

RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

# TORCH

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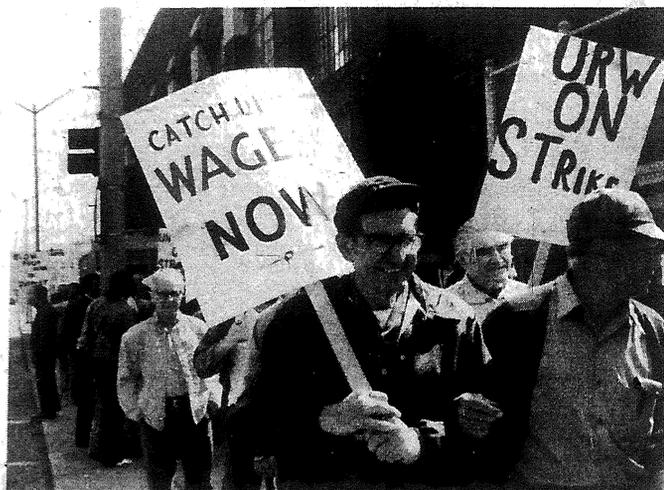
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## Rubber's "Big Four" Struck



Rubber workers picket Uniroyal, Detroit. Strike has upset ruling class plans for "labor peace." Rubber barons seek to divide workers; key to victory is support by other unions.

Over 67,000 members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) have broken the bourgeoisie's hopes for "labor peace in 1976." The nationwide strike of the "Big Four" rubber companies—Goodyear, Goodrich, Uniroyal and Firestone—shows no signs of a quick settlement as it enters its fourth week. Unlike the IBT strike, designed by the ruling class and the union bureaucracy to end quickly while letting militants blow off steam, the rubber strike is a serious test of strength between the union and the companies.

The URW is demanding a \$1.65 first year "catch-up" increase and full cost-of-living protection. The union also wants an additional 35-cent raise for skilled workers, plus second- and third-year wage hikes and improved pension benefits.

The rubber companies are taking a hard line. They know they'll have to give up something to end the strike, but so far they've offered only \$1.15 in total wage increases and a cost-of-

living allowance (COLA) formula that is almost meaningless. Management wants to hold the total package down, in particular by increasing the differences between wages in the tire and non-tire sectors, and by granting smaller wage increases in the South and Southwest. The companies' excuse for their hard-line stance is that they were hurt by the 1974-75 recession. Their income dropped 44 percent last year. But with the current auto sale boom, the Big Four are now posting record profits (Goodrich profits were up 145 percent in the first quarter of this year!).

The two key issues in the strike are cost-of-living adjustments and differential wages. Under pressure from Nixon's wage-price controls, the URW tops negotiated a contract in 1973 which had no cost-of-living protection. Because of this, rubber workers' real wages fell dramatically. In 1970, tire workers made 7 cents an hour less than auto workers. Today,

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## The Economy: Boom or Bust?

*This is the first of a two-part series on the state of the economy. This month, we analyze the nature of the current upturn. Next month, we will examine the basic long-term direction of the economy.*

After the deepest and longest recession since World War II, the U.S. economy shows strong signs of recovery. The Gross National Product (GNP) increased 7.5 percent over the first three months of this year. Inflation was less than 3 percent for the quarter and down to 6.1 percent for the entire preceding year. Auto is producing at the near-record rate of over 10 million cars this year. New housing starts are up almost 40 percent.

Other countries are also beginning to turn up. West Germany projects a 5 to 6 percent growth rate this year. Japan expects a 4 to 5 percent increase, Holland and Belgium about 4 percent each and France, 5 percent. The first recession since World War II to affect all the Western nations at once appears to have given way to a general recovery.

### NO BOOM FOR WORKERS

For the working class, however, there has been no recovery at all. In the U.S., the strongest economy, hundreds of thousands of public employee jobs have been eliminated, wages cut and contracts broken in cities from New York to San Francisco. These cuts have been accompanied by reduction and elim-

ination of vital services such as hospitals and medical care, transportation, housing and education. Workers in the large private industries (4.5 million of whose contracts are up this year) are getting pay increases that do little more than make up for what was lost to inflation over the past three years. And overall, official unemployment is still 7.5 percent. In Europe the situation is no better.

But the working class will not be repaid in the future for today's sacrifices. This recovery is not the beginning of a long period of prosperity. Within the next two years, we can expect a return of steep inflation

followed by even more severe recession.

With major contracts coming up in auto, construction, electrical and other key industries in the U.S. this year, and with the rubber strike taking place at this time, it is important for workers to be clear on this. They should not fall for the arguments of the corporations and the trade union leaders about how limiting their demands is in their interest. Sacrifice today will only lead to... more sacrifice tomorrow.

Why is this so? Why will the upturn not bring prolonged prosperity? Why will the capitalists soon be

forced to hit the workers still harder? To answer these questions, we must first understand the main factors on which the upturn is based.

The first and most important factor behind the current upturn is that the capitalists have been able to increase their profits at the expense of the workers. By keeping unemployment high, they have forced fewer workers to produce more for roughly the same wages—productivity has increased faster than wages. In other words, while laying out the same amount of capital, the corporations are able to produce more. This means

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## Blacks Hit by Racist Offensive in Boston



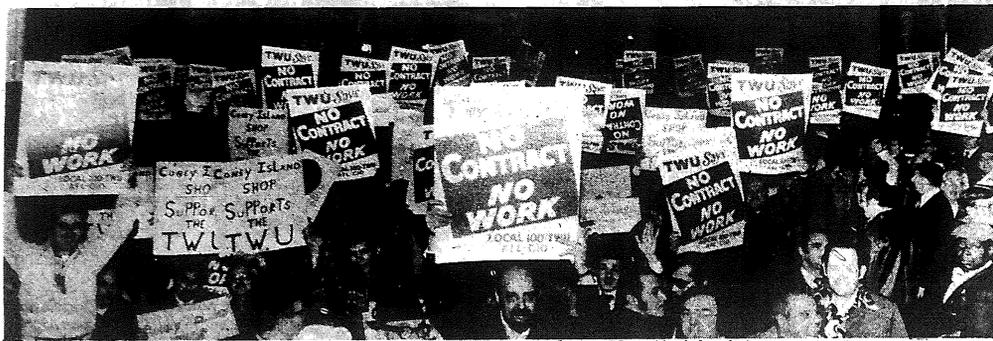
Racists jab "Old Glory" at black attorney in Boston. Attack climaxed weeks of white violence, but liberals hypocritically preached "non-violence" when blacks fought back.

BOSTON—Blacks in this city are being subjected to a widespread and increasing terrorist campaign by well-organized white racist forces. Vigilante groups going under names such as the "Charlestown Marshals Association" and the "South Boston Marshals Association" have capped a month of night-riding forays into black neighborhoods with public threats against leaders of black and left-wing organizations and a march in which they sported Ku Klux Klan and North American White Peoples Party buttons. Boston's liberal establishment has chosen this time to join the open racists in blaming blacks for the violence, seizing upon one or two

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## State Capitalism vs. Workers' Rule-p.8

# LABOR IN STRUGGLE



New York transit workers rally for militant action. An immediate strike is necessary to defend the TWU and all New York unions.

## Control Board Rejects Transit Pact

NEW YORK—New York State's Emergency Financial Control Board has rejected the contract just negotiated by the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and New York City's Transit Authority (TA). The Control Board, set up to monitor all contracts between the city and the municipal unions, ruled that the transit pact violated the city's emergency wage freeze. Although the pact had no provision for a wage increase, it did contain a cost of living clause. The Board contended that the cost of living provision was an illegal wage increase under the city's emergency financial act passed last fall. The TWU and the Transit Authority have been ordered to negotiate a new contract by May 15.

The contract the Control Board rejected had no provisions for a wage increase, a cost of living formula that would not have kept pace with inflation and a blanket productivity deal. Bad as it was for transit workers, it wasn't good enough for the Control Board. The Board is holding out for further expansion of the speedup provisions and is using its rejection of the cost of living clause as a club to get what it wants.

Moreover, the Control Board seeks to impose as harsh terms as possible on transit workers. The TWU has traditionally set the pace for other municipal union contracts and the Board wants to strengthen the city's hand in negotiations for July contract expirations. The Control Board is willing to risk a major confrontation with transit workers if the result is an increased ability to impose less

favorable terms on the other city unions.

The Control Board's rejection of the transit pact has the surface appearance of a tense drama between the city, state and union. The TA, the union, the mayor and city mediators all had agreed to the settlement and a major strike was apparently avoided. Now, both sides have been sent back to the bargaining table with the basis of the original agreement rejected.

The whole episode has been a well-orchestrated charade. The principal actors—the TA, the city, Mayor Beame, Governor Carey, the Emergency Financial Control Board and TWU President Matthew Guinan—had all read the script in advance.

The TA and the city agreed to the original contract to avoid an April 1 strike. The city was involved at that time in tricky negotiations for a new loan. A costly transit strike threatened to ruin the deal. Also, the TA and the city knew they had little to lose by signing an agreement that would later be rejected. They knew that a second round of negotiations would put transit workers at a disadvantage since the militancy that had been built for the original contract deadline would be defused. The TA and the city recognized the advantage of dishing out their medicine in separate doses. They needed cooperation from the union to make this strategy work—and they had it. TWU chief Guinan was equally aware of the advantages of signing an agreement before the strike deadline. Guinan is ready to settle for less than

the original contract, but he too needs maneuvering room to ward off the danger of a rank and file explosion. Guinan has transit workers back on the job and, despite the TWU's traditional "no contract, no work" position, he has stated that he will not call an immediate strike even though the Control Board has ripped up the contract.

Transit workers must demand an immediate strike. New York City workers have been the victims of a massive assault on jobs, social services and working conditions.

Transit workers are in a position to launch a serious struggle to defend against these attacks. Guinan is talking about delaying any strike action until July 1—the date other major city union contracts expire. Coordinated strike action, including a city-wide strike, must be used if New York workers are to resist further defeats. But this is not Guinan's strategy. His talk about striking—"later"—is simply designed to further defuse transit worker militancy. Transit workers must bust apart the TA-city-Control Board-Guinan shuck and strike now for a contract which meets the ranks' needs.

The capitalist class is waging a vicious assault on the living standards and working conditions of the entire working class. New York City workers have been dealt blow after blow in the bosses' drive to prop up the economy and restore corporate profits. The working class must fight back if the drive against all that has been won in years of struggle is to be halted. The Control Board's rejection of the transit pact can be turned into an opening for transit workers. There is now no contract and transit workers can demand an immediate strike. In this way, transit workers can take the lead in beginning a serious campaign of resistance to the bosses' attacks. City workers must give full support to a transit strike and prepare to broaden the struggle into a citywide defense. □

## On the Other Side of the Tracks...

NEW YORK—Less than a week after the Emergency Financial Control Board rejected the transit pact because of its "illegal" cost of living clause, news leaked out that the city has granted pay hikes to 104 Budget Bureau employees. The increases ranged from \$500 to \$6,294 and were given to employees who earn from \$20,000 to \$40,000 or more a year. First Deputy Mayor John Zuccotti defended the raises with the statement: "They have worked very hard." He went on to say that there will "undoubtedly be other agencies that will need incentive payments for management people who work hard, or are entitled to raises or promotions."

The city has used its financial crisis as a club to impose a wage freeze on the city unions. Transit workers have been denied a cost of living adjustment "unless speedup provisions are enlarged." But if hard working management types had any doubts, they can breathe a sigh of relief. The bosses have not lost sight of the class line. The city is calling for massive "belt-tightening"—if you live on the wrong side of the tracks.

The courts have stepped in to complete the picture. A recent appeals court decision granted New York City cops \$26 million in wages and benefits the city had frozen. The ruling class is well aware, particularly in periods where increased "labor trouble" is likely, that the cops have a crucial role to play in smashing strikes and defending "public welfare," i.e., private property. A bribe to the cops in the form of a wage increase denied other city workers ensures that they'll be there when needed. After all, if the city doesn't take care of the cops, who's going to defend the railroad tracks?

## Keep the Hospitals Open!

NEW YORK—Over 200 demonstrators took over the administrative offices of Fordham Hospital April 13, saying they would remain until the city's Health and Hospital Corporation reversed its decision to close this municipal hospital. The Health and Hospital Corporation, the administrative overseer for all of New York City's municipal hospitals, is trying to close Fordham and another municipal hospital, Morrisania (located in one of New York's most poverty-stricken areas, the South Bronx) by June 30.

The Corporation claims that these two institutions are being replaced by North Central Bronx Hospital, a newly built facility, and that this will improve health care. But the facts are otherwise.

North Central is located two miles west of Fordham and miles away

from Morrisania—too far to provide decent health care. North Central will have a bed capacity of 412—282 less than the combined capacity of Fordham (387) and Morrisania (307). The city Corporation is claiming that this loss of 282 beds is actually no loss at all because large numbers of beds were vacant at both Fordham and Morrisania. These vacant beds, the city Corporation says, were costing the city large sums of money, money that could be saved by closing these two antiquated hospitals.

Beds are "under-utilized" at Fordham and Morrisania because these hospitals were little better than hellholes. A 1966 Health Department report described Fordham Hospital, built in 1907, as "deplorable" with "grossly inadequate" anesthesia facilities, "improper" sterilizing procedures and "intolerable" fire haz-

ards. That was 10 years ago. Today, the situation is even worse. In contrast to the vacant beds in Fordham and Morrisania, there is a wait of several weeks for "elective" admission to Montefiore, Bronx Lebanon and other non-municipal hospitals. If Fordham and Morrisania provided decent health care, their beds would be utilized to the full.

Despite the rotten care offered by Fordham and Morrisania, community residents prefer poor hospitals to none.

### NURSES STAGE SICK-OUT

While community members occupy Fordham offices, nurses at Fordham are staging a sick-out. Threatened with layoffs when Fordham closes, they are demanding that they all be rehired by North Central Hospital. But North Central is scheduled to be

staffed by nurses currently employed by Montefiore Hospital. Fordham nurses rightly fear that many of them will be laid off. To protect their jobs, they have called in sick.

But their sick-out is failing. "Public opinion," as organized by the hospital administration, such community "leaders" as former Bronx borough president Robert Abrams and the Catholic archdiocese of New York, is being used to destroy the sick-out. Meanwhile, the community demonstrators have drafted a statement calling the sick-out "an unconscionable act" and have volunteered to act as scabs. This tragic division between community residents and nurses weakens both struggles.

Good hospitals, staffed by well-paid, competent personnel, are in the interests of all workers. Community residents and nurses must unite to keep Fordham and Morrisania open. At the same time, a united struggle must demand the expansion of these facilities and the construction of new ones, paid for by the capitalists. □

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# SF Public Workers Strike Ends

## Union Tops Agree to "Compromise" Ranks Suffer Setback



Pickets at San Francisco city hall. For 39 days, solidarity of other city workers prevented defeat of craftsmen. Obstacle to victory: union leaders' refusal to call a general strike.

The San Francisco city workers' strike has ended in defeat. After 39 days, the Board of Supervisors and the trade union officials hammered out a "compromise" that means big losses for San Francisco workers. This setback in one of the strongest union towns in the United States will affect public workers throughout the country. The ruling class, buoyed by its victory in San Francisco, will feel more confident to step up its attacks on workers in the public sector elsewhere.

The back-to-work agreement ends the strike without a settlement. An "impartial fact-finding board" will make a recommendation on craftsmen's pay cuts by June 10. Who makes up this board? Five labor and five Supervisors' representatives plus Mayor George Moscone. Moscone, who was elected Mayor by posing as a liberal "friend of labor," backed the wage cuts and the reactionary Board of Supervisors throughout the strike. His own "compromise" proposal was to spread the 25-30 percent wage cuts over three years and force craftsmen to accept a 40-hour work week for 35 hours' pay. When initially asked what he thought of having Mayor Moscone serve as the decisive 11th member of the board, Plumbers' union President Joseph Mazzola answered: "Can I just laugh at that one?" But Mazzola and the other union officials aren't laughing any more.

To get the union heads to accept this deal, the Board of Supervisors agreed to remove Propositions E and K from the June ballot. Proposition E would have outlawed all strikes and job actions by city employees, while Proposition K would have legalized pay cuts of up to \$5,000 a year for city craftsmen (plumbers, electricians and laborers). There is no guarantee that this anti-labor legislation won't show up on the November ballot, after the unions have been further weakened.

How much, if any, the Supervisors were willing to reduce the pay cuts to get the union leaders to accept this scheme is not yet known. But one thing is certain: workers will not win from any fact-finding board what

they couldn't win on the picket lines.

The Board of Supervisors gambled on a hard-line strategy against the city workers. The Supervisors raised the ante at every step right to the brink of a general strike. They banked on the trade union officials' fear of taking this final step. Tragically, they were right: the union leaders had their bluff called and threw in their cards.

The Supervisors' attack on the craftsmen was prepared months in advance. The opening wedge was Proposition B, eliminating guaranteed wage parity between city craftsmen and their counterparts in private industry. The ruling class launched a mass propaganda campaign to convince voters that city workers were responsible for San Francisco's financial woes and that craftsmen were vastly overpaid. This campaign succeeded, and Proposition B passed. After they shoved through contracts involving big losses for 18,000 miscellaneous city workers, the Supervisors opened up on the craftsmen, cutting wages by 25 to 30 percent.

This move was countered by an immediate strike by all 1,900

craftsmen on March 30. Within a few days, 2,000 Muni (bus) drivers, Golden Gate Transit workers, four Service Employees International Union (SEIU) locals and others joined in sympathy walkouts. Pickets went up all over the city, closing schools and other services, snarling traffic and shutting the airport for a day. Judges and other prominent officials were hassled at city hall; scattered violence and sabotage erupted. Then on April 6, overwhelming pressure from rank and file unionists forced the Central Labor Council to vote for a general strike by the city's 50 unions.

The general strike never came off. Trade union officials came up with excuse after excuse for postponing it. Rather than organizing workers to defend themselves, the union bureaucrats pleaded with the Federal Mediation Service to arbitrate the dispute and bail them out. As a gesture of "good faith" to the government, union officials pulled down pickets at a number of key sites around the city. The federal government was quite willing to use its veneer of neutrality to arrange a defeat for the workers, but the Board of Supervisors didn't need it.

The strength of the strike slowly declined after this fiasco. SEIU officials requested that the craftsmen withdraw their remaining pickets so that SEIU members could return to work. Transport Workers Local 250A President Larry Martin refused to call membership meetings while he tried to find a way to get his militant bus drivers back to work. (The last TWU membership meeting voted overwhelmingly to continue the bus drivers' sympathy strike.) George Evankovich, President of Laborers Local 261 representing almost 60 percent of the strikers, removed all his men from picket lines for a 24-hour period last week in another "good will" gesture. Finally, the union officers fell in line behind the "peace plan."

This outcome was not inevitable. The San Francisco strike could have been won by a full-scale general strike. The 1934 general strike and several city-wide public employee strikes in recent years prove that San Francisco workers have the strength to bring the city to a standstill. But since trade union officials had no intention of actually mounting a general strike, it had to be organized by the rank and file. Strike committees in each union were necessary to spread the strike, and representatives of these committees could have joined together to form a city-

wide strike committee. Such a city-wide body could organize to prevent scabbing, take steps to keep vital services running, build support for the strike in other parts of the country and set up workers' defense guards to protect the strike from police or national guard attacks.

A general strike could have built the solidarity and organization required to defeat all the politicians' anti-labor schemes. Legislation such as Propositions B, E and K can only pass when the workers' movement is divided and demoralized. Working class and oppressed people form a majority of San Francisco's population. They have the same basic interests: secure jobs, decent working conditions, good schools and health facilities, mass transit and an end to harassment from bosses, welfare agents and cops. A powerful alliance between trade unionists and the unorganized, unemployed and minority groups in the city could ensure the defeat of anti-labor legislation and fight for the needs of the vast mass of the population.

This alliance does not exist today. Proposition B went through because union leaders did not attempt to build a movement against it. They did not fight for class-unifying demands such as 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay and public works programs to provide jobs and rebuild the city through taxing the banks and



Cops drag S.F. striker off picket line. corporations. Failing to do this played right into the bourgeoisie's efforts to divide working people from each other.

The San Francisco labor movement now faces an uphill battle. The city has won this round. But it has not called off the fight. Next month, TWU and SEIU contracts expire, and the Supervisors plan to deny any wage increase at all to these workers. Rank and file workers must learn the lessons of the defeat of the recent strike if they are to turn around the ruling class offensive against public workers in San Francisco and throughout the country. □

## GM Demands Women Sterilize as Price for Keeping Job

Norma James, age 34, mother of four, had herself sterilized to keep her job.

Six women at General Motors' Oshawa, Canada, plant, including Norma James, were told to prove they can't bear children or they would be transferred to another department. No fertile women are allowed to work in GM battery plants because lead oxide emissions harm the fetus. Rather than end the unsafe conditions, which would cost a few dollars, GM demands women give up control over their bodies.

To Norma James, \$6.50 an hour and a night shift means she can support her children and be home with them in the daytime. So she "chose" sterilization. Four other women have filed a complaint with

the Ontario Human Rights Commission, charging discrimination.

The president of the Oshawa UAW local has called the company's action an invasion of privacy, which will be handled through the grievance procedure or in the next bargaining round. This is national UAW policy: in Detroit UAW Vice-President Irving Bluestone has told GM locals to file grievances to protect the women's equities.

But grievance procedures won't eliminate dangerous conditions. Workers must have the right to strike over health and safety conditions to make sure their lives aren't wrecked just so the companies can make a few dollars more. Union committees must be established to monitor health and safety.

Union safety experts claim to be

studying the problem in depth, the government publishes statistics on the genetic effects of dangerous chemicals (see last month's Torch) ... and Norma James gives up her right to have more children so she can feed the ones she has.

Making our jobs safer costs money. It cuts into the corporations' profits. Anything they do to improve health and safety conditions is as voluntary as Norma James' sterilization—the capitalists couldn't care less about this generation of workers or the next.

We have to demand that the unions fight the working conditions that kill and maim thousands every year. There will be no safe place to work until workers take over the industries and run them for their own benefit.

# Secret Documents Reveal FBI Plot To Destroy the Black Panther Party

On December 4, 1969, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered as part of a nationwide police campaign to destroy the Black Panther Party. Today, this campaign is being exposed in a \$47.7 million damage suit the survivors of the police raid brought against Illinois State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and 27 codefendants.

The trial has brought to light secret FBI documents detailing the

FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). One of COINTELPRO's stated purposes was to "prevent the rise of a black messiah" who could lead the black liberation struggle.

To accomplish this in Chicago, the FBI wanted to incite a war between the Black Panthers and a southside Chicago gang called the Blackstone Rangers. In 1969 the FBI sent an anonymous letter to Jeff Fort, leader

of the Rangers. The letter said in part: "The brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking their thing and there's supposed to be a hit out for you."

It's easy to see what the FBI was hoping: the Rangers would go to war with the Panthers and would wipe out the Panthers' Chicago chapter. The government could step in to make selected arrests; the Panther Party would become known as "gangsters" while the real hoodlums were smiling smugly in their government offices.

This particular scheme never came off. The government murdered Fred Hampton by itself. The Panthers were singled out by the government because they were the best fighters for black liberation produced in a decade of struggle. Their defense patrols to protect the community against police harassment gained them a large and militant following. They developed an understanding that black liberation requires the destruction of capitalism.

Unfortunately, the Panthers never developed a consistently revolutionary theory or practice. They failed to understand the centrality of the working class to the struggle against capitalism. Instead, the Panthers oriented to the black community, especially to unemployed blacks. But the unemployed cannot effectively mobilize their power apart from the organized workers. Although polls indicated that 62 percent of urban blacks "admire what the Panthers are doing," the Panthers could not convert that passive support into a force to crush the government repression.

## DECLINE OF THE PANTHERS

The repression was vicious and well-coordinated. Panther Party members were assassinated all over the country. The government made hundreds of arrests on charges drawn up out of thin air. Leaders like Bobby Seale and Huey Newton spent years in jail and court, leaving the entire Panther Party bogged down in



1967: Panthers taught armed self-defense.

courtroom battles and raising money for legal fees.

Under this barrage, the political weaknesses of the Party began to show. They gave up everything revolutionary about their politics, embraced the black middle class and black capitalism and praised the black church. Today the Panthers are a shell of their former selves.

The working class is still suffering from the effects of the defeat of the Panther Party. Many followers of the Panthers have "learned" the lesson the government wanted to teach—that it doesn't pay to fight the system. The repression campaign weakened the entire working class by demoralizing and sapping the fighting strength of an entire layer of potential revolutionaries.

## "YOU CAN'T JAIL THE REVOLUTION"

Before he died, Fred Hampton repeated a frequent theme in a Chicago speech: "You can jail a revolutionary but you can't jail the revolution... you can murder a liberator, but you can't murder liberation."

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, a layer of militants is again forming in the working class. It is the job of revolutionaries to cohere these workers into a vanguard that can lead the entire working class. In this struggle, we must learn from the achievements of the Panthers. As we continue the struggle, we should remember the fallen leaders of the Black Panther Party. These heroic fighters are martyrs of our movement. □



1969: Black community denounces police murders of Black Panthers in Chicago and Los Angeles. Ruling class cast law aside to crush the most militant fighters for black liberation. New evidence proves FBI role in killings of Panthers by cops and right-wing nationalists.

## U.S. Supreme Court Attacks Gay Rights

The Supreme Court issued two anti-homosexual decisions on March 29.

First, a constitutional suit challenging a Virginia law forbidding "crimes against nature." Similar laws are on the books in 36 states. They are enforced mainly against homosexuals. The Supreme Court upheld the Virginia law without a hearing.

The second case involved the conviction of a North Carolina man for performing a homosexual act in his own home with a consenting partner (who happened to be a cop sent to entrap him). This conviction was also upheld without a hearing.

### GREEN LIGHT TO COPS

The Court rulings were widely taken as a "green light" for a tougher line against homosexuals. In New York, for example, they led within a week to a police crackdown on alleged male prostitutes.

Anti-homosexual laws are an example of how capitalism gives cruel and ignorant superstitions the force of law. Laws forbidding homosexual acts or "accosting and soliciting" (asking someone to have sex), as well as social discrimination, cause thousands of homosexuals every year to lose their jobs, their homes, their right to custody of their own children and even their lives. A recent study listed over 70 cases of homosexuals murdered simply for being homosexual during the last two years—and this figure is far too low.

The cases before the Supreme Court concerned only the right to be homosexual in private. The battle for gay rights will not be won until there is no discrimination against homosexuals anywhere, in public or in

private. But even the modest first steps petitioned in these cases were too much for the nine righteous Justices.

### APRIL 17 MARCH

In Chicago, more than 100 demonstrators marched April 17 to protest the ruling. There was an atmosphere of gay pride and anger at the government's repression. This was a step forward from the general lack of militant gay struggle in the last few years.

The sponsors of the march included several gay organizations (Gay Rights Action Coalition, Gay Youth, Gay Horizons and others), left-wing and revolutionary groups including the Revolutionary Socialist League, and labor caucuses supported by the RSL.

However, many middle-class elements in the gay community have reacted conservatively to the Court ruling. A Chicago group called the Coalition actively opposed the April 17 march on the pretext that it would endanger passage of a pending civil rights law. Incredibly, a member of the Alliance to End Repression, which is supported by the Communist Party, told the Coalition that the Supreme Court ruling wasn't all that bad! She said the ruling doesn't affect current Illinois law and that there is still hope for positive action through the courts.

This kind of cowardice is what encouraged the Supreme Court in the first place. The Court's ruling shows that quiet court tests and lobbying won't work. A new, militant struggle is needed to force reversal of the Court's ruling and continue the fight for full rights for homosexuals. □

## Four PSP Leaders Arrested; Witch-Hunt Against the Puerto Rican Left Escalates

Four leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) were arrested on March 29 in the village of Luquillo, Puerto Rico. The arrests came within one week of the political assassination of Santiago Mari Pesquera, the son of PSP Secretary-General Juan Mari Brás. These acts deepen the severe persecution of the Puerto Rican workers' and independence movements by U.S. imperialism and the Puerto Rican colonial government.

The arrested leaders—Edwin Meléndez, Elias Castro, Luis Medina and Carmen Adelaida Acevedo—were charged with illegal possession of explosives and firearms. Bail, initially set at \$370,000 each, was reduced to \$10,000 and the four were released.

The following day, however, Meléndez (the PSP's Labor Secretary) and Castro were rearrested on similar charges. This time bail was set at \$75,000 each. Meléndez and Castro were also subjected to restrictions on their movements. Meléndez was ordered to live in his father's house,

to be indoors from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. and to report daily to the federal court. There is no curfew for Castro, but otherwise he is subject to the same conditions as Meléndez.

The immediate cause of the arrests is Governor Hernández Colón's fear of the PSP's campaign to unseat him in November. The growing strength of the PSP threatens Colón's neo-colonialist rule.

The ruling class has often used wholesale arrests to try to defeat working class organizations; to tie up the organizations' money with high bail, lawyers' fees and defense costs and to keep militants busy with defense work. But the ruling class's strategy can backfire and the arrested militants can become symbols around which the mass movement can rally. This must happen with the PSP leaders. □

**FREE THE PSP LEADERS!  
DISMISS THE  
PHONY INDICTMENTS!  
INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL-  
ISM FOR PUERTO RICO!**

## Behind the Split: Peking's Tops Maneuver Against Masses

# Who Will Rule After Mao?

One hundred thousand people demonstrated in Peking's central square last April 6, the largest unofficial demonstration in China in over a decade. The demonstrators were protesting the government's two-month-old campaign against former Premier Chou En-lai's chosen successor, Teng Hsiao-ping. Cars of officials were stopped and burned, attempts were made to storm the "Great Hall of the People" and the barracks of the security force for the area were broken into and burned.

The demonstrations were the most dramatic moments in a week that was a turning point in Chinese politics. The week began with huge memorials to Chou En-lai, who died in January, and ended with the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng as China's second-in-command.

The demonstrations began building on April 2 when thousands came to Tien-an-men Square with wreaths to honor Chou En-lai. On April 3 and 4, demonstrators continued to come, carrying pictures of Chou and more wreaths. Over 250,000 people turned out on April 4. Early April 5 the wreaths were removed, and the 100,000 protesters gathered in response. The day of violence ended only when columns of militiamen armed with wooden sticks dispersed the crowd in the evening. The next day, militiamen from all over China arrived in Peking and the protesters were kept to several thousand. Then, the following day, the Communist Party announced Teng Hsiao-ping's removal from his three posts (Deputy Prime Minister, Deputy Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and Army Chief of Staff). Acting Prime Minister Hua Kuo-feng was named Prime Minister and First Deputy Chairman of the Communist Party.

### TWO-MONTH CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG

The rapid shake-up in the CCP's leadership followed a two-month campaign against Teng that began shortly after Chou En-lai's death. Teng and his supporters were charged with plotting to restore capitalism to China. They were called "unrepentant capitalist roaders trying to reverse the verdicts of the Cultural Revolution and go against the teaching of Mao Tse-tung Thought."

Teng's opponents in the party leadership were headed by Mao's wife, Chiang Ching. Factional strife along these lines is nothing new. The Chinese bureaucracy has long been divided between two overall political approaches, two different answers to the question of how best to maintain

the allegiance of the masses while promoting economic growth through the exploitation of the masses. Both sides are capitalist roaders.

One group, represented by Teng, advocates wide wage differentials; incentives for plant managers; competition between plants; investment in firms, regions and industries of highest profitability; and a degree of private production by the peasantry. This group believes that offering such material incentives will stimulate the growth of industry and the development of a layer of skilled workers with the technical skill to operate modern machinery. It downplays the importance of ideology and stresses day-to-day gains. Its strength lies in the party and government apparatus. It is often referred to as "the moderate faction."

The other faction stresses the importance of ideology. It urges sacrifices and abstinence on the masses, holding out the promise that sacrifice today will lead to benefits tomorrow. It urges full collectivization of agriculture. This group basically tries to increase the exploitation of the masses and get the masses to go along through the weapon of ideology, "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought." Its base is among party ideologists and cadre who look to Mao. This group is often called "the reds."

For the past half-dozen years, or since the end of the Cultural Revolution, the two factions have worked together on a compromise basis. While following a policy of wage

incentives, wage differentials and investment according to profit, the leadership has also emphasized ideology and stressed the importance of agricultural collectivization.

This deal was the work of Chou En-lai and Mao. Chou's basic approach was the same as that of the "moderate" faction. Mao favors stressing ideology and moral incentives over material incentives. However, both Chou and Mao were willing

to compromise, realizing that in a country as backward as China it was necessary to use a combination of incentives, both material and moral, to maintain production and the masses' loyalty. While each retained his distinctive leaning, they collaborated to preserve the rule of the state-capitalist ruling class.

In the light of these past compromises, it is significant that only Teng and none of his lieutenants was purged. Hua Kuo-feng, the new Premier, lines up with neither faction. A majority of the top leadership body, the Politburo, are in neither faction. Throughout the anti-Teng campaign, messages from Mao were distributed calling for no disruption of production, no communication

Continued on page 15



Workers and soldiers in Politburo-organized rally against Teng. Two factions in Chinese ruling class seek mass support but fear real intervention of masses in party struggles.

## An "Act of God"—or Capitalist Execution?

# Explosions Murder 26 Miners

On March 9, 15 coal miners were killed in an explosion that tore through the Scotia Coal Company mine in southeastern Kentucky. Within two days, this mine became the tomb for 11 more when a second explosion blasted the recovery crew.

The reaction of the bourgeoisie was predictable. The coal operators and the politicians regard the slaughter of miners as an "act of God" beyond human control. The deputy safety administrator of the Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA) even went so far as to praise Scotia as "standing tall in the industry" on safety questions... after the disaster.

A United Mine Workers' investigation is uncovering the real story behind the tragedy. A history of systematic violations of safety regulations made the Scotia mine a time bomb waiting to explode. The death of these 26 victims was no accident—the coal operators murdered them in their drive to extract every possible bit of profit from that mine.

### SAFETY RULES IGNORED

The explosion was caused by the ignition of methane gas in an idle section of the mine. Adequate ventilation can easily prevent methane gas from reaching explosive concentrations, and federal law requires regular reports and inspections to enforce this. Scotia, however, made a travesty of these regulations. Whenever MESA inspectors arrived, the company was pre-warned and diverted ventilation to the area of the mine to

be inspected. This left other sections, including the one where the explosion occurred, without adequate ventilation. The company is required to make reports on every shift. These were falsified. So were maps of the ventilation system, which were submitted months past deadline.

There were other violations. Two months prior to the explosion, a non-explosive ignition of methane occurred. Contrary to the regulations, this was not even reported. In addition, the operators disconnected an automatic shut-down device that prohibits the functioning of spark-causing machinery when methane reaches explosive levels. The Scotia mine had received 855 citations, including 62 for inadequate ventilation, before the disaster. Finally, the company had a history of ignoring orders by MESA to shut down operations because of immediate dangers. Despite all of this, neither the state nor the federal government was willing or able to take serious action against Scotia.

No truer picture of federal mine safety enforcement can be given than the story of the second explosion. The recovery operation was under the control of MESA. Its purpose was to secure the mine so that an investigation could be made. Even with national attention focused on the inquiry, MESA ignored its own procedures. The result was 11 additional deaths, the first time a recovery crew had been destroyed since 1928. This pro-company, inept bureaucracy even sends its own

inspectors to their graves!

The Scotia disaster highlights the standard practices of the coal industry and their protectors in MESA. Non-enforcement is routine. Even when inspectors overcome company falsifications, the MESA bureaucracy makes the citations issued meaningless: the average fine is \$121 for deadly violations!

In 1970, the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act went into effect, and the government promised a dramatic decline in mine fatalities. The next few years saw both a boom for the coal industry and the growth of militancy among miners. The result was a substantial reduction in mining deaths. Now, as the boom in the industry is tapering off, the slaughter of coal miners is increasing again: up 16 percent in 1975 over 1974 and up 58 percent in 1976 over the same period in 1975. The lesson of Scotia—a non-union mine—and of the entire last six years is clear. Mining is safe exactly in proportion to how much the organized miners can impose their will on the bosses. Safety laws can be valuable tools in the miners' struggle, but it is the struggle of the miners to control safety conditions that is decisive.

Profit is the be-all and end-all of capitalist production. The health and very lives of the workers don't count. This is what the Scotia mine explosion has demonstrated once again. Only when the workers themselves control the mines, the factories and all society will coal be mined safely. □



Teng Hsiao-ping, ousted "moderate."

# Organize for PO Strike!

The following article is reprinted from *Postal Action*, national bulletin of the *Postal Action Committee* (PAC).

The fight against postal management's attacks is now centered in New York Carriers Branch 36. Postmaster General (PMG) Bailar plans to drop the third business delivery on May 17, eliminating 166 carrier routes. Will Branch 36 strike to prevent these cuts?

Bailar is already under pressure from election-minded Congressional liberals to put off major battles with postal workers for awhile. Today, the liberals, who know the strength of the working class, prefer to buy labor peace to win working class votes. A strike which would shut down New York mails and potentially spread to other parts of the country would therefore bring quick concessions from Congress.

On the other hand, if the cuts can go through without a fight, the Democrats won't object. They are just as committed to "rationalizing" the PO through slashing jobs and working conditions as Bailar is. If this can be accomplished peacefully and without their losing face, it's fine with them. Already, the second business delivery has been eliminated in many other Eastern cities, with further slashes planned throughout the country.

Branch 36 has long been a militant stronghold in the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC). New York carriers took the lead in the 1970 wildcat strike, which forced major concessions from postal management. Rademacher's 1971 attempt to throw the branch into receivership was successfully defeated by organ-



Sombrotto: tough pose, but no action.

ized actions of the rank and file. Strike threats in 1974 prevented the elimination of the third trip then. Now Branch 36 is called on again to defend itself and lead postal workers throughout the country in a fight for our jobs, working conditions and vital social services.

A strike vote has been scheduled for May 16. Building for a vote to strike is a crucial task facing postal militants.

Sombrotto claims to be for a strike, but does nothing to build for it, and then blames the membership for being unwilling to act. "I'm for a strike," says Sombrotto, "but the ranks aren't."

Sombrotto's inability to lead the postal workers' struggle is revealed in this statement. If the ranks aren't ready to strike, it is because they do not have confidence that a successful strike can be waged. They watched Sombrotto back down without a fight over last summer's contract sellout. And there has been no organization for a strike. Every postal militant knows a strike must be organized if it

is to succeed.

But Sombrotto has done nothing to build the strike, because he is afraid that to unleash the militancy of the rank and file would expose and threaten his bureaucratic control. He remembers full well when thousands of postal workers forced him and Moe Biller to flee Manhattan Center when the two bureaucrats tried to shove through a contract sellout in 1971. Sombrotto prefers his cozy relations with the other union bureaucrats and management to fighting for what we need.

There is still time to organize for a successful strike. We will need committees in every station to educate the membership and draw carriers into active participation in the strike preparations. Militants should begin

to form these committees in their stations immediately. Carriers must be mobilized for the May 13 union meeting, where PAC will put forward motions to formally establish station committees in charge of strike preparations.

Support for the strike must be built. First, we must make a militant appeal to the rank and file of all postal unions throughout the country, particularly Metro and LIUNA Local 300, to pass resolutions in support of the New York strike, and prepare to back up these resolutions with strike action. Second, we must build solidarity with non-postal New York unions, particularly UPS workers, to prevent scabbing and add leverage to our struggle. Third, we should continue efforts to

build for an area-wide conference of all postal workers in the New York-New Jersey region. Although there is not time to hold this conference before the strike deadline, we must hold it as soon as possible to strengthen the unity and organization among all postal workers in this area.

We cannot rely on Sombrotto. We cannot rely on the courts. We cannot rely on the Democrats. We must rely on our own strength and organization as unionized workers. We have the power to stop the mail and win the support of other workers—in the post office and elsewhere—who face the same attacks by the ruling class that we do.

If we do not defeat the New York trip cuts, we will suffer a big loss, not just in New York, but throughout the country. If management learns it can attack the work force without a fight, nothing will hold it back from more and more speedup, job-cutting and harassment. We must not allow this to happen. □

## Ford Plans Layoffs at River Rouge

In March the Ford Motor Company announced that it plans to lay off 1,500 workers in July. These workers are employed at the Dearborn Engine Plant in Ford's huge River Rouge complex. The company wants to move its truck engine production to plants in Windsor, Canada, and Cleveland. As a result, more than 40 percent of the engine plant workers face permanent layoff.

### COMPANY SETS STAGE

Local 600, which represents Rouge workers, includes 30,000 UAW members. This is almost 20 percent of Ford's 154,000 hourly workers. Ford hopes that if it can defeat these workers before the contract expiration, it can demoralize all Ford workers. Since Ford is the likely target in this year's contract negotiations, the company thinks that its ploy will set the stage for a defeat of all auto workers in the contract fight.

On April 4, over 1,000 Rouge workers met to hear what their union leaders plan to do to prevent the layoffs. One week later, a few hundred Ford workers demonstrated in front of Ford's headquarters.

The UAW bureaucracy knows it must put up at least the pretense of a fight against these attacks. This is why Ken Bannon, head of the UAW's Ford Division, and Mike Rinaldi, Local 600 president, called the April 4 meeting and the demonstration of Rouge workers. But the bureaucrats have no intention of leading a fight. At the April 4 meeting, Rinaldi's clique distributed buttons reading, "Local 600 says Henry, have a heart."

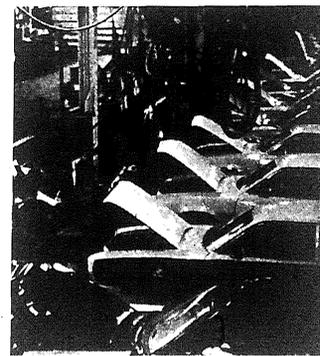
### PROTECTIONISM

Rinaldi also suggested that Local 600 members boycott Ford's Fiesta, which is produced overseas. This is part of the union leaders' protectionist line. They want the workers' anger to be directed at foreign workers instead of at the auto companies.

Pretending to be planning a struggle, Bannon threatened Ford. "Unless Ford Motor Company does something... there will be no 1976 contract," Bannon blustered. He also said the elimination of the Rouge jobs could become a key topic in this summer's negotiations for a national contract. The problem with Bannon's "militancy" is that negotiations won't begin until after the 1,500 workers are out on the streets. □

The way to defend the 1,500 jobs—and the interests of all UAW members—is to shut down the whole Rouge complex before Ford throws people on the streets. Militants in Local 600 should start preparing now for a strike in defense of jobs. Workers in all UAW plants must organize to support the Rouge workers' struggle with job actions of their own.

If Ford refuses to back down, the UAW will enter national contract talks with workers on the picket lines in defense of their jobs. A real defense at Rouge will tell every Ford worker that the auto workers are ready to fight for their jobs. □



Idle Ford plant. New layoffs are planned.

## "Reform" Slate Carries Chicago USWA Elections

CHICAGO—In recent elections at United Steel Workers Local 65, John Chico beat the incumbent, Frank Mirocha, by almost two to one. The Chico group thoroughly smashed Mirocha's creaky machine, gaining 2,200 votes to Mirocha's 1,300. The victory is more an outright rejection of Mirocha than an endorsement of Chico, who had precious little record of struggle to run on. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), which conducted a socialist propaganda campaign, received a disappointing 66 votes, about 2 percent of the total.

Interest in the RSC campaign was greater than the low vote implies. A number of steelworkers expressed agreement with the RSC program, but voted for Chico anyway. This shows cynicism about the possibility of revolutionary change. Revolutionaries have a lot of work to do to expose Chico and make vague sympathizers into active fighters. Nevertheless, the RSC emerged from the election optimistic about its future work and with a clearer idea of its tasks.

The character of the bureaucrats' campaign was revealed when Chico took the election to court, claiming that Mirocha's handling of the election of tellers made a fair election impossible. The fact is that neither candidate could guarantee a fair election, which requires the full and conscious participation of the union

ranks in every step of the election. Mirocha's frauds are well known. But Chico, by going to court, demonstrated that he had no interest in involving the ranks of steelworkers in the election process, or in any other part of the union's function, for that matter.

Chico's court action serves to build illusions among steelworkers that the federal government is impartial and able to give the working class a "fair shake." It creates the sense that workers cannot handle their own affairs and need Big Brother to do things for them.

Chico's approach mirrors that of Ed Sadlowski (liberal "reform" President of Steelworkers' District 31), who has built his campaign on money and advice from liberal bourgeois lawyers. While Sadlowski pretends to be a friend of the steelworkers, his liberal backers support him to increase their leverage in bourgeois politics. They prefer a liberal bureaucrat, who will support their candidates and program, rather than Abel. Sadlowski's first allegiance is to these people, not to the steelworkers. Despite his talk, he will turn out to be not much more than an Abel with more liberal politics. When Sadlowski runs against Abel in 1977, there will undoubtedly be many calls for federal intervention to "guarantee" fair elections. A central slogan of the RSC will be: **Keep the Government Out of the Unions.** □

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# State Capitalism vs. Workers' Rule

## PART THREE

by Ron Taber

*This is the third and final part of a series based on speeches given by RSL National Secretary Ron Taber on his recent national tour.*

*The first two parts of this series examined the tendencies toward statification in dying capitalism, the fear of the private shareholding bourgeoisie of state capitalism (since it would mean their expropriation) and how state capitalism came about in practice through the Stalin-led counter-revolution that overturned the Russian workers' state. This month's article analyzes the role that state capitalism has come to play on a world scale in propping up all of capitalism, how Stalinism is able to play this role by misleading the proletariat and why a revolutionary orientation requires a clear position on the existence and nature of state capitalism.*

Since 1917, there have been no successful socialist revolutions. The post-World War II revolutions calling themselves socialist have been no such thing. Rather, middle class forces in the leadership of Stalinist (or, in the case of Cuba, nationalist) parties have organized peasants and, occasionally, workers to overthrow the existing societies and create state-capitalist economies. None of these revolutions were mass working-class uprisings that created the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the institutions of the workers and other oppressed masses.

In fact, the state-capitalist forces that organized these transformations have in many ways been the biggest obstacles to socialist revolution. We have already seen that where state capitalism replaces the "old" capitalism it preserves the capitalist exploitation of the working class. But state capitalism does more than this. In a number of ways, it works to protect capitalism as a whole from the workers and the other victims of capitalist oppression.

The first concern of state capitalism and the Stalinist movement as a whole is to prevent the working class, peasants and other oppressed classes from abolishing capitalist exploitation. In general the Stalinists attempt to establish their own rule when the existing order is losing its ability to keep the masses in line, and even then their first aim is to prevent workers' revolution.

This general approach is evident in the activity of the political arms of Russian state capitalism, the Stalinist parties. Where traditional capitalism is strong, mostly in the imperialist countries but also in some underdeveloped countries, the Stalinist parties tend to act like reformists. The Communist Parties of Italy, France, Spain, Great Britain and the U.S., for example, do not behave in a manner much different than the Socialist Parties. They control labor federations on a bureaucratic basis, carry out a reformist trade union policy, support bourgeois liberals and enter coalition governments. The only significant difference is foreign policy: the Stalinists are pro-Russian and the Socialists are pro-U.S.

### Lessons of China

In many underdeveloped countries, particularly the weaker ones, the Stalinist forces organize the masses on the basis of a national liberation program in order to replace the completely decrepit economy with state capitalism. The essential condition of this approach is to prevent the organization of the proletariat by a real revolutionary party. As a result, they destroy the revolutionary cadres where they exist and attempt to swamp the proletariat under the weight of non-proletarian classes.

This can be seen most clearly in the Chinese Revolution. Because the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), operating under directions from Stalin, failed to follow a revolutionary policy, workers' insurrections in 1927 in Shanghai and Canton were crushed. In the repression that

followed, the CCP lost almost all of its working class base. After several faction fights in the next decade, the Party emerged with a purely peasant orientation under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung. From then until it took power in 1949, the CCP had virtually no ties to the Chinese working class.

The CCP's victory was based on a careful organization and mobilization of the peasantry around moderate agrarian demands, from rent reduction to a broader land reform, and a struggle to free China from foreign rule. But it did not involve the working class and did not go beyond a bourgeois program.

When Chiang Kai-shek's army collapsed before Mao's 8th Route Army, the Chinese Communists did not mobilize the workers. Instead, the CCP called for "order" and told the workers to stay at their jobs under the same old capitalists, the same cops and the same municipal administration.

There were no workers' insurrections. No workers' councils or factory committees were set up. Capitalist production relations were maintained.



Chinese workers: still exploited under state capitalism. Fake-Marxist ideology helps keep them on the job.

After 1949 the old Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords were gradually expropriated under the controlled guidance of the CCP. There was no fundamental change in the relations of production. The workers and peasants remained exploited by capitalism. Now, however, their exploiters directly controlled the state apparatus.

The other state-capitalist transformations in the underdeveloped countries, such as in Southeast Asia, differed only in specifics but accomplished the same results. In all, the old bourgeoisie and landlords were expropriated and replaced by a state-capitalist bourgeoisie. In all, the workers and peasants remained exploited.

The net effect of this strategy in the underdeveloped countries was to channel the anger of the masses, starved and abused by imperialism, into supporting capitalism, rather than repeating the achievement of the Russian workers and peasants in 1917. Instead of actually overthrowing capitalism and establishing workers' states, the masses were maneuvered into overthrowing traditional capitalism and creating state-capitalist societies.

The foreign policy of the state-capitalist countries and the policies of the Stalinist parties in the advanced countries and in the underdeveloped countries form an organic whole. In the immediate post-World War II period, the Stalinists' reform tactic corralled the post-war workers' upsurges and turned them into support for Western capitalism. In France and Italy, where the workers were armed and mobilized, the Stalinist parties disarmed them and urged support for the bourgeois governments. In Greece, the anti-Nazi guerrilla movement under local Stalinist leadership was sacrificed as part of a deal made between Stalin and Churchill in November, 1944. Since, by this agreement, Greece was to return to the British sphere of influence, Stalin turned the mass movement over to the Western imperialists.

These events were the capstone to the whole period of defeats of the 1930s and '40s that included the rise of fascism, the defeat of the Spanish Revolution and World War II itself. These defeats of the working class gave the capitalists a more or less free hand in the reorganization of capitalism under the hegemony of the United States. These defeats helped to lay the basis for the post-war period of reaction, Cold War and U.S. domination of the world.

### No Boom for Third World

In the post-war boom thus made possible by the Stalinists, Western imperialists were able to bribe many of the more privileged layers of the proletariat by looting the underdeveloped countries. Consequently, the post-war prosperity was not experienced in the Third World anywhere near the way it was in industrialized countries. Many countries never experienced the boom at all. In others, prosperity was gone by the early 1960s. In these countries, the workers and peasants were not bought off with material concessions. But here the Stalinist national liberation approach helped to prevent the super-exploited masses from overthrowing capitalism altogether.

Thus, while in the advanced countries the Stalinists kept the workers within the context of capitalism through reformist means, in the underdeveloped countries (where the masses could not be prevented from revolting) the Stalinists limited the movement to a struggle for national independence on a state-capitalist basis. This dual orientation has protected world capitalism from socialist revolution.

Stalinist state capitalism can play the role it does because of three interrelated reasons. First, state capitalism and the various Stalinist parties emerged out of the Russian Revolution. They therefore appear to represent the continuity of the Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviks. State capitalism looks like some form of workers' state and the Stalinist parties can claim to be the direct descendants of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin. This disguise helps to mislead the workers. Many revolutionary- and socialist-minded workers think Russia, China, Cuba and the other state-capitalist countries are socialist or some sort of workers' states. As a result, these workers often look to the Stalinist parties for leadership in the fight for socialism.

Secondly, state capitalism in Russia (and to a lesser extent in China, North Korea and elsewhere) has been capable of making strides toward industrialization. By eliminating parasitic precapitalist classes, cutting down on waste, establishing a state monopoly of foreign trade, limiting foreign

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Lenin struggled ag non-proletarian politic the most dangerous o Mensheviks, which pr lesson was learned in b cratic parties of t supported their own b and used their prestig Marx and Engels to inter-imperialist war.

Lenin organized opposition to Menshe national in opposition International. But fol death, Stalin succee vnik Party, the Third I

*We must overcome the implications of the failure to understand the existence and significance of state capitalism. We must build instead on the revolutionary heritage of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, embodied in the work of the early Fourth International. We must construct the revolutionary party that starts with, defends and builds the independent interests of the working class for the worldwide overthrow of the capitalist class, traditional and state-capitalist alike.*

# Workers' Rule

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Secondly, state capitalism in Russia (and to a lesser extent in China, North Korea and elsewhere) has been capable of making strides toward industrialization. By eliminating parasitic pre-capitalist classes, cutting down on waste, establishing a state monopoly of foreign trade, limiting foreign

investment and other measures, state capitalism can slow down the bleeding of an underdeveloped country by traditional imperialism. By collectivizing the peasants, creating conditions for an intense exploitation of the workers and generally regimenting society, a relatively higher rate of capital accumulation and reinvestment can be attained than under traditional capitalism.

Although this growth is limited, partial and occurs at the expense of the stability of capitalism as a whole, it is a significant attraction to many of the world's masses. Because of this, many see in state capitalism and the Stalinist parties a way out of the starvation, poverty and complete economic stagnation to which they are condemned. This increases the ability of Stalinism to corral and disorient the masses.

Thirdly, within the state-capitalist countries themselves (with the exception of Eastern Europe), the state-capitalist bourgeoisie has been able to blunt the class struggle. This has been accomplished through a combination of concessions, ideology and repression. While the living standards of the masses as a whole have been increased, there has been the careful cultivation of a labor aristocracy whose privileges have bound them close to the system. Mobilization of the masses on the basis of pseudo-Marxist ideology with a strong nationalist undercurrent has also been important, particularly in China. Finally, a huge repressive apparatus serves to keep the masses in line.

The general exception to this pattern has been in Eastern Europe, exploited and ground down by the Russians while the masses' national aspirations have been crushed. Here the repressive side of the ruling technique, including periodic invasions by the Russian army, has been most in evidence.

## Obstacle to Revolution

State capitalism, then, is a formidable obstacle to the proletarian revolution. The Stalinist parties and the state-capitalist regimes mislead the workers and help block the construction of genuine revolutionary parties. In fact, state capitalism has been responsible for the destruction of both the Third and Fourth Internationals, the world revolutionary parties of Lenin and Trotsky.

Lenin struggled against all non-revolutionary, non-proletarian political tendencies. He considered the most dangerous of these to be groups, like the Mensheviks, which pretended to be socialist. This lesson was learned in blood when the Social Democratic parties of the Second International supported their own bourgeoisies in World War I and used their prestige as the accepted heirs of Marx and Engels to drag the workers into the inter-imperialist war.

Lenin organized the Bolshevik Party in opposition to Menshevism, and the Third International in opposition to the pro-capitalist Second International. But following Lenin's illness and death, Stalin succeeded in destroying the Bolshevik Party, the Third International and finally the



Vietnamese battle troops of U.S. puppet Thieu, 1974. Defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam was a victory for the working class, but brought to power a state-capitalist regime. The struggle for working-class rule must be continued.

Russian workers' state itself. Stalin, and the state-capitalist apparatus he organized, turned the Third International into a body which, like the Second International, claimed to be socialist but owed its allegiance to capitalism.

Leon Trotsky continued Lenin's struggle for revolutionary leadership and the revolutionary party in the face of the Stalinist counter-revolution. Trotsky first fought to preserve the Bolshevik Party and the Third International. After Stalin had succeeded in destroying the Party, Trotsky turned his attention to building a new world party of revolution, the Fourth International.

The Fourth International no longer exists. Up to the time of his death in 1940, Trotsky's position that Russia remained a workers' state was not wholly incompatible with a revolutionary perspective. While the counter-revolution that created state-capitalism in Russia was completed by 1938, the great tests of World War II and the post-World War II upheavals had not yet taken place.

## "Trotskyists" Abandon Marxism

Following Trotsky's death, and in the hands of less experienced and less revolutionary elements, the position that Russia was still a workers' state took on a different character. The leaders of world Trotskyism in the post-war period hardened Trotsky's error and spread it when faced with the need to explain post-war reality. The Fourth International leaders first called the Russian-occupied Eastern European countries state-capitalist and even fascist, but then declared them to be workers' states—although by their own admission the

proletariat had not led these revolutions. Likewise, they declared China to be a workers' state although the working class played no role in the Chinese Communist Party or the 1949 seizure of power. Leading lights of the Fourth International then decided that a revolutionary party was not really needed for proletarian revolution after all, that "blunted instruments" (petty-bourgeois parties) could establish workers' states.

Because Trotsky's "heirs" believed Russia to be a workers' state, they were forced to call the Eastern European states (which look exactly like Russia) workers' states. China and Cuba, too, are structured along state-capitalist lines, but must be called workers' states, since property is nationalized.

The core of Marxism is that the emancipation of the proletariat is the task of the workers themselves. No middle class saviors, no other classes, can place the workers in power. Piece by piece, the post-war Trotskyist leaders abandoned basic concepts of Marxism. Trotsky's revolutionary opposition to the bureaucracy was turned into its opposite. Today, wherever any Stalinist force seizes power and nationalizes property, the "Fourth Internationals" proclaim a workers' state. There is no need to consider whether the workers are exploited, whether there are institutions of workers' rule, whether strikes are allowed, whether there are even elementary democratic rights for the workers. Nationalized property has become synonymous with the dictatorship of the proletariat. The conditions of the workers are at best a secondary consideration.

These so-called Trotskyists therefore support the state-capitalist bourgeoisie that rules one-third of the world. They support the state-capitalist forces that, as we have seen, are now the major prop for all of capitalism.

## No Support to Capitalism

The overwhelming majority of tendencies and individuals that call themselves Trotskyists, then, have abandoned the need to combat all non-proletarian forces and instead support capitalism in its stultified form. Therefore, they cannot lead the proletariat in revolutionary opposition to world capitalism. There can be no world revolutionary party that does not begin with the needs and conditions of the workers, but instead considers the most important question to be whether or not all property is in the hands of the state, even a state which is a machine to repress the organization and struggle of the workers.

We must overcome the implications of the failure to understand the existence and significance of state capitalism. We must build instead on the revolutionary heritage of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, embodied in the work of the early Fourth International. Trotsky's monumental contributions, especially the theory of the permanent revolution and the Transitional Program, must be preserved and extended.

Our job is immense, but it is within our grasp: we must construct the revolutionary party that starts with, defends and builds the independent interests of the working class for the worldwide overthrow of the capitalist class, traditional and state-capitalist alike. We must reconstruct the revolutionary Fourth International. □

*We must overcome the implications of the failure to understand the existence and significance of state capitalism. We must build instead on the revolutionary heritage of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, embodied in the work of the early Fourth International. We must construct the revolutionary party that starts with, defends and builds the independent interests of the working class for the worldwide overthrow of the capitalist class, traditional and state-capitalist alike.*

WEATHER

The Minneapolis Tribune

NRA EVENING EDITION

### STRIKE HEADQUARTERS SEIZED

### Guardsmen Also Raid Labor Temple

### BROWN AND TWO DUNNES HELD

NATIONAL GUARDSMEN TAKE STRIKE LEADERS IN CUSTODY

TROOPS ARREST PICKETS

Olson's Statement

Walsh's Statement

General's Order

Trotskyist-led 1934 Teamster strike brought industrial unionism to Minneapolis. In 1938 U.S. Trotskyists helped found Fourth International, based on unyielding class struggle.

## Attacks on Left Threaten Struggle

# Rehire Magdalena García!

CHICAGO—On February 6, 1976, Presbyterian-St. Luke's Hospital fired Magdalena García, who had worked there for 17 years. Several community and left groups started a campaign to get García's job back and to win more jobs and better medical care for Latinos. Now this campaign has reached a turning point. The size and militancy of its last demonstration show that this campaign can take hold in the Latino community and the labor movement. The hospital is beginning to show signs of backing down. At the same time, the militancy of the struggle and the influence of revolutionaries in it is leading anti-communist elements within the campaign to try to wreck the struggle.

García, a lab technician who donated her time to translate for Spanish-speaking patients, was fired for intervening when a patient was not receiving proper treatment. García offered her services as interpreter and insisted that the woman receive prompt attention. Before this, García had been involved in other efforts to improve conditions for Latino patients and workers.

At the beginning of March, Presbyterian-St. Luke's announced that it would not accept new patients on Medicaid except for emergency treatment. Seeing García as a spokesperson in the fight for better health care for the community, the hospital fired her to be able to cut back health services without resistance.

Presbyterian-St. Luke's has taken a hard line against the campaign to reinstate García. Participants in the weekly picket line have been threatened with arrest for trespassing and for chanting in a hospital quiet zone, while the hospital is now seeking an injunction forbidding picketing altogether.

### UNITED FRONT FORMED

At the beginning of the campaign, the need for a united struggle to reinstate Magdalena García was clear to all the groups involved. Several groups in Pilsen, the Mexican neighborhood near the hospital, issued a call to resist the firing. They began to picket the hospital on Saturdays, demanding reinstatement for García with full seniority and back pay, more jobs for Latinos (especially as interpreters and patient advocates) and an end to harassment of Latino workers; they also demanded that the hospital administrators meet with community representatives. A meeting was called to plan the future of the campaign.

The committee that was formed met weekly and was made up of representatives of a number of groups: APO (la Asociación Pro-Derechos Obreros—the Association for Workers' Rights, a loose, militant, local organization of Mexican workers), Casa Aztlán (a nationalist "community center"), Pilsen Neighbors, la Compañía Trucha, the Revolutionary Socialist League, CASA (Center for Autonomous Social Action—General Brotherhood of Workers), the Chicago Area Workers Solidarity Committee (supported by the Maoist October League) and the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), as well as some individuals. The committee organized the weekly picketing, a large picket line and rally on March 13, and a march through Pilsen with a demonstration and rally at

the hospital on April 10.

From the beginning, the RSL has sought to broaden support for the struggle. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus has supported us in this. We proposed that the committee adopt a fifth demand—"Stop the cutbacks in health care! Full rights for Medicaid patients to good and free medical care!"—which was accepted by the committee. We also have proposed that the committee focus on actions that can draw in the largest number of people. Nearly one-third of the April 10 demonstration was brought by the RSL, the RSC and organizations the RSL had invited.

The RSL has tried to make the committee function as a real united front. Everyone who agrees with the five demands of the committee should be invited to join the committee and build the struggle. Members of the committee must retain the right to explain their positions in their own names. Through such a united front approach the campaign can draw in different people and groups, giving each individual and group the right to participate in the planning of the campaign.



Marchers demand rehiring of Magdalena García. Profit, not service, is hospitals' aim.

The hospital's hard line against this struggle is a statement to the Latino community that Presbyterian-St. Luke's has no intention of listening to its needs. It is necessary to win García's job back in order to show the hospital that it cannot get away with any attacks and to put a stop to worse attacks in the future. To do this, the united front formed to reinstate García must be strengthened and expanded.

However, various forces are sabotaging the struggle to further their own narrow interests. The pivot of this sabotage is the attack on the left on the part of José Duque, a liberal Latino nationalist. Specifically, Duque has objected to the RSL's and RSC's presence from the beginning of the united front committee.

Throughout most committee discussions, Duque has obstructed matters and wasted everybody's time. He is responsible for the fact that there was no publicity in Pilsen until less than a week before April 10. He did not show up for the meetings of a subcommittee, representing several different points of view including the RSL's, set up to write a leaflet for the march. After the

subcommittee arrived at a compromise leaflet, Duque would not accept the draft and twice sent it back for revision. This is only a small part of his destructive work. His main theme is to exclude the RSL and its allies.

Duque justifies his wrecking operations by saying that this is a Latino struggle only, that the committee should make no effort to gain the support of others, and that "outsiders" should play no role in making decisions. He also says that words like "militant" and "capitalism" are "10-dollar words that Latinos can't understand." Duque, a conscious anti-communist, presents himself as a spokesman of the Latino community. His goal is to build himself a base in order to wheel and deal with Chicago politicians. This means that he has to look militant without being so. In this way he hopes to become a "real" Latino leader and to cut into the pie-sharing that is politics in Chicago. To accomplish this goal, he cannot afford to allow Chicago Latinos to be organized on any but the most narrow basis. In particular, he must seek to exclude revolutionaries from the struggle to prevent the broaden-

left-wing pole in the committee, leads APO Maoists to support Duque in his efforts to exclude the RSL. Doubtful of the possibility of workers' revolution, they too want to limit the struggle. Their whole approach works to prevent the organization of a real left alternative to Duque. Whatever their intentions, they function as his agents.

The Workers Solidarity Committee (WSC) has also been helping to attack the RSL and wreck the committee. After the first few weeks they all but disappeared from the campaign. Even though they too face attacks from the anti-communist Duque and the sectarian Maoists, they have joined the attacks against the League. The League's presence exposes the hollowness of the WSC's claim to be revolutionaries. To maintain this claim they want to get rid of us. Their blind anti-Trotskyism puts them into an alliance with avowed anti-communists, such as Duque. They say to Duque: "Expel the Trotskyists, not us." But this method never works. By serving as stooges in Duque's attacks on us, they are setting the stage for their own exclusion from the committee.

### COMMITTEE DISBANDED

Since the April 10 march, the bloc of nationalists and Maoists has tried various means to evade the RSL. They convinced the leadership of Casa Aztlán, where the committee meetings were being held, to forbid the committee to meet there as long as we are in it. They tried to meet secretly to expel the RSL, RSC and WSC, but we found out about the meeting and thwarted their maneuver. At the time of this writing, the committee has not met since the march. They have one excuse after another for not meeting. They would rather disband the committee and let the struggle die than work with us to build it.

In seeking to avoid us, they are also avoiding mobilizing the community. Already there has been a decision to drop Saturday picketing in favor of Wednesday mornings. This will prevent the participation of most working people. If this trend is allowed to continue, the entire struggle will soon be liquidated.

### VICTORY TO THE CAMPAIGN

The campaign to rehire Magdalena García has a broader importance than the rehiring of one person. It means a fight against the denial of decent health care to workers and poor people. It is a fight to let institutions like Presbyterian-St. Luke's know they cannot get away with racist policies toward Latinos and other oppressed groups. It is part of the national and international struggle to prevent the capitalists from making the workers and the poor pay for the capitalist crisis.

Today, the forces of the masses are disunited. This lack of unity is used by the capitalists to prevent advances in the workers' struggle. Those forces in the workers' movement that foster this disunity are doing the capitalists' work. In particular, the bloc of nationalists and Maoists to throw the RSL and its allies out of the campaign and wreck the united front committee plays right into the hands of Presbyterian-St. Luke's. At a point where the hospital has shown signs of backing down, it could ruin the entire campaign. This does not have to be. □

**REINSTATE  
MAGDALENA GARCIA!  
BUILD THE UNITED FRONT!  
OPPOSE THE EXCLUSION  
OF THE LEFT!  
FREE QUALITY  
MEDICAL CARE FOR ALL!**

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# Racist Offensive...



Racists on the march: shouting hate for blacks, they march by day, strike by night.

Continued from page 1

incidents where blacks beat whites out of frustration and anger at the failure of the liberals to curb the wave of white racist attacks.

Racial tension, continually high since the court-ordered school busing plan went into effect in the fall of 1974, exploded in April. The month opened with white racists bombing a school bus on April 3. Two days later black attorney Theodore Landsmark, 29, was assaulted by a mob of 50 white youths in City Hall Plaza. Landsmark was speared in the face with a heavy flagpole and suffered a broken nose and multiple bruises.

Landsmark, executive director of the Contractors Association of Boston, is one of the city's most "respectable" citizens. He has stayed completely out of the busing controversy, and indeed has done business with right-wing City Council President Louise Day Hicks. He was beaten solely because of the color of his skin. Although less well-known blacks are regularly mugged and maimed in this town, Landsmark's beating drew national attention because of its time, place and the victim's social status. The press, which selectively omits accounts of white racist violence, was compelled to give it prominence. Around Boston, black rage grew as the publicity surrounding Landsmark focused blacks' attention on the need to do something to end the citywide reign of terror against blacks.

## NIGHT RIDERS STRIKE

In the days that followed, bands of whites rained terror nightly on blacks, mostly unreported in the bourgeois dailies. For example, on the night of April 16 two black men were beaten in East Boston on their way to the Rapid Transit station. (The Boston Globe ran no coverage of either assault, reportedly on orders of metro editor John Burke.) The next day, two black bus drivers were badly beaten, while at work, by white gangs.

Finally, on April 19, blacks' anger boiled over. A group of young blacks beat and critically injured white motorist Richard Poleet near Orchard Park Housing Project in Roxbury, the black neighborhood subject to much of the white night-riding. Other white motorists were stoned. Later that night a train passing near Roxbury was stopped by debris piled on the tracks, and blacks stoned trainmen removing the debris.

Immediately, racist capitalism showed its true colors. In contrast to the measures taken against the white vigilantes—that is, none—sections of

the black community were immediately cordoned off. Mayor Kevin White and the bourgeois press at once took up the call of "Stop the Violence." Anti-black sentiment was whipped up to fever pitch by the now emboldened right-wingers.

On April 27, the Boston Phoenix carried an interview with Warren Zaniboni, commander of the right-wing South Boston Marshals vigilante organization. "We're looking for Tom Atkins and Maceo Dixon," declared Zaniboni. Atkins is President of the Boston NAACP, Dixon coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NAS-CAR). Zaniboni added that blacks "may be like the Japs in the Second World War and pull a surprise attack."

On May 2, Zaniboni's group and the Charlestown Marshals Association organized a racist march, 1,500 strong. It was here that they sported their KKK buttons for the first time.

## DEFEND BOSTON'S BLACKS

Boston blacks are faced with savage, organized racist opponents and get no help from City Hall or the cops (many of whom are friends of the vigilantes). As current events make clear, blacks must organize to defend themselves. Black self-defense squads must be formed—not to attack whites, but to defend blacks and punish racist attackers. All leading black and anti-racist organizations must contribute to the organization of these squads. The Boston trade unions must contribute to the defense against right-wing hooliganism—the seeds of future attacks on the trade unions. Trade union and black defense guards could right now rout the several hundred armed vigilantes.

However, the groups in the strongest position to organize defense squads advocate pacifism. Both the NAACP and NASCAR argue strongly against self-defense. They exert a good deal of energy begging the federal government to send the army into Boston to defend blacks. Federal troops, though, are used to defend the interests of the ruling class: any defense of blacks will be overshadowed by an overall policy of keeping blacks in line and harassing and arresting militants (National Guard troops arrested dozens of leftists when schools opened here last September).

Such reliance on troops, cops, courts and politicians has left blacks virtually defenseless against the racist onslaught. It has encouraged the vigilantes. The combination of the pacifist policy and the city

government liberals' policy of tolerating racist violence underlies the anger that led to Richard Poleet's beating. Armed self-defense by blacks and the trade unions is the first step in the battle to curb the racial confrontation in Boston.

## FORCED BUSING IS A FRAUD

Forced busing is a fraud. The court-ordered busing plan called for the forced busing of black students into white areas and white students into black areas—mainly between black Roxbury and white working class South Boston. (Middle-class whites were exempted from the token plan.) It called for no expansion of facilities—in fact, dozens of schools were shut during the past school year and Mayor White tried to cut the school budget.

Forced busing will not improve education for blacks, whites or anybody else. Only a tiny proportion of blacks will go to better schools than they do now, while all schools deteriorate. Forced busing is nothing but a smokescreen for the tremendous cutbacks in education and all social services. Are any of the liberal proponents of busing willing to wage a serious fight to expand expenditures for education, to build more and better schools, hire more teachers, initiate better programs at capitalist expense? Of course not. All these self-proclaimed friends of the blacks are for the attack on education and all aspects of the workers' living standards in the interests of corporate profits.

Instead of improvement in education for all, the busing proponents propose to set white against black in a suicidal struggle to divide a shrinking pie. The result is to force the less advanced working class whites, who are anxious to defend their relative status and privileges over the blacks, into the arms of the KKK and other rightists. They then take their anger and frustration out through racist assaults on the blacks. The chief victims of the cynical policy of the liberals are thus the blacks themselves. One day they are promised decent education through busing, the next day they are abandoned by yesterday's "friends" as soon as they try to defend themselves.

## ALL WORKERS HURT BY FORCED BUSING

The entire working class suffers. As a result of the forced busing fraud, the ruling class has been able to cut back education without united working class resistance.

This can be seen in the controversy over the funding of Boston education. The school department is running a \$20 million deficit caused by busing and related costs. Present funds will run out on May 16, unless new

sources of revenue are found. United States District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr., who has been a major force behind the forced busing scheme, ruled that the Boston schools must stay open until June 22. Garrity said he didn't care where the schools got the money. Boston Mayor Kevin White agreed on May 11 to obey Garrity's order to keep the schools open, but accused him of being ignorant on fiscal matters.

Where will the money come from? Mayor White has asked businessmen who sponsor a private research bureau to help the city find money. An official of the Boston Teachers Union argued that the mayor should have raised local property taxes, already sky-high, months ago. The Judge, the Mayor, businessmen and union bureaucrats, whatever their differences over specifics, agree on one thing—the workers, not the capitalists, should pay for busing.

All workers should be for the right of every student to a decent education. They must defend the right of every student to attend the school of his or her choice—and to be bused to get there. No discrimination, no inferior education for blacks! And instead of accepting the ruling class's terms, they must demand that more schools be built and more teachers hired right now so that every student can attend a good school, whether the choice is to attend a neighborhood school or to be bused. The alternative to such a class struggle policy is to accept forced busing, increased racial conflict and deteriorating education for all workers, and for blacks most of all.

While fighting to defend the blacks, revolutionaries and all class-conscious workers must work to persuade the majority of blacks and the non-racist whites that busing is no solution to the crisis of education. If education is to be improved, a united class movement to make the ruling class pay for the schools, teachers and other needed facilities must be built. Such a movement could win away all but the most degenerate racists among the white workers. Today, given the small size of the revolutionary and class-conscious forces, this policy is largely restricted to persuasion. There can be no bloc with the Hicks and Zaniboni forces. The racist anti-busing proposals must be defeated.

Today, active organizing must focus on defending the blacks. As blacks come to see that forced busing is a dead-end, a mass movement for improvement in education, for more schools and more money for education, capable of winning over all but the most racist white workers, can counterpose itself to the outright racists as well as the cynical liberals who are behind the busing scheme.

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## REINSTATE

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FREE QUALITY  
CAL CARE FOR ALL!

# EDITORIALS

## Down With the Bosses' Parties

Ronald Reagan has emerged as a genuine threat to President Gerald Ford. The ex-California Governor currently holds the lead in the early delegate count for the Republican nomination and is riding the crest of successive primary victories in Texas, Georgia, Alabama, Indiana and Nebraska.

Reagan's new-found success is based on jingoism and war-mongering. His attacks on the Kissinger-Ford foreign policy, begun in North Carolina two months ago, are no longer halfhearted. By cultivating the image of a man sincerely worried about the defense of the country, Reagan has convinced many voters that he would be different from Ford in power. Conservative Republicans have been joined by Wallace Democrats (crossing over to vote in the Republican primaries) in beating a path to Reagan's line on the ballot.

Reagan pivots his foreign policy campaign on the charge that Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger are weakening the United States in the face of the Russians. He also charges that Ford is running the U.S. defense structure into the ground, frittering away U.S. military superiority over the Russians.

Off this central theme, Reagan strikes out in several directions. One of his favorite charges is that Ford intends to give away the Panama Canal to a "tinhorn dictator friend of Fidel Castro. Personally, I would tell the jerk we bought it, we paid for it,

and we are going to keep it."

Aside from the thinly-veiled racism of Reagan's statements, his charges are a lot of hot air. Despite Reagan's rhetoric, Kissinger's detente policy has unfortunately been quite effective in holding up the doddering U.S. empire with the help of the Russians. Moreover, the defense budget is now the highest in U.S. history while the U.S. maintains a substantial superiority over the Russians in overall military potential.

As for the Panama Canal, talk is cheap. If elected, Reagan will resort to the same neo-colonial tactics that Ford is advocating, since they have been proven so much more effective than the old straightforward imperialism.

All told, Reagan has not proposed to do anything concretely differently from Ford. His is election year talk, and the Republican Party leadership knows this. That is why Barry Goldwater and John Tower, staunch right-wingers, are endorsing Ford. They are afraid that in his desire to get elected, Reagan will endanger the interests of the Republican Party and the entire capitalist class.

But Reagan's ability to cash in on sabre-rattling is a warning sign. The growing anger and frustration in this country, bred from the economic crisis and the weakening of U.S. imperialism, is increasing national chauvinism. Because a visible alternative does not yet exist, many workers and petty-bourgeois voters are tempted by right-

wing demagogues. Reagan is not strong enough to win, but he is stronger than Goldwater was 12 years ago.

The most virulent chauvinists are also those who most want to drive down the workers' movement. It's no accident that Reagan is a notorious enemy of trade unions, a strike-breaker and advocate of "right-to-work" laws. Attack workers abroad and at home to solve capitalism's crisis, smash the blacks and other minorities if they fight back—this is the common thread. Reagan and the right wing are just running a few steps out in front of the rest of the capitalists in advocating these measures.

But how can the right-wing forces be fought?

Many relatively aware workers think the way to beat reaction is to vote for the "lesser evil," in this election year probably Jimmy Carter. But reaction thrives because it looks like a real alternative to the problems of the masses. Frightened petty-bourgeois people and backward workers are attracted to the right wing because it appears to offer strong leadership.

"Lesser evil" figures cannot provide a real alternative to the right wing. Since the "lesser evils" also support capitalism, they too are for cutting down the workers' living standards, abridging their rights and

attacking oppressed minorities. Being more "moderate," they only argue for these measures less decisively. As the social crisis deepens, however, the need for bolder solutions increases. But among the capitalist politicians, it is the right wing that stands for bold measures, not the moderates. Consequently it is the right wing that builds its strength at the expense of the moderates. For a system in deep crisis, the choices become either the workers' alternative, socialism, or fascism. And faced with this choice, the "lesser evils" vacillate and then capitulate completely to the right. This is the lesson of history on this question—Italy in the 1920s; Germany in the 1930s; India, Chile and Argentina in the 1970s.

Reagan's campaign should be seen as a warning to all class-conscious workers. The Fords, Reagans, Carters, Humphreys and all the rest cannot provide a progressive solution to the crisis of a dying social system. Only a fighting working class can. To fight Reagan, the workers need to build their own class party, a labor party, based on the trade unions and committed to a revolutionary program. A movement to build such a party would be an important step in the struggle to build a class-conscious workers' movement united in struggle against the capitalist attack. Such a movement can offer a positive alternative to the confused mass of middle class people and backward workers and cut the ground out from under the right-wing demagogues. □

## Build the Strike Wave

A strike wave is building across the U.S. As we go to press rubber workers are into the fourth week of their national strike and United Parcel workers covered by the Central States Contract have been out for two weeks. San Francisco city workers are settling up after a six-week walkout. Anheuser-Busch workers have been out for two months. In addition, a rash of local and wildcat strikes has broken out.

The number of strikes since April 1 contrasts sharply with the first three months of the year. In the first quarter, there were fewer strikers out

than in any three-month period in 10 years.

These figures show that the backbone of the strike wave is the militancy of workers in the key industrial unions—strikes really picked up steam following the April 1 Teamster walkout. Workers across the country want to make up for losses suffered over the past three years, and workers in the big unions have the muscle to call attention to and lead the fight.

The biggest factor limiting gains has been the official trade union leadership. As a body, they have been willing to settle for barely enough to

cover what was lost to inflation over the course of the last contract. The top union leaders try to convince the companies to pass along just enough to get the ranks off their backs, and to convince the ranks that fighting for adequate demands would hurt the companies and therefore cost jobs.

This makes the emergence of a strike wave doubly impressive.

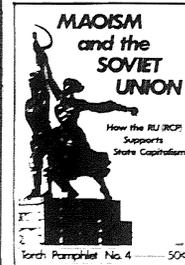
The strike wave may mark the end of several years of passivity by most workers. During the past recession, especially, workers were hesitant to fight back for fear of being singled out, losing jobs and being unable to

find other work. The current economic recovery is therefore one of the reasons workers are starting to struggle in larger numbers.

The tide is beginning to turn in favor of the workers. Militants must seize this opportunity to broaden and deepen the strike wave. It is crucial to build for mass strike action drawing in all workers set back over the past period. With construction, electrical, auto and other key contracts expiring in the next few months, such an upsurge is possible if organized for now. □

**BUILD THE STRIKE WAVE!**

### A New Torch Pamphlet!



### Maotism & the Soviet Union

This latest Torch pamphlet explains the RSL's theory of state capitalism through a critique of the RCP's writings on the subject. The RCP acknowledges that Russia is capitalist and therefore appears to oppose state capitalism. In fact, their analysis distorts the real historical process by which the Stalinist bureaucracy restored capitalism in Russia. In clinging to China and Maoism, the RCP maintains the underlying class-collaborationist assumptions of Stalinism.

Send 50 cents to Haymarket Books.

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Checks should be made out to the Torch

May

CHICAGO Socialist League in a united front against apartheid regimes in Rhodesia, South Africa, and Rhodesia. Anglos and blacks. Street chanting of 'Apartheid' Nine, SWAPO, Two." Other included Workers Against War and Pan-African Socialist Workers' Party (SWAPO) (South African Workers' Organization), Action Committee of Steelworkers for Liberation, International Socialist Workers' Association, SASO, Students Organization, Committee, Communist Unionists and

The RSL committee people marched in formation, chanting for All, Make the Chains of South Africa the Way." At rally, speaker Brutus, an ex-South Africa, representative of the Socialist League.

Falk gave a speech with the anti-Africa:

Legal Live

DETROIT—fight back!

This is the trial of drive trials of the trials have ended third trial is sc 14. Charges against defendants have lack of evidence against Hend Peoples continuing

The defendant degree murder from the death of Marion Pyszko during rioting July after an 18 Obie Wynn, was racist and local Chinarian.

Recent court one fact: the Li framed by Detroit warn blacks that against capitalism and misery

LATEST D

Here are the the case:

•Following trial ended on April motion for bail. been in jail for despite the conviction in t Not one witness positively identified ants as having scene of Pyszko who presided over Gillis, denied Chinarian, who Wynn, was convicted of firearms' at night in jail!

•An appeals qualify Judge trial has been de

# May Day March Attacks Apartheid

CHICAGO—The Revolutionary Socialist League celebrated May Day in a united front march against the apartheid regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. About 250 Latinos, Anglos and blacks marched up State Street chanting "Free All Prisoners of Apartheid" and "Free the SASO Nine, SWAPO Six and NUSAS Two." Other groups in the march included Workers World, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), Pan-African Students' Organization, SWAPO (Southwest African People's Organization), CCLAMGB, Postal Action Committee, Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, Eritreans for Liberation, Iranian Students Association, SASO (South African Students Organization) Nine Defense Committee, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and others.

The RSL contingent of about 80 people marched to the first rally in formation, chanting "30 for 40, Jobs for All, Make the Bosses Pay, Break the Chains of Slavery, Workers Lead the Way." At the Federal Building rally, speakers included Dennis Brutus, an escaped prisoner from South Africa, and Bill Falk, representative of the Revolutionary Socialist League.

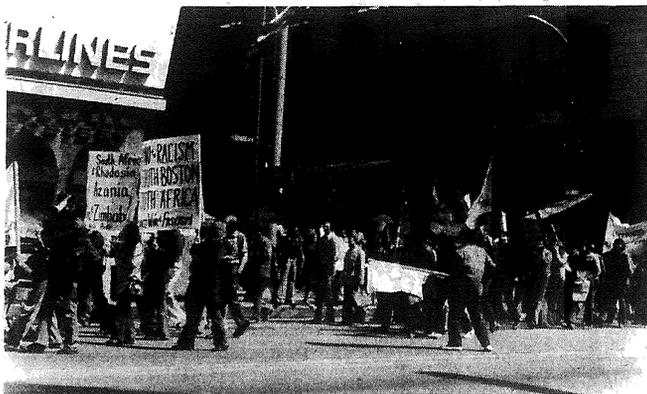
Falk gave a message of solidarity with the anti-imperialist fighters in Africa:

"We stand in solidarity with the oppressed masses struggling against the vicious racism of South Africa, propped up by U.S. imperialism. The struggle for socialist revolution must be solidly built on the most oppressed proletarians who are denied all rights, constantly harassed and brutalized, and forced to produce half the world's gold by their white masters. We defend all anti-apartheid militants held prisoner by the criminal regime in South Africa, threatened with long imprisonment or death for their courageous fight. We must fight for the lives of these prisoners and all others and win their freedom to build

the struggle for the liberation of Africa.

"Capitalism was built in large part on the rape of Africa by the slave traders. Today the rampant exploitation of Africa is still a keystone of imperialism. For the Revolutionary Socialist League, the fight to smash apartheid is a mighty force in the struggle for a socialist revolution throughout the world."

Following the solidarity statements, we marched up State Street (the main working-class shopping area in downtown Chicago) to the office building that houses South



African Airlines at 500 North Michigan. During the march up State Street we chanted "We say No, We Say No, We Say No to Racism," "Down with Apartheid," and "U.S. Out of South Africa." Then we picketed South African Airlines.

During the picketing a representative of the Livernois Five Defense Committee described the struggle of the Livernois Five for freedom. She told about the Detroit ruling class's attempt to silence the black community by indiscriminately rounding up and trying five young black men for the death of a white passerby during a rebellion in a black neighborhood last summer. She related that although the men have been tried twice, and both trials ended in hung juries, the black men remain in jail, without bond, ten months after they were first arrested. She pointed out that this is the same tactic used by the racist government of South Africa and underscores the similar nature of the rule of capitalism in the U.S. and around the world.

After the speeches ended and the picket line halted, the RSL contingent marched to Haymarket Square chanting "Smash the Racist Bosses' Rule, Revolution is Our Tool," "Men and Women, Black and White, Workers of the World Unite!" and "Asia, Africa Must Be Free, Smash the Imperialist Bourgeoisie!"

At Haymarket Square, a speech was delivered on the need to build a world party of revolution to overthrow the international rule of capitalism. □

## Legal Lynching, "Northern Style"

# Livernois 5 Denied Lawyer, Bail & Appeals

DETROIT—"If you're black, don't fight back!"

This is the message the state is trying to drive home in the frame-up trials of the Livernois Five. Two trials have ended in hung juries and a third trial is scheduled to begin May 14. Charges against two of the five defendants have been dropped for lack of evidence, but the frame-up against Henderson, Jordan and Peoples continues.

The defendants are on trial for first degree murder. The charges stem from the death of a white motorist, Marion Pyszko. Pyszko was killed during rioting which erupted last July after an 18-year-old black youth, Obie Wynn, was murdered by white racist and local bar owner Andrew Chinarian.

Recent courtroom events spell out one fact: the Livernois Five are being framed by Detroit's ruling circles to warn blacks that any attempt to rebel against capitalism's brutality, poverty and misery will be crushed.

### LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

Here are the latest developments in the case:

•Following the second trial, which ended on April 7, the defense filed a motion for bail. The defendants have been in jail for nearly 10 months despite the state's failure to get a conviction in two successive trials. Not one witness has yet been able to positively identify any of the defendants as having been present at the scene of Pyszko's death. The judge who presided over the first two trials, Gillis, denied the motion. Andrew Chinarian, who was seen killing Wynn, was convicted of "reckless use of firearms" and did not spend one night in jail!

•An appeals court motion to disqualify Judge Gillis from the third trial has been denied. Gillis acted as a

second prosecutor in each of the first two trials. He overruled virtually every defense objection, refused the defense its right to reject potential jurors for bias and even refused to let defense lawyers question individual jurors at all. When the prosecutor was at a loss as to how to run his case, Gillis made "friendly" suggestions. Conviction of the Livernois defendants has become Judge Gillis' personal crusade.

•On May 5, Gillis denied a motion to halt the third trial. The defense motion argued that a third trial after two hung juries violated the defendants' constitutional protection against double jeopardy. Rarely is a case tried three times.

•On May 6, a defense motion was filed to delay the start of the third trial for 30 days. The defense argued that several legal proceedings are still pending, including a motion to keep certain evidence from being introduced into the third trial and a motion to supply the defense with transcripts of the testimony of key witnesses. Gillis handled this rather simply. He replied that the appeals "should have been filed earlier."

•The most dramatic of the courtroom confrontations took place when the defense requested a delay because the defendants were having difficulty raising sufficient money to retain the legal counsel of their choice. Again, Gillis had a simple solution. He ordered the trial to proceed with court-appointed attorneys. One of the defendants rose and protested that he wanted his own attorney and if the judge would grant the 30-day delay, arrangements could be made.

"Judge," Raymond Peoples said, "I want this attorney. He's on my side. I come from a poor family and we can't just pick money off a tree." Gillis replied: "Defend yourself or accept the court-appointed attorney." Peoples refused, but to no avail.

Then, apparently to indicate that he is a fair man, Gillis delayed the start of the trial one week (!) to allow the new attorney to "prepare" the case. Gillis turned to Peoples and said that there has been no question but that Peoples had been dealt with in a just manner. Peoples replied, "I haven't seen an ounce of justice in this trial!"

### THIRD TRIAL STARTS MAY 14

The third Livernois Five trial is scheduled to begin May 14. The defendants have been denied bail, legal counsel of their own choice, transcripts from the earlier trials and an opportunity to prepare their case.

The frame-up of the Livernois Five is the victimization of five black youth at the hands of the racist police department and prosecutor's office. This is standard practice in "democratic" America. But the Livernois Five case has more significance than this. The Livernois-Fenkell events of last summer occurred in a largely black city suffering under the daily abuse of racist cops, hard hit by unemployment and facing cutbacks in basic social services. Rebellions were also occurring in Elyria and Cleveland, Ohio; Waterbury, Connecticut; and Riverside, California. The situation was explosive.

To contain the struggle and to appease reactionary sentiment in the city, Detroit's black mayor, Coleman Young, seized upon the unfortunate death of an innocent bystander and looked for scapegoats. Scores of black youth were rounded up and each was given a choice between being a witness or a defendant. The result was the Livernois Five case.

When a young black worker is murdered by a white racist, this is called "reckless use of firearms." When hundreds of young and unemployed black workers rebel to protest this slaying of a brother by a white

racist, and in the process someone is killed, this is called murder. The ruling class finds some blacks to pay for it. This is nothing but a legal lynching.

But at bottom, the ruling class does not give a hang about Marion Pyszko. It is only using him as an excuse, once again, to teach blacks, and black workers especially, a lesson. The ruling class wants to say: "Every time you rebel, every time you do not 'keep your place,' we will smash you."

So far, the ruling class has failed in these efforts. Free the Livernois Five! Stop the racist frame-up! □

*The Livernois Five Defense Committee is in urgent need of funds. The decision to try the defendants a third time demonstrates that the state is determined to strike a blow at all who dare to fight back against racial injustice. But, as the importance of the case mounts, so do legal and other expenses. Please send funds and requests for further information to: Livernois Five Defense Committee, P.O. Box 503, Detroit, Michigan 48221.*

**LEAGUE  
FORUM  
CHICAGO**

BUILDING THE  
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Sunday, June 6, 3:00 P.M.

160 North Halsted

Speakers from the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, Postal Action Committee and the RSL.

ed minorities. Being they only argue for ss decisively. As the pens, however, the solutions increases. apitalist politicians, ng that stands for ot the moderates. the right wing that h at the expense of r a system in deep become either the ive, socialism, or d with this choice, vacillate and then tely to the right. of history on this a the 1920s; Ger- s: India, Chile and 1970s.

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ide out to the Torch

# Boom or Bust...



Unemployed workers line up for public service jobs. For them, recession hasn't ended.

Continued from page 1  
higher profits. Higher profits in turn mean more capital available to invest in expanding production as well as the incentive of higher profit rates to stimulate such investment.

(Statistics show the importance of this factor. Labor productivity, which measures how much each worker produces, increased 5.2 percent last year. Unit labor costs, the amount paid to each worker for producing an item, went up only 2 percent. In other words, while their wage costs went up only 2 percent, the corporations received more than 5 percent in additional output.)

A second factor is slower inflation. This is caused by two factors. Recessions generally check inflation by reducing the demand for products. With fewer customers, the capitalists lower prices, or raise them less rapidly, in order to sell goods that would go begging at inflated prices. Making the workers produce more for the same pay, by lowering costs, eases pressure on the capitalists to try to pass along higher operating expenses. During this recession overall prices did not actually fall, but inflation did ease.

The slowing inflation helped lay the basis for the upturn in several ways:

(a) It improved conditions for production and trade. When prices are leaping ahead, an air of uncertainty is created as to whether consumers will continue to buy a particular product the price of which has increased, whether workers will demand wage increases to make up for inflation, whether a foreign currency will fall in value (meaning cheaper products from that country) and lead to imports cutting into domestic production.

(b) Reduced inflation cut production costs. The recent inflation increased the costs of raw materials more rapidly than those of finished products. This was largely because Third World producers were temporarily able to increase raw material prices, especially oil prices, by using monopoly tactics usually used against them. More expensive raw materials mean higher costs for the industrial capitalists, costs that cut into profits. In the latest recession,

raw material prices fell over 30 percent as the U.S. weakened the united fronts of the Third World commodity producers. The result has been to cut costs, boost profits and increase production.

(c) Slowing inflation has lowered interest rates and made loans easier to get. With inflation lower, the Federal Reserve Board feels more comfortable in expanding the money supply, which puts more money in circulation. The scarcity of money lessens, and therefore interest rates fall and loans are more readily available. Easier credit in turn encourages consumer spending, stimulating, for example, automobile and house buying.

## U.S. FORCES CONCESSIONS

Third, the U.S. has been able to increase its share of the world market at the expense of other countries. During the recession, the U.S. balance of trade swung from negative to positive, meaning more goods were being exported than imported. This expanded the market for domestic production. In turn, as the U.S. economy began to swing upward, it provided a market for foreign exports (the boom in Japanese auto, for example, is based mainly on exports to the U.S.), thus encouraging the recovery in Europe and Japan.

So far, however, these three factors have been able to produce no more



Underlying rot of capitalism isn't changed by shallow upturn. Bosses lack capital for real expansion of production; "growth" now comes through speedup, neglect of social needs.

than an upturn mainly limited to consumer spending and inventory building (increasing warehouse stockpiles to take into account increased consumer buying). Half the 7.5 percent increase in GNP in the first quarter came from a \$10 billion increase in the value of inventories. There has not been as much pick-up in other areas.

By themselves, a consumer spending boom and inventory building do not add up to economic health. This is particularly true where the government and the capitalist class as a whole are following a policy of holding wages down and keeping unemployment up. The result of such a policy is to limit the amount of money the workers can spend on non-necessities. So far, much of the consumer spending boom is based on purchases deferred during the recession. This won't last indefinitely.

Nor can the consumer boom be sustained merely by having the government pump money into the economy through things like tax rebates. (It was the tax rebates in the spring of 1975 that helped trigger the current flurry of consumer spending.) Unless the upturn broadens its base, deficit spending on the part of the government will merely drive up inflation and undercut the recovery.

## CAPITAL SPENDING DOWN

The capitalists have not been confident of the upturn. With much of their industrial capacity idle, they hesitate to lay out large amounts of capital to expand it. Capital spending lags far behind the economic recovery. Even the auto industry (whose sales are booming) is retooling its old equipment rather than buying new machinery and building new plants. But capital spending is the key to a healthy upturn since it leads to substantial increases in productivity, raises profits and stimulates broad sectors of the economy. Without substantial investment in new facilities and machinery the current upturn will not move far beyond past economic levels and will be largely confined to reactivating productive capacity shut down in the slump. Right now, while production remains 4 percent below the September, 1974, level, 25.5 percent of plant capacity is unused.

The failure to increase capital spending more rapidly means that the capitalists must further increase profitability at the workers' expense to generate enough capital to overhaul industry on a large scale (we will examine this more closely shortly).

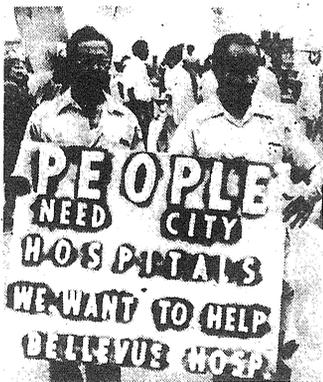
## INFLATION HEADED UP

There are other signs of underlying weakness. Inflation is higher than at any comparable period during recovery from previous post-war recessions. Indeed, it is four times the 1.5 percent rate for the boom years 1960-65, when the economy was

operating at near-full capacity (which ordinarily means higher inflation because of higher demand).

Moreover, inflation is going to get much worse. The Wholesale Price Index for April climbed at an annual rate of 9.6 percent. In a few months, this increase in wholesale prices will be translated into retail prices and will spread throughout the economy. Furthermore, raw material prices are increasing even more rapidly than wholesale prices. This will eliminate one of the bases of the upturn, increase costs to industrial capitalists and cut into profits. Already, steel has raised prices 6 percent and plans an increase of between 9 and 14 percent in the fall.

Finally, the international economy remains fundamentally unstable. The upturn in Western Europe is one-sided. Great Britain remains completely stagnant economically and the Italian economy is headed for the same condition. Meanwhile, what upturn there is in Western Europe and Japan depends on increasing exports to the U.S. However, the U.S. in its turn counts on increasing its share of world trade to sustain its own recovery. As the upturn in the U.S. slows, even more pressure will be placed on the Europeans to make concessions to the dominant imperialism. (Already, U.S. representatives are advising Western European governments to cut down on deficit spending, which the U.S. fears can soon lead to a new surge of inflation which will threaten the international monetary system and hurt world trade.)



Cuts in services mark current upturn.

This involves a vicious circle. There are limits to the demands the U.S. can make on Western Europe, since the U.S. exists in an interdependent relationship with other nations in the world economy. If the other economies collapse, so will U.S. trade and the entire U.S. economy. Already, Britain is in a permanent depression and Italy is headed for one. If another major power—say France—joins Britain and Italy, the house of cards may fall. Therefore, the U.S. must walk a tightrope—it must demand concessions from the Europeans to prop up its economy, but it can't make its demands too great, since this may lead to collapse in Europe and destroy the basis for its own growth.

In summary, the past recession was not brutal enough (from the point of view of the capitalist class) to establish conditions of sustained prosperity. The capitalists were unable to beat sufficient sacrifices from the workers. Inflation was slowed but will not remain low for long. Meanwhile, the concessions won from the European and Japanese capitalists have been limited and will ultimately weaken the basis for economic growth in the U.S. Overall, the present upturn is based on temporary factors. It is a mere breathing space along the road to general depression. □

(To be continued next month.)

# Que Reinstale a Magdalena García...

Continúa de la página 16

Aunque ellos también enfrentan ataques del Duque anti-comunista y de los maoístas sectaristas, se han juntado a los ataques contra la Liga. La presencia de la Liga pone al descubierto la falsedad de título del WSC a ser llamado revolucionario. Para mantener este título, tienen que librarse de nosotros. Su anti-trotskismo ciego los pone en alianza con anti-comunistas admitidos como Duque. Le dicen a Duque, "Expele Vd. a los trotskistas, no a nosotros." Pero este método nunca trabaja. Por servir de paniaguados en los ataques de Duque contra nosotros, preparan su propia exclusión del comité.

Desde la marcha del 10 de abril, el bloque de nacionalistas y maoístas ha probado varios modos de evitar a la LSR. La directiva de Casa Aztlán, donde se reunía el comité, prohibió que el comité se reuniera allí mientras que estemos en él. Trataron de reunirse en secreto para expelar la LSR, CORA, y el WSC, pero supimos del mitin y frustramos su maniobra. Hasta la fecha, no se ha reunido el comité desde antes de la marcha. Tienen una excusa después de otra por no reunirse. Prefieren disolver el comité y dejar morir la lucha que trabajar juntos con nosotros para construirla.

Al evitar a nosotros, evitan también el movilizar a la comunidad. Ya hay decisión piquetear los miércoles por la mañana en vez de los sábados. Esto impedirá la participación de la mayoría de la gente trabajadora. Si se permite continuar esta dirección, se liquidará pronto la lucha entera. ¡Se tiene que cambiar esta dirección!

La campaña para la reinstalación de Magdalena García tiene importancia más amplia que la reinstalación de una persona. Significa una lucha contra la negativa de buen servicio médico a los obreros y los pobres. Es una lucha por informar a instituciones como el Presbiteriano de San Lucas que no puedan proseguir con impunidad con sus políticas racistas contra latinos y otros grupos oprimidos. Es parte de una lucha nacional e internacional por impedir que los capitalistas hagan que los obreros y

los pobres paguen por la crisis capitalista.

Hoy día, las fuerzas de las masas están desunidas. Los capitalistas aprovechan esta falta de unidad para impedir los adelantos de la lucha obrera. Esas fuerzas en el movimiento obrero que fomentan la desunidad realizan el trabajo de los capitalistas. En particular, el bloque de nacionalistas y maoístas para echar a la LSR y sus aliados de la campaña y desbaratar el comité de tipo frente unido hace el caldo gordo a Pres-

biteriano de San Lucas. A un tiempo que el hospital ha dado muestras de retroceder, éste podría destruir la campaña entera. ¡Esto no tiene que pasar! □

¡QUE SE REINSTALE  
A MAGDALENA GARCÍA!  
¡CONSTRUYAMOS  
EL FRENTE UNIDO!  
¡OPONGAMONOS A LA  
EXCLUSIÓN DE LA IZQUIERDA!  
¡POR BUEN SERVICIO MEDICO  
GRATIS PARA TODOS!

## For Chilean Junta, There's a Friend at Chase Manhattan



Chase Manhattan's David Rockefeller: "What's a good credit risk?" Answer...

On May 7, Chase Manhattan Bank announced it was extending \$125 million in credits to the debt-ridden Chilean military junta. Chase Manhattan happens to be one of the big New York banks that refused to bail out New York City last summer until tens of thousands of public employee jobs were cut and vital services slashed.

New York, the bank argued, was a poor credit risk.

On bankers' terms, the Chilean junta is a worse risk. It is months behind on its loans. It would be in default if the banks insisted on repayment.

But the New York City government has not yet imposed anti-working class repression comparable to Chile's Pinochet regime. That's what Chase Manhattan likes about Chile. That's why Abe Beame didn't find the same friend as Pinochet at the Chase Manhattan. □



... No right to strike, no elections, torture of leftists under Chile's Pinochet.



Anti-Teng rally. The basic problem facing China's rulers is how to decide between two capitalist roads without a mass upheaval.

# Who Will Rule After Mao...

Continued from page 5

between anti-Teng groups in different cities and no violence. Overall, then, it appears that Mao and others in the leadership are trying to preserve the deal between the factions.

They have good reason to want to maintain this arrangement. With Chou dead and Mao soon to die, the Chinese ruling class faces a severe crisis of leadership. Who will replace the master statesman, mediator and administrator. Chou? How will the masses be held in line without the powerful figure of Mao to command loyalty? How will the different factions be reconciled?

Teng was squeezed out because he had too many enemies. Were he allowed to remain the likely successor

to Chou and Mao, it would have been impossible to prevent his enemies from breaking the compromise deal wide open. Therefore Teng was sacrificed, but his supporters remain.

### CONFLICT OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Teng made his enemies during the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." He was reviled as the "number two capitalist roader" behind Liu Shao-chi, leader of the "moderate" faction. He was reinstated as part of the deal between Chou and Mao to rebuild the country after the chaos of the Cultural Revolution.

During the Cultural Revolution, Mao took personal command of opposition to the Liu-Teng faction. In

order to unseat their powerful hold on the apparatus, Mao was forced to summon the masses to take up arms and struggle. There followed disruption of production, breakdown of the governing party apparatus and the development of a revolutionary workers' movement beyond Mao's control. Mao was forced to call in the army to restore order. After asserting his dominance, Mao restored many "capitalist roaders" to rebuild a stable ruling structure. He learned the dangers of again appealing to the masses to struggle, and the need to maintain an apparatus to keep the country running.

In 1975, when Chiang Ching and the "reds" launched campaigns against Teng and the apparatus, the

entire bureaucracy wobbled. A mass strike in Hangchow was only put down when Teng led in the army and sealed off the city completely. Similar disturbances broke out in other areas.

The sharper elements in the ruling class realize that factional strife in the leadership runs the risk of arousing the masses and giving an opening to the workers to struggle for their own rule. No side of the Chinese capitalist class wants this. All fear a repetition of the Cultural Revolution—or worse.

### WHO WILL RULE AFTER MAO?

As long as Mao is alive, the compromise has a chance of lasting. When he is gone, however, the first offensive by the working class will tear the compromise apart. Once again the two groups will fight over how to best coopt and defeat the workers. Once again each group will mobilize its supporters in the streets. Once again, the working class will use the split in the bourgeoisie to make its demands known.

The Chinese events this spring were not really a re-run of the Cultural Revolution, but a rehearsal for the conflict that will come when Mao dies. □

For a fuller analysis

of the political  
crisis in China—

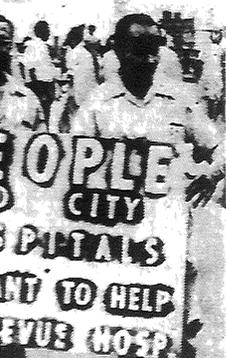
see next month's

TORCH.

at near-full capacity (which means higher inflation of higher demand).

er, inflation is going to get worse. The Wholesale Price April climbed at an annual percent. In a few months, rise in wholesale prices will be fed into retail prices and throughout the economy. More, raw material prices are even more rapidly than prices. This will eliminate the bases of the upturn, costs to industrial capitalists into profits. Already, steel prices 6 percent and plans of between 9 and 14 the fall.

the international economy fundamentally unstable. The Western Europe is one that Britain remains stagnant economically and economy is headed for the bottom. Meanwhile, what there is in Western Europe depends on increasing the U.S. However, the turn counts on increasing world trade to sustain its recovery. As the upturn in the even more pressure will be on the Europeans to make to the dominant imper-ready, U.S. representatives of Western European government to cut down on deficit which the U.S. fears can lead to a new surge of inflation threaten the international system and hurt world



Protests mark current upturn.

olves a vicious circle. There to the demands the U.S. on Western Europe, since exists in an interdependent p with other nations in the omy. If the other econo- pose, so will U.S. trade and U.S. economy. Already, in a permanent depression s headed for one. If another ower—say France—joins d Italy, the house of cards Therefore, the U.S. must ghtrope—it must demand s from the Europeans to ts economy, but it can't demands too great, since lead to collapse in Europe oy the basis for its own

summary, the past recession atal enough (from the point of the capitalist class) to conditions of sustained . The capitalists were un- at sufficient sacrifices from rs. Inflation was slowed but remain low for long. Mean- concessions won from the and Japanese capitalists limited and will ultimately e basis for economic growth U.S. Overall, the present based on temporary factors. re breathing space along the general depression. □

continued next month.