this year's strike wave broke up into a series of purely defensive and isolated strikes which were easily crushed one by one.

Heath claims that "austerity" is the only possible answer to capitalism's crisis. Only revolutionary socialists can prove that he is a liar.

Yes, "austerity" is the only capitalist solution. But do away with capitalism itself—collectivize industry and place it in the hands of a real workers' government—and it's a new ball game! This is the message delivered by a real socialist program.

In the absence of a clear socialist program, however, Heath's claims demoralized British workers. They grudgingly gave in to the government's policies because they saw no alternative.

"LEFT-WING" REFORMISM

The revolt of the union ranks has raised the question of leadership, but that question has not yet been answered.

The British Communist Party is the strongest single force among the shop stewards. Devoted to the "Parliamentary Road to Socialism," the CP

offers the union ranks nothing but reformist policies. In fact, it crawls after alliances with the very same "left-wing" bureaucrats who sabotaged this year's strike movement!

The British International Socialists proudly call themselves the fastest-growing group on the CP's left. But the truth is that the IS offers very little more than does the CP itself.

Like the CP, the IS refuses to raise and fight for a revolutionary program. Like the CP, the IS has not learned from the workers' last round of defeats. The IS gets more certain each month that "militancy"—in and of itself—will carry the workers to victory, again echoing the CP.

PROGRAM AND PARTY

The task of revolutionaries today is to construct a new leadership for the workers' movement—to build a real Leninist party on a revolutionary program.

Revolutionaries must show their fellow workers that socialism is not just a word, that it is more than the empty rhetoric of the CP or the stuff of IS's pep rallies. Socialism is the concrete answer to all aspects of the capitalist crisis.

A workers' government would put an end to unemployment, inflation, speed-up at the expense of the capitalists, not of the proletariat. A workers' government would enforce a sliding scale of wages and hours, dividing work up among all who want it while raising wages in step with prices. It would nationalize industry under workers' control in order to prevent the capitalists from blackmailing the workers with threats of closing down or moving factories abroad.

Only by presenting socialism in this way—in a program of concrete measures—can a revolutionary party be built. Only by fighting for this program will such a party lead the working class as a whole to victory over British capitalism.

The reformist Labour Party and its stooges in the union bureaucracy can be effectively exposed only by comparing their miserable collection of tinker-toy "reforms" with a real fighting program. The CP's real strategy—of nesting in the left pocket of the Labour Party—must be openly condemned for the surrender to capitalism which lies at its heart. The IS's mindless cheer-leading for simple militancy must also be exposed as useless.

FORWARD!

Along this road the advanced workers in Britain will take the first steps toward building a revolutionary party—the British section of a reconstructed Fourth International.

CHILE: NEVER AGAIN!

capitalist state altogether, replacing it with workers' democracy—only in this way can socialism be won.

Salvador Allende denied all of this. He was not a revolutionary, not a Marxist, but a reformist. In fact, he was one of the most dyed-in-the-wool, experienced, long-time reformists in today's world.

For him, as for all reformists, the road to socialism was to be a peaceful road. Reformists cannot see that the capitalist class has a vital interest in defending the capitalist system. They cannot see that the bourgeoisie will defend its right to exploit and oppress the world's people with all the power, violence, and cruelty at its command.

The reformists, on the contrary, plan to reach socialism by making an extended series of "improvements" and "adjustments" in capitalism. A little more "democracy" today, a little more state ownership of industry tomorrow.

The reformists think that the class struggle itself is only an unfortunate misunderstanding. There must be no revolutionary program, no mass actions, no loud voices, no guns for workers, nothing that would alarm the capitalists and produce class conflict. Everything must be nice, polite, and run strictly by the rules—the rules of capitalism, that is.

POPULAR FRONT

Allende came to office through a specific kind of reformist strategy, the strategy of the Popular Front.

Reformism in general is based on trying to reach socialism while remaining on good terms—in alliance with—all or part of the bourgeoisie itself. The popular front formalizes this alliance between reformist workers' parties and parties of the exploiters, of the bourgeoisie.

Allende's *Unidad Popular* was almost a textbook example of a Popular Front. The bloody events of September 11 show the Popular Front for what it is: an "alliance" between victims and their executioners.

Everything that Allende and his Stalinist and reformist allies did both before and after he came to office was carefully planned to avoid conflict with the bourgeoisie and the capitalist state machine. Indeed, the Popular Unity government relied on the capitalist state bureaucracy to carry out its supposedly socialist program.

One Communist Party (CP) spokesman bragged, "A distinctive feature of the revolutionary process in Chile is that it began and continues within the framework of the bourgeois institutions of the past. . . . We have essentially retained the old state machine. Government offices are staffed mainly with the old officials."

To symbolize his support for and faith in the bourgeoisie's "democratic traditions and respect for constitutionalism," the "socialist" Allende, even took office in the same Presidential Palace which had housed generations of capitalist politicians before him.

On September 11, the tanks and planes of Chile's ruling class pounded that Presidential Palace into rubble. Today, the shattered ruins symbolize how fickle—how quickly forgotten and erased—is the bourgeoisie's love for "constitutional procedure," when constitutionalism can no longer contain the class conflict which threatens capitalism itself.

The collapse of the Popular Unity government was inevitable. Its deadly contradictions were written into the U.P.'s program itself.

Allende's government strategy had three central aims: (1) to make Chilean capitalism "work"; (2) to enact social reforms to benefit workers and peasants; (3) to pacify the capitalists and the military.

MAKING CAPITALISM WORK

Making Chilean capitalism work was a necessity for a reformist government. A declining economy does not permit social reforms. After refusing to take the economy out of the bourgeoisie's hands, Allende could only try to make the economy prosper in capitalist terms. This required a number of steps.

First, it meant taking over key foreign-owned industries so that profits produced by them could be channeled back into the Chilean economy. This had to be done "by the rules" in order to appease native and foreign investors—so Allende agreed to pay off the full debt burden of the copper mines which he nationalized—debts which were higher than the value of the mines themselves.

Some Chilean-owned industry had to be nationalized as well—low-profit, money-losing industries. The goods produced by these industries were needed by Chilean capitalism, but their low profits made these industries a burden on their private owners.

Allende's task was to nationalize them—but only in order to place the cost of compensating their owners as well as of supporting the failing industries onto the backs of the workers and the peasants.

Most importantly of all, making Chilean capitalism work meant a full-scale attack on the working class, making them produce more for less in exchange.

In 1971, ably assisted by his visiting friend Fidel Castro, Allende toured Chilean working-class districts de-



Army rounds up suspected militants in working-class district.



*"With every day
my conviction becomes deeper
that the armed forces of Chile are an expression of its
people and therefore irrevocably and essentially
professionals and democrats."*
— S. Allende

manding that workers speed up production and "sacrifice." That same year, the Communist Party of Chile launched its "Battle for Production"—aimed at increasing work loads per worker.

Echoing the Chilean capitalist class, the CP insisted that "Wage claims for individual categories must be postponed. Wages must be linked to output."

When copper miners at the government-owned *El Teniente* mine struck for higher wages and to defend their cost-of-living protection, managers appointed by the Popular Unity fired the strikers and hired on scabs in their places. The Allende government ordered its police to break up strikers' demonstrations. All the principal "left-wing" parties supported Allende in this attack on the miners.

In fact, speed-up was Allende's answer to all questions. When armed fascist squads began attacking worker-occupied factories and communities, Allende declared "Only the devastating force of the people can detain this fascist threat by producing more, working harder, and showing greater total effort."

"REFORM" HOAX

Allende promised his supporters many social reforms. These included health and welfare benefits, land reform, wage increases, "workers' participation in management" (which really meant workers' supervising their own exploitation).

The hollowness of these promises is obvious. A collapsing Chilean capitalism could not grant improvements to its workers. A government bent on slowing this collapse at the expense of the workers themselves could not do so either. Any real improvement which the workers might win would retard the government's pro-capitalist economic program.

Wage increases that were granted, for example, were buried by Chile's galloping inflation—which raised prices three hundred per cent this year. Government "land reform" also ran into capitalist barriers.

The only way to obtain land enough for all who needed it was to take over the large estates. No important section of the capitalist class would tolerate this.

To keep on good terms with the capitalists—good terms needed for

"good economics"—Allende backed away from land reform.

Key to the Popular Front strategy is keeping the ruling class appeased.

From the day of his election, Allende campaigned tirelessly to prove to the capitalists that he was no threat to them. In 1970, to win Christian Democratic votes necessary to put him in office, Allende made a series of promises which limited his own power, protected the power of the bourgeoisie, and dis-armed the working class.

One of these promises made it illegal to form armed militias of any kind independent of the regular army. Allende swore, "There will be no armed forces here other than those stipulated in the Constitution. This, to say, the army, the navy, and the air force. I shall eliminate any other that they appear." A second promise barred Allende from reducing the strength of the armed forces or from appointing officers not OK'd by the military's own training academies!

Allende justified these surrenders by assuring Chilean workers that they had nothing to fear from the army. "With every day my conviction comes deeper that the armed forces of Chile are an expression of its people and therefore irrevocably and essentially professionals and democrats."

PROGRAM FOR DEFEAT

Taken together, the three prongs of Allende's program made it a program for defeat. His pro-capitalist economic policy required a direct assault on the working class and peasants. It a-



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antagonized at least part of the Chilean and international capitalist class itself.

The promise of social reforms was gutted by Chilean capitalism's collapse and by Allende's own pro-capitalist economic policy.

But these reform promises did encourage direct action by workers and peasants even though against Allende's wishes. Workers carried out their own factory seizures and armed themselves to defend their conquests. Peasants illegally seized land which the Popular Unity had ruled off limits.

Capitalists, big and small, mobilized for battle. They organized "bosses' strikes," economic sabotage, armed attacks on workers. They choked off investment, refused to even replace worn-out equipment. Instead, they shipped the nation's wealth abroad. Landlords detoured their livestock to Argentina and cut off the supply of seed, machinery, and capital for agricultural developments. The economy went into a tailspin.

The struggles of Chile's workers and peasants provoked an international reaction, too, organized by the U.S. imperialists. Credit and loans from Europe and the U.S. dried up, killing the inflow of food and industrial machinery. Multinational corporations like I.T.T. plotted to speed up Chile's economic ruin, to give the military an excuse to take power "in the national interest."

The United States, of course, cut off all foreign aid to Chile—all, that is, but with one exception. "Military aid" continued full strength right down to the coup itself. The Pentagon thereby kept an open channel to the Chilean military. This was the same gambit which the Pentagon used to engineer the 1966 Indonesian coup which butchered more than half a million.

Allende's appeasement of the military, finally, managed to confuse only the workers. The military allowed Allende, his police, and Communist Party thugs to disarm and disorganize the workers and to prepare the way for the coup itself.

Only weeks before the September coup, Allende stood by while sailors who resisted their officers' insurrectionary plans were tortured and murdered. Indeed, Allende ordered the prosecution of those sailors in order to underline his respect for "military discipline."

The Communist Party, of course, did not leave the working class of Chile totally unprotected against the military cut-throats. No! They circulated a petition throughout the country... opposing civil war!

The capitalists—Chilean and international—acted in a completely predictable manner from 1970 down through the coup d'état. These cut-throats and gangsters always defend their loot.

The real responsibility for the workers' defeat in September lies with Allende, with the Communist Party, and with the Socialist Party. Workers turned to them to lead them in battle against their class enemies. Instead, these parties betrayed the trust and the lives of their supporters.

Rather than prepare for socialist revolution, the Communist and Social-

ist Parties delivered the workers into the hands of their murderers.

The only salvation for the Chilean workers lay in arming themselves, smashing the capitalist state and its armed forces, and establishing their own class rule through a network of workers' councils embracing the entire proletariat and poor peasantry.

The Chilean defeat is all the more bitter because all this was possible. The working class began moving in this direction even against the wishes of its treacherous leaders.

DUAL POWER

By October, 1972, the beginnings of stable workers' councils were already arising. That month brought the first truck-owners' "strike" directed against nationalizations. This was accompanied by a rash of "strikes" by the urban small capitalists and middle-class professionals. Privately owned factories were shut down by the capitalists.

Workers and peasants responded boldly to the capitalist offensive. More land was seized. Factories closed by their owners were taken over by their employees. In defiance of the conservative CP and SP union leaders, workers created **cordones industriales**. The **cordones** were committees of workers in a given industrial zone charged with running industry and coordinating distribution and defense. At peak strength these **cordones** also included housewives, squatters,

ready beginning to counterpose their own system of government to the "official" bourgeois state. This tendency had to be strengthened, made into conscious, nation-wide strategy. The individual militias, **cordones**, price and distribution committees had to be centralized and placed under the direction of a democratically elected national workers' council.

This national council, led by a revolutionary party, could have toppled the regime, broken the back of the capitalist reaction through the combined strength of the entire proletariat and poor peasantry, and collectivized all industry and the land in its own hands.

The real tragedy of Chile is that there was no revolutionary party on the scene capable of fighting for this revolutionary socialist program. The response of the CP and the SP to the October Days was simply to sound the retreat. Terrified by the boldness of the workers' and peasants' actions, the Stalinists and reformists fled into the arms of the capitalists and landlords.

Rather than call upon the workers to suppress the capitalist reaction, Allende turned back to appeasement. He brought military chiefs directly into his cabinet. General Carlos Prats was made Vice President and given the Ministry of the Interior (Security) in return for his temporary support. To put an end to worker-run distri-



The Chilean Parliament on the eve of disaster.

and delegates elected by the workers' neighborhoods. When the truck-owners' strike paralyzed transportation, the **cordones** formed price and distribution committees which supervised the distribution of necessities and fought against the black market. To defend their occupied factories, workers established their own defense committees. In Santiago, for example, construction workers began manufacturing their own arms and explosives. They organized a militia in open contempt of their union leaders and government directives.

Revolutionary leadership could have transformed Chile's "October Days" into another October, 1917. Chile's proletariat needed only a party, a general staff, to seize upon developments like these, publicize, and generalize them.

The workers were already groping toward "dual power," they were al-

ready beginning to counterpose their own system of government to the "official" bourgeois state. This tendency had to be strengthened, made into conscious, nation-wide strategy. The individual militias, **cordones**, price and distribution committees had to be centralized and placed under the direction of a democratically elected national workers' council.

As usual, the Stalinists were the boldest — in championing retreat. The Communist Party campaigned for its "Millas Plan," which demanded that workers return all factories to their "rightful" capitalist owners. Workers' militias drew the heaviest fire from the Stalinists. Luis Corvalán, Communist Party General Secretary, whimpered, "Arming the masses would be equivalent to showing distrust in the Army!"

FAKE LEFTS

Many workers were repelled by the traitorous policies of the Stalinists and Allende. Some turned to the Socialist Party's left wing and to the MIR for leadership. But in the Octo-

Cont'd. pg. 12

Editorial

THE TRUTH BEHIND AGNEW'S FALL

The dramatic collapse of world capitalism makes new demands on capitalist politics. Everywhere, government must be reorganized. It must be centralized and multiplied in strength. It must give the bourgeoisie the power and leadership needed if it is to squeeze an economic breathing-spell out of the bodies of the working class.

The pressure of capitalism's decline is the greatest on world capitalism's weakest links—Latin America, Asia, Africa, even Europe, East and West. Here, the stampede to "strong government" takes its most extreme and brutal forms: military dictatorship, dramatic growth of fascism, massive and bloody attacks on workers' struggles and workers' organizations. The savage military coup executed in Chile symbolizes this world-wide trend most clearly.

This same trend is growing in the richer and more advanced capitalist countries as well. Only the pace is slower.

In Britain, in Germany, in France, in the United States, bourgeois governments demand and receive ever more control over economic and political life. Wage controls and anti-union laws multiply. Police forces grow. The power of the chief executive (the President, the Prime Minister) over domestic and foreign policy increases sharply at the expense of the legislature. All these are parts of the same pattern.

To pull a collapsing capitalism together, the ruling class needs firm leadership and drastic action. That is why capitalists and their kept politicians are all marching toward "strong government" and strong man rule.

Only with these facts in mind can we understand the Watergate hearings, Agnew's resignation, and all the high-level talk about impeaching Nixon himself.

Nixon's political opponents today are parading as defenders of civil liberties and of traditional checks-and-balances government. Nixon must be stopped, they say, because of his contempt for these "cherished ideals."

This line is just for the suckers. In fact, Nixon was charged with giving the capitalist state tough and professional leadership. He was supposed to lead the way to "strong government."

He has directed domestic economic and foreign policy virtually by decree, enforced by hand-picked specialists like Schultz and Kissinger. His authority and his policies have both received widespread bourgeois approval, from the new ties with Russia and China down to wage controls and an "aggressive" economic policy in general.

Nixon's capitalist opponents today do not damn him for his power but only for the shoddy way in which he is using it. After the ruling class put its trust in him, Nixon turned out to be nothing but a petty crook. Armed with the growing might of the Presidency, he used it to fatten his own little wallet. Worse, he used it against personal political rivals within the ruling class!

To move toward one-man rule, the capitalists need a politician with great public support. Again, Nixon's failure is staggering. In the 1972 elections, Nixon won with a gigantic landslide victory. Look at him just one year later. Less than one-third of the public supports him! What use is a President like that to the U.S. ruling class? The capitalists need a Julius Caesar, a Napoleon Bonaparte. Instead they have a notorious, two-bit hoodlum who hangs out with Segretti, Liddy, and Hunt.

Clearly, the bourgeoisie realizes, something must be done about that man. At the least, Nixon must be tamed and the damage he does must be limited. At most, he may be forced out of office and replaced. Giving Agnew the pink slip is a half-way measure. If Nixon gets the message and "straightens out," then a truce may be arranged. If not...

In explaining Watergate and Agnew, revolutionaries must make one point crystal clear. The present crisis in the ruling class is only a temporary one. It is only a brief detour off the main road—the road to strong-man rule.

For the working class, the bourgeoisie's march toward "strong government" is the deadliest threat. Strong-man rule is aimed against the proletariat above all. At the end of this road lies Chile.

To save itself from destruction, the working class must first clearly identify its enemies. The most dangerous error in the world is to mistake an enemy for an ally.

That was the error which produced the catastrophe in Chile. There the workers were led by reformists and Stalinists. These capitalist lackeys placed the fate of the workers and peasants into the hands of the "liberal" bourgeoisie. This fine ally then called in the army to cut the workers' throats.

The same is true in the U.S. The New York Times, mouthpiece for the liberal bourgeoisie, hurls lightning bolts at Nixon. "The Nixon Administration is in shambles," lectures the Times, because of its own "scandal, deception, and usurpation of power." Nixon has "presented the American people with an unparalleled record of lawlessness and political immorality in a high place."

But what do the Times and the liberal capitalists think about the "lawlessness, political immorality, and usurpation of power" of the Chilean army? Ah... now the Times' real sympathies come out! The coup, they agree, was "tragic," but it was Allende's own fault and so really couldn't be avoided. The blood purge against the working class is also understandable to the Times: "In a country as bitterly polarized as Chile had become during the Allende government's attempts to impose drastic socialism opposed by the majority, prompt pacification and reconciliation could not be expected." Today the liberal Times advises the Chilean butchers, "it will require tremendous skill and tact by the military chiefs now to avert widespread civil strife!"

Workers have no bourgeois allies. They will find no defenders among their class enemies. Reformist leaders from Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters to Chavez of the Farmworkers betray their working-class supporters. They hand the workers over to the Nixons and the Kennedys. Stalinists, beginning with the Communist Party and down through the various Maoist sects, basically play the same game. The reformists and Stalinists together are preparing a new Chile, this time in the United States!

In this country and throughout the world, the working class must have a new leadership. It needs an international party of socialist revolution organized around a Marxist program. The Revolutionary Socialist League fights to build just such a leadership, to rebuild Leon Trotsky's Fourth International. Today, as the international bourgeoisie sharpens up its knives, our work is more urgent than ever.

Fund Drive

The Revolutionary Socialist League is presently conducting a fund drive to raise money to purchase new typesetting equipment and to improve circulation of its publications both in the United States and abroad.

This drive is also necessary for moving THE TORCH from monthly to biweekly publication.

The conditions enforced across the world by the capitalists in their fight for survival are met by the resistance of the working class. Sit-down wildcats in Detroit, strikes against the British wage freeze, factory occupations and armed struggle in Chile—these struggles demand a revolutionary Marxist leadership. The League is determined to build this leadership, to win the revolutionary workers, to reconstruct the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

To do this we must put THE TORCH into the hands of every worker fighting for survival and victory. We must produce our union bulletins more professionally and distribute them at every workplace and strike meeting. We must send our publications and documents to Europe, to South America—wherever serious revolutionaries are seeking a Trotskyist program and leadership against the reformist betrayers.

As desperately as the world needs socialist revolution, the League and THE TORCH need funds. We appeal to you, our readers, to help us.

Make checks payable either to THE TORCH, to R.S.L., or to Sy Landy.

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the Democratic Party liberals, in alliance with liberal labor and black leaders and backed by the CP and the social-democrats, promise reforms to the poorer workers and blast the "selfishness" of the unions. Meanwhile Nixon and his backstage man, Wallace, stoke the racist fears of the white petty bourgeoisie and skilled workers in order to set them against the black workers and against militant labor and unemployed struggles generally.

Don Cane, who supervises the League's work among black and Latin workers, stressed the inevitable collapse of the "liberal" strategy before that of the extreme right wing. "As both strategies accept capitalism, the direction must be toward an open attack on the working class. The black liberal leadership disarms the workers by tying them to liberal capitalists. This merely prepares the way for the Wallaces."

BLACK LIBERATION

The discussion on the resolution on the black question was vigorous, reflecting the central significance of the subject.

The resolution explains that in the more advanced just as in the more backward capitalist countries, the "promise of bourgeois democracy" was never fulfilled. Now, in the epoch of its contraction and death agony, capitalism withdraws even the few gains that workers and oppressed peoples have been permitted. Fascism represents nothing but a dying capitalism's decision that it can no longer tolerate at all even the forms of bourgeois democracy.

Black people in the U.S. never attained full rights as citizens, even as those rights are narrowly defined by bourgeois democracy. Now, as international capitalism stagmates and decays, the plight of blacks grows ever worse. For them especially there are ever fewer jobs, ever shrinking real wages. They are confined to the rotting inner cities where their "neighborhoods" are patrolled by racist, trigger-happy police, the bourgeoisie's hired killers.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

This is the application to the United States of the theory of Permanent Revolution, originally outlined by Karl Marx and more completely developed by Leon Trotsky.

The "promise of bourgeois democracy" can be fulfilled only through the socialist revolution. The winning of real equality for blacks requires the destruction of capitalism

and its replacement by the dictatorship of the proletariat. The theory and strategy of the Permanent Revolution, elaborated in Trotsky's Transitional Program, poses the socialist revolution not as a nice idea for some later time, but as a concrete practical task.

The Revolutionary Socialist League, standing on the Permanent Revolution, fights to win over and unite black and white workers into a Leninist party in order to smash capitalism itself. Only in this way will we achieve the liberation of blacks and all oppressed peoples.

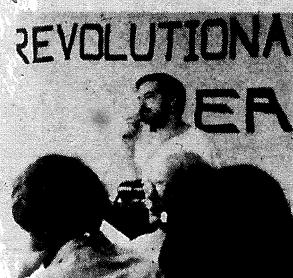
BLACK WORKERS LEAD

Black workers, because of their special oppression and their pivotal position in the U.S. working class, will inevitably lead the way in the fight for socialism. They will do so not only within the United States but on a world scale.

Black workers are instinctively internationalist. They identify with the movements of the oppressed all over the world. The so-called internationalism of black reformist leaders expresses nothing but their love for the African national capitalists, exploiters of African workers and peasants. But among the black workers, internationalism represents the honest strivings toward international leadership in the class



Don Cane, Black-Latino
Coordinator of RSL



Ron Taber, National Organizational
Secretary of RSL



struggle.

The convention resolution stresses the central importance of rebuilding the Fourth International, the only possible means through which black workers can successfully lay out and fight for a revolutionary internationalist perspective.

Only a rebuilt Fourth International can lead the struggle for the liberation of the international proletariat and the oppressed masses of the world.

PRACTICAL TASKS

The convention concluded with a discussion of the Organizational Resolution on Democratic centralism, the Constitution, and the election of a Central Committee to lead the organization in the period ahead.

Where We Stand

The following is the latest in a series of letters addressed to James Robertson, chairman of the Spartacist League, challenging him to a public debate. To date, we have not received a reply to any of these letters.

In August, the National Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist League, Sy Landy, accepted an invitation to appear at a summer educational camp held by the Spartacist League. Surmizing that the SL invitation was merely a ploy to avoid a public debate, Comrade Landy indicated from the outset that he did not consider the SL's summer camp engagement to be a substitute for such a debate. Comrade Landy's suspicions appear to have been well founded.

Today, the rising international class struggle is shaking up the Left, forcing re-thinking and new divisions within many groups. The sharpest clarity on all questions is now essential to lay the basis for the principled regroupment of the revolutionary cadres.

The Spartacist League's refusal to respond to our challenge reflects their own fear of presenting a definitive statement of their views. It demonstrates, in addition, that their call for regroupment, like all their other calls, is nothing but shrill, infantile posturing.

October 5, 1973

James Robertson
National Chairman
Spartacist League

Dear Comrade Robertson:

Since early August we have been trying to obtain your assent to a public debate between our two organizations. We have sent you a series of letters proposing this debate. We refer you in particular to our most recent proposals, dated August 30th and September 14th. You have not seen fit to respond to our challenge.

We call your attention, as well, to our letter of August 12th, where we stated in agreeing to a symposium before your members that:

In the course of your letter you indicate that this discussion

"does not necessarily exclude" our proposal for a public debate between our two tendencies. We would like a more specific response to our challenge. A debate before your members is not of the same character as a public confrontation which would be of interest to advanced workers and revolutionists in general.

Our earlier letters proposed a number of possible dates for the suggested debate. By refusing to respond, you have eliminated the two dates we suggested in September. Our proposal that the debate be held in Chicago anytime during the weekend of October 27-28 still stands. If this date, too, is unacceptable to you, we are still open to alternative proposals regarding date or city. If you are looking for an excuse to evade a public debate with us, you will not find it in these technicalities.

For our part, we are eager to come to a quick agreement on these trivial matters so that the real political disputes between the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Spartacist League can be fought out publicly at the national level. We are not impressed with a political aggressiveness which never reaches outside Spartacist meetings, our local meetings, or the pages of *Workers' Vanguard*. We demand that you appear in a public, well-organized, and well-publicized confrontation. We assumed until now that you would be as eager as we to test the programmatic strength of our two organizations and political outlooks and methodologies in this way. In our opinion, such a debate would have still another value. The relatively informal discussions which we have had with your membership at the local level around the country have been unsatisfactory. The Spartacist comrades on these occasions have presented us with six or seven distinct and often contradictory viewpoints on a host of central questions whenever the discussion went beyond the surface "line." A public debate between the principal spokesmen of our two organizations at least gives the real Spartacist League a chance to stand up. If the reason for your delay is your difficulty in deciding just what the "real Spartacist League" actually does believe on these questions, we assume you will be able to iron out such problems at least temporarily in the near future.

Comradely,

[signed] Sy Landy
National Secretary

We must open up a dialogue with the most advanced workers. We must bring our ideas to these workers and learn from them how to improve those ideas as well as how best to present them to our audience. In general, we must constantly examine and re-examine our ideas and day-to-day work in light of on-going experience.

We must make our newspaper, *The Torch*, the best possible voice for the League's program and strategy and an indispensable tool in the hands of every revolutionary worker.

We must attract and win over the most advanced elements and most oppressed layers of the working class—in particular, black workers—and so prepare the groundwork for the future revolutionary party.

We must step up and systematize our international struggle to reconstruct the Fourth International.

REVOLUTIONARY UNITY!

The Founding Convention of the Revolutionary Socialist League was an historic step forward for the international working class. The League, in turn, accepts the responsibilities placed on its shoulders—to unite all revolutionary elements in the proletariat on the basis of a revolutionary Marxist program.

Only in this way will the workers of the world find the new leadership which is so desperately needed.

CHILE---

ber Days, both of these groupings showed their worthlessness as well.

Both the Left Socialists and the MIR defended the entry of the military gorillas into Allende's cabinet. The SP's General Secretary, Altamirano, was a leading "Left" spokesman. He declared, "The incorporation of the uniformed services into compañero Allende's cabinet means that the entire Chilean people stand united against the reactionaries."

The MIR, formerly a student-guerrilla group, made a formal "turn to the working class" in 1970. But it never made a political turn to Marxism. In November the MIR was still proposing the "from the periphery to the center" strategy which is so dear to the hearts of the American SWP and Ernest Mandel.

The MIR planned to first gradually increase its influence in the schools and villages and on ranches and mines. Only afterward would it direct its attention to the workers of the towns and cities.

Unfortunately, the MIR could not dictate the capitalists' strategy. The capitalist offensive struck the working class on all fronts, and the MIR's plans relegated the industrial workers of Santiago, the vanguard of the Chilean proletariat, to the bottom of their list of priorities. Nor did the MIR emphasize the critical need to form mass



Striking Chilean miners earlier this year.

workers' militias. Instead, it still saw small-scale guerrilla action (now in the cities) as the cure-all.

The MIR did not simply reflect the growing radicalization of the Chilean workers. By winning advanced workers to its centrist program, it retarded the further political development of those workers.

We are the last to deny the tremendous personal heroism of individual members of the MIR, especially as demonstrated in the ill-prepared, last-ditch resistance to the coup. The point is that the program of the MIR doomed the efforts of its individual members to failure. Personal courage and audacity is priceless, but it will not substitute for revolutionary Marxist politics.

REACTION GROWS

After the October Days, the Chilean

bourgeoisie moved steadily to the Right.

In 1970 there had been disagreement within the capitalists' ranks over how to deal with Allende. One section of the Christian Democratic Party wanted to give Allende some rope. They hoped to use the reformist Popular Front to carry out the liberal capitalist program—especially to force the "Battle for Production" down the proletariat's throat.

The bourgeoisie's right wing wanted to hang Allende immediately.

Unable at first to win over the entire bourgeoisie—and still a bit unsure that it could defeat the Chilean workers—the right wing entered into a kind of united front with the rest of the ruling class. Over time, it would prove that Allende—but especially his working-class supporters—was too dangerous to tolerate.

The events of October, the fighting spirit of the workers, and Allende's frank inability to break the proletariat's spirit strengthened the hand of the capitalists' right-wing. The Christian Democrats mobilized to dump Allende in the legislative elections of March 1973. They failed. The successes scored at the polls by the Popular Unity coalition sealed the fate of capitalist constitutionalism. Leadership of the bourgeoisie fell to the extreme right—middle-level military officers, petty bourgeois reactionaries, landlords and fascists.

Once again, the Stalinists' long-courted "allies"—the liberal bourgeoisie—spurred the ardent suitor and ran into the arms of the military butchers.

BEGINNING OF THE END

The final capitalist offensive began. In the spring of 1973, the military presented Allende with a list of conditions for its further support. In brief, they demanded practical control over the government at all levels, leaving Allende himself in office as a mere figurehead.

The Socialist Left, feeling the militant pressure of the working class at its back, forced Allende to refuse. This set off conflict within the Popular Unity coalition as a whole.

During these months of rising tension, the workers continued to extend their control over industry. At the same time, the fascist Fatherland and Liberty Party (FLP) arose and its strength grew quickly among the petty bourgeois and in the reactionary officers' corps.

The fascists grew more and more daring, attacking and firing on workers and individual militants in the streets. Union buildings were bombed. Prominent leftists were assassinated.

In June, one section of the officers' corps, encouraged by the FLP, tried a coup d'état. The attempt was premature. The armed forces were not yet ready to risk a full-scale assault and therefore suppressed their over-anxious brothers.

But the attempted coup, even though premature, was useful to the military. It exposed Allende's extreme weakness and his rigid refusal to arm and mobilize the workers even in his own defense. Allende depended entirely on the military itself to put

down the military rebels.

This was the guarantee that the whole ruling class was awaiting.

In the weeks leading up to the successful coup of September 11, the military grew more and more brazen. It carried out armed attacks on workers occupying factories and purged the armed forces themselves of Allende supporters.

Each day brought fresh rumors of the impending coup. On the walls of the buildings in Santiago, one ominous word appeared and re-appeared in those days: "JAKARTA!"

Jakarta—the capital city of Indonesia, where half a million workers and peasants were slaughtered in a military coup launched against another Stalinist-supported "reform" government!

On September 11, Santiago became Jakarta.

In the early hours of the morning the military moved across Chile. Tanks swept through working-class quarters, gunning down hundreds. The air force bombed occupied factories and workers' homes. The army invaded the universities, hunting for student radicals. Working-class militants were pulled from their beds and murdered on the streets. Thousands were herded like cattle into huge, makeshift prisons.

All over Chile, workers remained at the ready, waiting for guns, waiting for orders, waiting for a call. None came.

Allende went on the radio only to declare, "I am awaiting now a decision from the army to defend the government." The thousands of workers who heroically fought the military

takeover in September did so without leadership, without preparation, without arms.

Later, a woman who lived in a rural cooperative assaulted during the coup bitterly recalled, "Allende's biggest mistake was not giving us weapons. A lot of people, even women, would have fought. But please, please don't use my name—or the soldiers will come back here again."

NEVER AGAIN!

The Chilean defeat is only the most recent in a long list of betrayals engineered by reformist and Stalinist parties. Each time, they bring the same bloody consequences for the working class—in China in 1926; Spain, 1936; Indonesia, 1966; Bolivia, 1973; Uruguay, 1973; and now Chile.

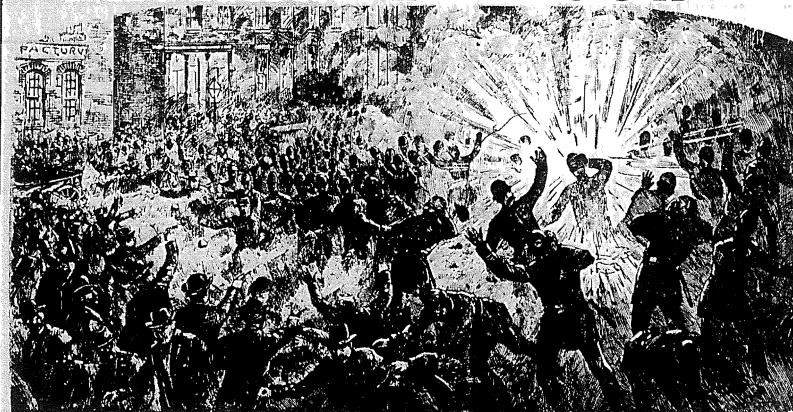
Today, such parties are searching for new victims to feed to the Popular Front man-eater—in France, in Italy, and in the United States where it goes by the name of "the anti-monopoly coalition."

We must fight the Stalinist parties every step of the way. What happened in Chile, Latin America's "showcase of democracy," can happen here as well!

Revolutionaries must make sure that Chile does NOT happen here. And it is equally our responsibility to see that it does not happen in Africa, Europe, or anywhere else. We must build a new international leadership for the working class, a leadership standing on the program of world socialist revolution.

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Auto Contract: Chrysler Thinks it's Great!

by Terry Shephard

The recently concluded contract settlement at Chrysler exposes the UAW leadership as complete lackies of the auto bosses. Their role as agents of the capitalist class was brought home by the out-and-out capitulation to the bosses' original wage offer of a yearly 3% wage increase. This pitiable offer was originally ridiculed by UAW tops. Now it is hailed by Woodcock as a "tremendous victory!"

The bosses can no longer afford to make concessions. Capitalism's worsening crisis won't let them. As responsible defenders of the bosses' "free enterprise" system, the UAW leadership must now renounce the most minimal gains in order to prop up dying capitalism.

VOLUNTARY OVERTIME?

The "breakthrough" the UAW claims in the area of voluntary overtime is a transparent fraud. The ceiling of 54 hours a week, based on a nine-hour day, six days a week, means absolutely nothing to the vast majority of production workers. Chrysler workers have been working 54 hours a week—Chrysler's normal production schedule—for years. The 54-hour "maximum" is a gain only for skilled and semi-skilled workers. UAW hacks must demand limited concessions for this thin layer of workers in order to maintain the base necessary for their own continued control of the UAW.

To insure that Chrysler isn't troubled in the least by "voluntary overtime" the UAW has also agreed to a clause prohibiting "concerted action," or mass refusal to work overtime. In essence, this means that if Chrysler can't get enough workers to "voluntarily" work more than nine hours on one day, it need only cry "concerted action." Then the union will compel its members to work the extra hours. On this point Leonard (as the Chrysler bosses fondly call chief hack Woodcock) proudly reports: "We gave our word and we intend to keep it!"

COST OF LIVING

The criminal role played by the UAW bureaucracy in the Chrysler contract settlement is most clearly revealed in the new cost-of-living clause. Doug Fraser, the UAW's chief goon for Chrysler, entered the bargaining sessions loudly bragging that he would settle for nothing less than full cost-of-living protection. His first proposal was for a one per cent increase in pay for every one

Price Index (CPI).

But in the end the UAW settled for a one-cent-per-hour increase in pay for every 0.3 rise in the CPI—changed from the old formula calculated on every 0.4 change in the CPI. In dollars and cents this mathematical juggling amounts to less than a \$5.00 per week increase for the average auto worker—not enough to buy one family meal!

Laughing up his sleeve, Chrysler spokesman William O'Brien has announced that, "Chrysler is very pleased with the terms of the new contract." No wonder!

As the economy nosedives into a recession early next year and the bottom drops out of the auto market, Chrysler will simply throw thousands of auto workers onto the streets. Nothing in the new contract provides real protection against layoffs and longterm unemployment. That is another gift from Woodcock and his gang to Chrysler.

If auto workers are to protect their own jobs and standard of living, they must throw out the Woodcock crew and replace it with a leadership determined to fight for the needs of all workers.

UNC: PHONEY OPPOSITION

The attitude of most Chrysler workers to the contract is one of deep resentment and hostility. The knowledge that the contract is a sellout, coupled with the realization that there presently isn't an opposition in the UAW capable of throwing the Woodcock gang out, promotes a feeling of hopelessness in the ranks. This feeling, which UAW hacks manipulate, is reinforced by "opposition" groupings like the United National Caucus (UNC), and its supporters, the International Socialists and the Communist Party.

The UNC, which pretends to be a serious opposition in the UAW, bases itself on the same layer of white skilled craftsmen as does the UAW leadership. Its demands—typified by a call for a new COLA formula of one-cent-per-hour increase in pay for every 0.2

per cent rise in the CPI—are a cynical attempt to stay just one step to the left of the UAW bureaucracy.

In this case the difference between the UNC demand and that of the UAW leadership is exactly one tenth of one point—from 0.3 to 0.2! Their demand is even less than UAW hack Fraser's original proposal! By tying their demand to the government's rigged CPI (instead of calling for a Labor Consumer Index based on workers' committees to monitor prices) the UNC also promotes the illusion that the bosses' government can be trusted to manage workers' affairs.

JOBS FOR ALL!

Similarly, the UNC's call for an 8-hour day, five days a week, does nothing for the vast and growing army of unemployed. Of course, it is not meant to. The UNC appeals to the backward consciousness of those workers who are only concerned with hanging onto their own jobs.

Instead of this cynical swindle, workers must fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours. This would divide all the work among all available workers—with no loss in pay. Only this method would guarantee jobs and a decent income for all. Only a labor party and a workers' government would enforce this measure.

Only by fighting for demands such as this that protect the interests of all workers can auto workers move forward. In this fight, groups of would-be hacks like the UNC only block the road.

The UNC draws real benefits from its "reasonableness"—a pretty cozy relationship with the UAW leadership. Militants and revolutionaries were driven away from contract ratification meetings by UAW goons. UNCers made no effort to protect these militants against the goons! Instead the UNCers continued to distribute their insipid leaflet undisturbed.

To deal with these UAW goons, who will soon turn their attention to any militant worker who dares to raise his head inside the plants, workers need to organize their own defense committees. Only with such committees can we stop UAW

goons from intimidating militants. There is no other way to deal with these storm troopers.

"WHIPSAW" STRATEGY

The UAW leadership claimed that by concentrating their forces on Chrysler, they could win a victory that would enable them to force real concessions out of General Motors and Ford. They label this idea the "whipsaw" strategy.

In fact, this strategy was designed solely to avoid mobilizing the workers for a real fight that could muscle some real concessions out of the auto bosses. Its cowardly purpose was never clearer than today. Now, after settling for beans at Chrysler, UAW negotiators can expect even less from Ford and GM! After all, after the smallest of the Big Three, Chrysler, proves that it can make the UAW back down after only three days of striking, there is absolutely no rea-

son for Ford or GM to give an inch! The die is already cast. The Woodcock gang has determined that they will continue to avoid a fight at all costs.

To beat Woodcock, auto workers must build a left wing in the UAW to smash the bureaucracy and re-capture the union for themselves. Auto workers can't beat Woodcock's pro-capitalist reformism with more of the same. They must build an opposition in the union that will unite all workers around a program for an independent party of labor determined to fight for a workers' government against the bosses. Only revolutionary solutions that answer the needs of the whole working class can protect auto workers' interests. Listed below are some of the most basic demands that auto workers must champion to free themselves, and all workers, from the oppressive bonds of capitalism.

1. A sliding scale of wages and hours.
2. Smash the capitalist wage controls! An immediate \$1.50 an hour raise and a one-year contract. Force Woodcock off the Labor-Management Advisory Committee that plots to keep wages down.
3. Nationalize auto and place it under the control of committees of rank-and-file auto workers.
4. Call a Congress of Labor and the Oppressed to organize a Labor Party, built on a revolutionary platform and determined to form a Workers' Government that will defend the interests of the whole working class against its exploiters and oppressors.

Master Freight

by Jon Myers

The surrender to Chrysler by the UAW tops is a major blow against the labor movement and its fight against the bosses' offensive. It is especially damaging since it comes on the heels of another major defeat, the Teamsters' ratification on July 20 of the National Master Freight Agreement (MFA). The half-million drivers and dockers covered by the MFA know they have been sold out and are angered at the Fitzsimmons leadership which is responsible.

The contract provides a wage increase of 95 cents over three years, roughly 7 per cent a year. The cost-of-living provides a maximum of 1.1 per cent a year increase in 1974 and 1975. Together, they will be unable to match the rising cost of living—expected to total 20 per cent in 1973 alone.

There is no substantial increase in health and welfare benefits, nor in pensions—which are based on the safe gamble by the companies that very few Teamsters will ever work long enough to qualify for a pension. The contract contains no sick pay, no safety rules for con-

trolling the increase in truck sizes.

The big "gift" in the new contract is one extra paid holiday—in 1975! There is also an extra week of vacation pay—after 20 years, which means a whole lot to anyone under 50.

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Part 2 of interview

SIT-DOWN LEADERS DISCUSS REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY



Shorter and Carter at Lynch Road Forge plant in Detroit during wildcat there in August.

Editor's note: On July 24, UAW members Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter led a takeover by Chrysler workers of Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant in Detroit. The takeover was a success. Chrysler was forced to fire the racist foreman Woolsey, against whom the workers' action was immediately directed.

Two reporters for THE TORCH—Don Cane and Jim Raskin—talked with Carter and Shorter a few days later. The first half of that interview appeared in issue number 1 of THE TORCH. Below we print the second half of the interview, abridged for publication.

As we noted last month, Chrysler fired Isaac Shorter after maneuvering him into a confrontation with management.

Don: Your opinion, as you said earlier, was that you believe that blacks will form a major part of the vanguard of the working class.

Shorter: Right. I believe they will be more or less in the leading role in the vanguard party and even in the majority in the vanguard party. But we have to relate to all workers, black and white.

Don: Well, that raises again the question of how revolutionary workers are going to relate to the rest of their class. How are we going to win over the rest of the workers to the revolution? How are revolu-

tionaries going to win leadership of the class as a whole?

The bulk of the workers obviously do not fully realize why they constantly get screwed. It's because their union leaders are basically pro-capitalist. The union bureaucrats base their policies on one idea: "We can get what we want if we cooperate with the company. We'll give in a little and they'll give in a little." The Woodcocks don't believe that workers' interests are opposed to the company's interests. They think that the company and the workers share a common interest.

Shorter: The leadership of UAW Local 7 considers Chrysler their friend. At the same time, the Local is supposed to be representing us, the workers. We as revolutionaries know that there is a contradiction between the proletarian class and the bourgeois class. The bourgeois class is not going to give in to the workers while the workers' representatives are licking the boots of the bourgeoisie. We're going to have to educate the workers on that. We have to show that the UAW can't work hand in hand with Chrysler and still get what the workers need. The UAW can't be Chrysler's friend and be our friend, too.

Don: What do you think are the crucial issues facing auto workers and what is the

present union leadership doing about them?

Shorter: The crucial issue is the conditions in the plant and this overtime. Workers should have voluntary overtime. Nobody should be able to force you to work ten hours. The regular rate is forty hours a week, eight hours a day. Today the workers are forced to work nine and ten hours a day.

But instead of fighting against overtime, the UAW leaders are pushing for overtime. This is because overtime helps the company make more profits, and that's what this country was built on—money, money, and more money.

Don: How do you think the union bureaucrats can be dealt with?

Shorter: Well, just look at the kind of action we took at Jefferson. We just told the UAW leadership, "Go off to the side and let the workers negotiate for themselves."

The UAW leaders kept going behind closed doors with management to negotiate anyway. Then they'd come out to us with various compromises, deals. But we didn't want that. We wanted management to come out front and negotiate with us directly.

Don: Does that mean you think the best way to deal with the UAW leadership is to bypass the union itself?

Shorter: Yes, see, for the type of action we took. Now if you're talking about struggling to organize workers, then you can't do that independently from the UAW.

We've changed our minds on this. At one time we did say, "Organize independent from the UAW." But we got to understand the reactions of the workers.

All the workers are in the UAW. In order for us to win the workers over to our ideas—to revolutionary work—we are going to have to work along with them within the union. The union leaders will present something, they'll give their views. Then we're going to present something very different. There'll be a contradiction. But we're going to have to fight it out in the union so we can win the workers over while staying with them.

Don: Do you believe it will be necessary to organize a national opposition to oust the present Woodcock leadership? If so, how should this opposition be built?

Shorter: I believe we should start at the local level, at the level of the union local. Let's deal with that first. See, if we organize ourselves at Local 7 or Local 212, then we'll eventually take control of the International. If we got control of our locals, there would be no problem about Woodcock and Fraser and the rest of them.

Don: Except that the problem you meet is this: It's almost impossible to deal with the union local without dealing with the International. For example, take the wildcat strikes that occurred here. The International union always moved in to back up the local bureaucrats.

Or you can take the Lordstown struggle. The local strike was sold out because Wood-

cock isolated it from the rest of the auto workers.

It's the same thing today. Were you at the union meeting they held at the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant? The union local president said, "If you call a wildcat, the International will march in and put you in receivership." They can always threaten workers who are isolated like that.

Shorter: But if the workers are organized, the International couldn't do that.

Don: Yes, but the organization can't just be local. It has to reach out to other auto workers. A national opposition caucus would do that. And a national opposition caucus would do more than that. It would fight to build a labor party—a national party of workers which stood on a revolutionary program—a party that would unite not just auto workers but all workers. That's the only way we can win anything important. Unity, national unity. And unity on a revolutionary program.

Shorter: I'm not saying that only the people in Local 7 should organize. What I mean is that if the workers in Local 7 organize, they can set an example for workers in other plants. Then we'll hook up with those other locals. And when all the workers in in those locals are organized, who is Woodcock going to represent?

Don: They will still have to be dealt with. And that's assuming that they let you even get that far!

Shorter: Oh, yes. They definitely have to be dealt with. Right, right.

Don: This brings up a related subject. Detroit has recently witnessed a wave of spontaneous workers' actions. The response of the auto bosses and union hacks has been extremely vicious—firing, beating up, and Red-baiting militants. It looks like many potential rank-and-file leaders will be axed in the coming months. What's your opinion of what's going on? How should workers fight back?

Shorter: Well, here's my position on spontaneous action: it's beautiful because the workers can learn a whole lot from it.

We have to remember the political level that the workers are on. The majority of the workers feel that the union is helping them. Now they can see the truth. Local unions throughout the city and state came down to try and smash the workers at Mack Avenue. The local unions were working alongside the company instead of fighting for the workers.

Don: The problem is that this kind of lesson is too ex-

pensive for the workers.

We are now seeing the first wave of a real movement, a workers. But the powers of this movement yet learned how to carry out the fight don't know how to maximum gains with a minimum amount of loss.

Without organization, you get into a situation where your very existence as a worker is threatened. You need a tank with a pop that gets us back to a strong national union in the union need for a labor party.

Jim: In your opinion, what ideas and demands should militants and revolutionaries organize around? Do they, on the basis of ideas and demands, leadership in the party can they extend to the masses?

Shorter: As we should concentrate on overtime. Also in the plant generally, foremen. Chrysler corporations in the pay people to put around and speed. You can organize around that. At the you can show workers else the company workers.

For example, Chrysler plants in South Africa they pay the workers A DAY while we get an hour in this country. ARE OUR BROTHERS IN AFRICA, those are in Africa just like workers in this country should there be a day pay? We should be around this!

Carter: That kind goes on within this self. In the plants where they pay less than in up North. Even in the same union, in the UAW.

Take Atlanta. We \$4.80 up here in but workers are not over \$3 to \$3.50 in in the other Southern states.

Don: Capitalism is a world and in this country is in very hot water. Does this affect the worker?

Shorter: In terms of rising food prices. For in June went up 24%. Did the workers' salaries go up 24 per cent? Not. Say the worker spending \$30 a week. The same amount of costs a hell of a lot. Where's the supposed extra money?

Don: That's the League is raising the for a sliding scale of

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Without organization and
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Jim: In your opinion, what
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Shorter: As I said, we
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tary overtime. Also conditions
in the plant generally and racist
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pay people to push workers
around and speed them up.
You can organize workers
around that. At the same time
you can show workers what
else the company is doing to
workers.

For example, Chrysler's got
plants in South Africa where
they pay the workers 90 cents
A DAY while we get \$4.80 an
hour in this country. THOSE
ARE OUR BROTHERS IN
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in Africa just like we are work-
ers in this country. Why
should there be a difference in
pay? We should organize a-
round this!

Carter: That kind of thing
goes on within this country it-
self. In the plants down South
they pay less than in the plants
up North. Even within the
same union, in the UAW.

Take Atlanta. We're making
\$4.80 up here in the North,
but workers are not making
over \$3 to \$3.50 in Atlanta or
in the other Southern states.

Don: Capitalism all over the
world and in this country, too,
is in very hot water now. How
does this affect the American
worker?

Shorter: In terms of high-
rising food prices. Food prices
in June went up 24 per cent.
Did the workers' salaries go
up 24 per cent? Of course
not. Say the worker's been
spending \$30 a week on food.
The same amount of food now
costs a hell of a lot more.
Where's he supposed to get
the extra money?

Don: That's why the
League is raising the demand
for a sliding scale of wages and

hours! The only way to fight
unemployment and inflation is
by dividing all the work avail-
able among ALL the workers
and to give full cost-of-living
protection to all workers.

The present cost-of-living
formula that the unions pres-
ently have is based on phoney
government price figures which
downplay inflation. Workers
should organize their own
price-watching committees and
make up their own charts on
how much prices increase in
any given month. Real cost-
of-living increases in wages
should be based on these charts
not on the phoney figures pub-
lished by the capitalist govern-
ment. And once again, the
only way to fight rising unem-
ployment is with a shorter
workweek, jobs for all, with
everyone getting full pay.

**"the UAW can't work hand in
hand with Chrysler and still
get what the workers need."**

Shorter: Are you saying
that workers should struggle
for this along with voluntary
overtime? Thirty hours' work
for forty hours' pay?

Don: "Thirty for forty"
stands for the sliding scale.
And the sliding scale is just
one of the demands that we
must put forward to the work-
ing class. We have to show
workers that there is a solution
to the capitalist crisis but not
a capitalist solution.

We must outline a program
that will fight unemployment,
inflation, repression, the rot of
the cities and the rest of capi-
talism's mess. But our pro-
gram—like the sliding scale of
wages and hours, for exam-
ple—must be enforced by a
united, powerful working-class
attack on capitalism and capi-
talist profits.

In other words, we put for-
ward a system of demands—a
program—that really meets the
needs of the workers. Under
our program, the capitalists
would be forced to pay for
their own system's crisis.

And to fight for such a pro-
gram, the workers will need a
leadership that places the in-
terests and needs of the work-
ers ahead of the profits of the
capitalist class. Only a revolu-
tionary leadership can fight
for a real workers' program—a
socialist program. And only
by fighting for that kind of
program can we show workers
the importance of socialism
and so build a working-class
revolutionary leadership.
That's what we're trying to
say.

Jim: This brings us back to

the question of leadership in
general. We've talked about
the UAW leadership. What's
your opinion of the present
leadership of the black move-
ment, both reformist and revo-
lutionary?

Shorter: The fight for civil
rights was part of our struggle.
We're supposed to be citizens
in this country but in fact we
don't have a citizen's rights.
Those people who were fight-
ing for civil rights were doing
something positive. But at the
same time there was a negative
side to it, also. That move-
ment wasn't coming out a-
gainst imperialism.

But now, in this day and
age, those who were fighting
for civil rights are more or less
coming out against imperi-
alism, against capitalism. I think
that over a period of time

those who were fighting for
civil rights—I'm not saying a
majority, now—will be forced
to become revolutionaries.

Certain organizations that
were fighting for civil rights
are even now coming out a-
gainst imperialism, now coming
out against exploitation.

autotown alley



DETROIT

Whenever the class struggle heats up, the Communist Party
can always be counted on to sink to new depths of betrayal
and disgrace. The present period is no exception to that rule.

In the wake of the sit-in at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamp-
ing plant, columnist Pete Waldmeir interviewed Billy Allan—
described as "Detroit correspondent for the Daily World
and an elder statesman of the Michigan party organization"—
and reported the results in the August 24th edition of the
Detroit News.

When the sell-out UAW leadership launched its thousand-
man goon squad against the striking workers, to protect Chry-
sler's property, where was "elder statesman" Allan of the
r-r-revolutionary Communist Party? Waldmeir reports:

"Allan was at the plant gates along with UAW officials
when the trouble was stirring last week." Why? Simple.
Allan was there helping his buddies in the UAW bureau-
cracy finger the strike leaders. Allan bragged to Waldmeir:
"Irving Bluestone and Emil Mazey (two UAW officials)
both asked me if I knew any of the leaders of this stuff.
I told them I didn't know any of them, but that I could spot
them easy enough in a crowd.

"They're the kids with the credit cards sticking out of their
back pockets.

"They park their Eldorados around the corner from the
plant gate and dig into the trunk for their blue jeans. Then
they go in the public rest room and change into them, so
that they'll look like the proletariat."

While workers were beaten by the UAW goons, the Com-
munist Party's man in Detroit rubbed elbows with the bureau-
crats, writing the scripts that Woodcock and Fraser would
use to cover up their crimes.

No one in the Communist Party should be allowed to for-
get this incident. It shows with crystal clarity just which
side of the class struggle the CP stands on!

They're not doing this as fast
as we are, but they are grad-
ually coming.

And as far as their role in
the struggle—it's very impor-
tant. We have to understand
that you just don't become a
revolutionary overnight. It's
a constant struggle, even in
yourself.

Don: Jesse Jackson, one of
the leaders we're talking a-
bout, has recently formed an
alliance with the UAW lead-
ship, the leadership of the
United Electricalworkers union
and of several other unions. . .

Shorter: And corporations.

Don: And corporations.

Jackson plays both sides of the
fence! He's trying to put to-
gether a series of marches now
across the country. These
marches are supposed to in-
clude more than just blacks,
supposed to represent "all the
people" fighting Nixon for
"the people's needs." His
slogans are real vague, but they
are meant to sound militant.

Now to some workers—even
some revolutionary-minded
workers—this might appear to
be a step forward on Jackson's
part, as though he were coming
out of the reformist bag and
turning to something more ad-
vanced.

But the point is that he has
not dropped his reformist poli-
tics. He's just broadening his
base, or trying to. He's still a
reformist, still tied hand and
foot to capitalism. Only now

he's trying to put together a
grand alliance with other pro-
capitalist reformists like Wood-
cock and the rest.

The League believes that
real unity among workers—be-
tween white workers and black
—can be built on only one
basis. Not on reformist poli-
tics but revolutionary politics,
on a revolutionary program
like I mentioned before.

The revolutionary program—
a program for socialism—is the
only program that really does
represent the interests of all
sections of the working class.
It's the only program that puts
the workers' interests above
everything else.

The reformists support cap-
italism. That means they have
to go along with whatever cap-
italism needs to keep going—
speed-up, inflation, imperi-
alism, you name it. Capitalism
needs to cut down on the
workers' living standards, not
improve them.

So the reformist, who is
loyal to capitalism, he can't
really unite all workers on
their common interests. The
"best" he can do is temporarily
improve the conditions of one
section of workers by taking
it away from another section
of the workers.

That's why Jackson's
marches all carry the most
vague slogans, possible and why
they never have any teeth in
them. Jackson has no program
or strategy that can lead work-
ers in the fight against capi-
talism. Only a revolutionary
could do that because he
wouldn't be tied to the capi-
talists.

Shorter: I hadn't heard
about the marches, but I have
heard about the positions Jack-
son has taken. Jackson is
doing some positive things.
I'm not saying he's done a lot
positive, but he is doing some
positive things.

For instance, he's supplying
people in Africa with food,
people who are starving. In
the next three or four months,
ten million people are going to
starve in Africa. Jackson's
pushing in this country for
people to donate food. That's
positive, because he's dealing
with things on a massive scale.
He's not just dealing with a
few individuals but on a mas-
sive scale, throughout the coun-
try.

Now, has Jackson turned
revolutionary? It's possible.
It's possible for Jesse Jackson
to become a revolutionary.

I deal with Jesse Jackson
like this: there's positive and
negative in everybody. There's
petty bourgeois in him and
there's also some revolutionary
proletarian in him. As of now,
I'd say Jackson is still domi-
nated by the petty-bourgeois
side, but he has the potential
of becoming a revolutionary.

On the Streets of Cleveland

STOP NAZI RACISTS NOW!

by Tom Bendix

CLEVELAND—The twisted cross of Naxism, the internationally hated symbol of working-class enslavement and racial mass murder, has been raised on the streets of this city.

Wearing brown shirts and white helmets, shod with heavy black boots and bearing swastika armbands, eighty members of the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP) marched through downtown Cleveland on September 1.

Carrying Nazi banners side by side with American flags, the fascists marched into Cleveland's public square. Occupying the square, they staged a rally at which "National Commander" Matthew Koehl confidently instructed his followers on the necessity to "keep blacks in their places" and to exterminate all Jews.

The emergence of a fascist organization boasting of its allegiance to the ideology of Adolph Hitler is an expression of the powerful forces tearing American capitalism apart. The U.S. ruling class is engaged in a massive effort to reinforce its dying world empire by killing government-financed urban programs, eliminating jobs by increasing work-loads, and driving down living standards through inflation, taxation and wage controls.

In this process the trappings of progress are cast aside. The schools disintegrate. The modest housing programs of the 1960's are swept away as federal budgets are reduced. With the reduction and elimination of welfare payments and depression level unemployment rates among blacks, many black youths turn to crime and drugs in order to survive in what is becoming an almost zoological struggle for existence. Slowly but surely the decay spreads into the white neighborhoods and suburbs, as public services and private hopes begin to disintegrate.

BREEDING GROUND

This is the breeding ground of fascism. The petty bourgeoisie, the shopkeepers and small businessmen, are being shaken out of their faith in bourgeois democratic institutions by the growing crisis. Thousands are being driven to the wall as capitalism devours its weakest elements in order to survive. Unable to compete with the corporate giants, they are caught in the tightening vice of rising costs and shortages in the goods they need to sell.

Accustomed to blaming the crisis of capitalism on the wage demands of organized labor and federal welfare programs, the racist edge of the petty bourgeoisie world outlook has been sharpened on crime statistics and welfare "scandals." In this way capitalism feeds on its own rot. It parades the symptoms of decay in order to strengthen its repressive apparatus under the banner of "law and order."

Fed with this diet, the most desperate elements of the petty bourgeoisie are readily drawn to the fascist program which promises to protect their property and prejudices by smashing the trade unions and imposing police-state rule over the black communities.

The hysteria of the petty bourgeoisie finds a response within the working class itself. The NSWPP finds many of its supporters among Appalachian and other white workers stuck



at the bottom of the economic ladder. Unemployment and inflation are plunging entire sections of these unorganized, impoverished workers into despair. They see no alternative to capitalism, but they find capitalism in its present form intolerable.

In reacting against their own oppression, they are really driven to accelerate capitalism's own program of pitting one section of the working class against another, fighting over a steadily decreasing piece of the national wealth. They turn to capitalism in its most "modern" form—the capitalism of the whip, the club, and the gun—the heart of the fascist program.

The present significance of the fascists lies not in their numbers but in the very fact of their existence. The NSWPP is the most damning evidence of the miserable failure of the reformist leaderships of the black community and trade unions. The treachery of these hacks, their unwillingness to organize and lead the workers and oppressed against the capitalist offensive, fills that pool of despair out of which the fascist scum rises.

In rubber, steel, trucking, and auto, far from resisting the onslaught, the trade union leadership is playing the central role in forcing workers into surrender.

In this enterprise, union bureaucrats are joined by the various stooges and hustlers who go by the name

"black political establishment." Cleveland, for instance, is (or was) Carl Stokes country, a black Democrat stronghold. But the black leaders said not a word against the Nazis! That the Nazi march in Cleveland went totally unopposed is proof that the existing middle-class leadership of the black community puts its own ties to the white ruling class before the safety of the black masses. They are content to take over responsibility

the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants repeated phrases about "due process" and "fair play" while the fascists went about their bloody business.

CAPITALIST HENCHMEN

The bourgeoisie will never crush the Nazis. It needs them too much. At the present stage of the capitalist crisis, they serve as a warning. As the crisis accelerates they will become capitalism's last resort.

The same conditions which impel the working masses to revolt are the conditions which can transform today's small fascist core into a mass movement which capital will direct against the workers. A revolutionary leadership must be constructed for the working class which can challenge the reformist cowards' control of the unions and black community. Only such a leadership will be able to pose the struggle for socialism as the only answer to capitalism's decay. In this way we will win over or neutralize the thousands who in desperation turn to reactionary solutions like the NSWPP.

The reformists must be exposed for their refusal to attack the worsening degradation of the working class which allows racist and fascist groups to flourish. Incidents like the Cleveland fascist march must be used to drive home to all workers the need for a classwide defense against the ruling class offensive. The fight for the sliding scale of hours and wages must be put forward as an answer to unemployment and speedup. Nationalization of industry under workers' control should be posed as the alternative to the stagnation of capitalist economy.

The struggle to bring these demands to the working class must be backed up with the willingness to fight. Black workers must make it clear to the forces of repression that any attempts to terrorize the black community and the labor movement will be met with whatever force is necessary to repel them. They must challenge the traitors in the labor movement and black community to organize defense guards among blacks and workers generally to defend all workers against the fascists. Only this strategy can prepare the way for the creation of the revolutionary party which alone can carry out the necessary tasks of the workers' movement.

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