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Newspaper of the
**Revolutionary
Socialist League**

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

Vol 1

May 29 - June 12, 1974

No. 10

BY JACK GREGORY

The bourgeoisie and the labor bureaucracy are training their eyes on Long Beach, California, where the United Auto Workers' national convention meets June 2-9.

There is a split right at the top of the UAW bureaucracy. UAW president Leonard Woodcock has opened the possibility of reaffiliation of the union with the AFL-CIO. No sooner were the words out of his mouth than he received a public broadside from UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, who accused him of capitulating to the Neanderthal policies of George Meany.

LAYOFFS JAR UAW

Woodcock, Mazey Feud

Union hacks do not often air their dirty laundry out in the open. This schism, if it breaks out at the convention, can shatter the tight bureaucratic lid and open all the explosive issues simmering below the surface to the ranks.

Precisely the fear of this will

most likely force Woodcock and Mazey to strike a unity pose at the convention. But the very eruption in the bureaucracy in the pre-convention period indicates that powerful forces are at work underneath, forces that may bring the feud onto the con-

vention floor.

What is behind the Woodcock-Mazey fight?

The UAW Executive Board is being pulled apart by differences on how to respond to the most dangerous situation they have faced in decades. 100,000 auto workers are on

permanent layoff and thousands more are "temporarily" out of work. Soaring inflation is eroding real wages, and forced overtime (banned in last fall's contracts) has been reinstated.

The UAW tops are desperately trying to avoid the blame for this disaster and avert a rank and file revolt aimed at them and the auto

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Workers Rock Portugal

By Chris Hudson



Portuguese workers demonstrate outside Lisbon jail. Workers forced release of political prisoners jailed by Caetano regime.

The tidal wave of class struggle in Portugal is swelling, despite the efforts of the Provisional Government and the class-traitor Communist and Socialist Parties to hold it back.

On May 15, as General Antonio de Spínola was being installed as President and calling for "order and work," the 8,500 workers of Lisbon's biggest shipyard were occupying the yard, demanding the doubling of wages and workers' control.

"We want to control our own country!" "Down with the useless lackeys! Up with the workers!" These were the banners unfurled at the Lisnay shipyard. At the offices of the Companhia Uniao Fabril, Portugal's biggest finance-industrial conglomerate, the hammer and sickle was spray-painted on the walls.

By May 17 the strike wave had spread to the textile industry, which employs over 250,000 workers. And for the first time, the imperialist firms that control over 20 per cent of Portugal's capital have been attacked.

In the week of Spínola's inauguration, plants belonging to Firestone, ITT, and Timex were struck and occupied. The strikers demanded higher wages and the removal of company officers intimately tied up with the murderous Caetano regime overthrown April 25.

The struggle has reached its highest degree of organization in the banking industry. To prevent a flight of capital from Portugal, organized workers' councils have taken control of the banks, imposing an upper limit on withdrawals and freezing corporate funds except for payroll accounts. These are the first measures thus far taken by the working class to impose its own will on Portuguese society.

The Portuguese ferment is inevitably spreading to Spain, where thousands of students battled police in Barcelona and Madrid on May 9, shouting slogans of solidarity with Portugal. "We don't have much time," a so-called "liberal official" in the Spanish government said recently. "Not five years. Maybe not five months."

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A perfect friendship: Henry Ford [center] relies upon UAW President Leonard Woodcock [right] and Detroit Mayor Coleman Young [left] to keep workers in line.

Layoffs Jar UAW

Cont'd. from p. 1

magnates. Their fight is over how best to do this.

This is a life or death matter for the entire labor bureaucracy. The U.S. is being wracked by economic crisis and the Watergate scandal. The bourgeoisie is undergoing a full-scale leadership crisis at precisely the time when it must open war against the working class to stabilize the economy. The labor bureaucrats, who tie the fate of the ranks to the strength of capitalism, are stepping in to discipline the workers at the very time when a concerted response by the trade unions could rout the vacillating ruling class.

The UAW is of vital importance. It is the historic backbone of the labor movement. Its strategic position in industry and its militant traditions are constant reminders of the power that the proletariat can unleash.

If the UAW ranks mobilize against the scheme of the auto industry and its labor lieutenants, they can spark a massive workers' response that will shred the offensive against labor.

But if the UAW takes the attacks lying down, the plight of auto workers today will only be a preview of what is in store for all workers. The methods used in auto will then be mimicked by industry and labor chiefs across the board.

REUTHER'S GHOST

Mazey and Woodcock are at loggerheads over what these methods should be. Until the present rupture, they have been united behind the policies pioneered by Walter Reuther during the post-war boom.

Reuther skillfully bound and gagged the UAW rank and file while radiating the image of champion of working

people, the oppressed, and the poor. Reuther joined with the liberal Democrats in heaping praise on the new capitalism which seemingly could provide for all.

"I believe that we have a society that is not rigid in character along class lines, and that is the great hope of America," Reuther proclaimed at the 1954 CIO convention.

STRUGGLE? NONSENSE!

Four years later he was even more explicit. Rewriting history, he declared: "We don't believe in the class struggle. The labor movement in America has never believed in the class struggle."

Class struggle was obsolete in the new, fluid America. Simply nudge the corporations and the state, remind them of their "social responsibilities."

Reuther's progressive image was a smokescreen that hid his collaborationist role. But the bourgeoisie recognized a loyal ally: Reuther "is too alert a man not to realize how much he has won for his followers within the framework of capitalism and how much the picture holds within that same framework," pronounced *Time* magazine.

But capitalism remains capitalism. The post-war boom has come to a crashing end, shattering the myth of a classless bourgeois society.

So today, Reutherism is in crisis. The left cover is blowing away as the UAW leadership won't even defend its own back yard.

Woodcock desperately clings to Reuther's faith in the capitalist framework even now when the picture holds nothing but despair. He strains to keep the ranks in check, mortally afraid of rocking the boat.

When the Watergate crisis broke, Woodcock pleaded that "partisan advantage" not be



Walter Reuther [right] swears Emil Mazey into UAW leadership in 1946.

taken. In February, 1973, he joined with business heads on Nixon's Labor Management Advisory Committee to urge "restraint" and "responsibility" by labor in the coming contract round. Last fall's sell-out auto agreements showed that he was true to his word. Mazey is no better: "I think strikes make ratification easier. Even though the worker may not think so, when he votes on a contract in reaction to economic pressures I really believe that if the wife is really raising hell and the bills are piling up, he may be more apt to settle than otherwise."

Mazey views strikes just as GM does. Let the workers blow off some steam. After a few days without pay, they will come to their senses and be far more manageable.

Woodcock and Mazey agree on the importance of surrendering the needs of the UAW membership to the auto trusts, and in this they are as one with Meany. Like Meany, their noble spirit of sacrifice knows no geographic bounds. All three demand higher tariffs to strengthen American capitalism at the expense of foreign workers.

Woodcock and Mazey joined with Meany to rail against black militants after mouthing support for the civil rights movement. And their "solution" to the present crisis, the "veto-proof" Congress, is identical to the AFL-CIO president's.

BUREAUCRATIC FIGHT

The dispute between Woodcock and Mazey boils down to how to package their product. Mazey doesn't want anything

to do with Meany. He thinks that identification with the openly reactionary Meany would destroy the UAW bureaucracy's left image.

But under the pressure of Watergate and the economic nosedive, Meany himself has tried to strike a more "left" pose. He has gone so far as to murmur about the possibility of nationalizing the energy industry.

Woodcock is weighing this turn carefully. He sees the opportunity to bolster his sagging image and help dampen militancy in the labor movement as a whole. If he can get the AFL-CIO to adopt a more "progressive" outlook, he will emerge as a labor statesman on a plane with Reuther. AFL-CIO presidency would not be out of the question.

Woodcock may well decide to bury the issue for now. Meany is unpredictable; he can resume his customary cave-man stance without warning. More importantly, a fissure at the UAW convention would open up discussion of the real problems—unem-

ployment, inflation, speed-up, and the general offensive against workers.

Reaffiliation immediately poses the question: on what basis? It can be a major breakthrough towards building a united labor movement, but only if the UAW enters on a militant program of action aggressively pressed forward throughout the trade unions.

A unified labor movement is sorely needed to fight off the ravages of the bourgeoisie. Auto workers, the hardest hit, must roll over both Woodcock's and Mazey's collaborationist policies to fight for their own needs and the needs of all working people

ACT NOW!

This is the time to strike, while the bourgeoisie is still reeling from the impact of Watergate.

The UAW ranks should use the merger talk to demand a Congress of Labor and the Oppressed to take up the burning questions facing workers. On the immediate agenda are the economic attacks and the Watergate scandal.

There is no reason to accept mass unemployment. A shorter work week with no loss in pay, beginning with 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, is the workers' road to smashing unemployment.

This must be combined with a forceful campaign to organize unorganized workers, the vast bulk of the labor force, into the trade union movement. This would create massive strength and thwart the bourgeoisie's pet "divide and conquer" tack.

"Restraint" and "responsibility" have left the ranks prostrate before inflation. The UAW must lead the struggle for reopening contracts to demand full cost of living protection.

Speed-up and forced overtime, winked at by Woodcock and Mazey, will be eliminated if the ranks unleash their power.

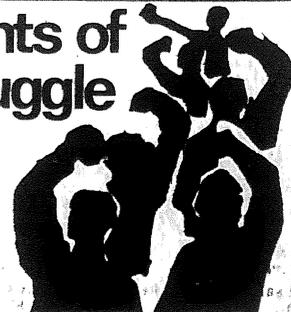
This requires a break with the entire pro-capitalist framework imposed by the labor hacks. It means a conscious

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— ACT NOW! —

is the time to strike, the bourgeoisie is still reeling from the impact of the Watergate scandal. UAW ranks should use their power to demand a 50 percent increase in wages. The demand to force Nixon out must be coupled with the call for new elections—elections in which the Congress of Labor would place society in the hands of a workers' government.

Capitalism has demonstrated its bankrupt time and again. Those who accept its ground rules, like Woodcock and Mazey, inevitably turn against the workers they represent and discipline them in capitalism's interests.

The quarrel between Woodcock and Mazey is a dispute over how best to serve the bourgeoisie. It must be used to launch an offensive to break the chains with which they and their corporate masters have bound the proletariat.

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refusal to accept the limits of the capitalist system.

TAKE THE OFFENSIVE

The leadership crisis of the bourgeoisie must be turned to the proletariat's advantage. The immediate task for a Congress of Labor would be organizing mass strikes to force Nixon out of office and to press for workers' needs against the economic onslaught.

But throwing Nixon out is not enough. So long as the bourgeoisie controls the state through either the Democrats or the Republicans, it will use state power to assault the working class.

LABOR PARTY

Watergate is the most blatant indictment of all aspects of the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie cannot be left with industry and government in its hands. The demand to force Nixon out must be coupled with the call for new elections—elections in which the Congress of Labor would place society in the hands of a workers' government.

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Chilean riot police club worker in Santiago. Gestapo brutality has been unleashed against workers and leftists by junta.

Chile after the coup Junta Tortures Workers' Leaders

by Shelley Kramer

In February of this year a seventeen-year-old boy was arrested in an industrial area of Santiago, Chile. He was arrested because he had long hair and looked suspiciously "radical."

The boy was tortured for ten days. Both of his legs and one arm were broken. He was burned all over his body and castrated before he bled to

death.

The military junta in Chile has massacred over 20,000 workers and revolutionary militants since coming to power last September. Make-shift prisons and concentration camps swell beyond capacity.

Bloody repression and retribution are only the most grotesque features of the junta's "stabilization" program. Thousands of workers have been thrown out of work because of their political sympathies or as a result of the junta's economic offensive against the working class.

Between September, 1973 and January, 1974, inflation cut the buying power of wages by over 50 per cent. The junta has freed prices from government controls while clamping down on wages. The work week has been lengthened to allow for "voluntary labor" to boost productivity.

IMPERIALIST AID

The junta's slaughter of leftists and its campaign to drive down the working class's standard of living succeeded in creating the right atmosphere for a renewal of imperialist investment. The initial wait-and-see attitude which capitalist states adopted towards the fledgling junta took a decisive turn in February when the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank (all creatures of U.S. imper-

ialism) granted a series of long-term loans to the Chilean government.

Despite this aid the junta is caught on the horns of a dilemma. The working class has not surrendered. Any loosening of the reins means risking wholesale rebellion.

"EXCESSES" CRITICIZED

In January, workers carried out a massive protest against the junta's policies which resulted in 35 per cent absenteeism. Miners have conducted periodic short strikes, risking arrest and imprisonment for their actions. In March, 3,000 workers flocked to the streets to mourn the supposed "suicide" of a former minister in Allende's Popular Unity government.

But in order to conform to its democratic rhetoric, the U.S. needs to find some trace of its much flouted "democracy, freedom, and justice" in Chile to cover its aid to the blood-drenched regime. In addition, the Chilean Christian Democratic Party, which hopes to take over the reins of government for itself, has begun to cluck its disapproval of the junta's policy of torture and secret trials against its opponents.

In response to this pressure the regime cast about for some means of demonstrating its legitimacy, stability, "openness," etc. It came up with a beaut. 57 air force men and ten civilians were charged with sedition and sympathy with

the "Marxist" parties which composed Allende's Popular Unity government.

According to the prosecution, the Allende government, a democratically elected bourgeois government, violated the constitution and thus became "illegal" as early as March 1972. Only the military noticed. The military was legally justified in overthrowing the government from that time on. They neglected to tell anyone about it.

Meanwhile the rest of the country—especially the workers and peasants who supported Allende—were supposedly guilty of sedition and sympathy for accepting the Allende government for the year and a half between March, 1972 and the actual coup. This is the logic of the case against the 57 defendants, who are accused only of loyalty to a democratically elected bourgeois government.

COVER-UP

No one could take this seriously. No one was expected to. This farcical trial was never meant to be anything more than the flimsiest cover for the regime's capitalist supporters.

But the bourgeois press knows how to take a cue and use it. In covering the trials, the New York Times crowed that they were "far more open than both supporters are opponents of the junta and foreign legal observers expected."

Chile:
Never Again!



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The upheavals in Portugal make the lessons of the Chilean coup more important than ever.

Once more, the Communist and Socialist Parties have cast themselves as the workers' leadership. As in Chile, they are doing their best to confine the struggle of the proletariat to reformism and away from socialist revolution. The military is again posing as the defender of the toiling masses.

"Chile: Never Again!" demonstrates decisively how the reformists disarmed the Chilean workers through the Popular Front and paved the way for last September's bloody massacre. Its message—the urgency of repudiating the "peaceful road" and constructing a revolutionary leadership—is essential to preventing the Chilean disaster from recurring on a world scale.

Editorial

DEFEND THE SLA!



On Friday, May 17, the Los Angeles Police Department firebombed a house in which six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) were hidden, destroying the house and burning the bodies to a crisp.

This one act speaks more than a million words about the cynicism and brutality of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Workers would do well to think about these events. They paint a vivid picture of the way their class enemy operates.

The methods used against the SLA are not new. They are merely more refined than in the past.

LEARNING FROM HITLER

Just as Hitler used Spain in the 1930's as a proving ground for weaponry used in World War II, the U.S. bourgeoisie used its 30-year struggle against "Communist subversion," the war in Vietnam, and its campaign against the Black Panther Party and other fighters for black liberation to perfect the "counter-insurgency" methods it will use in its coming battles against the American workers. The SLA members are just the latest guinea pigs in this brutal "experiment."

Why the unspeakably brutal methods in dealing with a handful of poorly armed individuals? Why the firebombing when the bourgeoisie clearly has other more "subtle" methods of handling this type of situation?

The decision to proceed in this manner was not made on the basis of a narrow police conception of the most "efficient" way to capture the SLA members. The Los Angeles officials had other, broader, goals in mind.

BLOODY WARNING

The incident was meant as a lesson, an exceptionally vivid warning, to all opponents of the capitalist system. "Look," the capitalists are saying, "anyone who entertains dreams of overthrowing capitalism, let alone actively taking up arms against it, faces this fate. You, revolutionary workers, your life is cheap. We can torture you, burn you, and kill you at will."

This sordid affair clearly demonstrates the class question. Since the press began its campaign against the SLA, the bourgeois media has worked overtime to focus the public's attention on Patty Hearst, sprig of the bourgeoisie itself.

"POOR PATTY"

First, she is portrayed as the unfortunate kidnap victim. Next, she is the involuntary participant in an SLA bank robbery. Now, she is the fortunate survivor of the police attack by dint of her absence from the Los Angeles scene.

Whatever happens, please be so kind as to be

sure that the mental peace of Citizen Hearst, publisher of the most racist, anti-working-class newspapers in the country, is not disturbed. When all the other SLA members are killed or thrown in jail for life, will Patty Hearst share their fate? Not if it is reasonably possible.

Let DeFreeze and the others, especially if they are black or Latin, go to the devil, says the bourgeoisie. But may heaven help dear Patty return to the right road. In like manner, the Los Angeles officials notified the media and Hearst of the impending attack but could not find the time to tell the black residents of the area that their homes were endangered.

But the massive show of strength in this police adventure reveals the other side of the bourgeoisie. Why was it necessary for the most powerful capitalist class in the world, indeed the most powerful ruling class in history, to use this time and this place to pose such a warning to the proletariat?

CRISIS

The bourgeoisie is afraid for its very existence. It stands at the brink of a world-wide economic collapse. Political crises rock the very enters of imperialist power.

Armies of workers and oppressed people throughout the world are surging forward to seize control of their own destinies and to turn their oppressive and degrading living conditions upside down. This is the meaning of the revolts in Ethiopia and Portugal, of the strikes in India and Great Britain, and the rising revolutionary ferment everywhere.

In the United States, the struggle has not broken out into the open, but the bourgeoisie knows that trouble is on the way. It knows that when the American working class moves, simple police methods will not be enough.

The ruling class seeks to nip the movement in the bud and to terrorize the American people from fighting for their liberation. The SLA massacre reveals the fright that is taking hold of the formerly oh-so-confident gentlemen and ladies of the bourgeoisie.

REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT

Despite our criticisms of the SLA's individual terrorist tactics, tactics which do not represent the road forward for the American proletariat, the Revolutionary Socialist League stands with the SLA against the bourgeoisie. The SLA represents the spirit, as yet mistrained and misfocused, of the growing revolutionary forces in the United States.

With this spirit, the American workers, led by a revolutionary party and armed with the program of revolutionary Marxism, will be invincible.

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WORLD IN REVOLUTION: LESSONS OF THE CHILEAN DEFEAT

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RSL POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEMBER
AUTHOR OF THE PAMPHLET
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Milwaukee, WISC 53202

©1974 by the Revolutionary Socialist League Publishing Company

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Published monthly at 13755 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Subscriptions: (including Mexico and Canada) 26 issues at \$3.00; supporting, \$5.00; institutional, \$5.00; foreign seamail, \$4.50; foreign air mail (unsealed), \$14.00.

Domestic introductory subs — 6 issues for \$.50, 12 issues for \$1.00.

Bundles of 10 copies or more — \$.10 per copy.

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of The Torch or of the Revolutionary Socialist League.

Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Detroit, Michigan.

LETTERS

Send letters to:
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The Russian Dissidents

Dear Comrades,

The analysis in *The Torch* of the Solzhenitsyn affair demonstrates the bankruptcy of the theory of state capitalism when faced with Soviet reality. It is based on superficial and factually inaccurate assertions which show no real understanding of the oppositional currents in the USSR today.

In the best of circumstances, the economy of a workers' state is neither capitalist nor socialist, but combines elements of both. Under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy, progress toward socialism—economic growth and political democracy—is retarded and set back. Capitalist tendencies multiply to the extent that socialist ones are unable to. It is on the basis of this contradiction that class struggle takes place in the USSR.

What seemed to be merely a "dissident movement," united only by its opposition to the ruling bureaucracy, has begun to polarize along the lines of the different class bases of opposition to the Stalinists.

Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov openly proclaim the necessity to abandon

Russia to capitalism. They lead that current in the oppositional movement whose social base is the proto-capitalist layer of technocrats and managers whose material interests conflict with the property relations of the USSR. Solzhenitsyn, far from being an admirer of "western" capitalism instead of "state" capitalism as *The Torch* claims, is a "Slavophile." He is an advocate of the most nationalistic and autarchic development of native Russian capitalism. Sakharov's recent expression of disagreement with him concerns the question of the form of capitalism to be imposed. Sakharov represents the scientific modernist wing which finds Solzhenitsyn's dream of a new Holy Russia a little hard to take.

The proletariat in Russia and throughout the world can give no support to these enemies of socialism. We oppose their persecution by the KGB, not because we agree with them, but because we do not entrust the task of the defense of socialism to the Soviet bureaucracy. The means of repression used by the bureaucracy against the right, will and already are being used far more harshly against the working class. In the long run, the police tactics of the Stalinists play

into the hands of the world imperialist bourgeoisie and strengthen the nascent bourgeoisie in Russia as well. The task of dealing with capitalist elements, such as Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov belongs to the armed workers. In order to deal with them it is necessary to drive out the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The second current, in the words of the *Transitional Program*: "reflects passively, it is true, the socialist interests of the proletariat." General Grigorenko is the clearest spokesman of this current, which while not Trotskyist, contains elements which may be won to the Marxist program. At the very least, this tendency would be accorded its rights as a legal Soviet Party, envisioned in the *Transitional Program* as one of the elements of the political revolution. It is with this current alone that it is possible to discuss and work towards a crystallization of a genuine Bolshevik tendency. To call Comrade Grigorenko a "capitalist" is not only the height of pompous stupidity, but also inexpressly disgusting.

Finally, there is the current represented by Roy Medvedev, who only by way of analogy can be called a "social-democratic reformer." (What

is the material base of social democracy when the bureaucracy constitutes a state-capitalist class?) Medvedev is a living advocate of Deutscher's dream of the "self-reform of the bureaucracy." This current rests on the conflict between the two fundamental classes that are represented by the first two currents. The program of the left wing of the bureaucracy demonstrates the capitulatory nature of the ruling bureaucracy towards capitalism. Medvedev offers the only programmatic alternative to the political revolution of the workers. Its content is (*Intercontinental Press*, 4/25/74) ultimately only that of bourgeois democracy, including even a greater role for the technocrats. This is the content of his opposition to Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. This is the real content of his rejection of "initiative from below" and his call for reform from a new generation of bureaucrats "from above" (*New Left Review* # 83).

Medvedev, and those like him, cannot be collaborated with in any way. He is among "the bureaucracy and new aristocracy" that Trotsky insisted be driven out of the Soviets through the political revolution. There will be no more political room for Medvedev in the new Soviet Union than there will be for Solzhenitsyn or Sakharov.

The Torch is incorrect when it claims that the viewpoint of "political revolution" leads to "fawning over any dissident." An analysis of the dissident movement which consists of declaring it analogous to the student movement in the U.S. of the 1960's will prove just as disarming as that of the International Committee, despite its revolutionary verbiage.

Comradely yours,
Jon Myers

Reply

Comrade Myers pronounces the bankruptcy of the state-capitalist analysis of the Stalinist states. This, he proclaims, is proved by *The Torch's* analysis of the dissident movement within Russia.

Comrade Myers understands neither the state-capitalist analysis nor that of the degenerated/deformed workers' states. Nevertheless, he has managed in the space of his short letter to faithfully express the Pabliste method that underlies all degenerated/deformed workers' state theories.

The revisionist core of present-day degenerated/deformed workers' state theories is the notion that workers' states can be established apart from (indeed in opposition to) the active will and consciousness of the proletariat.

For Marxists, the question of the socialist revolution is indissolubly connected with the consciousness and organization of the proletariat. To Stalinists and to centrists parading in Trotskyist garb, this is a trifle.

If Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, etc., became workers' states without the conscious struggle of the revolutionary proletariat led by a revolutionary party, then the forces that actually led these revolutions—the Stalinist bureaucracy, declassed petty-bourgeois elements, etc.—are, quite logically, capable of "roughly outlining" a revolutionary perspective. The need for a revolutionary party, without which there can be no self-conscious proletariat, becomes for these people desirable, perhaps, but not essential.

In regard to the Russian dissidents, the logic of this "theory" is that the struggle for the political revolution (the revolution aimed at overthrowing the "bureaucratic caste" that the proponents of this revisionist view claim rules the Stalinist states) can also be led by elements that are not self-conscious revolutionary Marxists. After all, if non-proletarian elements can overthrow capitalism and establish workers' states, surely they can accomplish the one-would-think easier task of democratizing the bureaucratized workers' states.

This is the logic of the position which the Workers League consistently expresses in their fawning over Solzhenitsyn. Cde. Myers retreats from this horror, since Solzhenitsyn's openly reactionary utterances prohibit this course. But the logic of Myers' approach asserts itself irresistibly. Instead of fawning over Solzhenitsyn, Myers capitulates to Grigorenko.

Now, Grigorenko is a courageous man with a long history of struggle against the Russian state-capitalist ruling class. However, as Cde. Myers recognizes, Grigorenko is not a Marxist, does not accept the need for an international revolutionary party, and (like Myers) does not understand the bourgeois nature of the Russian

state.

We have never called Grigorenko a "capitalist," as Myers dishonestly implies. Grigorenko opposes the state-capitalist bourgeoisie from the left.

To be more precise, Grigorenko's tendency must be considered centrist, that is, one which consciously is in revolutionary opposition to the bureaucracy but (because it is not Marxist) capitulates to it in practice. Myers, in turn, capitulates to this capitulationist tendency.

To say that some elements of this current may be won to a Marxist program is a truism, but no more enlightening than to say that "elements" within the liberal middle class in the United States may at some point be won to a revolutionary program. Myers sees more in it than this.

As we have seen, Myers' empiricism prevents him from explicitly adapting to Solzhenitsyn, although the logic of his underlying analysis should lead him there. This same empiricism leads Myers to sectarianism in regard to Medvedev.

"Medvedev cannot be collaborated with in any way," Comrade Myers lectures the revolutionary proletariat. By Myers' own assessment, Medvedev is a reformist. Now, if Myers understood the script he is read-

ing, he would realize that he is arguing as follows: It is okay to collaborate with reformists under capitalism (the united front with reformists is a form of collaboration, is it not, Cde. Myers?) but it is prohibited to do this in the struggle to democratize the "workers' state."

Not even a little bit? Not even for defensive purposes? Comrade Myers' Trotskyist suit is somewhat ill-fitting.

As we have often repeated, opportunism and sectarianism are merely two sides of centrist methods.

Solzhenitsyn is a reactionary. In his desire for a reactionary, elitist utopia, he expresses the interests of those elements of the state-capitalist bourgeoisie which consider even "socialist" trappings and dishonest talk of world revolution to be dangerous. Since Solzhenitsyn's reactionary dream is a highly unlikely prospect, he opts for second best, U.S. capitalism.

Grigorenko is not a reactionary, but an honest element who, like all who do not accept the Marxist program, capitulates in fact to capitalism.

Myers' case against us is based either on ignorance, willful distortion, or both. He wishes to prove that the state-capitalist analysis does not differentiate between dissident currents and to prove this he assumes it. This method of argument is an old debaters' trick which Myers learned in his high school debate club. It is one which is always resorted to when the hopelessness of the debater's own case is obvious.

Ron Taber

International Socialists of Great Britain

BY BRUCE LANDAU

Dramatic upsurges in the class struggle, as we have said before, put working-class organizations to the most practical test. Truly revolutionary groups and parties in such moments prove that they alone can lead the workers' struggle for emancipation to victory.

Centrist organizations (revolutionary in words, reformist in deeds), however, are thrown into crisis by such an upsurge. The test of struggle aggravates centrism's internal contradictions, spotlights its pragmatic zig-zags, and lays bare its total inability to map out a Marxist revolutionary strategy for the working class.

The resulting crisis is reflected within the centrist organization, often dividing the leadership into warring camps, sometimes leading to the complete destruction of the group as a whole.

Leadership Split

This is the kind of crisis now wracking the British centrist group called the International Socialists (IS). In the wake of the recent class confrontation in Britain triggered by the miners' struggle and resulting in the Tory government's downfall, IS's long-time leadership grouping has become sharply polarized into two groupings. That fight is now raising the most fundamental questions about revolutionary Marxism.

On the one side stands Tony Cliff, the founder and principal leader of the IS. He commands a majority of the Executive Committee (EC) and National Committee (NC). He is supported chiefly by the IS bureaucracy—the so-called "full-timers" whose number has grown quickly in the last few years.

The Cliffites today champion the most explicitly right-wing orientation for the IS. Their sights are set on the younger, less politically sophisticated workers.

In and of itself, there is nothing wrong with such an orientation. The problem is that for a centrist group like the IS, it means watering down the group's politics further than ever in order to mimic the backward ideas which these workers still hold to.

On the other side stands a loose grouping made up of many of Cliff's traditional colleagues—Roger Protz (editor of the IS newspaper, *Socialist Worker*, until canned in the course of the present struggle), Duncan Hallas, Jim Higgins (ex-IS National Secretary), and others.

These individuals today stand formally to the left of Cliff. This is because they are adapting to older, more experienced, somewhat more politically sophisticated militants.

Tomorrow, of course, the dynamics of the class struggle in Britain could propel the younger, less experienced workers sharply to the left—and thus completely change the terms on which



INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS INTERNAL BULLETIN

APRIL 1974

CONTENTS

MEMBERS ONLY



British IS boss Tony Cliff (left) has deposed Roger Protz (right) as editor of *SOCIALIST WORKER*. April IS *INTERNAL BULLETIN* reveals faction fight tearing IS leadership apart.

CENTRISM IN CRISIS

the present faction fight is waged.

But today, their orientation allows — forces—Protz, Higgins, and Hallas to attack Cliff from the left.

In the April, 1974, issue of the IS's *Internal Bulletin*, Protz, Hallas, and Higgins inserted a document attacking the Cliff majority.

The attack centers on Cliff's perspectives for *Socialist Worker*, but it also touches on other questions as well.

The document begins, "There is a dispute in IS. The majority of the EC members argue that it is solely about *Socialist Worker*. We believe, to the contrary, that the dispute stems from the political perspectives—or lack of it...."

Socialist Worker

Cliff, says this document, has adopted an extreme opportunist perspective for the IS newspaper, *Socialist Worker*.

Cliff argues, it seems, "that *Socialist Worker* is not a 'workers' paper' that its style is 'intimidating' that it contains too many long articles, too few pictures and, in any case, is aimed at the wrong audience. We are told that the paper must be transformed with shorter articles, more exposure of the 'ugly face of capitalism'."

Cliff's position is that "The paper must be written mainly by workers, helped by an enlarged staff of the paper whose chief function, according

to Cliff, is to 'correct the workers' English'."

The minority document's authors criticize the Cliff perspective in strong language: "It is a form of political opportunism that has nothing to do with serious revolutionary work and which flies in the face of the tradition of the best workers' papers including Lenin's *Pravda*."

And what do Protz, Higgins, and Hallas counterpose to the Cliffite arguments? Here they reach back into the Leninist tradition for ammunition:

"The task of a revolutionary socialist paper is to seek to raise the level of political consciousness, not to pander to the prevailing level."

As against Cliff's call for an emphasis on pure muck-raking and "human-interest stories," his opponents reply, "We need to provide arguments, programmes that provide a way out of the misery of the system, not just a picture of that misery."

They conclude, "To suggest that our worker members and supporters can produce such a paper virtually unaided, with IS journalists acting as a mere appendage and correctors of English, is to kid the organisation and indulge in the crudest 'workerism'."

Trade Union Policy

Cliff's critics then move on to criticize the lack of direction given to the IS's work in the trade unions. The IS is currently engaged in organizing a

network of rank-and-file committees in the union movement. *Socialist Worker*, as well as the magazine, *International Socialism*, have played this project up big. But, says the internal document,

"We have decided on a steering committee but not on what the committee will steer. The (IS) NC has not seriously discussed what the relationship between the fractions, the rank and file papers and the attempt to operate in the movement. In a word we have only the vaguest idea of perspectives beyond the conference. The primary responsibility for this rests with the EC (majority)."

Bureaucratism

Finally, the document paints a picture of the IS's internal life as a bureaucratic nightmare. While "it is undoubtedly true that there has always been an element of capriciousness and arbitrariness in IS," and "though some of us have our responsibility for that situation when we were in the leadership," still matters have gotten much worse lately.

"The membership," they declare, "is less informed than it has ever been." All the main avenues of internal information and democracy have been closed off.

The Executive Committee rarely meets when it is supposed to and even then "if all the members are there it is unusual." "In the absence of clear responsibility decisions are inevitably

taken in an arbitrary fashion.

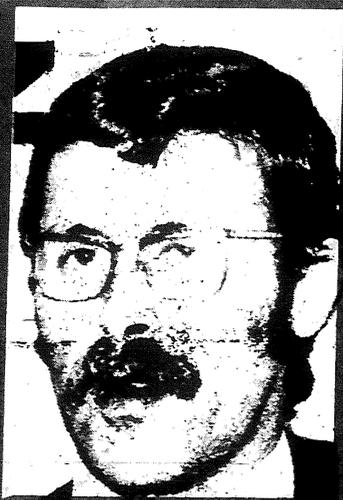
The IS's membership is effectively excluded from participation in decision and decision-making, says the document. The Executive Committee operates without supervision from membership. "No explanation given, no reevaluation takes place. The NC members express their discontent they are characterized as mere troublesome irrelevancies a few days of the NC's existence and again the subject of calculation. Surprisingly, the document notes the IS suffers from a "high turnover of membership."

The document demands that the members of IS must be brought back in to the discussion of political perspectives. How else can they develop politically? A series of changes imposed from on high (they were correct in themselves) substitute for an alert and informed membership.

This, however, is evidently Cliff's liking. The document concludes that "the present leadership seeks to keep all differences 'within family' within a select circle. It seems terrified lest members be by political argument. Perhaps want to 'protect' the members from 'undesirable influences'."

The criticisms made of the majority by this document are true. They are fundamentally well-founded however, by the political standpoint the document's authors. As in the past, they continue to share the assumptions which prop up

Great Britain



Cliff as editor of SOCIALIST
is fighting tearing I.S. leadership

IN CRISIS

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What is the nature and purpose of the revolutionary socialist party?

In a nutshell, the party contains the vanguard of the working class. Its task is to elaborate, present, and fight for the Marxist program of socialist revolution within the class as a whole. It accomplishes this task while fighting alongside the rest of the class in its struggles. It thus lays the basis for and finally leads the socialist revolution itself.

The heart of this conception—supported by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party, and the early Third (Communist) International; later by Trotsky and the Fourth International—is its emphasis on the proletariat's political consciousness and the urgent need to raise that consciousness to the level demanded of it by its historic tasks.

Organization

The task of raising the proletariat's consciousness dictates everything else about the party—its policy on recruitment, its internal structure and rules, the nature of its newspaper, its work in the unions and other mass organizations, and so on.

The party—or the group aiming to become the party—recruits on a political basis. It recruits those who understand the party's program, who adhere to it, and who are prepared to fight for it.

The members of the party are given the most rigorous education possible in the method of Marxism so they can join intelligently in the formulation of program, strategy, and tactics and aid in raising the political level of the non-party workers.

Structurally, the Leninist party abides by democratic centralism. An educated membership discusses and decides freely on policy and on the composition of its leadership. In action, all are bound to carry out the agreed-upon decisions.

This conception of the Party is unique to Leninists. It came into the world in combat with a very different concept of the party.

It was rejected, when Lenin first began to spell it out in 1901-3, by most of the centrist leadership of the international social-democracy. It is still rejected to this day, even by the centrist groups and parties which claim to be Leninists (like the IS).

Lenin's opponents have always disagreed with his organizational ideas, his concept of the party press, his views on whom to recruit and how, and on mass work in general.

Behind all these individual disagreements, however, one central dispute gave birth to all the rest. Anti-Leninists do not agree with Lenin's concept of the party itself.

They do not believe that the party's main task is to formulate a revolutionary program and to fight doggedly for that program against the prevailing non-revolutionary (that is, bourgeois) ideas and programs which paralyze the will of the proletariat as a whole.

They believe, instead, that the socialist revolution will make itself, more or less unconsciously. They believe that the task of today's revolutionaries is not primarily to train

others in revolutionary politics, but to maneuver others into conflict with the ruling class on whatever basis is possible, championing whatever arguments and programs (Marxist or bourgeois) will serve this purpose.

As often as not, such groups dress up this elitist conception with praises for the "instinctive" insights of the proletariat and with attacks on the Leninists, whom they insist are "arrogant" and "condescending" toward workers.

But behind these demagogic phrases hides the deepest contempt for the ability of workers to confront and understand the world and to become conscious Marxist revolutionaries in their own right.

The International Socialists suffer from a textbook case of the centrist disease. The three central charges directed by the IS minority against the majority—opportunism, vacillation, bureaucratism—are only symptoms of that disease.

The IS is continually watering down its politics because it opposes Lenin's conception of the role of the Party—to raise the political consciousness of the class up to the level of a clear appreciation of the world situation and the tasks of the revolution.

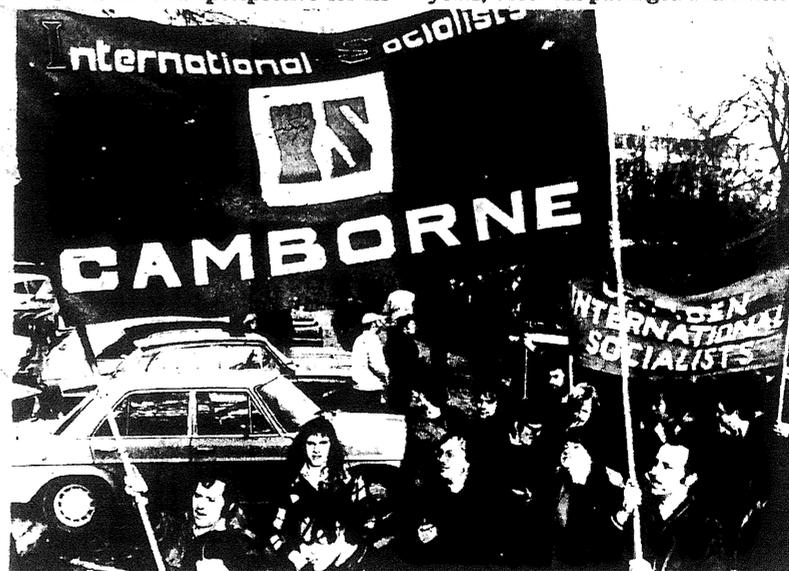
IS has no clear perspective for its

simply to be obedient cattle, who will unquestioningly carry out the leadership's commands. What need do they have for political education, for a program? And how can an uneducated membership be trusted with democratic control over the exalted leaders?

It is impossible to do away with the symptoms of the disease without fighting the disease itself.

Protz, Higgins, Hallas, and their friends are incapable of waging this fight. They are themselves far too deeply steeped in the historic centrism of the IS. Until they were themselves edged out of the IS leadership, they had no fundamental quarrel with the over-all method and approach of Cliff and Co. Indeed, they were Cliff's "Company"! They have, in fact, been the chief defenders of IS's brand of centrism. In articles in the IS's Internal Bulletin, in Socialist Worker, and in International Socialism, Protz, Hallas, and Higgins have time and again ridiculed demands that (in their current words) the IS "raise the level of political consciousness, not pander to the prevailing level."

Hallas has almost single-handedly provided Cliff's theoretical cover for this pandering. Higgins has energetically justified the IS's bare-faced opportunism in the unions. For six years, Protz has packaged and written



I.S. militants rally. Cliff tries to limit their role in organizational concerns and then marches them down the wrong road.

work in the unions for the same reasons. It wants to avoid the abject capitulation of the Stalinists' "rank-and-file" apparatus (the Liaison Committee for the Defense of Trade-Unions), but it does not itself wish to fight in the unions for a revolutionary program. It is therefore vacillating between these two alternatives.

The IS plays down serious internal education, suffers smugly from a high turn-over rate in its membership, excludes its members from political discussions and decisions, and operates in a generally bureaucratic manner.

Of course! The contempt which the IS leadership has for the intelligence of the proletariat as a whole is reflected in its attitude toward its own organization. It is considered sufficient that Cliff and his coterie be "educated."

The IS rank-and-filers are expected

much of Socialist Worker—which has always been characterized by a "political opportunism that has nothing to do with revolutionary work." Before anyone can take their new-found opposition to Cliff seriously, these three will have to undertake a fundamental re-examination of IS and its history. We do not expect this.

Take Advantage

British revolutionaries must nevertheless take advantage of this division in the ranks of the IS leadership. The terms of the current dispute must be used to explain to IS members and others the poisonous character of the IS's centrist politics. If this is done skillfully, the struggle to construct a real revolutionary leadership in Britain can take a significant step forward.

VIGILANTES ATTACK TEACHERS UNION BUSTING IN WISCONSIN



Strikebreaking cops strongarm demonstrator in Hortonville. The woman, a parent supporting the teachers, was arrested.

By Brent Davis

The tiny Wisconsin town of Hortonville is the unlikely site of a blistering attack on organized labor. Wholesale arrests, vigilantes, scabs, and mass firings are the weapons in a campaign to drive teacher unionism out of Wisconsin and take away the right to strike.

Public employee strikes are already illegal in Wisconsin, but the Hortonville school board wanted a test of strength. After teachers worked most of the '73-'74 school year without a contract, the school board demanded that the new contract include a no-strike clause without any binding arbitration. This, on top of a miserable wage offer, left the union no choice but to strike. The strike began on March 18. Three weeks later, the school board fired every teacher and replaced them with scabs.

By first provoking and then trying to crush this strike, the Wisconsin School Board Association (WSBA) is attacking the entire union movement, starting with the weakest fringes. This is part of a national attack on the right to strike that is hitting teacher unions first.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

American Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker has abandoned the fight already, calling teacher strikes "hopeless." The leaders of the other major teachers' organization, the National Education Association, have followed the same course.

The drive is spreading to other sectors of the labor movement. I. W. Abel has signed away the right to strike in basic steel. George Meany opposes strikes by all federal employees.

Hortonville marks an escalation of these attacks. The school board is

determined to break the union and keep the 88 striking teachers fired permanently.

The Wisconsin School Board Association carefully selected Hortonville to begin its campaign. A small community of 1,500, Hortonville is surrounded by farmland with very poor farmers.

Wisconsin dairy farmers are being ground to dust by inflation and high taxes, with hundreds foreclosed by the banks every year. Many desperate farmers swallow the lies that public employees cause high taxes and the labor movement causes inflation. Hortonville area farmers have repeatedly voted down school-bond issues that would have increased taxes.

VIGILANTES

The school board counted on the isolation of the Hortonville Education Association, almost the only union in the area. To aid the police, it has whipped up a hatred of the teachers among the farmers and townfolk. The Hortonville Vigilantes Association was the result—shotgun toting labor-haters patrolling the streets to intimidate pickets. Already, one picket has been hit by a car, and the vigilantes are trying to terrorize any pro-teacher parents.

The ruling class in Wisconsin has clearly thrown down the challenge to the Wisconsin Education Association (WEA). The Wisconsin Association of Manufacturers has chipped in with a statement in support of the local board. The Milwaukee Sentinel put the issue quite clearly in an editorial: "...an example has been set at Hortonville and it will be difficult for teachers' unions to bully school boards into submission in the future."

If the teachers are crushed at Hortonville, every school board in the state will be out for blood.

The Hortonville teachers have

fought back courageously. 84 of the 88 teachers have defied the firings, keeping the strike together. Despite arrests, the picketing continues.

Up to 600 teachers and other public employees from around the state have rallied to the aid of Hortonville by walking the lines there. Thousands more have donated money and food. Sympathy demonstrations in Madison condemned the state Department of Public Instruction for recruiting scabs.

The teachers have taken their case to the residents of Hortonville by circulating a petition in support of the strike. Enough parents were won to the strike so that the school board had to cancel its public meeting for fear of a pro-teacher demonstration. Seven parents were arrested on the picket lines along with the teachers.

Even with this militant backing, the pro-capitalist leadership of the WEA is losing the strike. Even from the very beginning, this leadership has considered the picket lines a symbolic gesture.

Despite the pressing need for massive picket lines ready to do battle to stop the scabs, the WEA leadership refused to build them. Nothing has been done to disperse the vigilantes. The WEA leadership has not even set up armed guards to protect the union headquarters from possible vigilante attack. They look to the same cops who are arresting teachers and breaking the strike to defend them from the vigilantes!

The vigilantes underline the danger posed in Hortonville. The current economic crisis is bringing back the bloody attacks on trade unions waged in the Great Depression.

ARMED WORKERS' DEFENSE

The labor movement must mobilize to beat this threat while it is still forming. Picket lines must be transformed into armed workers' defense guards, with the entire Wisconsin trade union movement springing to the defense of the embattled teachers.

United labor action is needed at all levels. It should begin with a state-wide teachers' strike demonstrating solidarity with the Hortonville strikers.

Laurie Wynn, head of the WEA, felt the pressure for a state-wide strike, but she bungled it badly.

Wynn called for the strike only after her conservative, pacifist policies had brought the Hortonville strike to the edge of defeat. She panicked at the situation she had created, and called for the strike without patiently explaining its importance.

No campaign to mobilize teachers around the state was carried out. Even though the local presidents voted for a strike by an 87-16 margin, the unprepared membership of many locals voted it down. Wynn called it off, throwing away the best weapon the teachers had.

Wynn never even tried to use another major weapon to defend the

Hortonville teachers, state-wide work stoppages and strikes by the entire Wisconsin trade union movement.

Because union-busting is a threat to all organized labor, a response should be made by unions throughout Wisconsin. The flood of labor support to the Hortonville strike demonstrates that tremendous sympathy exists. But Wynn has not called for mass labor strikes, nor has the rest of the Wisconsin labor bureaucracy suggested them.

APPEAL TO FARMERS

Finally, a vigorous campaign to show the farmers that the labor movement is the only force that can save them from the bankers and politicians is badly needed. Stop all foreclosures, nationalize the banks to provide cheap credit for farmers, nationalize industry to pay for education—these are the slogans that



Leader of the Wisconsin NEA Black Caucus defiantly raises fist.

can win the farmers' support and isolate and defeat the vigilantes.

The farmers are not afraid of militant action. They demand it to survive. They will follow the vigilantes if they seem more determined and powerful than the union.

But once more, Wynn and the WEA leaders have not waged such a campaign. Their conservative strategy has made victory in this strike very difficult.

But this is only the beginning. Teachers in the big cities will face the same attacks soon. After that, it will be other workers in other unions.

Trade unionists must join together now to reject the losing strategy of the bureaucrats and build a militant, united movement armed with the revolutionary politics of *The Torch*. This is the only road to smash back the ruling class assault.

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by William Falk

Children sometimes talk about whether it would be better to be killed by a fire, be shot, or be hanged. This spring the workers of Northern Minnesota have been passing the time the same way—only they are doing it for real.

Reserve Mining is a company half owned by Republic Steel and half by Armco Steel. It has a large iron ore mine in Babbitt, Minn., and a companion iron ore processing plant in Silver Bay. They produce 15 per cent of all the iron ore used by U.S. steel companies.

The mining produces a low grade ore called taconite.

POLLUTION IN SILVER BAY

Workers' Choice: Your Life or Your Job

After the iron is removed from the taconite at Silver Bay, "tailings" are left.

These have been dumped into Lake Superior, the otherwise pure source of drinking water for Duluth, Silver Bay, and other towns. This creates one of the ways workers can "choose" to die, because the tailings contain a commercially useless form of asbestos, one of the deadliest common materials.

A DEADLY POISON

Studies of asbestos workers show that of 10 workers, one will die of asbestosis (caused by asbestos dust in the lungs), two will die of lung cancer (from the same cause), one will die of mesothelioma, a chest and abdomen cancer found

only among people exposed to asbestos, and one will die of stomach and colon cancer, also asbestos related. One half of asbestos workers die from their job.

Even a small amount of asbestos can kill, because once there is asbestos in your body, it will always be there. Wives and children of asbestos workers have gotten the incurable mesothelioma just from work clothes brought home. This is the stuff Reserve Mining is serving up in Minnesota's water!

Dr. Cook of Duluth's water laboratory told The Torch that the currents bring the fibers directly toward Duluth—a city of 100,000—and that asbestos readings there have averaged 44 million fibers per liter of water. Compare this to

the Occupational Safety and Health Act standard for asbestos workers, of 5,000 fibers per liter of air.

CAPITALIST "CONCERN"

Usually capitalists don't worry about how many workers they kill, as long as they can make a profit. But the potential for death in Northern Minnesota is so great—and so well-publicized—that a section of the bourgeoisie decided to take action.

This group of concerned capitalists is the force behind an Environmental Protection Agency (E.R.A.) suit against Reserve, and a March 21 ruling by Federal District Court Judge Lord in favor of E.R.A. closing the plant.

—LEAVES WORKERSLESS

But this capitalist solution to pollution has only created the second choice for Minnesota workers: unemployment and welfare. Reserve is the only employer in Silver Bay, a company town of 3,272 created by Reserve for its 3,100 workers at the Silver Bay plant and Babbitt mine. The April 21 closing ordered by the court meant that, as the Associated Press said, "the two small towns faced the prospect of becoming little more than welfare centers."

The capitalists who showed such concern about pollution brushed aside the question of unemployment and ruined lives. Reserve used this opportunity to appeal the court decision, posing as the defender of the workers' interests. A higher court re-opened Silver Bay until a May 15 hearing on the effects of Judge Lord's decision.

—OR FOOTING THE BILL

Meanwhile, Reserve chimes in with a third alternative. Instead of poisoning or unemployment, they suggest new taxes to raise the \$74 million needed to convert to a clean disposal system. "Let the workers foot the bill," declares Reserve, "we are merely capitalist profiteers with no responsibility for our own crimes."

The point, however, is that workers should not let the capitalists force them to

choose between these three alternatives of death, unemployment, or sky-high taxes. We have to stop thinking about what is possible for the capitalists and start thinking about what is necessary for our survival.

MAKE THE BOSSES PAY

The capitalists toyed with the environmental "revolution" just so long as they thought they could afford it. Now that stagflation is the order of the day the capitalists have junked their environmental "concern" in an attempt to dredge up every penny of profit they can regardless of the cost to the workers.

The working class can beat this offensive only by tearing the factories out of the hands of the capitalists and taking them over themselves. They must fight for a Labor Party and a workers' government with a program of nationalizing industry without compensation to the capitalists. Then the working class can use industrial profits for rebuilding industry to minimize pollution, and for designing disposal systems for dangerous but unavoidable waste products.

A PRACTICAL SOLUTION

In cases like Reserve Mining, this means building a land disposal system, which will eliminate the danger of asbestos waste, while providing more jobs in the Silver Bay region. This is far more practical than accepting the bourgeois limits of choice, and choosing the method of death.

When Silver Bay was reopened, the president of the Steelworkers local that Reserve workers are in said, "The guys are just glad to be back to work," but that "it kind of worries us that the opinion could be reversed May 15."

Imagine being glad to go back into the plant to breathe more asbestos and to help poison your family's water. Yet, it is better than no job at all. This is the situation the so-called "practical" way of looking at things gets you into. The revolutionary answer is the one that is truly practical, because it is truly necessary.

Gas Clouds Choke City

By Elaine Scott

CHICAGO—May 6. Hydrochloric acid fumes forced 4,000 south-side Chicago residents out of their homes, and several hundred into hospitals, when a leak developed at a Bulk Terminals Co. chemical tank.

The tank contained the chemical silicon tetrachloride, which combines with moisture in the air to form hydrochloric acid fumes. These fumes irritate the respiratory system, and can cause severe lung damage, as well as ulcers to the mouth, skin and gums.

FOOD POISONING

Three days after the leak, a Shell oil mechanic died from inhaling too much acid. Other victims faced excruciating physical suffering. Mrs. Maxim Durham told how her daughter collapsed from the gas while waiting for a bus. "Once we got on the bus, she was screaming in pain."

It took Bulk Terminals four days to repair the leak. Meanwhile, Cargill Inc., which operates grain elevators in the area, reported that grain loading was going on in the path of the acid fumes. The grain loading continues while the Food and Drug Administration investigates the possible effects of hydrochloric acid on our food!

Industrial "accidents" of



A victim of acid leak. Tragic industrial "accidents" are built into the capitalist system.

this sort are built into capitalist production. The ruling class captains of industry willfully cast aside safety precautions in demanding machines, factories, and other equipment designed for maximum efficiency and maximum profit.

The Bulk Terminals tank, for example, could not be

drained quickly because it had only one valve. Less than a week later, chemical tanks located in Chicago's northwest suburbs burst. An additional 41 people were overcome by chemical fumes. Workers continue to pay the cost of this kind of capitalist "efficiency" with their health and often their lives.

Arthur Schlesinger's Road to Bonapartism

by Chris Hudson

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., a strutting little man with a bow tie, has been performing useful services for the bourgeoisie ever since he helped force the resignation of a Communist editor from the firm which published his books, in the early days of the cold war.

In books published over the last 25 years, Schlesinger, whose professional training is as an historian, has defended the ideas and program of an important group of American liberals. This group is politically represented in the Americans for Democratic Action, which Schlesinger helped to found in 1947. Its program expresses the views of an important wing of the capitalist class.

The Imperial Presidency, Schlesinger's latest book, is important not as history or serious political theory, but because of what it reveals about the political thinking of the ADA liberals, and of the wing of capitalist opinion which they represent.

On the surface **The Imperial Presidency** may seem to be a criticism of unbridled Presidential power. Actually it is a defense of the cornerstone of liberal politics—the strong state—against the popular suspicions raised by the war in Vietnam, the crumbling economy, and the Nixon Presidency.

THE STRONG STATE

The essence of the liberal program since before World War II has been to build a strong state to save capitalism. At the same time, while the real power of the capitalist class remained secure, some concessions were to be given to the working class and the masses of society in the form of higher wages and some meager social welfare programs.

The key to this program was the idea that there is no basic conflict between the capitalist class and the proletariat—that both capitalists and workers can prosper at the same time. Therefore, the state could be used by liberals to benefit both capitalists and workers.

These ideas were all myths. In the 1960's, the liberals' "welfare state" began to come apart. Ghetto and student rebellions in the 1960's, and wage-price controls, shortages, runaway inflation and unemployment today, have replaced the liberals' dream.

The core of the liberal solution remains the same—the strong state. But this solution can no longer be defended in the same way. Capital-

THE IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY. By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Houghton Mifflin, 1973. \$10.00.

ism's need today is not for the promise of prosperity to the workers—this it can no longer provide—but for a state which can centralize capital in the hands of the biggest corporations and hit the working class as hard as possible in order to squeeze out the capital to partly modernize decaying productive forces.

PHONY LAMENT

Re-enter Arthur Schlesinger. The revulsion aroused by Nixon, and before him the war in Vietnam, require a lament about the rise of uncontrolled Presidential power. In **The Imperial Presidency** Schlesinger has produced one.



Schlesinger paves the road to reaction.

At the same time, as in all his previous books, he pulls his punches and lets his real program show through. When the situation changes—which means when a Democratic Administration is elected—Schlesinger will be on hand to show that Democratic Presidential power is just what we all need.

Schlesinger's examination of the rise of Presidential power is therefore as superficial as he can make it. He

makes no attempt to show how the development of a more powerful Presidency has reflected changing social forces—the centralization of capital throughout the twentieth century and the need to defend capitalism against the demands of a growing working class.

stomachs, or—like the last—are steps toward less democracy.

The point is that nothing else could be expected. Because decaying capitalism requires a strong state power that curbs democratic rights, the idea of the "strong Presidency within the Constitution" is as much of a myth as



Franklin Roosevelt, Schlesinger's hero, on the road in West Virginia mining country. Miners are now no better off than before.

In his account of foreign policy, Schlesinger naturally manages to find Eisenhower more guilty of increasing Presidential power than Kennedy. In his account of the domestic Presidency, Schlesinger details Nixon's disregard of Congress, his imposition of wage-price controls, his impoundment of appropriated funds, etc. But Schlesinger can't admit that any of the strong-state programs he favors might have led to this mess.

Instead, Schlesinger discusses the supposed psychological cause of all these problems.

According to Schlesinger, Nixon's war with Congress, state controls on the economy, the plumbers and Watergate all result from Nixon's personal "monarchical yearnings." And since Nixon's administration is un-democratic (or un-Democratic) Schlesinger labels it "The Revolutionary Presidency."

Now Nixon has indeed taken steps toward what Schlesinger also calls a "plebiscitary Presidency," one appealing to a supposed popular will while actually limiting popular rights—that is, a Presidency which takes a step toward Bonapartism.

But it was not monarchical (or revolutionary) yearnings, but capitalist necessity which forced Nixon in this direction. And this same necessity will force his successors, of whichever party, and at whatever speed, in the same direction.

The proof of this is Schlesinger's own program, which appears only in part of the last chapter of **The Imperial Presidency**. Schlesinger calls for "a strong Presidency within the Constitution."

His proposed remedies for excessive Presidential power include an American version of the British parliamentary question period, changes in the impeachment process, and possibly allowing the President to dissolve Congress and call new elections. These "remedies" are either trivial, mere window-dressing to soothe liberal

the "welfare state."

The advocacy of a strong Presidency is directly connected to the needs of U.S. capitalism in a period of social upheaval. Schlesinger never mentions capitalism, but he writes that to reduce the power of the Presidency would mean

"... a generation of weak Presidents in an age when the turbulence of race, poverty, crime and urban decay (is) straining the delicate bonds of national cohesion and demanding, quite as much as in the 1930's, a strong domestic Presidency to hold the country together."

This is Schlesinger's real program. It is also the program of a major section of the capitalist class, which has been forced to oppose Nixon because Nixon has weakened the authority of the Presidency and bourgeois politics in general.

Thus in calling for Nixon's impeachment, the New York Times blamed Nixon for defiling "the authority of national institutions." Naming three current crises—tomorrow it could name three others—the Times argued that "the dangerous crisis in the Middle East, the energy crisis, and inflation require a reinvigorated Presidency." Schlesinger is merely the court philosopher, the academic prostitute, for this section of capitalist opinion.

The Imperial Presidency, according to a recent article in the New York Times, is displayed on the desk of Peter Rodino, the Congressman in charge of the impeachment proceedings. Thus Schlesinger gives intellectual respectability to Nixon's Congressional opponents, who wish to clear Nixon off the road because his arrogant gestures and his failure to find effective pro-capitalist solutions to the stagnation of U.S. capitalism make him a roadblock on the way to an even more centralized state power.

When the roadblock is removed, these liberals will proceed—carrying Schlesinger's next book under their arms.

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WORKERS' STRUGGLE ROCKS PORTUGAL

Cont'd. from p. 1

The face of the Portuguese Provisional Government is becoming clearer. Spínola allows the deposed Caetano to fly to Brazil rather than face trial, while he warns the masses that "democracy does not mean anarchy" and calls for productivity instead of strikes.

The Provisional Government itself has no power. It is a facade for Spínola's military junta, which has the real power. The temporary constitutional decrees do not even pretend to put the military under civilian control; the line of authority flows directly from Spínola to the officer corps.

The Communist and Socialist Parties, in joining and applauding the Provisional Government, act as a screen to hide this fact and to cloak the capitalist character of the state in general.

The Communist Minister of Labor, Avelino Pacheco Gonçalves—formerly a banking employee himself—scuttles around the country trying to settle strikes, appealing for an end to factory occupations. Cunhal, the CP leader, warns that "the workers must not be impatient."

So far the Communists and Socialists have been unable to tame the Portuguese workers. The strikes continue to erupt, and calls for patience receive the contempt they deserve. The New York Times' correspondent is surprised to find

that the CP and SP "do not seem to have any firm control over the workers."

AFRICA

The African colonies' demand for independence, a very simple question, Cunhal describes as "a very complex question." On the same day that the massacre of over 200 Mozambique villagers by Spínola's troops was reported, Cunhal cautioned, "The essential thing at this moment is... to find a common basis for a solution."

Socialist revolution or bloody counter-revolution is the alternative which faces Portugal. At present a pre-revolutionary situation exists without a revolutionary workers' party to provide leadership. Such a party must be constructed.

WORKERS' COUNCILS

One of the most important tasks of a revolutionary party in Portugal today would be to press for the creation of workers' councils (soviets) everywhere. Those councils would give a stable, democratic form to the power of the working class. Today these councils would cohere the revolutionary mass movement of the working class. They would represent the bud of the future workers' state itself.

The actions of the bank workers provide an excellent example of what we mean. The workers' councils controlling

the banks today represent, on the local level, the rise of dual power—an organized form of workers' power challenging the authority of the bourgeois state.

DUAL POWER

The road to revolution in Portugal requires the construction of a revolutionary party, a party able to spread dual power throughout Portugal and then to replace dual power with the power of the working class alone.



ABOVE: Mario Soares, leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party, calls upon the Portuguese workers to restrain their demands. BELOW: Mozambique revolutionists launch self defense groups. Spínola and Portuguese Popular Front seek to keep power in the colonies.



Los revolucionarios de Mozambique lanzan grupos de auto-defensa. Spínola y el Frente Popular portugues buscan quedarse con el poder en las colonias. FOTO SUPERIOR: Mario Soares, líder del Partido Socialista, pide a los obreros portugueses que restrigan sus demandas.



un folleto de la Antorcha

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

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

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

La lucha en Portugal

de la p. 20

Ahora existe una situación pre-revolucionaria sin un partido obrero revolucionario que proporcione liderato. Este partido tiene que ser construido.

JUNTAS OBRERAS

Una de las tareas claves de un partido revolucionario en Portugal hoy sería el empujar por la creación de juntas obreras (soviets) en todas partes. Estas juntas obreras le darían una forma estable y democrática al poder de la clase obrera. Hoy estas juntas podrían dar cohesión al movimiento revolucionario en masa de la clase obrera. Representarían el brote del futuro estado obrero.

Las acciones tomadas por los obreros bancarios ya proporcionan un excelente ejemplo de lo que queremos decir. Las juntas obreras que hoy tienen el control de los bancos representan a nivel local el inicio del poder dual—una forma organizada del poder obrero que reta la autoridad del estado burgués.

PODER DUAL

El camino a la revolución en Portugal requiere la construcción de un partido revolucionario, un partido capaz de extender el poder dual por todo Portugal—y luego encabezar la lucha que reemplazará el poder dual con el poder único de las juntas obreras.