

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

FEB 24 1984
NYPL

PORTUGAL: CIVIL WAR APPROACHES



SOCIALIST PARTY RALLY. Portuguese SP prepares ground for right wing take-over under cover of mass democratic aspirations.



COMMUNIST PARTY OPENS DOOR TO CIVIL WAR. CP-MFA seeks "stable" capitalist solution in opposition to workers' drive, since the overthrow of the right dictatorship, toward social revolution.

Portugal is on the brink of civil war. Right-wing reaction, masquerading as the "defender of democracy" and using the Socialist Party as its stalking horse, has launched a campaign aimed at crushing the militant proletariat.

Both western imperialism and domestic reaction are pouring through the opening created by the SP's anti-communist and pro-bourgeois campaign. SP leader Mario Soares' complaint that "the rhythm of our revolution is

going too fast" and that a "government of national salvation" must be established has been heeded by such democratic saviors as the Catholic Church, the right wing of the military, the Portuguese bourgeoisie and its Popular Democratic Party, and the Western European and American bourgeoisie.

In northern Portugal (traditional right-wing stronghold) dozens of CP headquarters have been attacked, sacked and burned; militants have

been beaten. Soldiers took part in the attack on CP offices in the northern town of Famalicao; many northern military units are controlled by right-wing officers. Even in the left-wing Alentejo region (southern Portugal) landlord-organized vigilantes fire on peasants who seized the land and the Popular Democrats are able to organize anti-communist rallies.

A right wing has crystallized in the ruling Armed
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—General Strike for Workers State— Big MAC Takes New York

The leaders of New York's public employee unions have mortgaged the working class directly to the banks and corporations. Without putting up even token resistance, the bureaucrats, led by Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME's District Council 37, accepted a series of measures that weaken the unions and greatly lower living standards.

Gotbaum and his fellow hacks sat down at the bargaining table with Deputy Mayor

Cavanagh and officials from the Municipal Assistance Corporations (Big MAC) to "solve the financial crisis." They agreed to this solution:

- 9,000 more city jobs will be eliminated this year.

- City workers will not get the 6 percent wage increase provided by contract.

- \$375 million will be chomped from the capital spending budget—no new schools and hospitals, almost no repair of old ones.

- Fare on buses and subways goes up by 15 cents, to 50 cents.

- The unions will each "choose" one contract clause to give up. Gotbaum gave up shorter summer work days, the firemen lose free subway rides (a wage cut of close to \$500 a year).

This is a major victory in the bourgeoisie's campaign to break the municipal unions and slash the proletariat's

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**Threat of Depression
Ended?** see page 3



**SL: Apologists
for Stalinism**

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Detroit: Black Struggle Explodes

Detroit has blown again. Two days of spontaneous street demonstrations at the end of July marked the greatest racial violence in Detroit since the week-long riots in 1967, when 43 people were killed.

The immediate cause of the explosion was a classic case of "bourgeois justice." The white owner of a northwest side bar which caters almost exclusively to whites, specifically white off-duty cops, shot and killed a 19-year old black youth. When the man was released on a \$500 personal bond (which might be imposed on a black for loitering) despite the fact that he shot the youth in the back of the head, several hundred blacks angrily took to the streets, bombarding cops and stores with bottles, rocks and bullets.

The underlying cause of the violent outburst is even clearer. Detroit's black proletariat faces a massive assault on its standard of living. Black inner-city unemployment is over 25 percent, that of black youth several times higher. Social services have been slashed behind the excuse of the city's "financial crisis." Those workers who still have jobs face a tremendous deterioration in working conditions. For instance, Dodge Main now uses 7,000 workers to turn out the same number of cars that 10,000 workers used to produce. And the prospect of black school children being used as cannon fodder in forced busing, facing racial attacks for no real improvement in the quality of education, caps the anger and sense of urgency among blacks.

The black response demonstrates their willingness and ability to collectively fight the attacks of the bosses and politicians. Blacks are saying they will not sit still while they are trampled on by capitalism. But collective response is not enough. What is needed is an organized, class response. The overwhelmingly black Detroit proletariat has the power to defend itself from racial and economic attack through its power in production—its ability to stop production until its just demands are met.

The first step in organizing defense is broadening the struggle from simply a race to a class question. Like blacks, the vast majority of white workers face the basic problems of loss of jobs and deteriorating working conditions, rotting social services, no prospect for fundamental improvement. The white proletariat must be mobilized to support the democratic demands of blacks as part of a classwide fight against the common enemy. Such a classwide struggle is the only way to insure that the bourgeoisie cannot succeed in disorienting both black and white proletarians into self-defeating racial confrontations, as it attempts to do with busing.

The tremendous power of the trade unions in

Detroit must be brought to bear to defend blacks not only from the police riot guns, but from the daily harassment of the black community, particularly of unemployed black youths who are herded into jail on minor charges without legal services to "get them off the streets." The unions must condemn the conduct of the city's police and politicians in the recent confrontations, placing themselves against the city's rulers and with the working class and black communities in the struggle for jobs, decent education, social services and full democratic rights for blacks and other oppressed minorities.

The major obstacle to mounting a working class response to the social crisis is the trade union bureaucracy. The bureaucracy, basing itself on the needs and interests of the skilled, largely white labor aristocracy and tied by a thousand threads to the bourgeoisie, fears the mobilization of the trade union ranks almost as much as do the bosses themselves. They will use every trick in the book—from canceling union meetings, ruling motions out of order and placing locals in receivership to fighting for minimal concessions to keep the ranks divided and quiescent.

But this obstacle can be overcome and destroyed. The bureaucrats' control is in large measure secured by the ranks' apathy, cynicism and lack of political consciousness. Militant trade unionists must fight for a strategy to raise the level of class struggle to meet the immediate and long-term needs of all the oppressed and exploited.

The unions can be forced to lead the fight for real quality education and the end of the phony forced busing campaign through demonstrations, resolutions and related tactics. Each local should establish defense committees as part of a citywide campaign for workers' defense guards to protect the black students, the black community and the entire working class struggle. Each union local can begin the fight for jobs for all and a shorter work week by passing resolutions and building for local, regional and national emergency conferences to hammer out a unified strategy, bringing layers of the unorganized and unemployed into this fight.

The fight must be begun now, both inside the trade unions and without. The trade unions can be a major vehicle in the class struggle—but they must be wrested from the control of the reformist bureaucrats and taken over with a revolutionary leadership and program which will use the power of the working class to secure immediate gains and build the movement for the necessary overthrow of the entire capitalist system.

The Detroit confrontations demonstrate that what is lacking is not the anger and militancy of the masses, but its conscious and organized revolutionary expression.

Imperialism and Helsinki

The 35-nation European security treaty or "charter of peace and human progress" is a ratification of the imperialist deal that ended World War II—thirty years after the fact. The rulers at Helsinki, like the traditionally short-sighted generals who prepare for the previous war, were only signing the previous "peace."

At Yalta and Potsdam the rulers of the U.S., Great Britain and the USSR divided the world into spheres of interest. British imperialism was already being eclipsed and today it is mortgaged to the U.S. In the past few years the dominant powers, the U.S. and the USSR, have tried to maintain imperialist "stability" at the expense of the rest of the world through a tenuous "detente." This is the situation unanimously ratified at Helsinki.

But despite the surface unity, war drums are beating. The forces of anarchic inter-imperialist rivalry and the pressure of the proletariat are breaking detente apart. The U.S. bourgeoisie, alarmed at the loss of Indochina and frightened by the class struggle in Portugal, are not happy about making even superficial concessions to the Russians. The New York Times, voice of the liberal establishment, harshly attacks the Helsinki agreements as capitulations to the USSR. The Times, recent "doves" on Vietnam, agitates for sending NATO troops into Portugal to support the counter-revolution.

Even though the Soviet Union does its best to derail the Portuguese revolution, the liberal wing of U.S. imperialism is not satisfied. The weakness of international capitalism makes every section of the bourgeoisie, conservative and liberal, warily eye its rivals. The U.S. sphere of influence has been receding, and now liberals and conservatives alike are prepared to defend it with the blood of the workers.

President Ford, anxious to prove to the U.S. bourgeoisie that Helsinki did not tie American imperialism's hands, made clear what shape detente is in. Urging backing for intervention in Portugal, he argued that while this might not "automatically solve the problem," nevertheless "detente shouldn't prevent us—and it doesn't prevent us—from going in and meeting the challenges where we know the Soviet Union is involved."

Detente is cracking, despite the brotherly Ford-Brezhnev bearhugs. Pressure for imperialist collaboration came from the need for East-West trade and an imperialist deal as an escape valve from the economic crisis. The intensifying crisis will blow it open into outright rivalry, each partner seeking to defend its share against the other.

U.S. workers must organize against the imperialist plans of Ford and the bourgeoisie. Working class opposition can throw a wrench into today's plans for intervention. Proletarian revolution is the only way to prevent a third inter-imperialist war.

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©1975 by The Revolutionary Socialist League
Publishing Company

Editor: Jack Gregory
Managing Editor: Derek Hirst

Correspondence and subscriptions to: P.O. Box 562,
Times Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10036
Subscriptions: (including Canada and Mexico) 12
issues (one year) for \$3.00; supporting, \$5.00; foreign
seamail, \$4.50; foreign airmail (unsealed), \$10.00
Domestic introductory subscription: 6 issues for \$1.00

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Threat of Depression Ended?

Bourgeois commentators have been speculating for months that the longest and most severe postwar recession is coming to an end. Both Gross National Product and the industrial production index, which had been falling since the end of 1973, leveled out in June, inspiring talk of a successful recovery. These and other signs of an upturn in the U.S. have been welcomed by the international bourgeoisie in the hope that capitalism has pulled away from the brink of a worldwide depression.

Can fears of a new Great Depression be put to rest? Despite indications of an upturn the bourgeoisie's economists are unable to agree on their assessments of the country's economic health. *Fortune* magazine is the most optimistic, writing that "the worst recession since the 1930's touched bottom in early spring, and the economy has been sliding into recovery since then. The upturn will soon become quite plain and, in 1976, fairly vigorous." The First National City Bank is far less encouraging: "Recovery at the onset will be more a technical condition than a pervasive, perceptible improvement in everyday business and economic life." The New York Times summed up the real extent of bourgeois economic wisdom with a sigh of relief: "The funny thing about recessions is that they always end."

MARXISM VS. EMPIRICISM

To penetrate more deeply into the question it is necessary to turn away from bourgeois empiricism to the method of Marxism. The capitalist economy is inherently cyclical: downturns are followed by recoveries and upturns—as the Times forgot to say—are followed by crises. But business cycles, despite their tremendous impact on the lives of masses of people, are far from the whole story.

Business cycles occur within the context of broader fluctuations in the capitalist world economy. The most important of these is of a broad epochal character. Capitalism, since approximately the turn of the century, has been in the epoch of imperialist decay. In this epoch, capitalism is no longer progressive, and increasingly fetters the development of the productive forces.

Where in the previous epoch capitalism tremendously expanded the productive forces, created the world market and an international proletariat, in this epoch the productive capabilities are increasingly turned to destruction through international economic crises, world wars, capitalist-induced famine and the destruction

of the environment. In the epoch of imperialism, capitalism can no longer expand organically. Expansion increasingly takes place in one sector at the expense of the others, and in the present at the expense of the future.

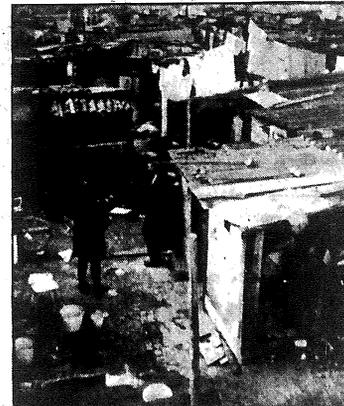
As Leon Trotsky said in 1933: "... conjunctural changes are, of course, possible and inevitable: but the first improvement in the conjuncture will lead soon to a new and perhaps even more painful crisis. The gist of the matter lies in the fact that we are faced now not simply with one of the conjunctural crises of the normal capitalist cycle. No, we have entered into the social crisis of capitalism as a system.

Within the epochal development, larger than the cyclical oscillations of capitalism, lies another line of motion. This motion results from the impact of the class struggle and its reflection in the struggle among the various capitalist powers. Thus in the period from approximately 1950 to 1970 world capitalism experienced a period of prosperity and stability that was sharply set off from the previous period of world crisis and war. This period was based on the defeat of the proletariat and the emergence of U.S. world hegemony (or, as the bourgeois politicians call it, "world leadership"). In this period permanent prosperity appeared to return to the imperialist countries (the internal decay of these countries and the chronic crisis of the underdeveloped countries were written off as exceptional) and recessions became shorter and shallower. Many theoreticians were convinced that Marx had been outsmarted by Keynes, in particular that capitalist governments were now able to employ Keynesian techniques of state intervention and deficit spending to overcome the business cycle. The postwar boom was heralded as the death knell of Marxism.

Yet the postwar boom was rooted in the decay of capitalism and therefore carried with it the seeds of its own destruction. The boom depended on the crushing of the working masses of Europe and Asia under fascism, the Depression, the slaughter of World War II and in the defeat of the working class upsurge right after the war. It was made possible by the worldwide domination of American imperialism, squeezing superprofits out of the workers and peasants of the war-torn and colonial countries and concentrating ever larger amounts of capital into ever fewer hands. The boom required the piling up of mountains of debt and fictitious capital to finance first wartime destruction and then postwar construction beyond the levels of actual production of commodities.

The postwar boom only masked the underlying rot and systemic crisis. Capitalism maintained the boom only by robbing the present, past and future. Imperialism looted the economically backward sectors of the world. Military and other waste spending caused productive facilities to decay through lack of replacement and maintenance. Deficit spending by corporations and the state gambled that future production would be great enough to pay off the accumulating debt.

By the end of the 1960's the game was over. The working classes of



Migrant workers in Paris slums reveals exploitation of proletariat of war-torn and colonial countries that underlay post-war boom.



Welsh miners' demonstration in 1972 demands an end to capitalist attacks on the

working class. Socialist revolution is the only solution to capitalist misery.

Europe and Japan had fought back to an "American" standard of living and were no longer a cheap labor pool. The struggles of the colonial peoples had undermined U.S. sovereignty over the imperialist world. Growing obsolescence of productive equipment in the U.S. had eaten away at American economic predominance. The international monetary system created after the war as an appendage of the almighty dollar had collapsed in a series of crises created by the rampant inflation that resulted from unlimited debt expansion.

After the first stage of the postwar boom the pattern of business cycles within an overall declining curve reappeared. The rate of profit, the barometer of capitalist health, reached its postwar high for the U.S. in 1950. Since then, each successive upturn has produced a lower peak rate of profit (except for 1966 when the Vietnam War fueled a slight increase over the previous peak in 1959). The 1973 peak just before the recession of the last year and a half was the lowest since the war.

With this background, the upturn that the bourgeois economists have spotted can be seen to be the start of a slow and shallow recovery that has little likelihood of reaching even the levels of 1973. And it in turn will be followed by another long and painful recession. Without a new source of

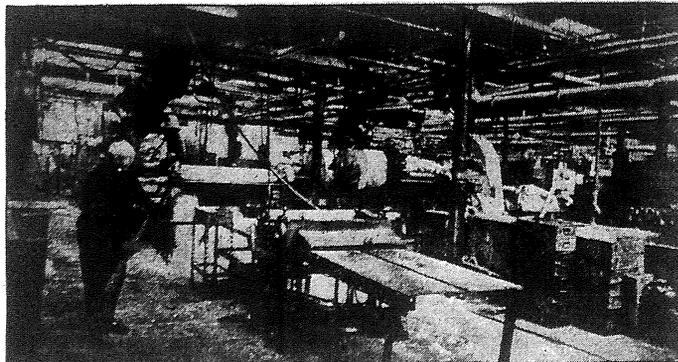
superprofits there can be no return to the stable conditions of the postwar boom.

The working classes can afford no illusions about the meaning of the new upturn. It will not avert the full-scale depression that capitalism still has in store. Capitalist survival requires a massive defeat of the working class, a new great depression to force the masses' standard of living down and to wipe out the billions of dollars of fictitious capital that stand in the way of renewed profitability. The only "alternative" under capitalism is a third imperialist world war.

UPTURN WILL BE SHALLOW

Even during the upturn the conditions of recession will continue for the majority of workers. Inflation remains at intolerable rates, despite its decline from the 14 percent highs of last year. Unemployment is still in the vicinity of 9 percent—that means 10 million out of work—according to the understated official statistics, and not even the blandly optimistic Ford Administration expects it to fall more than a percentage point or two by the end of 1976. Public services are being slashed throughout the country and layoffs are mounting in the public sector and many private industries. Even though inflation has declined, workers' real

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British factory shut down during 1974 three-day week imposed by bourgeois government. Full-scale depression, with massive shutdowns and unemployment, looms if worldwide capitalist domination is not overthrown.

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Portugal: Civil War Approaches

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Forces Movement (MFA) around ex-Foreign Minister Major Melo Antunes. Like the SP, Antunes calls for restoration of bourgeois democracy. But behind him stand reactionaries plotting a right-wing military coup—the air force, dominated by the right, and the northern garrisons. Northern commando units recently sent an ultimatum demanding a "government of national salvation."

U.S. imperialism and its European allies are working closely with the Portuguese right. 200 British mercenaries were recently recruited to join the 5,000 proto-fascists of the "Portuguese Liberation Army" massing in Spain. A NATO flagship is moored just outside Lisbon. The European bourgeoisie withdrew its promised economic aid pending guarantees that bourgeois democracy will be restored and "order" will be established in the factories.

Like the Portuguese right, the imperialists rally around the SP's call for bourgeois democracy. But U.S. President Ford best explained the real content of this call. Ford observed that Western European countries "are helping their Social Democratic friends in Portugal" and complained "I think it's very tragic that because of the CIA investigation and all the limitations placed on us in the area of covert operations, we aren't able to participate with other European countries."

Could anything be clearer? Ford equates help for the SP with CIA intervention. What kind of help is funneled into Portugal through the medium of the SP and under the banner of bourgeois democracy? The same kind the CIA gave the Chilean working class!

The current polarization contrasts sharply with the situation of only a few months ago.

Almost since the fall of the Caetano regime on April 25, 1974 the right wing had been discredited. Virtually everyone in Portugal claimed to be a "progressive" and leftists had the active or passive support of the overwhelming bulk of the masses. Only a few months ago the left was seen as the advocates of democracy, and the bourgeoisie was still remembered for its support of Salazar and Caetano's totalitarian machine. All of this is now reversed. The Portuguese proletariat is faced with its gravest threat. How did the "revolution of the red carnations," in which the counter-revolution appeared routed, reach this point?

The answer lies in the combined factors of economic crisis and the actions of the proletariat's misleaders, first of all the Communist Party.

ECONOMIC COLLAPSE

The economy nears collapse despite nationalization of more than half of domestic industry. Unemployment is over ten percent and headed upwards as refugees stream in from strife-torn Angola and jobless workers return from northern Europe. Inflation is over 40 percent and gross national product is falling at a 6 percent rate. The combination of a \$2 billion trade deficit and withdrawal of capital by the multinationals leaves the country on the brink of bankruptcy: in the past year half of gold currency reserves were exhausted. Economic crisis thus heightened the hysteria of the masses and created opposition to the CP and MFA for failing to resolve the problem.

The CP based itself not on the interests of the proletariat but on the need to stabilize Portuguese capitalism. Structural changes alone,

nationalizations, were not enough. Working in league with what until last month was the dominant faction of the MFA, the group around Premier Vasco dos Santos Goncalves, the CP set out to check Portugal's economic crisis at the workers' expense.

COMMUNIST PARTY: "WORK MORE, PRODUCE MORE"

CP leader Alvaro Cunhal summed up this situation:

Our economy is still disastrous, even after nationalization. But I react like an authentic revolutionary to the bitter reality and have the courage to oppose strikes, excessive wage claims, to repeat that one mustn't lapse into demagoguery, into a competition of who promises more... You must make fewer demands and work more, produce more.

The MFA endorsed this line, termed "the battle of production." They labeled workers who continued to struggle "counter-revolutionaries" who were "endangering political stability and playing into the hands of rightists who want economic chaos in Portugal."

Workers' militancy was the main threat to the CP-Goncalves strategy. Their policy of gradual nationalization with the goal of eventually setting up a state capitalist society was in direct conflict with the class struggle which was moving steadily in the direction of posing workers' rule. Strikes, factory occupations and local factory commit-

tees unglued their plans to modernize the economy by increasing the rate of exploitation of workers.

The MFA reflected the aspirations of radical sections of the petty bourgeoisie who hoped to be able to bestow benefits on the Portuguese people by eliminating some of the more blatant aspects of Portuguese capitalism: withdrawing the army from African wars which sapped the economy, modernizing the economy through gradual nationalization, restoration of some democratic rights. There were definite limits to their radicalism; some wanted simply to make a few minor reforms within the context of pluralistic capitalism; others saw the CP as a vehicle for simultaneously winning workers' support and containing the class struggle, thereby making possible a consolidation of statified rule.

But all tendencies in the military were only after workers' support, not the champions of the workers' interests. They remained wholly bourgeois tendencies ready to separate in crisis conditions to opt for one or another strategy for capitalist stability.

Because the CP and MFA oppose workers' rule, and therefore oppose the proletarian revolution, they view proletarian militancy as a destabilizing factor. Their opposition to workers' struggle was carried out in deeds as well as words. Troops were



General Carvalho (left) greeted by CP head Cunhal on return from Cuba. Carvalho seeks to establish a "left" bonapartist alternative to CP, SP.

repeatedly sent in to break strikes and plant occupations. Groups which would not swear allegiance to the MFA's supreme authority were banned from last April's elections. Hundreds of sectarian but militant Maoists of the MRPP were arrested in May; trade union leaders from the Maoist AOC who defeated the CP for leadership of the powerful Lisbon Chemical Workers Union were imprisoned in March.

The current crisis is a direct outgrowth of this strategy. Class-conscious workers lost their illusions in the bourgeois state apparatus which, under the slogan of "building socialism," told them to abandon their struggle for decent living conditions and backed up this demand with force. The most militant workers were repressed the hardest and broke to the left of the CP and Goncalves. Other elements moved towards the SP, which verbally opposed some of the more blatant attacks in "the battle of production."

MILITARY STATE ALIENATES WORKERS

Backward workers also became disaffected with the CP and the MFA. These workers retained illusions in bourgeois democracy. Instead of guaranteeing basic democratic rights and showing how these could only be assured by establishing institutions of workers' rule (soviets), Cunhal and Goncalves counterposed themselves to democratic rights in general. Their public interpretation of proletarian democracy was a state where the military had the final say in everything, in which CP censors suppressed freedom of the press, in which troops dispersed strikes and demonstrations, and in which oppositionists were herded into prison camps.

By allowing the SP to champion the defense of democratic rights, the MFA-Stalinist alliance virtually shoved the masses into its arms. The working class was split three ways: militants who opposed the CP and Goncalves from the left, hundreds of thousands of workers who oriented to the SP, and middle layers caught between left and right who gave unsteady support to the regime.

Cunhal and Goncalves tried to base themselves on working class support while opposing workers' struggle. The result was to divide the proletariat and polarize all of Portuguese society.

When the regime lost the support of the workers, it was isolated and vulnerable.

The urban middle classes and the petty-bourgeois small shopkeepers were completely disaffected by the regime's inability to provide for them by stabilizing the economy; their petty-bourgeois views of democracy clashed with the CP-MFA rhetoric and policy. The bourgeoisie was up in arms over the state's inability to blunt the workers' struggle and were fearful of further nationalizations. There was



CP HEADQUARTERS RANSACKED IN FAMALICAO. Gerald Ford thinks it "tragic" that CIA cannot play more active

role in preparing right wing takeover in Portugal. Working class is real target of SP-bourgeois-US attacks on Communists.



Carvalho (left) greeted by CP head return from Cuba. Carvalho establish a "left" bonapartist CP, SP.

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still support from the rural proletariat and poor peasantry in the south, but the kulak-type elements in the north moved into violent opposition.

The three-way split in the working class widened, thus opening the way to the right. This was reflected in the polarization inside the MFA.

The MFA itself has splintered into three factions: the Melo Antunes-led right wing, CP supporters around Goncalves, and a "left wing" headed by security chief General Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho. In late July a three-man troika with dictatorial powers was established consisting of Goncalves, Carvalho and President Costa Gomes (a vacillating "conciliator" who will side with the right when its policies sharpen). This solved nothing; it merely pushed all the contradictions directly to the top.

CARVALHO: POTENTIAL BONAPARTE

Carvalho plays the most dangerous role. His job is to coopt the militants who have broken to the left of the CP and Goncalves and tie them back to the bourgeois military. Carvalho demagogically calls for "workers' councils" in Portugal, but these are puppet bodies, subject to military veto and excluding political parties from organizational participation.

Carvalho raises this call because tens of thousands of Portuguese workers are conscious of the fact that workers' rule is on the agenda in Portugal, not from any desire for proletarian power. He is the same gentleman who sent his COPCON security troops to bust up strikes and factory occupations and who ransacked the MRPP's offices and arrested its leading members. Immediately upon his return from a recent visit to Cuba, Carvalho announced that massive repression was necessary.

Carvalho is a potential Bonaparte. Today he attempts to disorient the most conscious workers through left rhetoric while using them as a base for increasing his leverage in the ruling clique. At the same time he separates himself from the CP and Goncalves; Melo Antunes and the SP prefer him to the Stalinists. He leaves all options open; tomorrow he can use his left cover to lead a military coup against the proletariat.

PRP BACKS CARVALHO

Centrist tendencies who have captured leadership of the most advanced workers criminally sow illusions about Carvalho. Like the CP, they tie the workers to the bourgeois military.

The PRP (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat—fraternal organization of the British International Socialists) admits that Carvalho's call for workers' and soldiers' councils is accompanied by the establishment of an exclusively military government, admits that Carvalho "probably believes the revolutionary councils enhance his own power," but then hails this hollow rhetoric for opening the way for "exactly the sort of workers'

activity that would be able to hold in check."

Carvalho's call opens the way for nothing. He made it because factory councils, following the lead of the combative workers at the Lisnave shipyard, have demanded formation of a revolutionary workers' government based on workers' and soldiers' councils. The PRP support for Carvalho's proposal ties advanced workers back to the bourgeois military and its rule cloaked under fake "revolutionary councils."

The mass work of the PRP is even more opportunist. They have organized demonstrations in support of Carvalho's fake "proletarian dictatorship." They, together with the Maoist UDP (which like the PRP today has the allegiance of many militants) bind the working class to the military as surely as does the CP. Because they cover their betrayals with more militant actions and rhetoric, they are even more dangerous.

The Portuguese proletariat must



Communists, Socialists clash in Sintra, Portugal. Military state, repression, economic crisis have driven the working class can prevent civil war and meet the disaffected peasants, sections of the working class into aspirations of the masses.

discard these misleaderships and act decisively in its own interests. The choice for the working class is proletarian revolution or brutal bourgeois dictatorship. There is no middle ground. The crumbling economy and workers' militancy has destroyed the basis for reformism. Not the SP but overt reaction will soon surface as the bourgeoisie's face. The air force, the northern commando officers, the Church, and the bourgeoisie—counseled by imperialism—will shortly select a reactionary leader and begin a full-scale offensive. Whether in a few weeks or a few months, civil war is virtually certain.

The first task facing Portuguese workers is the defeat of the immediate threat of right-wing counter-revolution. Armed workers' militia must be formed immediately. Where factory committees exist, they are the natural vehicle for organizing workers' militia. In turn, military unit committees must transform themselves into fighting organs linking with the proletariat, uniting with the factory councils in delegated bodies of workers' rule, genuine workers', soldiers' and sailors' revolutionary committees counterposed to the Carvalho-PRP front for military rule.

Workers' rule is essential. Without it, the proletariat is at the mercy of the MFA, and already a majority of the

MFA prepares to back the counter-revolution while the remainder demands harsh concessions and an end to militancy. There can be no concessions to bourgeois rule; the proletariat's combativity is its only assurance against counter-revolution, and the CP and MFA sap this strength by repressing the most militant workers and trying to impose passivity.

The advanced workers must break the isolation imposed by the misleaders' strategies and win the disinherited masses to the revolutionary cause. The working class must regain support by championing the masses' democratic aspirations. Stop the attacks on democratic rights—full freedom of press, speech, etc., to all not actively engaged in armed counter-revolution; freedom of agitation in the military, which the MFA treats as its own bourgeois preserve. Withdrawal of all troops from Africa, no intervention in Angola. These democratic appeals are not possible under MFA rule. The workers must throw up their own institutions to put them forward

all forces who oppose the right. There can be no political concessions made to the bourgeois state; the workers must maintain their own fighting units, struggle for control of the armed forces and build institutions of class rule. The demagogic appeals of Cunhal, Goncalves and Carvalho that proletarian independence weakens the fight must be exposed—it is the CP and the MFA who paved the way for reaction, and if the counter-revolution is beaten back they will escalate their efforts to establish state capitalist dictatorship. A revolutionary strategy is the only assurance against the reaction; it is the only way the proletariat can protect itself against the actions of the Stalinist-military alliance.

The Portuguese proletariat has consistently demonstrated its courage for the past sixteen months. Its weakness today is entirely the responsibility of SP, CP and centrist betrayers. If the reaction wins, the blood will be on the hands of these criminals.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

As the Portuguese crisis demonstrates, militancy alone is not enough to guarantee workers' interests. Advanced Portuguese workers today orient to the centrists because of the absence of a genuine revolutionary party. In the months that come, in the course of the approaching civil war, a revolutionary party can and must be constructed which will carry out the proletarian strategy. The advanced workers, the workers at Lisnave, in the national airlines (TAP), in the postal system and in other key areas have moved consistently left, discarding various groups pretending to be revolutionary. These militants provide the basis for beginning to construct a revolutionary vanguard. Consistent application of revolutionary strategy could soon organize a nucleus capable of intervening and then leading the working class.

Without a revolutionary party, the working class will remain at the mercy of "socialists" of various stripes who have amply shown that they can only lead the workers to defeat. With it, the Portuguese working class will defeat counter-revolution and establish proletarian rule.

SOLIDARITY!

Workers throughout the world must stand in solidarity with the Portuguese working class. Victory would be a tremendous inspiration to the international class struggle as well as a great blow to imperialism. It would immediately strengthen the position of the Spanish workers and would have a sizable impact in the U.S. and in Europe.

Just as a Portuguese revolutionary vanguard will champion the demand for spreading the struggle internationally, and in particular for the Socialist Federation of Iberia, so must revolutionaries elsewhere build support for Portuguese workers. In particular, we call for a campaign in the trade union movement to demand No NATO Intervention; CIA Out of Portugal; No Aid to the Right Wing.

A resolute campaign by the U.S. and European workers can undercut Ford's determination to intervene as surely as mass opposition to the Vietnam War dissuaded the U.S. from further intervention. It can help tip the balance in favor of the Portuguese workers.

CIA Out of Portugal!

see page 14

The immediacy of the right-wing danger and its growing strength requires a united military front against the impending reaction. The proletariat must fight together with

USLP PLAYS COP

Unite Against USLP Fingering

The National Caucus of Labor Committees and its front organization, the "U.S. Labor Party" (USLP), have made an hysterical turn further to the right. The NCLC-USLP has launched a campaign to provoke vigilante and police attacks on the left. The October League, Progressive Labor and the RSL have been named, but their chief target currently is the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU).

USLP leaflets passed out in New York, Chicago, Milwaukee and several other cities have identified individual members or supporters of the RU. One typical leaflet, headlined "WARNING! Maoist Scum Push Nuclear War," gives the name, picture and other details about an RU supporter, says RU members are not human beings and concludes with the slogans "Run the Maoist Scum Out of Your Plant! Keep Them Out of Your Neighborhood!"

Many workers treat these leaflets as a joke, but they represent a criminal attack on the working class. They can and will be used by companies to fire the individuals fingered and by labor bureaucrats to expel oppositionists from the unions. They encourage vigilantes to attack RUs in their homes or on the street. The NCLC-USLP is playing cop, appealing to the enemy to drive the RU out of the labor movement.

How does the NCLC rationalize this disgusting behavior? They explain it by their "analysis" that the only way out of world catastrophe is to support the Soviet and East European economies and to expand East-West trade. They support anyone backed by the USSR—from Portugal's Cunhal to Indira Gandhi. Moscow's critics are labelled agents of Kissinger and Rockefeller, who are plotting nuclear war in the immediate future. Last May the USLP promised:

June 30 is the date on which the international monetary system will collapse—unless Rockefeller sets up dictatorial governments in the US and other major countries before that date. . . . If Rockefeller postpones the nuclear showdown past June 30, he is finished. Therefore, the showdown will come any day or week between now and the middle of June. . . .



NCLC-USLP goons attacking Communist Party members during 1973 "Operation Mop-up." The campaign of these petty-bourgeois hysterics to provoke police and vigilante attacks against the left must be smashed.

USLP heaps on a strong dose of racism, charging that the RU wants nuclear war so that "their peasant brethren" from China can "walk barefoot over a barren planet."

NCLC SUPPORTS MOSCOW LINE

Because the RU opposes the Moscow line, the NCLC is trying to wipe them out by any means they can find, including playing cop for the bourgeoisie. Behind all this trash is

petty-bourgeois frenzy: Domsday's coming, says the NCLC, and the USSR is the only salvation.

Today's attacks on the RU will become tomorrow's attacks on workers who refuse to accept the bourgeois deal called "detente."

Goon tactics are nothing new for the NCLC. Two years ago, when the NCLC still thought it had time to independently become the dominant tendency, its "Operation Mop-up" attempted to physically destroy the Communist Party, USA. Driven into outright panic by economic crisis, needing a crutch to lean on, it is now trying to destroy any critic of the Moscow (and CP) line.

The NCLC is petty-bourgeois and hysterical. It is not yet a fascist grouping—it recruits on a phony

internationalism ("Expand East-West Trade") and on a surface "socialist" appeal. Since it does not yet have a consistent union-busting line and an open nationalist and racist appeal, it is still a petty-bourgeois left organization, although its petty-bourgeois frenzy and rightward direction make it capable of going over to fascism.

At this point, the NCLC should still be defended against repression by the state. It should be defended against the union bureaucrats (when it is not engaged in union-busting attempts). Its right to speak and hand out literature should be defended (when it's not engaged in fingering and playing cop). The state and the bureaucrats will attempt to use repression of the NCLC as an excuse for attacking genuine workers' tendencies.

At the same time, the workers' movement must defend itself against finking and fingering. The NCLC has every right to politically criticize the RU; but it has no right to play cop and finger RU supporters, setting them up for the state, the capitalists and the bureaucrats. Every worker must oppose these acts which weaken the working class by exposing militants.

The RSL has taken the lead in seeking a united front with other tendencies to prevent the NCLC from handing out their fingering leaflets and to defend RU members and others from these attacks. We appeal to all workers' tendencies to work jointly to defend the integrity of the workers' movement from this petty-bourgeois harassment.

How to Fight USLP Redbaiting

The "U.S. Labor Party," as part of its national campaign against the Revolutionary Union (see accompanying article) recently launched a vicious attack on members of Breakout, a caucus in Local 65, United Steelworkers of America. (Breakout has been favorably treated in the RU press.)

At U.S. Steel Southworks, the USLP handed out a leaflet with pictures of two Breakout members, accompanied by identifying information (height, weight, address, phone, license plate numbers). The leaflet labelled the two as RU members and warned that the streets are not safe so long as they are still at large.

The harassment did not stop with the leaflet. One Breakout member reported that his mother had been sent a telegram informing her of his death! Before the July 9 union meeting Breakout members were fingered by USLP members shouting, "Maoist cops—they don't belong in the union." At the meeting itself, a USLP supporter put forward a motion to expel the Breakout members from the union.

USLP's tactics were disgusting—every militant in the union knew this. But Breakout itself prepared no defense against these tactics. Revolutionary Steelworker, a Trotskyist caucus in Local 65, led the struggle against the USLP, before, during and after the union meeting.

The Revolutionary Steelworker caucus came to the meeting with a series of resolutions that took USLP head on. They were: (1) Local 65 condemns all forms of redbaiting; (2) Local 65 condemns the leaflets in question; (3) Local 65 condemns USLP members in the Local who support the leaflet for playing the role of company cops in the union. Copies of the resolutions were handed out to everyone entering the meeting. They became the axis of the debate.

A USLP member spoke first. His motion to expel the Breakout members was ruled out of order on a

technicality. A supporter of Revolutionary Steelworker then expressed the anger that many militants in the room felt toward USLP. It was necessary, he said, to drive the tactics of fingering and redbaiting out of the labor movement. This speech got widespread applause, and the USLP member was visibly shaking during it.

Eventually a Breakout member got the floor (one of those whose picture had appeared on the USLP leaflet). In contrast to the hard line taken by the RS supporter, he did not deal with the central issue of redbaiting and its threat to the labor movement. Instead he read a quote from the USWA newspaper, *Steel Labor*, condemning the USLP. He made a pitiful appeal to the local bureaucrats along the lines that the International thinks the USLP are bad guys. In passing, he did mention his agreement with what was said by RS supporters who had spoken.

Local President Mirocha managed to maneuver the RS resolutions off the floor, ruling (over the objections of RS supporters) that they had to go to the Executive Board. Mirocha wanted to avoid a vote in which he would have had either to condemn redbaiting or to side with the USLP. RS will push for a vote at the next meeting, and will also push John Chico, candidate for Local President supported by Ed Sadlowski's reform machine, to take a stand.

The meeting was a partial defeat for USLP—they got no support for their fink tactics. But they have succeeded in fingering militants to the company and the right wing in general. They must be stopped.

At Southworks, the biggest obstacle against the USLP's tactics is the Breakout leadership. Following the Local meeting, RS supporters organized a defense guard to protect Breakout members from possible violence by the USLP. Members of other groupings in the union joined in. At the same time, RS approached Breakout with an offer to build a united front against USLP attacks.

On the night of the union meeting, when the danger of the USLP and the role played by RS were fresh in their minds, Breakout members indicated openness to a united front. A few days later, however, Breakout leaders changed their tune. Its spokesman rejected the proposal on the basis that (1) there is no need to fight the USLP—workers laugh at those leaf-

lets anyway; (2) workers don't see the fight against the USLP as a burning issue; and (3) Breakout does not want to unite with Trotskyists.

It is hard to say which of these excuses is the worst. The first is simply a capitulation to the USLP attacks; the danger is not that workers today will support the USLP, but that USLP fingering and redbaiting will be used to drive militants out of the union. The second argument sums up Breakout's idea of leadership—tailism. Since workers don't see the USLP attacks as dangerous, Breakout will not inform them of the danger.

The third argument points to the political cowardice of Breakout's leaders. The Breakout spokesman had the gall to tell RS that "political debate has no place in the workers' movement." Where does it belong—in the newspapers and TV owned by the bourgeoisie? How will the workers decide how to defend their interest without political debate, including the debate between Maoism and Trotskyism which Maoist leaders desperately want to avoid? Breakout is willing to endanger its own members and the entire left to avoid a united front with Revolutionary Steelworker!

How will Breakout resolve this contradiction? The class instincts of Breakout's rank and file must lead them to want to fight back against scum like the USLP. They are being restrained by RU leaders who are afraid to engage in joint defense, who are afraid to let their supporters have any contact with "Trotskyites."

These RU splitting tactics weaken the ability of workers to defend themselves from attack. Breakout members and others who see the need for struggle against fingering and anti-union actions in general should reject their leaders' slanders and work with RS to build united front defense.

**Read
Revolutionary
Steelworker**

For information write:
P.O. BOX 8062, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS 60680

SL: APOLOGIST FOR STALINISM

PART ONE

The struggle to build a revolutionary party requires the defeat of all political tendencies which call themselves revolutionary but which actually represent the program of capitalism. The Spartacist League is perhaps the most dangerous of these centrist formations. The SL's threat to the struggle to reconstruct the Fourth International is based on its skill in presenting itself as the most faithful disciple of Trotsky. Yet, under the skin of its "Trotskyism" lies a program and method diametrically opposed to the standpoint for which Trotsky fought and died.

Marxism represents the standpoint of the international proletariat. It is the proletariat's world outlook and its method of struggle for emancipation. Marxism emerged and took form in the course of struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. Just a glance at the Communist Manifesto, the first mature statement of Marxism, demonstrates this. Whole sections are polemics against various forms of petty-bourgeois ideologies calling themselves socialist. As Lenin showed over 50 years later, the struggle for Marxism has been, is, and will be a constant battle to maintain the essence of Marxism from the encroachments of the ideology of non-proletarian classes.

Marx and Engels repeatedly stressed that the freedom of the working class can only be won by the proletariat itself. For example, in the Preface to the German edition of the Communist Manifesto (1883), Engels discusses why he and Marx chose to call themselves "Communists," as opposed to "Socialists." He writes, "Thus, Socialism was, in 1847, a middle class movement, Communism, a working class movement. Socialism was, on the Continent at least, 'respectable'; Communism was the very opposite. And as our notion, from the very beginning, was that 'the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself,' there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take."

This key idea sets Marxism against liberalism and all forms of Utopianism and technocratic notions. In doing so, it defines the significance of Communism itself. Marxists do not merely advocate an economy where the means of production are nationalized. Marxists fight for a social revolution which revolutionizes man's relationship to nature and to himself. No longer a slave to his own creations, religion, technology or whatever, communist man will freely direct his society and destiny. Such a conception cannot be reconciled with any notion of "condescending saviors."

LENINIST LEADERSHIP

Lenin carried forward the struggle for this idea. This is the essence of his fight for proletarian leadership, the struggle to build the revolutionary party. The Social Democracy, although in its majority formally orthodox, in fact repudiated this notion. To them, the working class had to be led to power by intellectuals and the bureaucracies of the mass workers' organizations. With the exception of a handful of revolutionaries, such as Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, the Social Democracy saw the proletariat as a mass base, essentially passive, which would vote the Social Democracy into power. The Social Democratic Party would then proceed to nationalize property and carry out other "socialist" (in reality statist) measures.



Portrait of Ho Chi Minh is the centerpiece of North Vietnamese family's ancestral altar. Confucian tradition is adopted by Stalinist rulers to keep working class

passive. The Spartacist League covers for bourgeois rule in Indochina, claiming that Stalinist victories set up workers states.

It was this content, rarely expressed explicitly, that was exposed in the Second International's betrayal of the working class in World War I. Rather than representing the international proletariat, the Social Democracy represented the interests of the middle-class intellectuals, the labor bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy.

The question here is "who should lead," the proletariat or the petty bourgeoisie (we use the term petty bourgeoisie here loosely to mean the various strata in capitalist society found between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie). It was posed sharply in Czarist Russia where the Russian autocracy was extraordinarily brutal and the old order seemed well entrenched. This question was pivotal in the debates within the Russian Social Democracy from its inception until 1917. Lenin played a leading role in these debates, championing the principles of Marxism against those who discarded them for liberalism and other bourgeois notions.

Prior to 1917 Lenin formally accepted the framework of international Social Democracy—namely that the Russian Revolution would be a bourgeois-democratic, not a proletarian, revolution. However, he refused to accept what appeared to be its logical corollary, that the bourgeoisie would and should lead this struggle. Seeing that the bourgeoisie was weak and thoroughly intertwined with the landed gentry (the social mainstay of Czarism), Lenin realized that the bourgeoisie would never lead a resolute struggle to overthrow the autocracy and establish a democratic republic. He showed that successful struggle to overthrow the Czar, break up the landed estates, and establish democracy required an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat. The result would be a

"democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

Lenin's conception was counterposed to that of the Mensheviks, whose perspectives meant subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and gutting the revolution. Lenin's view, the Mensheviks pointed out, contained a contradiction: what business had the proletariat leading the bourgeois revolution? Lenin in response attacked the Mensheviks for wishing to tie the proletariat to the coattails of the capitulatory bourgeoisie. He insisted that the proletariat must place itself at the head of all the oppressed masses. Lenin's insistence on the leadership of the proletariat and his struggle to build a democratic centralist party was what made Lenin a revolutionary, despite his error. And it was what enabled him to break fully with the Social Democratic methodology and lead the proletariat to victory in October of 1917.

Trotsky's position, as formulated in the theory of the Permanent Revolution, carried this idea to its logical conclusion. In order to successfully complete the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the proletariat (leading the peasantry) would have to seize state power. Faced with the opposition of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, the proletariat would not be able to limit itself to the bourgeois-democratic tasks, such as democratic rights, breaking up the landed estates, etc., but would have to take measures that would go beyond the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Further, to be successful in a poor and backward country such as Russia, the revolution would have to be spread to the advanced countries. The revolution would therefore be "permanent" in two senses: 1) it could not stop at the bourgeois-democratic state; 2) it could not be limited to one country.

Thus, despite their differences, Lenin and Trotsky in fact stood together against the

Freedom for the working class can only be won by the working class itself. The SL, claiming that capitalism was overthrown in Indochina without class conscious proletarian leadership, constructs a monument to the "progressive" petty bourgeoisie.

Lenin insisted on proletarian leadership, the key principle of Marxism, even when he believed that the Russian Revolution would be bourgeois-democratic. If the proletariat did not lead the struggle against all forms of semi-feudal and capitalist oppression, then the masses would be misled by the radical petty bourgeoisie and the revolution would be gutted.



Cont'd. from p. 7

Mensheviks and others who denied the necessity for proletarian leadership. However, Trotsky's refusal to accept the necessity of a revolutionary party of the type that Lenin was advocating meant that prior to 1917 he was a centrist. Only in 1917, when Trotsky recognized his error on the question of the party and joined the Bolsheviks, was his break from Social Democracy completed. Lenin and Trotsky's emphasis on the question of proletarian leadership was what led to their theoretical and practical agreement in leading the October Revolution.

VANGUARD LEADERSHIP EQUALS SELF-EMANCIPATION

Proletarian leadership and the self-emancipation of the working class are identical concepts. If the proletariat does not lead all the oppressed masses in the struggle against all forms of capitalist oppression, some other class, most likely a section of the radical petty bourgeoisie, will take the leadership of these struggles. Since the petty bourgeoisie cannot by itself break politically with the bourgeoisie, the hegemony of the petty-bourgeois forces means the de facto hegemony of the bourgeoisie. Thus, if the proletariat does not lead, the bourgeoisie will "lead." The only alternative is for the proletariat to lead the other sectors of the oppressed and therefore lead itself. This is the basic significance of Lenin's approach to the agrarian and national questions. This is the concrete form of Lenin's fight for proletarian leadership. It is the method by which the proletariat, through deeds as well as words, wins the support of the peasants and the oppressed nationalities.

The key test of a political tendency that claims to represent the leadership of the proletariat is its adherence, in theory and practice, to this crucial tenet. The Spartacist League, despite its disclaimers and bluster, fails this test. In case after case, the SL's program (that is, its actual practice) betrays this fundamental Marxist principle. This confirms that the SL represents the standpoint of a section of the petty bourgeoisie. This is not an epithet but a precise political description of the Spartacist League. It has been proven most recently in the SL's response to the Stalinist-led victories in Southeast Asia. As we shall see, the SL's inability to understand what is happening in this area today leads them to throw all of Marxism onto the garbage heap.

To see why this is so, let's look at the recent events in Southeast Asia.

As we have stressed in *The Torch*, the Stalinist-led victories in Indochina represent victories for the international working class and the oppressed peoples of the world. U.S. imperialism has been decisively beaten and weakened and is being forced to retrench internationally. This setback to the "policeman of the world" tremendously increases the ability of the world's oppressed to fight for their rights and freedom. In Indochina itself the victories will mean certain steps toward the achievement of bourgeois-democratic rights, the breakup of the landed estates, the return of the

countries of Indochina to their respective peoples, some strides toward equality for oppressed minorities and women, etc.

But the Stalinist-led victories do not represent the achievement, in any form whatever, of workers' rule. The states established in Indochina are not socialist or workers' states, healthy, degenerated, deformed or whatever. They represent the class rule not of the workers but of a national-minded state capitalist ruling class, and the economies of these countries represent a form of state capitalism. Despite certain gains, such as national unification, and a limited industrialization, these new states will be limited by the world market and the antagonistic class relations.

The situation in Indochina was brought about by the workings of imperialism, of capitalism in the epoch of decay. The presence of imperialism (French, Japanese, and U.S.) in Southeast Asia and the resultant economic, social and cultural devastation of the area divided the population of Indochina into two political camps. There were 1) those profiting from and supporting imperialism on the one hand, and 2) the nationalist anti-imperialist forces on the other.

In the pro-imperialist camp were the landowners, the big capitalists and merchants, and their agents, the politicians, officers and other sectors who did their dirty work and catered to their needs. All in all, these constituted a tiny proportion of the population. In the patriotic camp were the proletariat, the peasantry, large sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and middle classes (teachers and other professionals, writers and intellectuals, etc.) and oppressed nationalities. These were the overwhelming majority of the people.

The patriotic camp took form over the years in the course of struggle against the various forms of imperialist domination. In the course of this struggle, the respective forces within the patriotic camp fought for political leadership. Given the fact that the overwhelming majority of the bourgeoisie supported imperialism, the struggle for leadership of the anti-imperialist forces occurred between the proletariat and various political formations representing the petty bourgeoisie. Normally these latter sectors are weak and disorganized, and vacillate between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. However, the degeneration of the Russian Revolution added a crucial factor that enabled a section of the middle strata to overcome this weakness. This factor was Stalinism.

Claiming to represent the proletariat and to be fighting for the socialist revolution, Stalinism and the Stalinist parties represent a counterrevolutionary agency within the workers' movement. Beginning with the period of the Popular Front, Stalinism and its parties in the underdeveloped countries served as rallying points for nationalist-minded petty-bourgeois elements who saw the proletariat as a vehicle for their nationalist aspirations. They saw Stalinism, as embodied in Stalinist Russia, as a means to expel imperialism and modernize the country through statification of the economy. Meanwhile, Stalinism brought new activity to these layers.

These methods, a Stalinist caricature of Leninism, enabled normally weak and dispersed sectors to attain sufficient cohesion and hardness to fight for their specific interests within the anti-imperialist camp. In this way, Stalinism became a vehicle for the nationalist petty bourgeois elements who saw statification as the solution to the problems of their country. Because of their proletarian cover, ideology and form, and their claim to represent the heritage of the October Revolution, these forces were well placed to battle for hegemony of the anti-imperialist camp.

Their main enemy was the revolutionary proletariat. This proletariat, however, was not only small and weak but was also disoriented and lacked all but the embryo of a revolutionary leadership.

By the mid-1930's, the Indochinese Communist Party, like all the parties of the Comintern, had become thoroughly Stalinized and incapable of reformation. The struggle to build a new revolutionary party in the area was carried forward by the Trotskyists. By the late 1930's, however, these Trotskyists, who were split into two groups, had not succeeded in building a mass party commanding the allegiance of a large section of the workers of Vietnam. The lack of such a party meant that the Stalinist party, now transformed into a petty-bourgeois state capitalist party with a proletarian facade, could establish its stranglehold over the proletariat. The Stalinists were thus enabled to defeat the revolutionary proletariat and guarantee their domination of the anti-imperialist struggle.

STALINIST BUTCHERS

The decisive event in this struggle occurred in the immediate aftermath of World War II. In September 1945 the Stalinists massacred thousands of worker militants and their Trotskyist leaders who had taken up arms against the British troops sent in to pave the way for the return of the French colonial forces. From this point on, the Vietnamese anti-imperialist struggle was under the thumb of the Stalinists. Relying almost exclusively on rural-based guerrilla tactics, the Stalinists scrupulously avoided mobilizing the working class lest the latter reassert its leadership over the anti-imperialist masses and win them to its revolutionary socialist goals.

This policy was followed down to the victory of the NLF-PRG in the spring of this year. In effect, the Vietnamese Stalinists used the peasants, organized in the guerrilla army and the organizations of the NLF, as a battering ram against the landlords, capitalists and imperialists on the one hand, and as a club held over the proletariat on the other.

Having seized power not at the head of a self-conscious revolutionary proletariat fighting for its own needs, but rather at the head of an apparatus of petty-bourgeois forces, the Stalinists, are not in any way establishing a workers state. Instead, they are constructing a form of state capitalism in which the means of production are held by the state which in turn will be tightly run by the Stalinist leadership. The Stalinist state-in-embryo (the NLF-PRG apparatus backed by the

guerrilla armies) has been leading sections of the apparatus have been tra the petty bourgeoisie bourgeoisie.

The SL has developed happened in Indochina against all comers, in p and what the SL calls th the SL's cousins). It has as verification of its continuity of the Fourth revolutionary leadership proletariat. As we shall can't be called a theory) this claim. Its only vi confusion.

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Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution extended Lenin's Marxist principles to their logical end. To successfully complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the proletariat would have to seize state power. It could not stop at bourgeois-democratic tasks but would have to go over to socialist tasks; it could not be confined to one country. In this way, the revolution would become permanent.

a Stalinist caricature of normally weak and dispersed, inefficient cohesion and hardness to specific interests within the camp. In this way, Stalinism is the nationalist petty bourgeois identification as the solution to the country. Because of their ideology and form, and their heritage of the October forces were well placed to battle an anti-imperialist camp. My was the revolutionary proletariat, however, was not only was also disoriented and lacked of a revolutionary leadership. The Indochinese Communist Party of the Comintern, had Stalinized and incapable of struggle to build a new in the area was carried forward. By the late 1930's, however, no were split into two groups, building a mass party comrade of a large section of the. The lack of such a party meant party, now transformed into a capitalist party with a proletarian establish its stranglehold over talinists were thus enabled to ary proletariat and guarantee he anti-imperialist struggle.

IST BUTCHERS

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guerrilla armies) has become a state-in-fact. The leading sections of the Stalinist party and NLF apparatus have been transformed from sections of the petty bourgeoisie into a state capitalist bourgeoisie.

The SL has developed a position on what has happened in Indochina which it struggles for against all comers, in particular against the RSL and what the SL calls the Pabloites (who are really the SL's cousins). It has sought to use its position as verification of its claim to represent the continuity of the Fourth International, i.e., to be the revolutionary leadership of the international proletariat. As we shall see, the SL's position (it can't be called a theory) exposes the hollowness of this claim. Its only virtue is as a paragon of confusion.

The starting point of the SL's position is that capitalist rule has been overthrown in Vietnam, Cambodia and (almost) in Laos. It was quite adamant on this: "Capitalist Class Rule Smashed" screams the lead headline of *Workers Vanguard* No. 68.

The second point of the SL's position is that deformed workers' states have been set up. "The establishment of deformed workers states in South Vietnam and Cambodia has come under exceptional circumstances." (W.V. 72). We will get to the "exceptional circumstances" later. For the moment the important thing is that the SL writes that these societies are some kind of workers states. The word "deformed" in this sentence functions as an adjective which modifies workers states; "deformed" tells us what kind of workers states these are. But no matter what variety, the sentence means that these are workers states, states of the workers, according to the SL.

Next comes a clever ruse. To Marxists, what follows from the propositions that capitalism has been overthrown and workers states established is that in some form or another the workers' rule, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been set up. Marx wrote: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transformation period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" (*Critique of the Gotha Program*). Note the words "can be nothing but. . ." And what is this dictatorship? It is "the proletariat organized as the ruling class" and as the instrument of the working class which enables it to suppress the bourgeoisie, i.e., a workers state. In other words, what follows the overthrow of capitalism is the dictatorship of the proletariat, or what is popularly known as a workers state.

This is not a whimsical idea of Marx and Engels. It flows immediately and directly out of the fundamental tenet of Marxism that only the proletariat can free the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers state, can only be a tool by which the proletariat establishes its political rule, suppresses the bourgeoisie and its allies, and paves the way for the elimination of exploitation, classes and the state. Unless this apparatus is an instrument of the workers, it cannot represent an

instrument for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a progressive society.

The SL, however, has made an "improvement" on Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. What has replaced capitalist rule in Vietnam, Cambodia and is replacing it in Laos, according to the SL? "Deformed workers states," says the SL. Are these states the dictatorship of the proletariat, "the proletariat organized as the ruling class"? Listen. "Yet today, it is not the proletariat that holds political power in Vietnam governing through democratic soviets, but a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy that rules." (W.V. 72)

This is all very neat. Capitalist rule has been overthrown and replaced by "deformed workers states." But these "deformed workers states" cannot be considered as any form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the workers do not rule. Who, according to the SL, rules in Indochina today? It is a "parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy" that rules, or, as several SLers have announced at RSL forums, "There is no ruling class." In other words, we have a workers state (deformed) which is not ruled by the working class and which in fact has no ruling class at all.

(It is difficult to take this seriously, but we must push ahead.)

What is the nature of the party that carried out such an achievement? The Stalinist parties, says the SL, are "bourgeois," "objectively reformist" parties (W.V. 71). And under what conditions did this occurrence take place? "The establishment of deformed workers states in South Vietnam and Cambodia has come under exceptional historical circumstances." And "The decisive factor enabling the Stalinists to assume power in Indochina was the absence of a class conscious proletariat fighting in its own interests" (W.V. 72). We believe it is correct to assume that the "exceptional historical circumstances" that the SL refers to mean the "absence of a class conscious proletariat." Thus, we have an "objectively reformist" party leading a proletariat which is not class conscious in the task of overthrowing capitalism.

This is a masterpiece of centrist muddleheadedness. At every step, the argument contradicts Marxism. While pretending to be so very Marxist it is really its total negation.

Let's recapitulate.

Central to Marxism is the idea that the proletariat must be class conscious to overthrow capitalism. As we have noted, this is what separates Marxism from all varieties of liberalism, Utopian socialism and other petty-bourgeois theories. The SL, which argues that capitalism has been overthrown in Vietnam in the absence of a class conscious proletariat, has thrown this "minor" point out the window.

Fundamental to Lenin and Trotsky's teaching is the idea that a revolutionary party is necessary to lead the proletariat in the successful overthrow of capitalism. To the SL, capitalism can be overthrown by the workers and peasants led not by a revolutionary party but by an "objectively reformist" Stalinist party. These "Leninists" absent mindededly throw out this "small item."

Intimately related to the above is the conception

that the entity which replaces the capitalist state can only be the dictatorship of the proletariat, or what is popularly designated as a workers state. Yet the SL, in another "improvement" of Marxism, has decided that the dictatorship of the proletariat need not replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Instead a new phenomenon, which the SL calls a "deformed workers state," can also do the job (under "exceptional circumstances"), and, although called a "deformed workers state," it is not a workers state in any way (and since there is no ruling class, it is not even a state!)

As if things were not hot enough, the SL has the gall to say that all this, which is not consistent with Aristotelian logic let alone Marxism, is consistent with the theory of the Permanent Revolution.

These SLers are quite the gymnasts. In the epoch of imperialist decay, capitalism, which in the previous epoch had been progressive, comes into conflict with the struggle for democratic rights. The bourgeoisie betrays the bourgeois-democratic program. Under these circumstances, the struggle for these rights is taken up by the proletariat which, because its aim is the overthrow of capitalism, can bring about the complete and genuine fulfillment of the bourgeois-democratic demands. To Trotsky it was because only the proletariat could effectuate a progressive overthrow of decaying capitalism that the bourgeois-democratic demands could only be fulfilled through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Permanent Revolution, in other words, is based on the fundamental proposition that only the proletariat can bring about a progressive transformation of capitalism. The SL, which is today arguing that it was not the revolutionary proletariat that overthrew capitalism in Southeast Asia, therefore repudiates the notion upon which the entire theory of the Permanent Revolution is based. Whoever accused the SL of doctrinaire rigidity was profoundly mistaken.

What does all this confusion mean? The answer is quite simple. The SL really argues that capitalism has been overthrown in Vietnam and that a new type of society has been established. In this new society, the bourgeoisie does not rule and even though the SL calls the states established "deformed workers states," the proletariat does not rule either. In fact, there is no ruling class at all. Instead a bureaucratic caste rules these societies. But what is this caste? Since the proletariat is not the ruling class, the bureaucratic caste is not a part of the working class. And since it is not part of the bourgeoisie (and we assume that the SL is not arguing that it comes from outer space), it must come from the petty bourgeoisie. Moreover, to the SL, these societies are progressive and should be supported over capitalism.

In other words, the SL, crack fighters for Marxism, argues that a new kind of society, led by a section of the petty bourgeoisie, exists in Southeast Asia (and wherever "deformed workers states" exist) and that this type of society is progressive. Under the guise of Marxism, the SL stomps all over the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and constructs a monument to the "progressive" capabilities of the petty bourgeoisie.

Concluded in the next issue

India: Democratic Showcase Shatters

Resistance to Indira Gandhi's dictatorial measures began to grow last month as the Indian Prime Minister called a purged Parliament into session to rubber-stamp her "State of Emergency."

As Parliament met, news of anti-Government demonstrations leaked to the foreign press despite Gandhi's censorship. On July 19, George Fernandes, head of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and chairman of the reformist Socialist Party, issued from an unknown hiding place an appeal for general strikes and non-violent disobedience to bring down Gandhi's "fascist dictatorship." On July 26, the opposition coalition government of Gujarat state mobilized 10,000 anti-Gandhi demonstrators in the state capital, while thousands more rallied in other parts of the state. These demonstrations were only possible because Gujarat is one of two Indian states not controlled by Gandhi's Congress Party. If Gandhi had not made all anti-Government actions illegal, there would have been similar demonstrations in every state in India.

In the four weeks between the declaration of the emergency and the opening of Parliament, Gandhi had arrested at least 50,000 persons and banned over 25 organizations, including the right-wing RSS terror group and the Maoist "Naxalites," the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Organizations which remained technically legal, such as the right-wing Jan Sangh and the Maoist, anti-Gandhi Communist Party (Marxist), had their leaders arrested. (There are three Stalinist parties in India; the third, the Communist Party of India, which is the largest, is pro-Moscow and pro-Gandhi.)

Censorship rules made it illegal to print anything referring to "agitations and violent incidents," anything calling for civil disobedience, or anything to "cause or produce or instigate or incite, directly or indirectly, the cessation and slowing down of work in any place within the country."

SHAM REFORMS

To take the edge off repression, Gandhi announced "reforms." She staged a drive against speculators and profiteers and opened state-subsidized "super-bazaars" offering staple goods at low prices. Neither measure was anything new. Gandhi has staged a crackdown on speculators every time indignation about prices required appeasement. The crackdowns are always ineffective, because the combination of scarcity and a free market made hoarding and price-gouging inevitable.

The "super-bazaar" scheme is only a copy of Gandhi's much more ambitious plan of two years ago to sell rice and grain at subsidized low prices in state-owned stores. That scheme was a total failure because the Government, losing money on its subsidies, still could not compete with the private traders, who offered the farmers higher prices. No such scheme can work without expropriating the private traders.

Similarly meaningless is Gandhi's talk of solving the land problem. "We must distribute surplus land among the landless with redoubled zeal," Gandhi proclaimed July 1; but the problem is not surplus-land, but the debt and tenancy systems oppressing the millions of cultivators. The already cultivated land must be redistributed among the small peasants, tenants, and landless agricultural laborers; but Gandhi has no intention of expropriating big farmers. The only measure

she announced in this field was a postponement on collections of debts.

These measures, empty as they are, have a serious political purpose. By such demagoguery Gandhi hopes to build a base of support among the most ignorant and helpless of India's masses as a club against the middle-class opposition and the organized proletariat. The complement to these measures, therefore, is the call for "austerity," limitations on wages, longer hours, and no strikes.

In class terms, Gandhi is trying to forge a Bonapartist coalition, serving the interests of the big bourgeoisie and winning support from sections of the peasantry, directed against the proletariat and the middle-class elements who have based their opposition on urban discontent. Like other Bonapartists, Gandhi is trying to use "country" against "town" in the interests of capital.

This turn to authoritarianism and Bonapartism is an inevitable result of the agony of India's stagnating capitalism. India's economy underwent limited development for a decade and a half following Independence in 1947. By the 1960's, India was importing only 10 percent of her manufactured goods, as compared to 40 percent in 1947. But a real industrial revolution was blocked by the economic and social effects of imperialism.



Indira Gandhi attempts to win support of New Delhi businessmen. Gandhi has launched massive repression campaign

win a base among the most discontented peasant and urban poor on the strength of rhetoric and promises. The second was to move politically against the wing of Congress most closely tied to the unproductive sectors of the bourgeoisie. These old Congress bosses stood in the way of Gandhi's main objective, which was to utilize state capital and foreign loans to build up iron, steel, coal, transport, and other basic production and transport facilities to subsidize the more profitable sectors of Indian capitalism.

The unprofitable coal industry was nationalized; so were fourteen major banks that had previously followed restrictive credit policies. Fertilizer plants were started with foreign capital. The steel industry was not nationalized—its owners were the most powerful capitalist families in India—but Gandhi planned to boost production with the construction of several huge state-owned mills built by the USSR.

GANDHI FAILS

The next five years were a test of this state-directed capitalist development—a test Indian capitalism failed completely. As reported in the Far Eastern Economic Review's current annual survey of Asian economic conditions, 1973-74 production of food-grains was 107 million tons, one

several times over, or to cut off industrial growth altogether by choking off the supply of oil.

The massive calamity striking every layer of Indian society made 1974 a year of protest, almost of insurrection. Food riots in several areas early in the year claimed hundreds of lives. Student riots, strikes, and food riots toppled Congress Party governments in Bihar and Gujarat; Gandhi's party squeaked through elections in Uttar Pradesh with a majority of one seat, and was forced to form a coalition with the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI) in Kerala state. There were dozens of minor strikes, and major ones in jute, textile and most importantly, rail, where the three-week strike of 2 million railwaymen in May was crushed by the arrest of over 30,000 workers.

As these mass protests ebbed, a middle-class opposition emerged in Bihar around Jaya Prakash Narayan. Bihar is one of the most corrupt of India's states, and also one of the most backward: in 1974 smallpox, a disease eradicated in the rest of the world, grew to epidemic proportions there and claimed 15,000 lives. However, Narayan focuses not on Bihar's appalling oppression and backwardness, but on the single issue of corruption; his calls for nonviolent civil disobedience were meant to influence, not overthrow, the government. For these reasons and because Narayan deliberately built no organization, his agitation became a magnet for the boiling discontent of the urban petty-bourgeois, student, and unemployed masses, but died down again quickly. By June 25, just before Gandhi imposed the "State of Emergency," Narayan was able to rally 50,000 people in New Delhi, but the "J.P. Movement" was declining in Bihar.

CONGRESS IN TROUBLE

Gandhi used the opposition's first important victory (the June 12 decision finding her guilty of election fraud and therefore disqualified from serving in Parliament) as the excuse of her crackdown. But it was not mainly Narayan's flickering movement which worried her. Rather, the mass unrest seething everywhere was tearing apart the Congress Party. The Communist Party of India was pressing for a more open alliance with Gandhi, and pro-CPI forces in Congress were urging Gandhi to purge the right; in turn, the strong right wing of Congress was flirting with Narayan, who was openly inciting Congress rightwingers to denounce Gandhi's Communist alliance.

Moreover, state Congress organizations were attacking Gandhi for not doing enough for their lives. And despite the usual round of electoral bribery, rhetoric and promises of public works, the week before the crackdown Congress lost control of Gujarat state to an opposition coalition. In sum, the growing social catastrophe was tearing apart the patchwork system of corruption, favors, and local and regional pork-barreling which, under the name of the Congress Party, had governed India.

The result was Gandhi's lurch into Bonapartist authoritarianism. Despite the widespread discontent at her latest measures, Gandhi has not yet been seriously challenged. A big part of the reason for this is the weakness of her opposition. Neither the "J.P. Movement" nor the other opposition groups had an organized mass base. With few exceptions, India's motley crew of opposition parties have traditionally allied with each other against Con-

covered with phoney reforms to prop up Congress Party's tottering control in India.

A giant surplus agricultural population racked by debt, and a landlord class fattening on rents and speculation, prevented a major rise in food production. The business and financial community was more interested in real estate, insurance, and banking deals than in investment in basic production, which requires a much bigger initial capital investment and does not yield quick, bloated, artificial profits.

And the "foreign aid" on which India relied as a substitute for domestic development, to purchase desperately needed food, fertilizer, and other goods, sank India deeper and deeper into debt. By the end of 1973, India's debt to the United States was several times the original value of the loans and Russia's "aid" terms had been tightened so that India is now paying Russia five times as much in debt servicing as it receives in loans.

In 1969, Gandhi pushed through a split in her own Congress Party. This had two purposes. The first was to

million less than in 1970-71, although the population had grown by at least 40 million in the meantime. The gap of at least 8 million tons between production and the minimum food needs of the population make price rises inevitable. Steel and pig iron production have fallen in the early 1970's; the rates of industrial and general growth were about half of the modest figures called for by the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

According to the same source, "the promises for education in the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974-79) disappeared in the financial crises." The plan itself was junked as unrealistic a few months after it was adopted. In every field, the disaster facing India almost defies imagination: 10 million are on starvation rations in Rajasthan state; the Southern city of Madras (population 2.5 million) was almost without drinking water for months in 1974; the jump in world price of oil threatens either to multiply India's foreign debt

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The strongest elements in the opposition are the right-wing parties, mainly Jan Sangh and the Old Congress. Narayan, former head of a small socialist party, is more than willing to unite with these big-

agitation of 1974. (Patel waited until after the election before joining the coalition government.) Such an opposition offers no road forward for India.

On the other hand, the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI) has backed Gandhi to the hilt, denouncing Narayan and embracing Gandhi's current calls for work discipline. The CPI's chairman, S.A. Dange, is also head of the All-India Trade Union

years; thousands of its militants were in jail even before June. The CPI(ML)'s orientation toward the peasantry has led it away from the proletarian struggle. But the unstable nature of peasant militancy, as well as the repression the party has faced, have weakened it and it too has suffered several splits in the last two years.

Although India's present left is



Indian women demonstrate in Bombay against high cost of living and impending economic collapse. The masses face starvation while the Indian government tries to patch up its alliance with the big bourgeoisie and the Soviet Union.

business, semi-fascist and Hindu communalist elements. The same is true of Fernandes' Socialist Party, the Indian affiliate of the so-called Socialist (Second) International. As head of the railwaymen's federation, Fernandes headed the giant May, 1974 strike, and his recent call for underground resistance indicates he is still putting on a militant face.

But Fernandes attacks Gandhi from the right, denouncing her alliance with the CP and referring to the Russians as her "foreign masters." The coalition which won the Gujarat elections in June included Fernandes' Socialist Party, Jan Sangh, the Old Congress, and, for good measure, a new rightist party headed by Gandhi's old Gujarat hatchetman, Chimanbhai Patel, who was forced to resign by the mass

Congress, the largest Indian union federation, in which position he did his level best to sabotage the 1974 rail strike. Working-class pressure forces the CPI to tack locally—for example, the CPI supported last year's Bengal jute strike and successfully ran against Congress in Bombay. But such tactical zig-zags are subordinate to its main strategy, promoting a "united progressive democratic front" of itself, Gandhi, and the "progressive" (pro-Russian, pro-state capitalist) wing of Congress.

Finally, the Maoist opposition is weak. The CP(M), which has tried to balance between Moscow and Peking, has for this reason been weakened by splits to the left and right. The CPI(ML), the "Naxalites," have suffered severe repression for several

weak and fragmented, there is no way out for India's masses but socialist revolution. Indian capitalism is in collapse. Millions face starvation, tens of millions slow death from malnutrition and disease. After 28 years of independence, two-thirds of the population cannot read or write, and two-thirds of India's villages have no electricity. Such figures tell all that need be said about Indian capitalism's failure to break free of imperialism and rural backwardness.

Gandhi's first month of dictatorship was made easy by the disorganization of the opposition and its lack of an active mass base. If the opposition movement acquires organization and mobilizes the masses, Gandhi will have to turn to even harsher measures, or the bourgeoisie will kick her aside for a stronger civilian figure or a

military ruler. If the opposition leaders remain mired in traditional non-violent "passive resistance" tactics and the masses become demoralized, Gandhi may be able to afford to lift some of the "emergency" measures.

But even if formally parliamentary, the regime from here on it will be a Bonapartist one. The collapse of India's bourgeois democracy has historic causes: the grinding down of India by imperialism, the failure to develop the national economy, raise the living standards of the masses, and solve the land question—which has also led to the persistence of superstition and caste oppression despite the formal outlawing of caste divisions. For all these reasons, the perspective of a return to parliamentary democracy is a hopeless one.

This will probably be the perspective of the Socialists, the Narayan movement, and other elements of the opposition, once they regroup and formulate a strategy. It will certainly be the CPI's perspective if it is kicked over by Gandhi. But this is simply to call for a return to the social regime which led inevitably to the "State of Emergency."

Instead, the perspective must be that of the Permanent Revolution. The solution to land hunger and peasant indebtedness can only be achieved through the overthrow of capitalism. The suppression of the democratic rights of the proletariat cannot be ended while capitalist stagnation continues. The solution to these problems requires, first, sweeping away the landlords and rural creditors; second, nationalizing the means of production under the control of the proletariat; third, ending India's exploitation by the capitalist world market. All these mean a socialist revolution led by the proletariat, in alliance with tenants, poor peasants and landless laborers. The task ahead is to build the revolutionary party which can win the vanguard of India's proletariat to this perspective.

P.O. Workers: Vote 'No,' Prepare to Strike

Militant postal workers prepared to fight for a decent contract have been sold out by their "leadership." The July 21 agreement served up to the ranks is a total victory for the U.S. Postal Service. The rank and file must vote "No!" on the proposed contract and prepare for a strike to back up their demands.

The Ford Administration sent the government's top mediator, W.J. Usery, into the bargaining sessions to make sure an agreement favorable to management was reached by the deadline. Ford, remembering the militant 1970 national postal wildcat and fearing that a postal walkout would trigger strike action by tens of thousands of other embattled public employees, wanted to make sure that the bureaucrats didn't yield to pressure from the ranks.

He had nothing to worry about. National Association of Letter Carriers President Rademacher had already made his position clear: "We can threaten all we want. But we just waste words. The law is very specific. All the rhetoric and strike declarations are hogwash."

PROMISES DOWN THE DRAIN

Down the drain went all the promises that Rademacher, American Postal Workers Union President Filbey and Laborers International President Lapinta (representing mailhandlers) had made in the pre-contract period. They had called for strengthening the no-layoffs clause, making all "part-time flexies" (substitutes) regular employees, a "substantial wage increase," a 32-hour week with no loss in pay, elimination of brutal speed-up plans like the one being tried out on letter carriers in Kokomo, Indiana and Portland, Oregon. They called for the right to strike, now illegal for postal workers.

They caved in on every one of these demands. Start with the no-layoffs clause. Management has punched holes in this provision: there are now 600,000 postal workers compared to 700,000 in 1970. Filbey and Rademacher turned the loopholes into

gaping chasms. The new contract provides for "180-day temporary workers" who can be fired without warning or cause at any time and can in no case work for longer than six months. USPS will get around the no-layoffs clause by filling vacancies with temporary workers. The unions will be weakened by this flood of unprotected workers who can be used as scabs.

Subs remain subs. The new contract, like the old, allows USPS to send subs home after four hours work without warning; even worse, subs are only guaranteed four hours of work every two weeks.

The "substantial wage increase" turned out to be \$1,500 over three years. That's barely 4 percent a year. Combine this with the cost of living clause, which despite promises was not improved, and postal workers will be lucky to break even. This rotten deal comes at a time when workers in private industry have been getting wage increases averaging over 10 percent.

The 32-hour week was dropped without comment. Management pushed through a clause giving them the right to institute "selective" productivity schemes like Kokomo, leaving the unions only the "right" to submit grievances. The unions have officially agreed not to strike over these speed-up attacks. But the grievance procedure is small protection—the final step is arbitration, and the arbitrators are notorious for being management tools.

NO RIGHT TO STRIKE

Worst of all, postal workers are still legally denied the right to strike. The bureaucrats use this to excuse their sellouts, but the fact is they're afraid to strike. More than that, they're afraid to rock the boat at all. USPS's well-being comes before the workers: "I know we can outprice ourselves and push the Postal Service to pot overnight. I will not be a party to the collapse of my people's jobs," said Rademacher.

This hack talks out of both sides of his mouth. First he tells postal workers that he'd like to do

better but can't without the right to strike. Then he argues against strikes and militant demands because USPS can't afford them. Workers have no interest in sacrificing to bolster corporate profits. Instead of worrying about management's needs, Rademacher should be demanding expropriation of USPS under workers' control to insure jobs, wages and working conditions.

The bureaucrats' betrayal is clear. But the capitalists are still worried. In the words of U.S. News and World Report (quoting an "observer" who sat in on the negotiations), "The question is: can the national union leaders control what happens in the hinterlands?"

"The hinterlands" means the rank and file locked out of the treacherous negotiations. And the ranks must map out a militant strategy to scotch the sellouts. A "No" vote on the contract must be coupled with strike preparations. Left-talking local leaders like Moe Biller and Vinnie Sombrotto (presidents of New York's APWU and NALC locals) urge a "No" vote but make no strike preparations.

Talk is cheap, as postal workers have seen from Rademacher, Filbey and Lapinta's pre-contract rhetoric. But the ranks can't rely on Biller and Sombrotto to back up their words, with action. While they vacillate, valuable time is being lost, time which should be used to coordinate strike strategy.

The Postal Action Committee, whose demands and strategy were reported in last month's Torch, is preparing for this fight. PAC now calls for elected committees in every local to organize for a "No" vote and mobilize for a strike. The key big-city locals should mobilize teams to canvass the country, urging contract rejection and strike preparation.

There is a nucleus for this struggle—the Postal Action Committee. We call on postal militants to join with PAC in building the fight against the sellout contract and rolling back this latest blow in the attacks on public workers.



AFSCME District 37 head Victor Gotbaum's militant gesture wins smiles of New York City officials and MAC representatives, whose

interests he represents. Gotbaum played leading role in sellout settlement which resulted in layoffs, wage freeze and subway fare hike.

Big MAC Takes New York

Cont'd. from p. 1
living standards. The union's contracts with the city only bind the workers from now on: jobs, wages and working conditions can be attacked regardless of what the agreement says. The excuse of no funds can and will be used to wrest concession after concession from the willing bureaucrats.

And this was only the first phase. Mayor Beame announced on August 6 that the city will limit spending increases to 2 percent per year. There will be no limit on debt service, the interest repaid on loans. Combine inflation with increased debt payments and the sum is more cutbacks, more layoffs. How much will the bureaucrats sacrifice the next time the bourgeoisie yells "Crisis"?

To make sure that the city follows through on its end of the deal, the capitalists have demanded and received watch-dog powers over city spending. The president of Metropolitan Life, Richard R. Shinn, heads a newly-formed management review board charged with seeing that the city maintains strict limits on spending and mandated to check where funds go. This is in addition to Big MAC, which has overlapping powers. MAC is chaired by New York Telephone president William Ellinghaus and composed mainly of Wall Street and banking representatives. The banks and corporations have dictatorial power over the city, and will continue to tighten the vise on New York workers. When asked what further steps were necessary, Beame referred to Big MAC and blurted, "They tell me what to do."

BIG MAC'S RUSE

They do indeed. The latest in the series of ultimatums delivered by the bourgeoisie came under the excuse that Big MAC couldn't sell \$2 billion in long-term bonds needed for the city to meet financial obligations. Only strict assurances from the city that it would put its house in order by making the working class sacrifice would do, they asserted repeatedly.

Past issues of *The Torch* have exposed this ruse. The city guarantees debt service payments and pays them before all other expenses. "Lack of trust" was hardly the question. The crisis atmosphere was generated to

break the power of city unions and to make easier an attack on the entire working class.

In any case, why should New York workers and not the capitalists be the ones to sacrifice? Cancellation of the debt would immediately eliminate the need for the cuts—the debt service is 17 percent of the city budget. But cancellation of the debt and expropriation of the banks call into question the profit-oriented capitalist system. Therefore, they are shunned by the politicians and bureaucrats alike.

The success the capitalist class has had to date is attributable to their agents in the workers' camp, particularly Gotbaum. New York workers, especially public employees and blacks and Latins who are hurt most by the cuts, were outspokenly angered by the austerity program. Solid opposition to Beame's cuts existed throughout the city. A series of demonstrations at hospitals, schools, day care centers and welfare centers proved this. There was general consciousness that the banks, not the workers, should pay for the crisis.

GOTBAUM FRONTS FOR BOSSES

But Gotbaum argued against action; he opposed calls for a strike. "When a union has power it doesn't have to be militant," he explained in late July. How did he use this power? The *New York Times* explained that even before he sat down to negotiate

with the bourgeoisie, "Mr. Gotbaum and Mr. Elish (Big MAC's representative) agreed on many points before the talks began, and the delay in reaching a settlement may have been caused by the need to reconcile union disagreements and management disagreements."

In other words, Gotbaum had to convince the other bureaucrats, under pressure from their ranks, that they should sell out to the city. As for himself, Gotbaum had long since decided to sell out. Two weeks before the talks he said, "If it was only me negotiating for my union, I could wrap this up in 24 hours."

Or take the case of United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker. Shanker, despite a history of sellouts a mile long, has emerged recently with a militant image. Gotbaum threw him out of the negotiations with the city government and Big MAC when he balked at the wage freeze. In his July 28 *New York Times* column, Shanker called for cancelling the debt. The following week, he retracted this statement, explaining that he had "learned" that the banks would institute bankruptcy proceedings and put the city into receivership. This, he warned, would enable them to dictate where the city spent its money and to order cutbacks and layoffs.

That's what they're doing anyway! Only real cancellation of the debt with

Opportunists Enter P.O. Struggle

Supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League together with members of the Postal Action Committee (PAC) were barred from the most recent meeting of the New York Postal Workers Action Committee (PWAC), a group closely identified with the International Socialists. This exclusionary action for a publicly announced meeting shows the IS's further disintegration into the Menshevik mentality it shares with Stalinism. The method of PWAC-IS presented at the meeting—"militant action" as an end in itself, enormous condescension towards workers expressed in "the

need to mingle with the workers" and blatant tailism after union hacks and backward workers—made it even more indistinguishable from Stalinism.

The one tailfeather which the otherwise drab International Socialists traditionally, but mistakenly, points to with pride is its "democratic principles." Under these "principles" a jangle of conflicting positions, ranging from outright reformism to occasional sentimentality over Trotsky (and a host of others), is allowed to flower, held together by the uniformly opportunist leaders of bur-

no concessions from the workers and no repayment to the banks can provide an alternative. New York is in receivership to the banks today, in fact if not officially, and the only way out is to unleash the power of the working class.

GENERAL STRIKE FOR WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

The situation poses the need for a general strike for a workers' government. Capitalism hopes to base an economic upturn on slashing the services it provided during the post-war boom and undercutting the public employee unions which stand in their way. Seattle, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, Newark and several other cities face the same attacks. The naked counterposition of corporate profit to workers' needs underlines the need for the working class to govern in its own name.

The immediate task of defending workers' living standards is directly related to the need for a general strike for a workers' government. The basic weapon workers have is the ability to stop production. A general strike against the cutbacks and layoffs and to make the capitalists pay for their crisis, a citywide strike in defense of workers' living standards, is essential if workers are to stop the attacks. The defensive strike would open up the general question of who should rule—the need for a workers' government. The confrontation in New York is a head-on collision between the needs of capitalism and the needs of the workers. The solidarity and escalating consciousness of a citywide strike would raise in the eyes of thousands of workers the question of why the capitalists should be allowed to continue governing.

Class conscious workers must explain in advance that defense against the attacks and a workers' government are the same question. Any partial concessions made in a general strike would be repealed at the first opportunity, just as the concessions made in the past three decades are being wiped out today at breakneck speed. A nucleus capable of providing class struggle leadership must be built immediately.

Beginning now, the bureaucrats must be put on the spot by the demand that they represent the workers' interests and not the capitalists' and organize a general strike. Rank and file-elected committees must be formed to organize for the strike and to provide a basis for selecting an alternative leadership in struggle when the bureaucrats vacillate and capitulate.

Despite the current sellouts, it is not too late to act. Revolutionaries who counterpose workers' needs to those of the bourgeoisie must intervene and lead the struggle, addressing New York workers with the message that the now open rule of the banks and corporations must be smashed with a general strike for a workers' government!

cauratic cliques.

ISers have tailed after the right-Maoist October League and, in union with the Stalinists and Maoists, after the UMW's Arnold Miller, the UFW's Chavez and anything else that poses to the left of George Meany Postal workers at the New York PWAC meeting heard Local NALC President Sombrotto cheered as the man who could have been a real leader if only he had led a strike in 1973.

In fact even this was a lie; PWAC-IS still thinks that militant-posing Sombrotto is the real leader to

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'Workers Viewpoint': Left Talk, Right Practice

STRIKE FOR GOVERNMENT

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As the New York public employee union bureaucrats capitulate under the pressure of the bankers and politicians to sell out their members, various groups to the left of the bureaucracy have emerged with dead-end strategies against the layoffs, cutbacks and wage freezes. One such group, the Maoist organization Workers Viewpoint, presents a deceptively left face since it calls for revolutionary socialist solutions to the city crisis. But the Coalition to Fight the Budget Cuts (CFBC), which is led by Workers Viewpoint, rejects in practice what WV promises, on paper.

At its July 8 meeting, the CFBC expelled supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League and members of the Coalition of Public Workers (CPW) in which the RSL was active, on the charge of Trotskyism. The CPW had planned joint actions with the CFBC and had convinced the CFBC, against the initial opposition of its leaders, to campaign in the unions for a general strike by city workers as the key weapon for beating back the bosses' attacks.

The CPW had also raised the cancellation of the city's debt to the banks and a massive public works program to end unemployment and provide needed social services. CFBC members had been eager to discuss these proposals, despite Workers Viewpoint's position that public works can only strengthen the bourgeoisie, and that cancelling the debt would only be used by the bankers to tax the workers more heavily.

The RSL had fought to win both coalitions to the program of nationalizing the banks and industry under workers' control and had explained that a workers' government was the necessary means for carrying out

these objectives. The RSL program was presented as integral to a revolutionary socialist solution to the crisis. The charge of Trotskyism directed at the RSL was correct, for Trotskyism is nothing but revolutionary socialism.

LEADERS VETO JOINT WORK

Despite Workers Viewpoint's fondness for the slogan "Socialist revolution is the only solution," they opposed raising ideas that "the workers wouldn't understand," and therefore vetoed joint work with the RSL. The expulsion was carried out in bureaucratic fashion, with no precise charges and no attempt to defend the CFBC's political line. The openness on the part of many CFBC members to far-reaching solutions to the crisis had to be squelched by the WV leadership.

How does this tally with Workers Viewpoint's revolutionary proclamations? WV's members make a valiant effort to apply Leninism to the current period, but they run headlong into the insoluble contradiction of reconciling Lenin with Mao. In almost every publication that it issues, WV quotes Lenin on the method of transitional demands:

... it is necessary to formulate and put forward all these demands not in a reformist but in a revolutionary way; not by keeping within the framework of bourgeois legality, but by breaking through it; not by confining oneself to parliamentary speeches and verbal protests, but by drawing the masses into real action, by widening and fomenting the struggle for every kind of fundamental democratic demand, right up to and including the direct onslaught of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, i.e., to the socialist revolution, which will expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The method of doing this, expounded by Lenin in his writings during the 1917 Russian Revolution and summarized by Trotsky in his Transitional Program, is to begin with the workers' government and to explain what Lenin called the "universally known and easy measures of control," the objectively necessary steps that a workers' government would take, as a series of concrete tasks: nationalizing the banks into a central state bank; opening the books of all corporations and banks to workers' organizations to make possible workers' control; organizing working class consumer societies to monitor prices and regulate consumption; doing away with unemployment by building public works and dividing society's necessary labor among the available workforce ("30 hours work for 40 hours pay"), and so on. In short, conscious democratic planning by the proletariat in place of capitalist anarchy. The last issue of *The Torch* elaborated this transitional program as it applies to the unraveling New York crisis.

TWO-STAGE TAILISTS

Workers Viewpoint, by rejecting the transitional program, is reduced to tailing the current consciousness of the workers without pointing the way ahead. Its call for "socialism" remains abstract, unconnected to future proletarian rule. Despite its denials, Workers Viewpoint has a two-stage theory for the American revolution. The current stage is restricted to a bourgeois program and alliances with the bourgeoisie.

Today, for example, WV opposes the nationalization demand because "it would be a step toward fascist rule

and prolong, rather than speed up, the dying capitalists." But later, during a revolutionary situation when the workers demand nationalizations, then "the communist may put forward the program of nationalization and left government as a transitional demand." This left government is a Popular Front, a bourgeois-dominated regime supported by traitorous workers' leaders in order to tie the working class to the bourgeoisie, at the bourgeoisie's hour of greatest danger when it is ready to turn to severest repression. WV's "transitional demand" is a transition to fascism, not socialism.

While nationalization is put off to the future, support for the bourgeoisie is not. In the New York crisis, Workers Viewpoint advocates "critical support" to the city government in order to get financial aid from the state and federal governments and prevent industries and the petty bourgeoisie from fleeing the city's high taxes. WV prefers supporting a bourgeois government and its taxes as a miserable substitute for the program of nationalization of industry by a workers' government.

Workers Viewpoint's leadership has proven its inability to defend the revolutionary tradition that it found in Lenin. The expulsion of the Trotskyists from the CFBC insures that the coalition's work will be led in a thoroughly reformist way by theoreticians who capitulate to the present backward consciousness of non-socialist workers out of fear of making socialism concrete. Honest revolutionaries must break with the Workers Viewpoint leadership and turn to revolutionary socialism, to Trotskyism.

NAACP Begins Attack on Unions

The NAACP has opened a campaign against the trade unions. Its recent convention, held the first weekend in July, gave first priority to an attack on the trade union seniority system.

NAACP labor director Herbert Hill projected "a sustained attack on contractual seniority systems by black workers, women and other minorities." Hill predicted that attempts by organized labor to ward off judicial interference would be futile.

The convention called on "the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Civil Service Commission, state and federal administrative agencies, and upon the courts and if necessary

Congress to act to assure . . . no loss of employment under the last hired, first fired theory."

Hill claimed that the NAACP was "not attacking the whole seniority system, but wanted modification so that the percentage of the oppressed would not be reduced." But despite this disclaimer, the NAACP plan is a frontal assault on the seniority system.

"Percentage layoffs" are directly counterposed to a united workers' defense against unemployment. The system calls for laying off white workers first, no matter how many years of service they have. It accepts layoffs as given and then argues over

who should be laid off first.

If this attack against the seniority system is successful, no job will be safe. The seniority system at least offers a degree of protection against arbitrary firings.

The seniority system is generally abused by trade union bureaucrats to maintain discriminatory policies against blacks and other minorities. These abuses must be vigorously fought. But the fundamental problem and its solution lies elsewhere.

First, it is not the seniority system which puts blacks in a last hired, first fired position, but the inherent inability of capitalism to incorporate blacks fully into productive jobs; its

inability to grant blacks the basic bourgeois-democratic right of free and equal sale of their labor power. Capitalism keeps blacks in the lowest paying, most degrading jobs.

Second, capitalism, in order to intensify the unequal exchange of value between worker and capitalist, cannot provide jobs for all and must maintain a reserve army of labor, the unemployed, to keep its profits up and to keep the working class in check.

This poses two alternatives for the working class: a united struggle for jobs and human equality at the expense of the bosses and their profits, or destructive warfare within the working class. Both the NAACP and the trade union bureaucrats are attempting to hoodwink the working class into accepting the second, self-defeating course.

The racism of the trade union bureaucracy plays a major role in keeping the working class divided and weak. The bureaucracy maintains its domination of the trade unions largely by catering to the overwhelming white aristocracy of labor. It encourages the belief that the partial gains won in past years can only be maintained by allying with the ruling class in smashing the efforts of black workers to win greater access to jobs and job upgrading. The bureaucrats have dragged the unions into court as major opponents of affirmative action suits which serve the dual purpose of dividing the working class and increasing the power and influence of the state over the trade unions.

In doing so, the bureaucrats open the way for liberals and liberal front groups like the NAACP to claim that

Opportunists

Cont'd. from p. 12

follow. At the August 5 New York NALC Local 36 meeting, Sombrotto urged a "no" vote on the contract, but repeatedly stressed that this would not mean a strike: "When the contract is rejected, cooler heads will prevail and negotiations will reopen." In other words, Sombrotto is cynically urging a "no" vote only to challenge NALC national President Rademacher (who negotiated the contract) and put himself at the helm.

When a PWAC-IS supporter attempted to introduce a motion at this meeting, Sombrotto proclaimed that absolutely no motions from the floor would be considered. PAC supporters insisted that the motion be heard. PWAC-IS, however, used the opportunity only to show that it unhesitatingly supported Sombrotto's bid for

personal power. The IS supporter blurted out, "I'm not competing with you, Vinnie." Then the motion was allowed a sympathetic hearing. Later, when Sombrotto fingered PAC supporters as "CIA agents" because they pointed to the necessity of a strike to win real gains, PWAC-IS was mute.

The Torch has frequently explained how opportunism under pressure is transformed into sectarianism. This is the IS's path today. Lacking a revolutionary program, it has nothing to hold itself together under the pressure of workers' rising militancy except grossly bureaucratic methods. It bars revolutionaries from its meetings, flatly rejects united fronts with any organization to its left (leaving itself wide open on the right) and prohibits political debate with other workers' organizations.

Two supporters of the policies of the RSL and also of PAC did gain entry to the New York PWAC meeting.

Speaking for the need for revolutionary leadership, one RSL speaker was greeted with moans and outbursts. The speaker was allowed forty-five seconds speaking time (no time limit was set for any other speaker) and was later physically escorted from the meeting. A united front relationship was offered to PWAC-IS which was later rejected because PAC "is too sectarian" (who rejected the united front; who is sectarian?).

The PAC still invites PWAC-IS to join a united front based on the need to reject the current sellout contract and prepare for a strike. We do not expect this to be accepted. PWAC members who are serious about transforming the postal unions and who understand that requires a revolutionary program have no alternative but break with the PWAC and the IS and join with the Postal Action Committee in this struggle.

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LETTERS

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

IS Implements CLUW Hacks' Repression

Dear Comrades,

In the June issue of *The Torch*, the RSL published a united front proposal calling on all class conscious women in CLUW to wage a joint struggle against the redbaiting and exclusion of unorganized and unemployed women by CLUW bureaucrats. This approach stands in contrast to those women in CLUW who pose as revolutionaries but do nothing to challenge the bureaucracy's rotten programs. Instead, they work overtime to provide a left cover for the bureaucrats.

The International Socialists provide a pathetic example. In Detroit, the IS refused to formally reply to the RSL united front proposal, but its actions in CLUW provided ample response.

At the June CLUW chapter meeting, supporters of the RSL demanded that CLUW be opened to all working women. The RSL called on IS supporters to join this fight, since they claim to agree with the necessity to open CLUW in their press, *Workers Power*. Their response? Silence.

When RSL supporters called for the expulsion of Mabel Holleran, local CLUW chairperson who called the cops on striking women at Metropolitan Hospital, again, silence, despite the fact that this call, too, had been raised in *Workers Power*. Indeed, the IS supporters preoccupied themselves for the rest of the meeting with reassuring Mabel and snickering when the bureaucrats cut off and redbaited RSL supporters speaking from the floor.

IS actions at the CLUW meeting were mirrored by their bureaucratic attacks on the RSL and its united front proposal at informal CLUW

meetings. When RSL supporters attended informal CLUW discussions held by supporters of the IS and a small number of independents, the IS was forced to choose sides on the class line—and chose the bureaucrats and their destruction of CLUW as a potential vehicle for the class struggle.

At the first such informal meeting, the IS (with most of its leaders absent) agreed with a number of key sections of the united front proposal. But by the second meeting, the leadership had whipped the ranks into line—RSL supporters were denied the right to speak on bureaucratic grounds, and the few RSL supporters allowed to speak were interrupted and redbaited. By the third meeting, RSL supporters were expelled because they "did not act like Caucus members" at the CLUW meeting, meaning they did not grovel and whimper before the bureaucrats. And this despite the fact that there had never been any formal discussion or rejection of the united front proposal, nor any "line" decided on for the meeting.

Thus the IS does not confine itself to capitulation to the bureaucrats, but actively implements the bureaucrats' active repression against revolutionaries who seek to unite the working class on a class struggle program. Like all centrists in a pinch, the IS's main fire is not for the bosses, but for revolutionaries who ruin the centrists' cozy relationship to the bureaucrats by posing squarely the political issues facing the working class. Once again, the IS leadership has won the mantle of those who expel the revolutionary wing.

In Struggle,
Margie Lucas

CIA OUT OF PORTUGAL!

Despite Gerald Ford's complaints that investigations of the CIA limit the U.S. ability to aid Portuguese counter-revolutionaries (see "Portugal: Civil War Approaches" in this issue), nine CIA operatives are active in that country fomenting reaction. Philip Agee, former CIA agent who exposed the agency's activities in his book *Inside the Company*, recently revealed this in a Letter to the

Portuguese People.

We reprint excerpts of Agee's letter below. It gives the lie to Ford's self-righteous statements and bears out the need to build a working class movement to demand: Support the Portuguese Workers! CIA Out of Portugal! No Intervention by NATO and the U.S.!

The letter speaks for itself:

The most specific task is to penetrate the Armed Forces Movement (afm) in order to collect information on its plans, its weaknesses and its internal struggles. To identify the so-called moderates and others who might be favorable to Western strategic interests.

The CIA would use information collected from within the AFM in propaganda inside and outside Portugal designed to divide and weaken the AFM. False documents and rumor campaigns, fomenting of strife, conflict and jealousy. . . .

The CIA clearly must have intervened in the recent electoral campaign.

James Lawler, the CIA deputy chief of station in Lisbon engaged in just such operation in Brazil in 1962 and in Chile in 1964 when many millions of

dollars were spent to promote the election of U.S.-approved "moderates. . . ."

Propaganda exploitation of economic hardship will thus prepare at least a limited public acceptance of a sudden strong military government "to restore national dignity, discipline and purpose." If there is a Portuguese Pinochet, he ought to be identified now.

Political assassination must be expected along with bombings that can be attributed to the revolutionary left. Mr. Morgan, the head of the CIA in Lisbon, learned those kinds of operations when he served in Brazil (1966-1968) and in Uruguay (1970-1973). The "death squads" in those countries over recent years must be anticipated and stopped before they are established.

Free Chinese Trotskyists!

Editor:

According to a recent Hsinhua News Agency dispatch, "war criminals just released by special amnesty numbered 293 in all, including 290 war criminals who originally belonged to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, two war criminals from the Japanese puppet regime in Manchuria and one war criminal from the puppet 'Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government.' This means that all war-criminals held in jail have now been released" (March 19, 1975, Peking).

But no similar amnesty has ever been declared in the case of those revolutionaries, in particular the Trotskyists, who were arrested in the course of a nationwide raid on the night of December 23-24, 1952.

Altogether 200 persons were seized. No indictment was ever made public. No public trial was ever held. Those arrested were refused contact with their relatives and friends.

It is therefore impossible to say with any certainty what happened to those Trotskyist militants since. We do not know what "crimes" they were charged with. We do not even know how many of them are still alive.

What little information we have indicates that most of the younger ones are now living under supervision after five years or more of imprisonment, and are barred from employment. The older comrades continue to rot behind bars.

Who are these Chinese Trotskyists Mao judges more dangerous to his regime than Kuomintang counter-revolutionaries? They include:

FOUNDER OF CCP

1. Cheng Ch'ao-lin: a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, a leader of the 1925-27 revolution. A prominent writer and translator.

Assuming that he is still alive, Cheng will be 74 years old. He will have spent 30 years in jail—seven under Chiang Kai-shek, 23 under Mao.

2. Chiang Tseng-tung: a leading activist in the Shanghai labor movement and a participant in the Shanghai General Strike and uprising of 1927. If still alive, he would now be about 65.

LEADER OF 1927 REVOLUTION

3. Ho Chi-shen: a student leader in Peking in the early 1920's, who joined the CCP shortly after its formation. Together with Mao, Ho played a leading role both in the 1925-27 revolution and in the revolutionary movement in Hunan Province after its defeat.

Like Cheng Ch'ao-lin, Ho will have spent seven years in jail under Chiang and 23 under Mao—his old comrade-in-arms. If alive, he will now be 79 years old.

4. Ying Kwan: a student in France with Chou En-lai in the early 1920's, an intimate friend of Marshal Ch'en Yi and a leading activist in the CCP in Anhwei Province during the 1925-27 revolution.

Ying Kwan was also a founding member of the Chinese Trotskyist movement.

As a Trotskyist, he was jailed twice by the Kuomintang police during the 1930's. If still alive, he would be about 75 years old.

5. Lin Huan-hua: a revolutionary leader of the younger generation. He worked underground in the anti-Japanese resistance from 1938-45, and was a member of the Executive of the Canton Printworkers' Union when arrested by the Maoists. He is now a little over 50 years old.

We therefore appeal to all workers' organizations to take up this issue throughout the labor movement and to campaign for the immediate release of all Chinese Trotskyists and other revolutionaries still in jail.

Gregor Benton
Chinese Department
University of Leeds
England



Uruguayan guerilla murdered by CIA-trained police. CIA also helps whip up anti-left reaction through acts of provocation which it attributes to various left forces. In addition, the CIA plays a key role in organizing right wing coups to shore up U.S. domination of the underdeveloped world, such as in Chile in 1973 and in Portugal today.

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NAACP Attack

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blacks can achieve these gains only by attacking the white working class, particularly through reliance on the capitalist courts. This weakens the defenses of black and white workers alike.

The trade union bureaucracy played right into the liberals' hands at the NAACP convention. They refused to acknowledge any fundamental need to protect and upgrade the jobs of minority workers. They did not put forward the strategy of a united struggle for jobs. William Pollard, head of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and stooge of the right wing Meany faction of the labor bureaucracy flatly threatened to wage war on the NAACP or any other organization which attacked the seniority system.

No better was UAW international rep James Clark's efforts to patch up the NAACP-liberal-labor bloc. While making veiled threats to withdraw UAW financial support, Clark put forward the UAW's own super-seniority schemes.

The first of these was "reverse seniority," where high seniority workers would be the first to be laid off but with full pay and benefits. The second would maintain layoffs on a seniority basis while providing back pay and seniority benefits to victims of discrimination.

These two plans have one thing in common: they take for granted that workers, black or white, must be laid off to pay for the capitalists' crisis. Super-seniority still accepts that some workers must starve, as the bureaucracy's promised "guaranteed benefits" collapse (as did the much-touted auto SUB fund program under the current layoffs).

The UAW's "discrimination pay" plan is a ruse to buy off militant blacks and divert the struggle. They are not proposing compensation to the millions of blacks who suffer from systematic discrimination in education, housing, social services and employment opportunities—to the black masses who long since settled for menial low-paying jobs or who

have given up looking for work altogether out of despair. The billions and billions of dollars which would be required to "make up" for what blacks and the rest of the oppressed have never received would be generated only by expropriating the entirety of capitalist profit and reorganizing society under the control and in the interests of the working class itself. Rather, the UAW wants to buy off a few blacks as tokens, to take the heat off itself and derail the struggle. In addition, this UAW scheme still leaves black workers without jobs when layoffs hit.

Class conscious workers do not accept the struggle for competitive starvation. Instead, they must lead the struggle for Jobs For All in the trade unions, the unemployment offices and the working class communities.

PUBLIC WORKS

Massive public works at capitalist expense could provide millions of jobs and expand vital services. This contrasts with the bourgeois strategy of cutbacks and layoffs—a strategy supported by the NAACP head Roy Wilkins, who falsely counterposes city

jobs to public services. Both are being cut; jobs and services go hand in hand. A classwide struggle can only be built by demanding more jobs to provide more vital services. Class conscious workers demand public works to fight unemployment, under union control with work at union wages.

Part of this fight is the struggle for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay—the six-hour day with no cut in pay. 30 for 40 would create thousands of new jobs and is a practical step towards the implementation of a sliding scale of wages and hours, dividing the available work up among all those willing to work with cost of living adjustments monitored by the workers themselves.

Revolutionaries, who will play the leading role in this fight, will demonstrate to the black masses that revolutionaries fighting for the unity of the working class are the strongest defenders of the democratic aspirations of the black community. Through this role revolutionaries will prove in struggle that victory in the just struggles of the oppressed is possible only within the context of the classwide struggle for revolutionary socialism.

Threat of Depression Ended?

Cont'd. from p. 3

spendable earnings over the past year (April, 1974-April, 1975) lagged 4 percent behind the rising cost of living.

In fact, it is only the continuing pressure on the working class that has made the upturn possible. Business profits managed to rise in the first half of the 1974 recession because workers were unable to defend their living standards from the bosses' attack. (Fortune took note of the usefulness for capital of "moderation" in wage gains and observed with satisfaction that "the moderation is already a fact and coming conditions—e.g., continued high unemployment—suggest little change.")

While the bourgeoisie rejoices in those depression conditions that weaken the working class, it can take no pleasure in statistics that underline the weakness of the upturn. Chief among these is spending on capital goods—business plant and equipment—which must make a significant recovery if the economy is to regain the ground lost in the downturn. Capital spending dropped 18 percent during the recession, and the percentage of manufacturing capacity in use fell to a postwar low of 70 percent. Only one-third of the drop in capital spending is expected to be won back by the end of 1976, assuming the upturn continues that long.

RECESSION NO CURE

The weakness of capital spending merely reflects the fact that the recession did not do its job. To Marxists, economic crises have a temporarily curative impact on capitalism. This has a number of aspects of which we will mention only two.

Crisis creates the conditions conducive to the further centralization of capital, the combining of a number of smaller capitals into a larger capital. This tends to offset the impact of the falling rate of profit by placing a larger mass of surplus value in the hands of a single capital than would previously have been the case. Such centralization usually occurs through stronger capitalists buying up the assets of bankrupt or near-bankrupt capitalists. Since bankruptcies tend to have a snowball effect, one bankruptcy lead-

ing to another, the postwar capitalist state has sought to prevent bankruptcies lest the economy tumble into a depression. Although this did not prevent centralization of capital, it certainly slowed it down.

Second and related: normally economic crises also liquidate some proportion of the unproductive and fictitious capital that builds up in the system during the course of the previous boom. Another effect of the much touted state intervention in the economy is that this purgative effect of the crisis is obstructed. Instead of being liquidated, the fictitious capital continues to build up, becoming a net drag on production. The present crisis has been no exception to this rule. The mountain of fictitious capital continues to grow.

The restriction of these cleansing mechanisms of "normal" crises is behind the combination of stagnation and inflation that bourgeois economists find so puzzling. A generally declining rate of profit and the weakening of imperialism have induced deep stagnation in world capitalism; increasing amounts of government spending and other narcotics are necessary to pull the economy out of crisis. At the same time, lag in the centralization and the failure to liquidate fictitious capital means that the economy is much more prone to inflation. Deficit spending and other forms of credit expansion are only effective in the long run if they lead to an increased production of commodities that re-enter production. But much of government spending stays far away from production (for fear of "competing" with "private" enterprise) and instead goes into unproductive production, such as the production of armaments. The ultimate result of this shell game is to make the economy even more inflation-prone.

RUNAWAY INFLATION

Therefore current fears that an upturn will set off another round of runaway inflation are fully justified. The odds are overwhelming that the coming upturn will give rise to a rate of inflation that will dwarf that of the previous years.

The problems do not end here.

Inflation will restrict and possibly strangle the boom.

Why is this? First, inflation will tend to drive up interest rates. Since no lender wants to lose money, lenders will demand interest rates significantly higher than the rate of inflation. High interest rates can restrict borrowing, choke off badly needed modernization of plant and equipment. This will weaken one of the means of offsetting falling profit rates.

Second, inflation will lower real wages below their current level. This will mean a significant cut in the workers' "discretionary income" (earnings which can be spent on luxuries and semi-luxuries). In the postwar period much of U.S. production has been dependent upon the large amount of "discretionary income" in the hands of sizable sectors of the working class. A sharp drop in wages will significantly reduce the aggregate "discretionary income" and will seriously cripple those industries most dependent upon it. Therefore auto and residential housing, key props of the postwar boom, will be in a semi-depressed state for a considerable period ahead.

Internationally, the slowness of the U.S. recovery dampens hopes for a world boom. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), spokesman for Western imperialism, forecasts a growth rate of 4 percent per year for the advanced industrial countries. This is below the longterm trend and so low that the OECD expects a rise in unemployment and a further decrease in plant capacity utilization from the current 70 to 80 percent levels—all this during the "upturn."

Since the United States' internal market is the prime target for profit-producing exports from other countries, the slow U.S. recovery will prevent a world boom. West Germany, for example, which has been the most rapidly growing imperialist economy since the war, is expected to have a zero growth rate this year and only 3 to 4 percent next year, largely because of its dependence on exports to the U.S. But U.S. trade figures will fare no better: since the U.S. recovery is leading the rest of the Western world, U.S. imports are running ahead of exports and the trade balance is going

into deficit.

The weakness of the upturn keeps the bourgeoisie divided over what strategy to follow in the struggle with the working class. The Ford Administration is determined to keep unemployment high to discipline the labor unions and is therefore following a policy of controlling growth by holding federal spending down, keeping interest rates high and vetoing the Democrats' miserably inadequate employment bills. Ford hopes that by Election Day 1976 there will have been no revival of rapid inflation. A flurry of federal spending next year might be attempted to lower unemployment before the elections, a device used by Nixon in 1972 and by many administrations before that. But all of Ford's policies, from "tight money" to decontrolling oil prices, are aimed openly at improving business profits.

REFORM NO SOLUTION

The Democrats and their allies in the labor bureaucracy are demanding action to speed up the recovery but have no workable alternative. The bills they submitted to Ford's veto would have provided at most one and a half million jobs when over 10 million are needed. The AFL-CIO advocates federal controls on agricultural exports to reduce food prices, but such protectionist measures accept the bourgeois restrictions on farm output in the interest of profit and could only spark a world trade war that would worsen conditions. The AFL-CIO also calls for closing tax loopholes, imposing an excess profits tax and extending this year's tax rebates, minimal reforms of a piece with the Democrats' miserly public service employment bills.

The reason the official labor leadership can find no way out of recession conditions is that the bureaucracy is committed to the existence of capitalism and is willing only to tinker with its economic mechanism. In desperately trying to patch up the fraying capitalist economic fabric, the bureaucracy pretends to be unaware of an economic fact that is apparent to every bourgeois economist: there is no way today to prevent both unemployment and inflation from rising. Indeed, when the business cycle turns down, both (unemployment and inflation) rise. That is the legacy of the postwar period's build-up of waste, obsolescence and debt. Other than the socialist revolution, there is no way out of the contradictions and misery of capitalism.

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7 REVOLUTION

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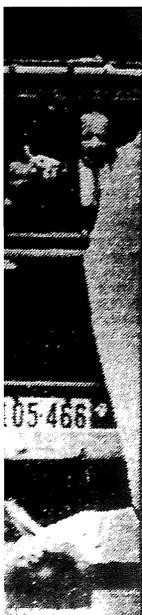
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Working Class Must Defend Joanne Little

The working class must defend Joanne Little! This 21-year old black prisoner faces a murder rap in North Carolina for defending herself against attempted forcible rape by a white prison guard. Her case is the most graphic demonstration in recent history of capitalist justice's response to any struggle of the oppressed.

The Little case is not only a fight against the brutality, racism and sexism of the capitalist penal system. If Joanne Little is convicted, the bourgeoisie will have won a victory against the entire proletariat's ability to struggle for human dignity and to end capitalist wage slavery.

No bourgeois court has the right to try Joanne Little. No bourgeois judge has the right to sentence her—bourgeois laws, courts and prisons exist to suppress the struggle that she represents. There is no way she can get a fair trial, no matter where it is held, for her act of self-defense poses the need for the entire working class to defend itself from the barbarity necessary for capitalism. Joanne Little must be freed!

The fact that Joanne Little is on trial at all amply proves the nature of

capitalist "justice." The state has no case. Allgood, the prison guard, was found in Little's cell naked from the waist down with semen on his body. It is common knowledge in the prison that he kept an ice pick at his disposal and boasted of his sexual prowess with women prisoners. Allgood was killed, whether by Joanne Little or someone else, while engaging in attempted rape.

When Little fled, the state launched an all-out manhunt for her. They tried to have her declared an outlaw, meaning the police could shoot her on sight. Learning of Allgood's death and fearing for her life, Little turned herself in eight days later.

The state railroaded through an indictment for first degree murder, distorting and suppressing information in front of the grand jury. They hoped to ram through a phony case against an impoverished black woman without adequate legal counsel, as has been done countless times before.

But this time their task was not so easy. Thousands of people have marched in demonstrations around the country in her behalf. On the opening day of the trial, 500 supporters,



Georgia State Senator Julian Bond represents liberal attempt to channel mass outrage into move for "fair trial" and

minor prison reforms. Bond and his ilk are nowhere to be found in demonstrations hailing Little's self-defense—"She should have done it a thousand times."



A courthouse demonstration to free Joanne Little in Raleigh, North Carolina. State's blatant racism, of which Little

case is only latest example, phoney case has aroused mass anger against barbarity of capitalist "justice."

including a Revolutionary Socialist League contingent, demonstrated in Raleigh. The tone of the demonstration was set by chants of "Free Joanne, the criminal's already dead," and "she should have done it a thousand times."

The demonstrators, overwhelmingly young and black and largely under the leadership of the Winston-Salem Black Panther Party, aggressively and vocally demanded her immediate release and the release of all political prisoners. A march from the women's prison to the court house drew support from black residents along the route who saw Joanne Little's struggle against capitalist exploitation and repression as their own.

Not surprisingly, the demonstration's militant demands and slogans scared off liberals (like Georgia State Senator Julian Bond) who have been prominent in "championing" the defense case.

LIBERAL STRATEGY

The liberal strategy is to gain popular support for Little by limiting their appeal to moral outrage at the atrocity committed against her. The liberals' insistence on fighting for Little's defense in isolation and within the bounds of bourgeois legality are an attempt to suppress the hatred of the racist capitalist system and its court embodied in the Raleigh demonstration.

As the leaflet distributed by the Revolutionary Socialist League to the rally stated, there is no way to liberalize the capitalist prison system. Capitalism requires brutality in order to survive; its prisons overflow with

its victims. To free the thousands of Joanne Littles, to wipe out the horrors of capitalism, capitalism itself must be overthrown.

REVOLUTIONARY TASKS

This is the task the RSL has undertaken. We seek to build working class defense for Joanne Little. If a powerful mass movement is built, Joanne Little will be freed. Despite intimidation by the court system and the bourgeois media, juries in recent years have often liberated Black Panthers and other political prisoners when the threat of mass reaction has been strong. Already the charge against Joanne Little has been dropped from first to second degree murder, proving the weakness of the case and the state's fear of pursuing it.

Building a national defense means first and foremost fighting within the trade unions, where the real weight and power of the working class lies. Defense resolutions and committees to organize and extend the fight for Joanne Little's freedom must be taken up by class conscious workers in union locals. Demonstrations of these workers' defense committees in conjunction with the unorganized and unemployed should be built throughout the country. The strength and numbers of a mobilized working class can insure Little's freedom.

Capitalism will find new victims for its brutality as long as it is permitted to exist. The struggle to free Joanne Little must be part of the revolutionary strategy which uses each partial victory to strengthen the organization of the oppressed and exploited against the capitalist system.

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NAACP Begins Attack on Unions p. 13

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