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Socialist League**

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

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FORD SETS TRAP FOR LABOR

BY JACK GREGORY

The American ruling class has overnight discovered the virtues of honesty, morality, and simplicity.

"The nightmare is over," proclaimed Gerald Ford in his first remarks as President. Then, amid invocations to the Lord Almighty, Ford called upon the nation to "restore the Golden Rule to our political process, and let brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and hate."

The bourgeois press immediately picked up the theme. Even the cynical James Reston played Pollyanna: "Gerald Ford has demonstrated the force of those principles of open discussion and moral example. His approach is different. His language is different, the voice is strong, the eyes straight and steady, his religious faith proclaimed openly to an unbelieving generation."

GOOD TRIUMPHS

So the dragon has been slain. The evil Richard Nixon has been removed, demonstrating that Good shall triumph in the end. Bourgeois democracy has been vindicated; the forceful principles of the constitution had reached across two centuries to assert themselves. Nixon the liar was personally responsible for leading the country astray into economic and social turmoil. Ford the virtuous will lead America back to the path of righteousness and along the way cure all ills.

So cried the bourgeoisie and its press, taking a verse from Mother Goose and a chapter from Horatio Alger. The real processes at work, of course, were far different from this morality play.

Why did the ruling class unite against Richard Nixon? After all, he had only done what nearly every

politician and businessman in this country does: lie, cheat, swindle, and run rough-shod over opposition.

First of all, Nixon went too far. He applied the methods ordinarily reserved for "subversives" to the ruling class itself. The ruling class has no scruples about resorting to the lowest means against blacks, workers, revolutionaries, and Vietnamese. But Watergate revealed that Nixon was using similar methods against the bourgeoisie itself. The ruling class became frightened, and it acted against Nixon to defend itself.

Bourgeois propaganda to the contrary, this was not because Nixon was too strong a president. It was because he was using his strength against the wrong class.

NOT STRONG ENOUGH

Indeed, the bourgeoisie found Nixon intolerable not only for his crimes against them, but also because in the wake of Watergate he could not be strong enough in the service of capitalism. The growing economic and social crisis requires a strong executive to lead the attack against the working class and to maintain forceful leadership for America's imperialist international policies.

But Nixon was trapped in lie upon lie, cover-up after cover-up. He lost all credibility as a result of his ineptitude. And a leader without credibility is no leader at all.

WHO BELIEVED?

Who believed Nixon last October when he claimed to have a program to make the U.S. independent of Mideast oil? Who believed him this spring when he

Cont'd. p. 2



George Meany [right] makes no secret of his class collaboration. Here he offers full co-operation to anti-labor Gerald Ford.

Strike Wave: Analysis and Strategy

BY RON TABER

After three years of retreat, the U.S. working class is on the offensive. Since about March of this year, a growing wave of strikes has been sending a rumble throughout the shaky economy. The increasing militancy poses a deadly threat to the entire control apparatus constructed by the capitalist class, which is based on the close cooperation and connivance of the labor bureaucrats.

As such, the present strike movement threatens to radically transform the American political landscape. The upsurge demonstrates both the necessity and possibility of the revolutionary intervention of the working class to halt the slide toward economic catastrophe.

IMPRESSIVE

Statistically, the strike wave is impressive. March of this year saw 480 work stoppages, the highest for

the month since 1957. This April, the number of striking workers was approximately twice as high as in April of 1973. By mid-July, there were about 600 strikes in progress involving 250,000 workers.

The total for the first six months of the year, as reported by the Labor Department at the end of July, reached 3,240 work stoppages involving 1.6 million workers and accounting for 21.6 million work days lost. In terms of the number of strikes, this is the largest strike wave since World War II.

The effects of the strike wave have been substantial. From mid 1973 to mid 1974, real wages declined five per cent. This was the direct result of the efforts of the labor bureaucrats who policed the capitalist wage control program while inflation ate away at the workers' living standards. Average wage increases negotiated last year were 5.8 per cent for the first year of the contracts. This was almost

exactly within the limits of the 5.5 per cent guidelines.

In the first six months of this year, in contrast, first year wage increases have averaged 8.7 per cent. Yet, this figure hides the more significant fact. Average first year wage increases in contracts (covering 1,000 workers or more) in the second quarter were 9.2 per cent, up from 6.4 per cent in the first quarter, while escalator clauses in some contracts boosted the average for the second quarter over 10 per

cent. In other words, the trend is toward higher wage increases.

While in terms of the number of strikes, this strike wave is the largest since World War II, its overall impact by no means has been as great. The 1945-46 strike wave, for example, saw well over five million workers on strike accounting for 154 million man-days lost. The present strike wave has a long way to go before it reaches these proportions.

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FORD SETS TRAP FOR LABOR

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announced that he and his advisers had the answer to inflation? Who believed that Nixon acted out of concern for the well-being of the mass of Americans?

Virtually nobody.

Scandal followed scandal, revealing the complicity of Republican and Democratic politicians with monopoly capitalists. The cynicism about Nixon spread to a cynicism about government in general.

INTOLERABLE

This was intolerable for the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois democracy rests upon the illusion that the state is above classes, serving the interests of society as a whole. Its laws, its courts, its military and police arms all exist to enforce the existing class divisions.

This is especially true in this, the epoch of imperialist decay. Capitalism can no longer allow market forces alone to determine the economy. It increasingly attempts to overcome the blind hand of the market and the resulting vicious boom-bust cycle through state intervention into the economy. Government spending, regulation of the economy, and the enforcement of American economic dominance by the U.S. military machine is essential for the capitalists, both to maintain their superprofits and to avoid a collapse.

PRETENSE CRACKS

The Watergate scandal hampered the state in two main ways. First, the pretense that the state treats all citizens equally began cracking. It was becoming apparent to all that the government is the tool of the monopolists, and that bourgeois democracy is nothing more than the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie hiding behind the mask of equality.

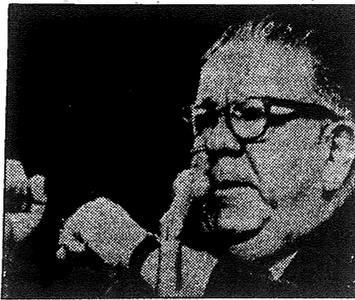
But if democratic illusions are completely stripped away and the class nature of society is completely exposed, the state can no longer pose as impartial arbiter in the class struggle. The major weapon of bourgeois democracy would then vanish.

FORCEFUL LEADERSHIP

Secondly the state, and especially the president, is expected to provide forceful leadership for the capitalists. The president's economic policies are relied upon to maintain a stable economy, his social programs to

maintain bourgeois order, his foreign policy to maintain U.S. imperialist hegemony.

The end of the post-war boom has made this role more essential than ever. Inflation, shortages, declining productivity of labor, and overextension of credit plague the domestic economy and have plunged the nation into recession. The international position of the dollar is unstable; indeed, the economic supremacy of the U.S. is



Teamsters chief Frank Fitzsimmons wants to bring back wage-price controls.

in danger.

More than ever, the U.S. bourgeoisie needs and demands forceful leadership from the chief executive. The bourgeoisie has identified inflation as the major problem and prescribes an "austerity" program (squeezing the working class) as the immediate solution.

But Nixon was in no position to appeal for "sacrifices in the national interest." His relations with every sector of American society had long passed the breaking point.

NIXON A FETTER

Nixon had become an absolute fetter on the capitalists. By late July, virtually the entire ruling class lined up against him and literally hurled him from his post.

This was demonstrated by the actions of the state apparatus. First the Supreme Court, on July 24, ordered Nixon to turn over disputed tapes to Congress. Then the House Judiciary Committee voted to recommend impeachment. Finally, his own executive branch turned on Nixon.

THE TRIO

The New York Times of August 12 revealed that James St. Clair (Nixon's lawyer), Alexander Haig (White House chief of staff), and Henry Kissinger acted behind the scenes to force Nixon's resignation. Congressional Republicans, acting at the request of this trio, informed Nixon that he had almost no support left in the legislature.

It was only then, after all the props had been pulled out from under him, that Nixon stepped down.

CELEBRATION

And then the great celebration began. The bourgeoisie and its kept press set out to rebuild the badly tarnished image of American democracy. Nixon's resignation showed the power of the American people, they exclaimed. The "people's delegates" in Congress had checked one-man rule.

But as we have seen, just the opposite was true. Nixon was forced out because he was not strong enough, because he was too compromised to lead the ruling class.

FORD

The applause for the salvation of democracy was Gerald Ford's cue. Ford has only one thing going for himself—a reputation for honesty. He is playing it to the hilt.

Upon assuming office, he stretched his hands forth in appeal to all sectors of the nation to join together and help "bind the internal wounds" (!) left by his predecessor. He appealed to business, labor, and government to all sacrifice jointly to combat what he labeled America's number one problem, inflation.

Business Week approvingly summed up Ford's theme:

"A successful fight against inflation will take more than just compromise between Republicans and Democrats. It requires cooperation from labor and management, consumers and farmers. The solution lies in President Ford's convincing Americans that nobody—government, business, labor, agriculture, or the consumer—will be able to have all he wants. Everybody will have to settle for a little less."

"EQUAL SACRIFICE"

Ford and the ruling class are trying to hurriedly cover over the gaping holes left by Nixon. Their message is that everybody is equal in this country. Business and labor share and share alike in good times—and must sacrifice together in times of trouble. Ford's "honesty and simplicity" are hailed by the press precisely because the ruling class wants American workers to believe that a little tightening of the belt all around and a return to the mythical less complicated ways of the past will cure the damage done by Nixon.

This is sheer rubbish, from start to finish.

There is no common interest of capital and labor. Sacrifices will be demanded, certainly, but not from business. The honeymoon between Democrats and Republicans is based on a common agreement that labor must be made to carry the load in the fight against inflation.

BIPARTISAN ALLIANCE

Between now and 1976, to be sure, the Democrats will divorce Ford and announce their own economic program to attack the working class. But right now, all sectors of the ruling class understand that they must temporarily stand together to restore the prestige and power of the presidency.

The Democrats, additionally, have no alternative now to Ford's "austerity" program. Nixon and his economic advisers tried all the "acceptable" methods of halting inflation—moderately increased unemployment, cutting real wages a few per cent, tight money, wage-price controls. Nothing worked.

Nixon's measures did not work because he was not in a position to launch sharp enough attacks. Ford will try to do what Nixon could not do, with the blessing of liberal and conservative economists alike.

DRASTIC MEASURES AHEAD

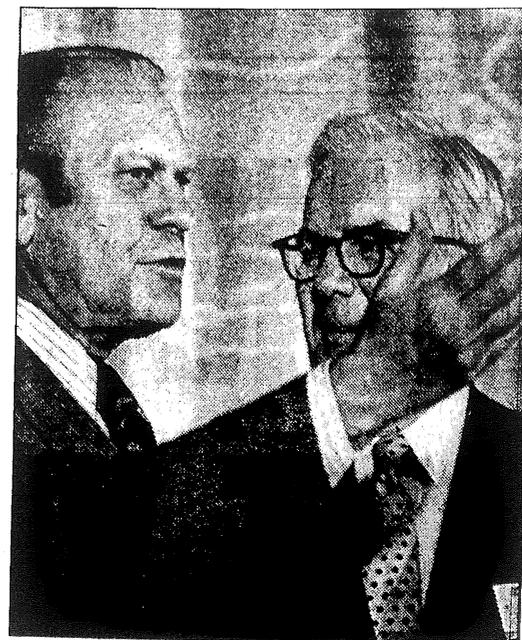
Robert A. Gordon, liberal president-elect of the American Economic Association, has concluded: "We've preached the full-employment goal. Now we've got to pay the price in higher unemployment until we reduce the inflation rate and make sure it doesn't start accelerating again. Reluctantly, I think we must take the risk of slowing down the economy."

James Dusenberry, economic adviser during Lyndon Johnson's administration, echoes Gordon's sentiments: "We must change our philosophy of risk-taking. Many of us have preferred to take the risk of too much demand rather than the risk of recession. I believe, although I don't like to say it, that to insure against further acceleration of inflation we will have to shift the balance of risks the other way."

GREENSPAN AND BURNS

Alan Greenspan, head of Ford's Council of Economic Advisers, and Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, are putting these policies into practice. They advocate increasing unemployment to six per cent or even seven per cent by year's end (it's currently 5.3 per cent), cutting real wages, and increasing labor productivity through speed-up.

This is the content of Ford's call for joint sacrifice—sacrifice by labor. The



Expansive Ford reassures businessman pal, Willard F. Rockwell, that he will be able to bail the capitalists out.

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call for restraint by business is a ruse; one major plank of Ford's economic program calls for greatly increased tax incentives to corporations as a spur to increasing capital investment.

WHAT GETS CUT?

Similarly, Ford's emphasis on government pitching in by cutting the federal budget is a thinly-veiled attack on workers and the poor. What does he propose cutting? Nine billion dollars off the mass transit program,

Unemployment should be combatted with a sliding scale of hours to divide all work among all willing to work.

billions off the education program. Meanwhile, Ford fights tooth and nail to maintain the \$90 billion military allocation.

ROCKEFELLER'S ROLE

To make sure that the executive branch is strengthened to deal with the crisis, Ford has appointed Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President. This act has important implications. Rockefeller is much stronger, more experienced, and all-around more capable than the dull-minded Ford. His presence poses an immediate political threat to Ford personally, who may be overshadowed.

But Rockefeller's presence is necessary to assure the bourgeoisie that this administration can cope with inflation. Indeed, Rockefeller is being put in charge of the administration's economic task force. The working class can expect a carefully conceived program of unemployment, wage-gouging, and speed-up from Rockefeller.

RISKS

Even more ominous are the "risks" alluded to by Gordon and Dusenberry. The risks are collapse and depression. Burns's efforts to slow inflation through a tight-money policy led to the near-collapse of New York's Franklin National Bank this spring. Continued efforts to cut down on the money supply and credit can lead to a chain of bankruptcies.

In the words of W. Michael Blumenthal, chairman of Bendix Corporation: "I think we are going into the most difficult economic period since I was old enough to care."

Only the most blatant class-collaborators in the labor movement could possibly support Ford's reactionary program. Dependably, the American labor bureaucracy, led by George Meany, has risen to the occasion.

UNION CHIEFS

The August 10 AFL-CIO News headlines, "Meany Offers Cooperation to Ford as New President." Meany urged "all Americans to rally behind the new President."

Ford has proposed a "summit" conference of business, labor, and government representatives to plan the fight against inflation—read: to plan the fight against the working class. Meany is eager to attend this meeting, whose only possible result

can be tying labor into a shackling agreement with the state.

Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons, the last labor leader to support Nixon, was not to be outdone. He is clamoring for re-instituting wage-price controls. Fitzsimmons, who served on Nixon's control boards, obviously remembers the effectiveness of controls in slashing real wages and wants a replay.

CONTROLS

Fitzsimmons is just one step ahead of Ford, who has brought back the Cost of Living Council to "monitor" wages and prices. If the current strike upsurge pressed by the rank and file gets out of hand, Ford will undoubtedly heed the Teamster hack's advice and bring back the controls. Already, the New York Times and leading Democrats are urging Ford to do just that.

The working class faces a grave threat. The strike wave aimed against inflation's toll may be overwhelmed by the bureaucracy's euphoric rush to rally 'round the flag. Ford's economic programs spell mass unemployment, wage cutting, accelerating the decay of the cities, increasing the misery of the poor, the oppressed, and the elderly. And in the background lurks the threat of depression.

NO COMPLICITY!

There must be no complicity between labor and the Ford regime. Militant workers must condemn the bureaucracy's headlong rush into a "social pact" with government and business and insist upon the absolute independence of the trade-union movement.

Immediately, this means rejection of Ford's invitation to labor to attend his "summit" conference and complete opposition to any form of wage-price controls. In the event of a

controls program, workers must demand: No complicity by the bureaucrats—This time labor must stay off the boards!

ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM

A full-fledged alternative to Ford's economic program must be proposed. Impending unemployment should be combatted with a sliding scale of hours to divide all work among all willing to work—beginning now with thirty hours' work for forty hours pay. To assure jobs for all, the trade unions should call for a massive public works program to rebuild the cities and provide millions of jobs at union rates.

Workers, already reeling under inflation's blows, cannot afford further cuts in real wages. In opposition to Ford's call for "sacrifice", the working class should demand full cost-of-living escalator clauses and campaign for wage-reopener contracts to open up long-term contracts already signed.

GENERAL STRIKE

To enforce these demands, the trade union movement should coordinate the current strike movement and build it through national work-stoppages

could begin to summon the strength necessary to force its implementation. On the agenda at the Congress would be the demand for new elections.

Revolutionaries would demand that the Congress launch a revolutionary labor party to field a workers' slate in the elections and to fight for the program we have put forward. The labor party would fight to install a workers' government in place of the capitalist rot. As well, revolutionaries would press for a trial of Nixon by the workers' government for his crimes against the U.S. and international proletariat.

But the labor bureaucracy will not take such steps. Instead it rushes to the aid of the bourgeoisie in its time of trouble. When revolutionary workers demand jobs for all, the bureaucrats sadly shake their heads and explain that the economy cannot afford it. When militants demand a labor party, the bureaucrats respond that you have to work through proper channels.

NO CAPITALIST REMEDY

The society can afford jobs for all—it demands it—but not on a capitalist basis. When the capitalists plead poverty, they should be met



Nelson Rockefeller, multi-millionaire ex-N.Y. governor has been summoned as brain supplement for Ford.

into a general strike against inflation, unemployment, and Ford's reactionary policies.

The strikes should have a political focus as well. They should demand new elections right now. Nixon, the liar, war criminal, and class enemy deserved to be thrown out. But Ford is no better. Indeed, Ford was not even elected. The labor movement must demand the right to vote down his anti-labor program and place its own representatives in power.

CONGRESS OF LABOR

If the labor movement were to today call a Congress of Labor and the Oppressed, representing all working people, to fight for this program, it

with the demand for nationalization of their companies under workers' control. A ruling class that cannot provide meaningful work for all must not be allowed to stand.

The tasks confronting the labor movement require a leadership that will not balk when the limits of the capitalist system confront it. It needs leaders who will carry the fight through to the finish, based on the Marxist program put forward here.

Revolutionary workers must begin to construct that leadership by popularizing the slogans and demands that we have put forward and by joining together with the Revolutionary Socialist League to build a revolutionary leadership in the trade union movement.



Businessman pal, Willard F. Dusenberry, has urged labor to bail the capitalists out.

New York

BLACK LIBERATION AND WORLD REVOLUTION

—Permanent revolution and the black struggle
—The debate in the Maoist and Trotskyist movements

Speaker: Wayne Gordon, CC member, RSL

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 7:30 P.M.

22 East 17th Street, Room 927

Los Angeles

PROSPECTS FOR THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

Speaker: Eric Olsen, CC Member, RSL

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 7:30 P.M.

1910 South Vermont Avenue

TEMPO AND TASKS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

BY BRUCE LANDAU

The class struggle in Portugal and Greece is unfolding according to a more or less consistent general pattern—a pattern which has already appeared in a number of other countries (like Argentina and Ethiopia) and which we are likely to observe soon in many others (like Spain). Naturally, the specifics differ from case to case, but the characteristics common to them all are important ones. Marxists must understand this pattern and how to respond to it.

Just what is this pattern?

Briefly, the mobilization of the masses in these countries is passing through an initial, "bourgeois stage" (as Trotsky called the parallel phenomenon in early 1917 Russia and Spain in the 1930's) prior to passing on to its truly proletarian stage.

During this bourgeois stage, the proletarian masses are placing their faith in the ability of bourgeois politicians, social democrats and Stalinists to meet their grievances—to lead and complete the struggle for democracy against the entrenched

could be realized only through the destruction of capitalism, Trotsky explained. In the epoch of its own decay, world capitalism cannot do without brutal forms of oppression—forms which are either retained from pre-capitalist systems (feudalism, slavery) or which are manufactured out of whole cloth by capitalism itself (fascism).

Trotsky's point has been tragically borne out countless times in the intervening decades, most recently in Chile. Each time the proletariat has placed its faith in non-revolutionary methods in fighting its oppression it has been cruelly defeated.

Still, the working class clings to its belief in a purified, democratic capitalism. This fact only testifies to the proletariat's chronic crisis of leadership, to the political gulf which still separates the Trotskyist cadres from the majority of their class. The workers remain under the leadership of the political skills of "democratic capitalism."

In Greece and Portugal, specifically, the bourgeois stage has been

have not felt as much pressure to bend, to adapt themselves to the changing needs of capitalism. They have instead become short-sighted, narrow-minded, inflexible.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

Nevertheless, beneath the surface appearance of deadly calm, the accumulation of capitalism's agonizing contradictions proceeded apace. With the masses by and large unable to translate this into extended, open social conflict, the ruling class itself was forced to take the initiative in making the necessary adjustments in its governments. A section of the ruling class realizes that it must introduce at least a degree of flexibility and give the appearance of liberalization, of reform—or eventually face full-scale revolution when the anger of the masses finally bursts out of the fraying restraints imposed upon it.

In Portugal, the final trigger for the change in regime was the seemingly endless losing war in Africa. In Greece, it was the spectre of a hopeless war with Turkey. But more fundamentally, both the Greek and Portuguese economies have been staggering under tremendous body blows for the past few years. In this, they reflect the general situation in southern Europe, where capitalism's deepening general crisis is especially acute.

ECONOMY

The specifics of the Portuguese case have been discussed in earlier issues of The Torch. In Greece, inflation has been steadily soaring: from a rate of 4.4 per cent in 1972 to 15.5 per cent in 1973—up to 32 per cent so far this year. A second index of Greece's economic stagnation and decline is her \$12 billion balance of payments deficit. These problems were only aggravated when the Common Market, embarrassed by the publicity being given to torture in Greece, felt compelled to expel Athens from associate membership. This has cost Greek capitalism another \$300 million annually in agricultural benefits.

In Portugal, Spínola deposed Caetano, covered the fact of continued military rule with the trappings of civilian rule, and attempted to find a neocolonialist way out of the African wars. In Greece, General Gizikis was forced to call in the old right-Bonapartist war-horse, Constantine Caramanlis, to rescue the armed forces from the mess they had made for themselves—domestically, in Cyprus, and in Europe generally—in Caramanlis' own words, "to assume responsibility for the Government."

Obviously, this pattern of development contains within it extremely

valuable opportunities for the proletariat. The polarization of the ruling class, limited as it may be, compels the "reformer" wing to arouse the masses in its own support.

This, plus the temporary increase in bourgeois democracy, gives the proletariat an opportunity to press its own interests, to launch open struggles, to observe and assess its own strengths and weaknesses in the course of those struggles, to test out the groupings which are contending for the leadership of its own forces. The opportunity presents itself to the proletariat to take advantage of the split in the ruling class in order to hasten the destruction of the ruling class as a whole and smash its state apparatus.

DANGERS

But the dangers involved in the Greek-Portuguese developments are just as great as the opportunities.

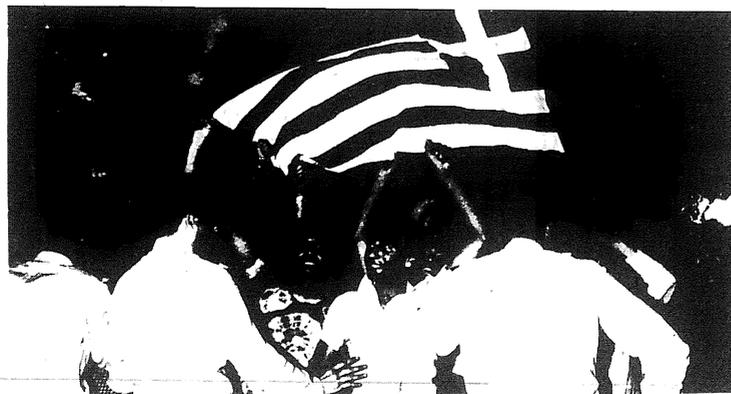
Having been introduced from above, and in the absence of an accompanying mass insurrection, the new democratic gains are both meager and extremely tenuous. In February, 1971, the bourgeois stage of the Russian revolution was ushered in by massive mobilizations of workers, peasants, and soldiers. This mobilization temporarily paralyzed and even partially dispersed the forces of reaction, in particular the state apparatus (police, army, government bureaucracy).

By contrast, the new Greek and Portuguese governments represent only a small step toward even bourgeois democracy—the smallest step which its reactionary authors thought necessary. Without mass popular pressure forcing their hands, Spínola and Caramanlis have made only the most minor and superficial changes in the old regime. Spínola's decision to allow Caetano to leave Portugal scot free symbolizes this fact. More to the point, the old Salazarist secret police has suffered nothing but a change in name.

MILITARY'S POWER

In Portugal, the so-called "Provisional Government" created by Spínola—a Popular Front coalition stretching from conservative bourgeois parties through the SP and CP—serves at the whim of the officers' corps.

The "reorganization" of the Provisional Government in July made this brutally clear. The cabinet representation of the CP and SP was slashed. The only question was over which faction of the army would be awarded the vacated ministries. The masses, of course, had no say in the proceedings. Now *Le Monde* correspondent Marcel Niedergang reports that on July 11, Spínola "alluded quite clearly to the



Greek masses celebrate the return to a civilian regime. But the army remains the real power.

forces of reaction. The alleviation of the masses' suffering is supposed to occur through the medium of a liberalizing bourgeois regime, one which either includes or is openly supported by the pro-capitalist forces which still lead the workers' movement.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

Some seventy years ago, Leon Trotsky exposed the bankruptcy of such stratagems when he outlined the necessary "Permanent Revolution" course of the awaited Russian revolution. The democratic demands of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie

opened not from below, not by the masses—but from above, as the product of a conflict within the ruling class. This fact, too, reflects the impact of decades when social and political life in these countries was strait-jacketed. In these years, the proletariat was deprived of the political experience which comes from open struggle. It was effectively removed from the public stage as a political actor.

The success of its own repressive measures, however, has taken its toll of the bourgeois regimes. Granted an artificial freedom from open, concerted mass challenge, these regimes

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future need for a homogeneous military government, 'which many people wanted.' But he added that the moment had not yet come."

CIVILIAN FACADE

In Greece, the facade of civilian rule is equally transparent. The appointment of Caramanlis came at a meeting called by junta spokesman-President General Gizikis, who announced to the hastily assembled civilian politicians, "Gentlemen, I may as well tell you that you are not going to leave this room until we form a government of national unity." Gizikis himself retains the Presidency. And, despite the recent ostentatious "purge" of a handful of army officers, the Greek army as a whole remains in control of events. Martial law remains in effect and no date has yet been set for elections.

Premier Caramanlis made his career through a close alliance with the monarchy, the secret police, the army, and the CIA. His electoral "successes" were invariably based on wholesale terror in the Greek countryside and ballot-stuffing in the cities. His honeymoon with King Constantine ended in the mid-1960's only because Caramanlis's own Bonapartist ambitions conflicted too sharply with the existing power of the throne.

U.S. IMPERIALISM

Finally, standing behind the Portuguese and Greek ruling classes is U.S. imperialism. In Greece especially, Washington has been the real script-writer since the end of the civil war. Despite Athens' current anger over the U.S.'s mildly pro-Turkey line on Cyprus, the U.S.'s control of Greek politics remains fundamentally unchallenged. The Greek CIA (KYP) remains tied to the fingers of its puppet-master, the American CIA. The newly-appointed heads of the Greek armed forces are well-known staunchly pro-NATO figures.

TASKS

The tasks of Marxists in these countries are dictated by the situation outlined above.

First and foremost, the most advanced workers must be won to the full Marxist program, welded into a Leninist vanguard party, taught the character of the present conjuncture and how to guide the class as a whole through the opportunities and perils ahead. The vanguard—and then, with the vanguard's aid, the class as a whole—must shed its democratic illusions, shed its faith in the promises of bourgeois democracy and of the Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders who are enmeshed in or are chasing after the ruling government coalitions.

The proletariat must learn to rely only upon its own strength to win and defend its desperately needed goals. Its power must be used to make the socialist revolution, to expropriate the holdings of the international and native bourgeoisie, smash the capitalist state apparatus, and erect a workers' and peasants' government on its foundations.

LEARN IN STRUGGLE

A small Marxist nucleus can teach these lessons to the proletarian vanguard through propaganda. But the vanguard cannot restrict itself to propaganda in trying to reach the rest

of its class. Hundreds and even thousands can learn much through newspapers, pamphlets, debates. Millions can learn in a short time through struggle alone.

The bulk of the proletariat will have to be won to the revolutionary program while it fights the bourgeoisie for specific demands. The vanguard must know how to intervene in these struggles to make sure that the correct strategic lessons are learned and the correct programmatic conclusions are drawn.

PROGRAM

What kind of program should Marxists propagandize, agitate, and mobilize for in situations like that in Greece and Portugal today? Speaking generally, a program which contains both radical democratic as well as proletarian-socialist demands. Such a combination reflects the combination of tasks which face the working class and the necessarily combined character of the revolution which it must make—the permanent revolution, establishing a proletarian dictatorship (which alone is capable of carrying through the struggle for democracy to the end).

The radical-democratic demands will vary, depending on the particular situation in each country. These demands will express the proletariat's determination to liberate itself as well as the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie from the especially oppressive restrictions imposed on its freedom of action by the bourgeoisie and for the masses to decide for themselves the future organization of society.

DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS

In Portugal and Greece, the following demands are dictated: For a revolutionary Constituent Assembly now, elected through the broadest suffrage. For complete freedom of speech, press, assembly, and organization. For universal, free, quality education. For a radical land reform specified according to the desires of the poorest peasants.

Tax the banks and corporations, both foreign and native-owned, to pay the costs of government. Cancel the debts which burden the petty bourgeoisie and extend cheap credit to that class instead. Purge the state apparatus of all vestiges of and sympathizers with the Caetano-Ioannides regimes. Remove all troops from Africa and from Cyprus.

By fighting for such demands, the working class will prove to the petty bourgeois masses that it is the only consistent champion of the most sweeping democratic measures.

CLASS DEMANDS

At the same time, the working class must raise its own class demands. This is the heart of the program. These demands will express the specific needs of the workers and the measures necessary to realize them. They will add up to and focus the fight

for the proletarian dictatorship itself. Their realization is necessary if the democratic program is to be achieved.

Among such demands are the sliding scale of wages and hours (to combat the murderous inflation and unemployment today stalking the proletarian ranks).

Nationalization of all banks and major industry under workers' control is essential to enforce human working conditions, to ensure the distribution of essential items made scarce by capitalism's stagnation according to the proletariat's priorities, and to guard against economic sabotage by the bourgeoisie generally.

BOSSSES' VIOLENCE

The ruling class will resist these sharp restrictions on its power to bleed the population. Because so little real damage has been done thus far to the bourgeoisie's means of repression, this is the greatest danger

at least neutralized by the proletariat. But, as the experience of 1917 proves, this can only occur after the proletariat makes clear to its sympathizers in the army that it means business, that it is prepared to defend itself and its allies arms in hand. For this, once again, workers' defense guards (toward a full-fledged workers' militia) are essential.

At present, the forces of the working class in Greece and Portugal are terribly disorganized and divided. Only a tiny percentage of the class is even enrolled in trade unions, and these are weak and fragmented. This is another legacy of decades of repression.

The Portuguese workers have already begun to combat this disorganization by creating workers' committees to cohere their struggles, committees controlled by and uniting all the workers in a given workplace.

This is an extremely important advance.

What has occurred sporadically and spontaneously must now become conscious and generalized. Existing committees must be publicized and their significance explained. A network of such committees must be spread through both countries, encompassing workers of all crafts, companies, industries, and regions. This network must finally be united under the direction of a single, elected executive committee.

These committees may arise at first as vehicles of struggle for the most modest demands, embodying the fighting united front of the working class. Marxists, by taking the initiative in organizing such committees and by campaigning within them for their own program, will eventually gain leadership in the committees. In this way, the demands listed above will cease being the property of only a small nucleus of propagandists and become instead the fighting program of the united proletarian front, led by a mass revolutionary party.

At the proper stage of the struggle, these committees—drawing behind them the petty bourgeois masses of town and country—will challenge the bourgeois state for ultimate political authority. When victory is won and the bourgeois state is smashed, the workers' committees will emerge as the organs of the workers' state. This struggle for power will be shorter, and less bloody, according to the proletariat's degree of preparation and determination.



New Greek Premier Constantine Caramanlis (left) receives blessing from archbishop [right] and General Phaedon Gizikis [center].

facing the proletariat today.

The Stalinists and social democrats point to this danger in order to blackmail the proletariat into docility. Marxists, on the contrary, prepare their class to meet and defeat the inevitable attacks of the bourgeoisie.

WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

The proletariat must prepare now to defend its movement and its program against the bourgeoisie, its state machine, its private armies and fascist gangs. Workers' defense guards must be organized, armed, and trained immediately. There is no time to lose! This is probably the single most important demand for Marxists to raise in these countries today.

Ultimately the ranks of the army itself must be politically won over or

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Rebuild the Fourth International

THE FIGHT AGAINST PABLOISM CONTINUES

Today, the international working class is fighting a series of extremely important struggles. At present, the workers of Portugal and Greece stand in the front lines. The outcome of these confrontations will have the most serious effect of the class struggle elsewhere.

The need has never been greater for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, of a world party capable of intervening in and leading the struggles of the international proletariat, capable of analyzing and orienting themselves in the present situation. Tragically, most of the international groupings claiming to be Trotskyist are proving themselves unfit to reconstruct the world party of Trotskyism.

UNITED SECRETARIAT

The largest of these groupings is the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," whose majority is led by Ernest Mandel.

The United Secretariat has a sympathizing organization in Portugal, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League). The LCI seems to be guiding its work according to the main majority resolution passed by the United Secretariat's Tenth World Congress, the resolution entitled "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe." If so, the LCI is doomed to play a treacherous role in Portugal.

The resolution's title is, shall we say, misleading. The last thing it focuses on is the construction of vanguard parties. Its dominating characteristic, instead, is its political tailism and its organizational liquidationism.

The resolution's central concern is not the building of Trotskyist parties, but rather the construction of mass soviet-type, united-front committees. Trotskyist parties, in this view, are useful only insofar as they hasten the building of soviets.

SOVIETS

Now revolutionary Marxists recognize that the united front is an essential part of their tactical arsenal. The primary value of united-front committees is that they help the revolutionary party to grow in size and influence and to win the leadership of the struggling masses. Refusing to recognize the importance of the united front and soviets is criminal.

But equally criminal is the pretense that such committees are endowed, in and of themselves, with some sort of magical qualities. It is criminal to treat the building of soviet-type bodies as an end in itself. To do this is precisely to deny the essence of Leninism-Trotskyism, to deny the importance of revolutionary leadership, to replace the necessary emphasis on the content of the proletarian struggle with a tailist fixation on forms.

Lenin and Trotsky tirelessly explained to the

anarcho-syndicalists of their day that soviets can become organs of dual power and organize the successful struggle for state power only on condition that they are led by a revolutionary Marxist party. Soviets can embody only the actual political level of their participants; they can facilitate but never replace the struggle in the class for the Marxist program. As Trotsky wrote in his *History of the Russian Revolution*:

The soviet form does not contain any mystic power. . . . Of all the forms of revolutionary representation, the soviet is the most flexible, immediate and transparent. But still it is only a form. It cannot give more than the masses are capable of putting into it at a given moment.

Unless Marxists clearly recognize this fact and concentrate on utilizing the soviets as a means to build the party and win leadership for the party over the class, the soviets will only provide an organizational form for the proletariat's defeat.

MEANS VS. ENDS

This essential truth, however, receives only perfunctory lip-service in the United Secretariat's "Europe" resolution. The thrust of that document is to deny it, to elevate the building of soviets ("organs of dual power") above the ends which soviets must serve—above party-building and the fight for leadership over the class. Thus the resolution turns the Marxist viewpoint on its head:

In other words, we are working in the conviction that every success today in sinking revolutionary Marxist roots in the class, in carrying out propaganda for transitional demands, and in recomposing the workers' movement will result a few years from now in a cumulative and qualitative improvement in the preconditions for the spread of organs of dual power.

The wording is vague (as it is throughout the document), but the same sentiment is repeated often enough to make the viewpoint unmistakable. In fact, immediately preceding a general sermon on the importance of party-building and of raising the proletariat's class consciousness, the resolution actually presents its worst, most liquidationist understanding of soviets. This formulation denies the importance of which party is leading these bodies:

What really characterizes a situation of dual power is the fact that it constitutes a state of affairs that cannot be absorbed into the normal functioning of bourgeois institutions. As long as this dual power persists, a 'return to normal' is impossible. Even a temporary ebb or a partial defeat of the mass movement has no longer the same significance.

This is the sheerest spontaneist mysticism! "Dual power" prevailed in 1919 Germany. But the organs of dual power, the workers' councils, were led by the right-wing Social Democratic Party (SPD). Its leadership position enabled the SPD

first to "absorb" the councils into the framework of the capitalist state apparatus, then to have those councils peacefully and voluntarily hand all their power back to the bourgeoisie, and finally to dissolve themselves altogether. It would be a fatal error for today's revolutionaries to take such lessons lightly.

The rest of the Europe resolution is of a piece with its words of wisdom on soviets. The transitional program is treated like grab-bag of

slick slogans useful for leading frenzied masses into a showdown which they do not understand. Similarly, the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats are to be defeated not by winning the union ranks to a revolutionary program and leadership, but by artfully "outflanking" the bureaucrats somehow and thus inheriting leadership more or less by default.

The entire document, in short, stakes everything on defeating the bourgeoisie through short-cuts—avoiding a revolutionary, programmatic fight for leadership in the working class. Short-cuts like these only shorten the road to disaster.



Ernest Mandel, the embodiment of Pabloite opportunism.

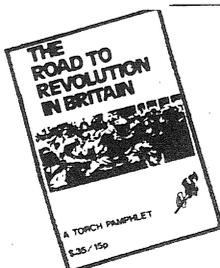
On May 19 of this year, Ernest Mandel himself spoke to a "united front meeting" in Lisbon sponsored by the LCI along with various Maoist, guerrillaist and other centrist groups. Here Mandel made it clear that he expects the tailist, liquidationist line presented in his European resolution to be carried out loyally in Portugal.

Mandel lectured the meeting, for example, that "still more important than the more radical demands being raised are the more radical forms of organization that are being adopted now in many cases by workers in Western Europe." Once again, the mere forms of organization are considered more important than the level of the struggle which they embody.

CONSEQUENCES CLEAR

Later on his lecture, Mandel demonstrated further consequences of the United Secretariat's tailism, its contempt for the struggle for leadership. He correctly noted that "democratic freedoms cannot be defended, . . . a return to fascism cannot be prevented, by collaborating with the bourgeoisie." But when it came time to list "the principal transitional demands" which Portuguese Marxists must raise, Mandel glaringly deleted precisely the call for workers' defense guards! Presumably organs of dual power alone will be enough to make the fascists drop their guns. In fact, Mandel simply did not wish to challenge the democratic illusions of his Maoist and guerrillaist audience; he would not even fight for the Marxist program within his "united revolutionary front!" (*Intercontinental Press*, June 17, 1974)

The discussions of the Portuguese events contained in the United Secretariat's new international organ, *Inprecor*, follow in these footsteps. Thus, for example, *Inprecor* fixates on organizational, not political, explanations for the proletariat's setbacks. It blames "the failure of (the workers') struggles to become generalized during



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the upsurge after the beginning of May" not on the failure to win the proletariat to a program and a leadership which expresses the needs of the whole class—but simply on "the lack of a centralized movement" (the political content of which is not discussed). (Inprecor, July 4, 1974)

PABLOISM

Mandèl and the United Secretariat today only continue the tradition from which they emerged—the Pabloite tradition, which locates the main-spring of the struggle against capitalism in everything but the fight by Marxists to win leadership over and raise the political consciousness of the proletariat. The "objective situation," the "relation of forces," and so on, are consistently expected to decide the class struggle in the proletariat's favor by themselves.

Naturally, this outlook presents the defeat of capitalism as a far easier, far more automatic process than it actually is. This is the outlook which first produced and was then reinforced by the Pabloite theory of "deformed workers' states." This theory holds that the proletariat may even abstain from struggle altogether and still see capitalism replaced by proletarian dictatorship, at the hands of Stalinist parties, peasant armies, and even bourgeois-democratic guerrilla bands (Castro).

LIQUIDATIONISM

The organizational corollary of Pabloism is liquidationism. The Trotskyist cadres are dissolved into the ranks of the larger anti-Bolshevik forces which are supposedly capable of smashing capitalism. This is exactly what the Pabloites did in the late 1940s and 1950s.

In the 1960s, the Latin American Pabloites liquidated themselves into the Peronist movement in Argentina and, continent-wide, into Castro's short-lived OLAS outfit. The Chilean MIR, the party which gave a left cover to Allende's Popular Front, was the product of the fusion of Pabloite and Castroite elements.

A NEW MIR?

Once again, organizational liquidationism seems on the United Secretariat's agenda, this time in Portugal. The Liga Comunista Internacionalista is currently engaged in a "united front" (defined in the vaguest terms) with Maoist and other centrist elements. This "united front" seems to be neither a real united front (in which parties retain full political independence while engaging in specific joint actions—"marching separately, striking together") nor a firmly cohered party, standing on a Marxist program. It seems, instead, to be something in between, a party-substitute—the perfect foundations for the construction of a Portuguese MIR!

LEFT PABLOITES

The "International Committee of the Fourth International" (the IC—headed by the British Workers Revolutionary Party and which has a section in Greece) and (on a smaller scale) the Spartacist League and its cluster of international co-thinkers attempt to challenge the United Secretariat on a left-Pabloite basis. The results are pathetic.

Both groupings are so firmly tied to the objectivist method of Pabloism that their attempt to differentiate themselves from Mandel and Co. produces only sends them into the wildest gyrations, both to the right as well as to the left.

During their "left" gyrations, they attempt to fight their own tailist and liquidationist instincts by forging chains of arch-sectarianism with which to restrain themselves.

The International Committee produced a miserable example of this behavior in Bolivia in 1971. There, too, the class struggle stood between its bourgeois and proletarian stages. State power was held by a left-militarist, General Torres, who played a Kerensky-like role. When right-militarist forces around Banzer launched a coup d'etat, the International Committee furiously denounced as opportunist the very idea of organizing a general strike against the coup (see the IC pamphlet, *Break with Centristism*, p. 10). The Bolsheviks' decision in August 1917 to militarily bloc with Kerensky's

forces temporarily and concentrate their fire on Kornilov was in effect ridiculed.

The relevance of this abstentionism to the present Greek, Portuguese, and similar situations is obvious. The possibility of a Kerensky-Kornilov type of polarization within these ruling classes is significant, especially in Portugal. A proletariat which guides itself according to sectarian prescriptions like the IC's for Bolivia will pay for it dearly.

"APPETITES"

The Spartacist League considers itself even further "left" than the IC. Fundamentally, its method is the same. Indeed, it is even more eager than the IC to see workers' states where they don't exist. The IC managed to swallow present-day Russia, Eastern Europe, China, and North Vietnam as workers' states. But it finally gagged on the idea of a workers' state in Cuba, established by a small band of radical-democrat guerrillas. The Spartacist "appetite" proved stronger. It wolfed down the Cuban "workers' state" and smacked its lips.

Like the IC, the Spartacist League's attempt to restrain its own Pabloism have also produced a long series of ridiculous, sectarian declamations, including their refusal to militarily support the Arab states during their wars with Israeli and U.S. imperialism, their refusal to use critical support to expose Arnold Miller in the 1972 UMW elections, refusal to critically support the Canadian New Democratic Party in this year's parliamentary elections, etc. The same kind of mechanical

workers' hands and that a workers' united front is the only alternative? Trotsky explained the necessary tactic to his Spanish supporters:

Let us consider for a moment the way in which the Spanish workers en masse should view the present situation. Their leaders, the Socialists, have power. This increases the demands and tenacity of the workers. Every striker will not only have no fear of the government but will also expect help from it. The communists must direct the thoughts of the workers precisely along those lines: 'Demand everything of the government, since your leaders are in it.' In reply to the workers' delegates, the Socialists will say that they do not have a majority yet. The answer is clear: with truly democratic suffrage and an end to the coalition with the bourgeoisie, a majority is guaranteed. (The Spanish Revolution, p. 149)

The class-collaborationist workers' parties must be pressed to deliver on their promises to their proletarian supporters, must be forced to rebuff the proletariat's demands or assume state power without their explicitly bourgeois allies. This is precisely the tactic which the Revolutionary Socialist League outlined in its recent editorial on the recent presidential elections in France (see "No Popular Front!" in *The Torch* No. 9)

What does the Spartacist League think of Trotsky's method of exposing the Popular Front? They have already told us in their press. To call on the Socialists and Stalinists to fulfill their promises



Alvaro Cunhal, leader of the Portuguese CP (hands clasped), and Mario Soares, Portuguese SP chief (right). The Spartacist League's sterile sectarianism delivers the masses into the jaws of the Popular Front.

thinking led them to oppose the call for soviets during the past miners' strike in Britain. (Sectarianism toward the masses yields surrender to the misleaders.)

In Greece, Portugal, and elsewhere, it is essential to oppose the popular-front machinations of the CP and SP with the Trotskyist proposal for a united-front for all working-class forces. But it is not enough to rail against the Popular Front. The Marxist party must know how to expose the nature of the Popular Front tactically in the eyes of the working-class masses. The party which verbally attacks class-collaborationism but forbids itself (and others) to use the necessary tactics to defeat pop-frontism is worse than useless.

How has the Marxist movement, historically learned to expose the Popular Front in struggle, before the masses? How can the workers be clearly shown that the Popular Front means tying the

is "a policy of class treason," a "shameful crime," disorienting the proletariat and "feeding its illusions in the Stalinists and Social Democrats." (*Workers Vanguard*, November 23, 1973)

Just as elsewhere, the Spartacist League is so frightened by its own Pabloite opportunism that it cannot distinguish between capitulation to an opponent and the tactics necessary to destroy him. Such a group has nothing to say to Greek and Portuguese Marxists, who must learn not only to denounce the Popular Front but also how to win the masses away from it in practice.

The reconstruction of the Fourth International is an urgent task. It cannot be accomplished without purging the would-be Trotskyist ranks of the Pabloite opportunism and the sterile sectarianism with which it tries to restrain itself.

—Bruce Landau

James P. Cannon: In Memoriam

At age 84, James P. Cannon is dead. He lived an extraordinary life. Unlike so many others, he never made his peace with the bourgeoisie. He died as he had lived, a champion of the proletarian cause and of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

The communist movement in this country has always been portrayed by its detractors as something alien to the American working class and its needs. James Cannon's life was the clearest answer to that lie.

SYNDICALISM

Cannon was born in Kansas City. As a young man, he joined the revolutionary-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World and the syndicalist-influenced left wing of the Socialist Party. In those years, syndicalism drew into its ranks many of the very best, most courageous young worker-militants—especially as the actual leadership of the Socialist Party (and the Second International) was thoroughly opportunist and therefore repulsive to them.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 had a tremendous impact on the thinking of James Cannon (as it had on other syndicalists throughout the world, including Andres Nin, Alfred Rosmer, Victor Serge, and "Big Bill" Haywood). The role played by the Bolsheviks in the Russian events helped Cannon to view his own experiences in the American class struggle in a new light.

He recognized that Bolshevism was not exclusively a Russian phenomenon but was rather the key to the whole world revolution. Most of all, Cannon came to see the necessity of building a steeled vanguard party to lead the working class's struggle.

COMMUNISM

Armed with this understanding, Cannon became one of the founders of the communist movement in the United States. He fought unsuccessfully to bring the IWW as a whole into the new and growing Communist International.

Later, as the Comintern succumbed to the growing Stalinist reaction, Cannon was among the first to recognize and combat the effects in the CPUSA. A delegate to the Comintern's Sixth World Congress in 1928, Cannon managed to obtain and read and then solidarized with Leon Trotsky's suppressed critique of the Stalinized International ("The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals").

TROTSKYISM

Cannon smuggled this document out of Russia and began the struggle for Trotskyism—that is, for a return to Bolshevism—in the American CP. For this, he was quickly expelled, along with a handful of comrades.

Then, for more than a decade, Cannon struggled to direct the Trotskyist movement in America against the dominant stream of Stalinism, opportunism, sectarianism, New Dealism, and the rising tide of national-chauvinism produced by the approach of World War II.

In 1940, under Trotsky's leadership, Cannon led the fight against the Shachtmanite minority in the SWP. Although incorrect on the Russian question, Cannon did fight to defend his party against the fundamentally petty-bourgeois, centrist tendency represented by his opponents.

Cannon's continuing fight against the alien class pressures exerted on his party suffered because of the man's own theoretical weaknesses. But so long as Leon Trotsky lived, Cannon could depend upon the Old Man to criticize and correct many of the American party's errors.

DISORIENTATION

The murder of Trotsky in 1940 at the hands of a Stalinist assassin was a stunning blow to Cannon, to the party he led, and to the Fourth Internationalists around the world. Deprived of their foremost political leader and mentor, confronting a post-war world which bore little

resemblance to their pre-war expectations, and further disoriented by a flawed understanding of international Stalinism, the Trotskyist cadres (Cannon among them) began to lose their way.

Cannon now was less and less able to defend his party against the pressure of bourgeois influences, pressures demanding adaptation to both "Free World" capitalism as well as to Stalinist state capitalism. This was reflected in Cannon's almost total abstention from the attempt to raise the Fourth International out of the ashes of war.

PABLOISM

He kept trying to maintain the Socialist Workers Party on a proletarian, Marxist course, but his own growing political confusion weakened his efforts further and further. Thus his 1953 struggle against Pablo was waged on the soil of Pabloism and so left the door open to the opportunist reunification of 1963—of which he was a leading proponent.

With the onset of old age and the continued rightward drift of the SWP, Cannon found himself replaced in his party's leadership by individuals not at all interested in fighting against the stream but instead determined to drift with it. At last, the old proletarian fighter found himself patronized as an interesting relic, of interest to the new party leaders only when they could prevail upon him to publicly endorse their own accelerating revisionism.

Still, Cannon's relationship with his replacements always remained an uneasy one at best. The Cannon shaped by forty years in the class struggle was always something of an outsider in an SWP headed speedily toward liberalism in its politics and toward the middle class in its exclusive orientation.

PIONEER

Today, the members of the Revolutionary Socialist League mourn James Cannon's death and gratefully acknowledge our debt to this pioneer of international Trotskyism.

—Bruce Landau
August 30, 1974

Stalinist, Nationalist Thugs Assault "Socialist Collective"

We reprint here portions of the statement issued by the Los Angeles Socialist Collective in response to physical attacks made upon them by Stalinist and black-nationalist thugs on July 20th.

The attack launched upon members of the Socialist Collective (an organization of black socialist militants) by members of the Communist Party and Republic of New Africa must be seen as an attack upon the rights of all workers' organizations. The Revolutionary Socialist League denounces this latest display of Stalinist thuggery and stands prepared to defend the Socialist Collective and all other left-wing and labor organizations from similar attacks.

The principle of workers' democracy, long and courageously fought for by revolutionary forces throughout the world, is indispensable to the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership of the working class. We will defend this principle in words and in actions.

On August 17th, at a meeting of various left-wing organizations in Los Angeles called to discuss the problem of thuggery on the left, only the representatives of the RSL raised the call for the formation of a United Workers Defense Guard to guarantee the democratic rights of all workers' organizations. Now, again, we call upon all left-wing, socialist, and labor organizations to condemn the Stalinist-inspired attack upon the Socialist Collective and to begin to organize workers' defense guards to repel future threats.

As the capitalist crisis deepens, sections of the

left which mouth revolution while in reality sharing the bourgeoisie's interests, face the risk of being exposed as lackies and cowards before the working class. The Communist Party and the Republic of New Africa are two such organizations. Their Stalinist and black-nationalist ideologies line them up alongside the bourgeoisie and squarely against the struggle for the socialist revolution.

To silence critics of their craven capitulation to capitalism—and to aid the system itself—they will step up attacks on groups to their left, concocting the wildest slanders and lies to "prove" the "anti-working class" character of their victims. The attack upon the Socialist Collective is an early warning of even more vicious assaults in the future; the left must prepare itself now.

The history of the Communist Parties' bloody betrayals of the working class demonstrates the lengths they will go to defend the rule of capitalism. They acts as cops within the working class, using thug tactics to keep the class struggle within manageable limits—manageable for Roosevelt and the Popular Fronts in France and Spain in the 1930s, for the Popular Unity in Chile in 1973, for the Portuguese military today. The Stalinists' methods are most blatant where the party bureaucracy actually becomes a ruling class and ruthlessly enforces capitalist class relations—in today's Russia, Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, etc.

The working class's only defense against the bourgeois state—and its Stalinist agents is organization. Only Leninist organization, the

organization of dedicated class fighters united around a revolutionary program, can successfully combat the bourgeoisie and its influence and lieutenants in the working class.

Unfortunately, the Socialist Collective's own opposition to the Leninist theory of leadership and organization leads to political capitulation and therefore weakness on its part. This is not to cast doubts upon the physical courage of Socialist Collective militants in the face of attack. But their own tendency to bend to opportunist pressures is conveyed in their own statement, where they defensively respond to the race-baiting of the Communist Party and the Republic of New Africa by indulging in some race-baiting of their own, attacking the CP as a "predominately 'white' organization".

Another instance of the Socialist Collective's evasion of responsible political conduct has been their consistent refusal to engage in debates with the RSL, despite our numerous challenges. It is precisely through an open political debate that differences among serious left groups must be explored if the working class is to reconstruct its revolutionary leadership.

However, despite these differences and others we have with the Socialist Collective, we will unconditionally defend their right to express their views against any and all opponents. We call on others to do the same.

The Editors

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Press Release from The Socialist Collective

On Saturday, July 20, 1974, nine members of the Socialist Collective (seven men, one of which was crippled, and two women) were viciously attacked by some forty armed men from several "Pan African" and poverty program, hustler-type organizations (under the guidance and directives of members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the so-called Republic of New Africa). Consequent to the assault, one member of the Socialist Collective had to have six sutures beneath his left eye, another suffered from three cracked and two broken ribs, and another (a young woman) suffered a breakdown due to emotional distress. Others suffered from various injuries stemming from the cowardly ambush.

The attack was pre-meditated and well co-ordinated by Communist Party member, ex-Sentinel columnist and Sepia employee, Emily Gibson and by Ed Bradley, who is the National Treasurer of the Republic of New Africa. The attack was moreover politically motivated from the Communist Party's point of view, as they, through their black "cadre", i.e. Gibson, etc. fired up racist animosities of members from the now inactive African Peoples Party (not affiliated with the African Peoples Revolutionary Party), the Umoja Center, the Pan-Africanist Congress, and the professional poverty pimp gang known as the Sons of Watts:

the nationalists were told by Emily Gibson that the Socialist Collective is an organization run by whites and were in fact agents of "white folks" who were sent into the black community to disrupt and destroy some fantastic nationalist notion of "Black Unity."

Ignorant of the facts, fired up by emotions and blind fanaticism, the Pan-Africanists, in the name of black people (sic), savagely and piggishly brutalized the nine SC members. Ignorant of the facts, fired up by emotions and blindly misled by the Communist Party, which is a predominately "white" organization, the fascists—and we don't use this term loosely (American black nationalists are known anti-labor, anti-communist, pro-capitalist thugs that have historically terrorized the revolutionary left), acted on the side of "white folks", i.e., the Communist Party, against "black folks", i.e., the Socialist Collective. Politically, the nationalist attackers stood on the side of the State, which itself has been trying (without success) to terrorize the SC.

By attacking the SC the nationalists stood with the State Monopolists Capitalists of the Soviet Union, whose policies the American Communist Party represent, and who have historically, in the name of the movement, repressed and suppressed independent working-class activities against capi-

talism. Objectively, the Pan-Africanists, by attacking the Socialist Collective, attacked also the black community. . . .

Since the Socialist Collective was formed early this year, it has had repeated political conflict with the Communist Party. During planned meetings for a Chile demonstration to be held May 11, 1974, the Socialist Collective was excluded from meetings by Communist Party members and threatened with violence if the SC resisted. The incident of July 20th was the carrying out of that threat.

Until stated otherwise, the Socialist Collective is holding the Communist Party and the Republic of New Africa responsible for the July 20th assault (the nationalists were only tools and as Malcolm said, "don't argue with the puppet, deal with the puppeteer"). We are therefore calling on all left, trade-union, socialist, "Pan-Africanist", Intercommunalist, and democratic organizations to stand with the Socialist Collective and condemn the Republic of New Africa and the Communist Party for using goons to attack nine Black Socialists in South Central Los Angeles.

Socialist Collective
1181 E. 41st St.
Los Angeles, California
(213) 233-8461

League Expels Entrists

At its most recent meeting in July 1974, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist League upheld the expulsion of five League members. These individuals were followers of Kevin Tracey and his lieutenant Margaret Brecht, who had been expelled at the previous CC meeting in April. These people were expelled from our ranks because they represented a disloyal entrism clique whose purpose was to split and wreck the organization.

BACKGROUND

The entrism nature of this grouping was proven by their own actions. Tracey was the leader of the Communist Tendency (CT) at the time of fusion with the Revolutionary Tendency (precursor of the RSL). He was placed on the CC and Political Committee to facilitate the discussion of the political differences that remained between the two tendencies, particularly the Russia question.

On these committees, he pursued a policy of maneuvers, evasions and outright lies. It was only under extreme pressure, for example, that he was induced to put forward to the Founding Convention amendments (completely perfunctory ones) defending his degenerated-deformed workers' state viewpoint, and he consistently rebuffed the efforts of other PC members for a discussion of this question. In addition, he lied to the PC and the organization about his position on the Middle East War, confessing this fact only after another PC member had reconsidered his position of no support to either side in favor of a policy of military-technical support to the Arab forces.

ATTORNEY.

Margaret Brecht, a leader of the League's Chicago branch, established a rotten bloc with Tracey on the Russia question. While still by her own confession "the staunchest supporter of the state-capitalist point of view," she functioned as an attorney for Tracey's version of the degenerated-deformed workers' state analysis which he had been refusing to raise and defend. While actively hiding from the Political Committee (of which she was a member) that she had changed or was reconsidering

her position on the Russia question, she communicated this information to a clique of her personal friends in Chicago, who all managed to change their positions on the question within a few days after Brecht announced her "conversion." The cynical maneuvers of this team disgusted Tracey's former CT comrades who broke with him and denounced his methods, as did other supporters of the degenerated-deformed workers' state position within the League.

It was only after it dawned on Tracey that his antics and those of his followers had exposed their disloyal and entrism perspective and that there was no doubt that the April plenum of the CC would expel them, that he hurriedly concocted a document defending his point of view which he submitted to the CC a few hours before its opening session. They thus hoped to be able to contend that they had been unfairly expelled as a political minority defending the banner of Trotsky in a principled way.

DISLOYALTY AND INDISCIPLINE

At this CC meeting, Tracey and Brecht were expelled for disloyalty and indiscipline. Jon Myers, Brecht's corporal in Chicago, was dropped from the CC and soon afterwards reduced to candidate membership and eventually dropped altogether by the Chicago branch, whose chairman he had previously been. Other members of the clique were censured and then expelled when they too had completely exposed their entrism functioning. The appeals of this latter group were turned down at the July CC meeting. The League's Convention in November will hear the appeal of the entire grouping.

REFLECTS THEIR CENTRISM

The devious methods of Tracey and Co. are an exact reflection of their centrist political conceptions. Instead of a forthright political struggle to win the organization, or part of it, to his positions, Tracey resorted to evasions, lies, and whispering campaigns around the edges of the organization. He thought that by such a policy he could either nudge the organization toward his pseudo-Trotskyist orthodoxy or, failing that, build a personal

clique.

"CREEPING TROTSKYISM"

His political approach was thus one of "creeping Trotskyism." This paralleled his views on the Russia question: nationalized property forms contain an automatic dynamic toward socialism that works separately and apart from the conscious struggle of the proletariat led by a revolutionary party.

In both cases, the objective "historical process" (the hope and comfort of all centrists) is to accomplish the tasks assigned by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky to political struggle by a Bolshevik leadership. This objectivism, the method of Kautsky, Mandel and all centrists, also expressed itself in the position of the Tracey group calling for critical support to Mitterand in both rounds in last spring's French elections. This position, which we were told represented the only Trotskyist method of breaking the workers from the Popular Front, was only a more blatant example of Tracey's capitulation to bourgeois forces.

HEGEMONY

After years during which reformist and Stalinist leaderships were virtually unchallenged in their hegemony over the international proletariat, revolutionary leaderships are developing throughout the world. Programs and cadres are being tested. The future leaders of the proletarian army are being selected. The genuine revolutionaries are being separated from the centrist and reformist capitalists, the petty-bourgeois careerists, maneuverists and adventurers from the honest, dedicated Bolsheviks.

FOR REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

The expulsion of Tracey and his clique is just one phase in the League's struggle for the program of revolutionary Marxism, to reconstruct the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

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The Editors

Strike Wave: Analysis and Strategy

Cont'd. from p. 1

In order to determine the tasks of revolutionaries at this time, it is necessary to analyze the strike wave in more detail.

SPONTANEOUS

The strike wave is largely a spontaneous development, breaking out, so to speak, behind the backs of the labor bureaucrats. A large proportion of the strikes have been wildcats and other "unauthorized" actions. In addition, many strikes have been sparked and/or led by oppositional groupings in the unions.

This was noted quite clearly by *Business Week*, one of whose jobs is to inform the ruling class of these things. The July 20 issue reported: "Caucuses of rank and file unionists opposed to established union leaderships are capitalizing on the unrest. In the non-ferrous metals industry, groups opposed to the present United Steelworkers leadership or to coalition bargaining spearheaded by the USW were largely responsible for the strikes last weekend against four or five major copper companies. General Motors Corp. local strikes (e.g. Lordstown, St. Louis-RT) are blamed in part on dissenting United Auto Workers. And a number of major strikes idling thousands of public employees began without union approval."

This passage indicates the significance of this development to the bourgeoisie: their lieutenants, the bureaucrats, are not as on top of the situation as the ruling class thinks they should be.

SMALL FIRMS

The second major characteristic of the strike upsurge is that it has barely touched the basic manufacturing sector of the economy. Most of the strikes have been confined to small firms employing less than 200 workers. The sellout contracts in auto and steel have so far corralled the unrest in these industries and prevented it from overflowing into major strike action.

This may be changing, as the local strikes in GM seem to indicate. There is certainly no less anger in these sectors than in others and it may be just a matter of time before it breaks out into the open here as well.

DEFENSIVE

The third and most important characteristic of the strike wave is the fact that it remains, in its content, basically a defensive reaction. The prime mover in the struggles is the desire on the part of the workers to "catch up" with the rise in prices, to make up for the decline in real wages over the past few years.

This explains why many of the strikes are occurring in the small

shops. The workers in these shops have been largely ignored by their union leaders, and the owners have fought fiercely against the demands of the workers themselves.

The "catch-up" nature of the strike wave can be seen most starkly in the strikes in two sectors. In public employment, workers were held to 2.2 per cent wage increases under the wage control program. The public employees are now determined to catch up and have begun, despite the laws restricting strikes in the public sector, a massive strike movement.

One such strike virtually paralyzed Baltimore, Md., while others have had substantial impacts on Los Angeles, the Bay Area, certain parts of Ohio, etc. Jerry Wurf, head of the 700,000-member American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees union, now finds himself in hot water. This "liberal" bureaucrat is now pleading to Congress for help in controlling "his" workers. "It's going to be a long, hot August and September in the public sector," Wurf groaned.

CONSTRUCTION

In the construction industry, the response has been similar. The assault on the building trades workers began in 1969, masterminded by John Dunlop, head of the Cost of Living Council under Nixon. It was designed as a spearhead in the attack against the working class as a whole.

The construction workers, whose unions were weakened by their discriminatory policies against blacks and other racially oppressed workers, and whose leaders cooperated fully with this drive, are now in a sorry shape. The construction industry is in a severe slump, with housing starts down almost 40 per cent since early 1973. As a result, unemployment is at catastrophic levels. In New Jersey, site of the recent demonstration of over 20,000 construction workers, 30 per cent of the building trades workers are unemployed.

On the wage front, construction workers have been lashed as well. As of May, average hourly earnings in the construction industry were increasing at a miserable annual rate of 5.4 per cent, while, as we have noted, wage increases of unionized workers as a whole were rising nearly twice as fast.

NOW FIGHT BACK

In response to this situation, the construction workers have begun to fight back. The California Bay Area saw a strike of construction workers that won a wage settlement of 18 per cent, while in Los Angeles 40,000 carpenters and 30,000 laborers downed tools on July 1st for wage increases averaging about 14 per cent on an annual basis. As of mid-June, there had had been 132 strikes by

construction workers in 1974 compared to 33 in all of 1973. This outburst, and particularly the San Francisco settlement, has sent Dunlop crying over seeing the results of his "work" go down the drain.

FAIR SHARE

As we can see in these examples, the inflation of the past few years which has reached disastrous proportions this year has intensified the pressure of the rank and file on the labor bureaucrats. Up to March of this year, this head of steam was contained

In order to move forward, the strike wave must embrace the central industrial sectors of the economy, such as steel and auto, and be transformed into a broad and sweeping wage offensive. The local strikes must be linked in a movement for a national general strike. The coal miners, whose contract with the coal operators expires November 12, are the key to this development.

MINERS

The miners have always been among the most militant sections of the



Miners mass in Harlan County, Kentucky in defense of embattled Brookside strikers. UMW holds key to spreading strike wave.

by the wage control program imposed in mid-1971.

Some workers broke out even before the lifting of the controls on May 1st. The formal end of the controls, however, was the signal for the go-ahead for many workers. The vast majority of the striking workers see themselves as striking for a "fair share." They have not yet grasped the gravity of the situation created by the growing capitalist crisis and do not see the deadly threat of Bonapartism and war that it poses. The workers' response is essentially instinctive, and the vast majority still accept the limits imposed on the struggle by the labor bureaucracy.

American working class. In November of 1971, for example, just after the imposition of wage controls, the miners struck for six weeks and brought home a wage increase well over the guidelines. Today, they are in an even more militant frame of mind. While they continue to face hazardous working conditions that have killed 100,000 miners in mine accidents this century, they are being asked to double and triple productivity in light of the energy crisis.

This militancy represents the culmination of a rising wave that began in the early sixties. It was this wave that boosted UMW President Arnold Miller to power. In order to head off a

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possible explosion in the union, Miller was backed by influential sectors of the bourgeoisie and helped into office by the U.S. Labor Department. The ranks have maintained admirable pressure on him, reminding him of his campaign promises to clean up and democratize the union, to reform the pension plan and rebuild its fund, to fight to put the miners' safety before production, and to launch a drive to organize the unorganized mines.

AMBIGUOUS POSITION

Miller is now in an ambiguous position. The mass pressure he faces will make his job of controlling the miners and shackling the union to the state somewhat tougher than he bargained for. Already he has been forced to launch an organizing drive in southeastern Kentucky which has turned into a major class battle.

The organizing drive has focused in on the Brookside mine owned by the Duke Power Co. through a subsidiary which bought up the mine in 1970 after the union was kicked out after a long strike.

The strike at the Duke's mines has been the scene of a fierce struggle involving thousands of miners in which at least one miner has been shot, many jailed and fired, while the governor sought to use state troopers to smash the picket line. This bitterly fought struggle has brought the miners to the attention of broad sectors of the working class and has heightened the miners' determination to fight.

SHUTDOWN

The miners' pressure has also forced Miller to call a five-day "memorial" shutdown period. Although officially called to mourn miners killed in mine accidents, the job action is designed to reduce above-ground coal supplies by a week's production of about 12.5 million tons. This, it is hoped, will put the heat on Duke Power to settle at Brookside and weaken the industry's bargaining position in the upcoming negotiations. Under the contract provision covering such shutdowns, one more five-day memorial period may still be called.

Miller's action, while a response to the militancy of the ranks, is also a signal to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the bargaining arm of the industry, that the miners are in a determined mood and that the operators had better come up with a serious offer to get him off the hook. If they do not, Miller will be forced to call a strike, as much as he would like to avoid it. A national strike, involving 120,000 miners in the context of an anticipated coal shortage and a strike of oil refinery workers threatened for January, could transform the class struggle in the United States.

SET AN EXAMPLE

The coal companies, aided by skyrocketing coal prices, may come up with a fair-sounding offer and either avoid a strike or provoke a relatively short walkout. Even if this is the case, the miners will set an example for the rest of the labor movement, showing what even simple trade union militancy can do. If a strike is called and it turns into a serious confrontation, the impact may be electric. The miners may then become the rallying point



Striker tangles with cop in Baltimore, where public employees paralyzed city in July walkout.

for a massive display of labor solidarity and a symbol of the intensifying class struggle.

BOSSES NERVOUS

The ruling class' response to the strike wave has been a nervous one. The bourgeoisie knows the strength of the working class better than the workers themselves. While the economy is crumbling and the bourgeoisie is making plans to try to curb inflation by jacking up unemployment, the danger of the present strike wave getting out of hand is worrying them.

Just a few months after lifting the wage-price controls leading spokesmen of the capitalists (and Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters bureaucracy) are calling for new controls, backed up by a "social compact". Although it may be some time before actual wage controls are reintroduced, there can be no doubt that in the present stage' in the collapse of the economy the ruling class will intensify the pressure on the workers. In doing this, it must take on an increasingly class conscious working class head on.

GENERAL STRIKE

The present strike upsurge must be broadened and transformed into a general class action culminating in a general strike in defense of the workers and all the oppressed against the depredations of the capitalists. A fighting class unity must be forged. A fight must be waged in the labor movement for unity in action. The fullest extension of labor solidarity is crucial, including the revival of the secondary boycott.

Common expiration dates must be won for contracts covering related

The labor movement must champion the needs of the unemployed and racial minorities and women.

industries. Scabbing and raiding fostered by bureaucratic union cliques must be stamped out. Defense squads to defend the picket lines from scabs and police must be established. Under the banner of a national wage offensive, a fight must be waged for contract reopeners and for full Cost of Living protection (a sliding scale of wages). This struggle must be tied in with a fight for a national Congress of Labor and the Oppressed to coordinate the efforts of the presently divided working class.

To prevent the bourgeoisie from accentuating the already deep divisions in the working class, in particular using the unemployed and

against all forms of discrimination and against unemployment. A massive campaign must be mounted for a sliding scale of hours. A huge public works program with guaranteed union-scale pay, full union protection and under the supervision of the labor movement itself must be fought for.

This program, while essential, is not enough. The workers must break out of the bounds of simple trade-unionism, whose very goals imply the acceptance of capitalism. Capitalism's crisis is not merely economic. It is a crisis of the whole system. It is political and demands a political response. Fundamental unity of the working class can only be forged through the struggle for socialism. Only the revolutionary socialist program can unite the working class and all the oppressed. Every other program means the division of the working class and the subordination of the more oppressed sectors to the labor aristocracy.

The transformation of the strike wave into a political assault on capitalism requires the most determined struggle for the revolutionary program. It requires the struggle for a revolutionary leadership of the working class. And, as it draws deeper layers of the working class into the struggle, the strike wave offers revolutionaries increasing opportunities to build and cohere the revolutionary vanguard.

most oppressed as a battering-ram against employed workers, the labor movement must champion the needs of the unemployed and racial minorities and women.

A full-scale fight must be waged

Chile: Never Again!



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CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE SOUTH

Part One: An Overview

BY DAVID FRANKLIN

An important victory for labor in the South was earned in the fall 1973 when textile workers in Andrews and Lanes, South Carolina, won their organizing drive against Oneita Knitting Mills. After refusing to bargain for eighteen months, Oneita finally gave in to demands for union recognition. In an industry historically notorious for union-busting, and in a region that has traditionally been known as "open shop" territory, this has no small significance.

Furthermore, the strike was successful in mobilizing black and white workers in common struggle. And as a white millhand, in an interview with the *Southern Patriot*, expressed it: "... it was real necessary for the white and black to stick together, but what really made the difference was the black people were so together and strong. They carried the strike."

This development, in an industry that until recently simply did not hire blacks, and has used the time-tested threat of hiring blacks if white workers got "uppity," should be noted by militant and revolutionary workers.

But the Oneita victory was a limited one. If the 700 workers involved now have a union, the actual goods delivered in the contract are chickenfeed at best. The agreement with Oneita spreads a maximum 65c-an-hour wage hike over three years, which means that the prevailing wage before the strike, \$1.60 an hour, has risen to a whopping... \$1.80 an hour!

There are no provisions for cost-of-living protection at a time when prices are skyrocketing; neither does the contract get rid of mandatory overtime (the average work-week for textile workers remains six days), or protect workers who are booted out onto the street.

OUTPOST

In addition, the organizing of Oneita merely involves an outpost of the sprawling kingdom in the South known as the textile and apparel industry. This kingdom employs more than 1.1 million southern workers and contains the more familiar (larger) provinces of Burlington, J.P. Stevens, and others.

The Oneita struggle is, in many respects, indicative of fundamental trends in the class



Militant alliance of black and white workers fueled the Oneita strike.

struggle in the South. And to gain the real significance of the Oneita victory and its inherent limitations, this struggle must be set against an understanding of the South's historical role in the development of U.S. capitalism and the struggle of the labor movement against the special conditions of southern capitalism.

It is the intention of this article, and subsequent ones, to begin to outline such an understanding, and to lay the framework for building a revolutionary alternative to the current "leaders" of labor in the U.S. South.

IMPERIALIST EPOCH

The real inclusion of the southern U.S. into the mainstream of U.S. capitalism could not occur until the system of slavery that dominated the pre-Civil

War South was smashed. This was the fundamental goal accomplished by the North in that war. But by the time that this inclusion did occur, U.S. (and world) capitalism was already headed toward decline. It was decreasingly able to both significantly raise labor productivity and maintain human living standards for its workers. This was due, in the final analysis, to the accelerating tendency of the rate of profit to fall, to the exhaustion of opportunities for productive and profitable investment in the metropolitan centers.

PLUNDER

This stage of world capitalism is characterized by imperialist expansion into the "underdeveloped" portions of the world, as a means to offset the falling rate of profit. Raw materials from these areas are plundered, the small working classes are paid below the level of the proletariat in advanced countries, and, in general, the "third world" becomes increasingly subordinated—economically, politically, socially—to the advanced capitalist nations. And they remain essentially "backward."

Furthermore, this stage of world history is characterized by the centralization of capital, the building up of monopolies, and the existence of a large and centralized working class.

Highly related, these two developments have important political implications: the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat now occupies center stage. With this, the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the democratic demands posited during capitalism's earlier struggle with the pre-capitalist order changes. The bourgeoisie more and more tends to oppose these demands, in fear that the masses, particularly the working class, will direct these demands against capitalism itself. Of general importance, this has specific relevance in understanding southern U.S. development.

Now, the imperialist relationships between advanced capitalist nations, and the underdeveloped portions of the world, have parallels within the advanced nations themselves. A striking case of this can be seen in the history of the U.S. South, from the end of the Civil War until the present day.

The parallels came in the form of (1) Northern investments and basic control over capital in the South; (2) the investment of capital largely in the extractive industries (and in labor-intensive industries in general); (3) the super-exploitation and oppression of southern labor, especially of black workers. Let's examine them more closely.

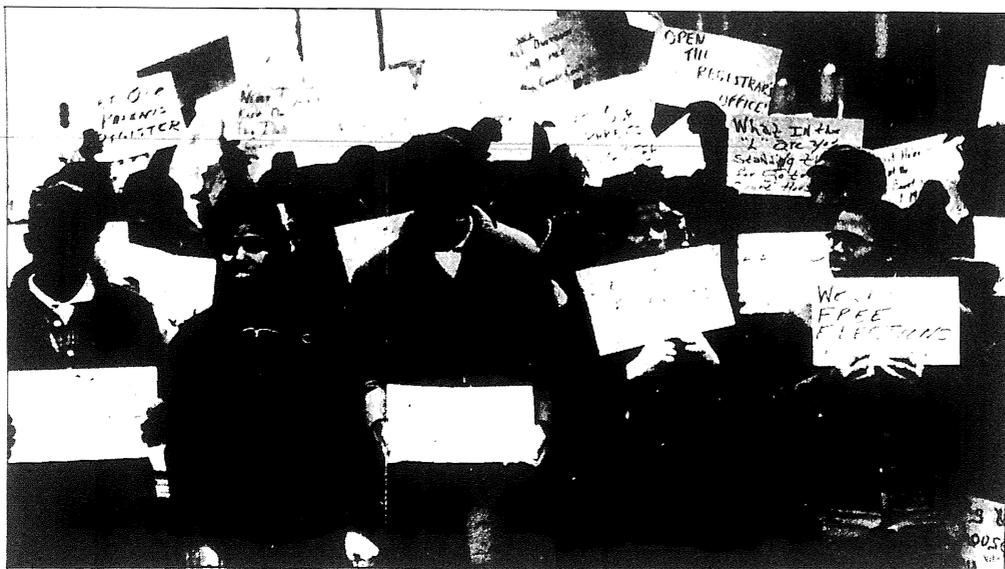
Until about 1879, the movement of capital southward was quite slow. But, following 1879, and again following the panic of 1893, investments began to pick up. The industrialization of the South was primarily in the hands of Northern capital. Only in the tobacco industry, and partially in textiles before 1893, did "indigenous" capital maintain or establish controls in important sectors. Moreover, monopolization came early, or was inherent, in all the major industries of the South.

Capital was largely centered in the extractive industries; a full 62 per cent of all southern workers in 1910, for example, were employed in this sector. The industry of the South was generally of a labor-intensive character. Besides lumber, the major industries included textiles, tobacco, and food-manufacturing, hardly capital-intensive operations.

WAGES

As for wages, southern workers in 1910 averaged \$452 annually, compared to the national average of \$518. And this was just in manufacturing; including the extractive industries, where wages are lower, the regional differences became even greater.

All this was not lost on many northern capitalists who, like all capitalists, tried to get as much out of their workers for as little as possible. The shifting of the center of textile production from New England to the South occurred largely for this reason.



Blacks will obtain the rights of democracy only through the socialist revolution.

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The whole dynamic of production must be put into the context of what the South as a whole was economically in this time span—a region which was predominantly rural... and underdeveloped. In fact, capitalism's workings in the South during this period can be aptly described as a plundering operation, rather than a systematic development of the productive forces. The reason for this plunder did not lie in any particular "hatred" of the South or of southerners by "northern-chauvinist" capitalists. It grew out of the U.S. bourgeoisie's need for a low-cost, high-return gimmicks to offset the growing contradictions of capitalist production in general.

SOUTHERN POLITICS

But all this plunder and exploitation did not exist in a political vacuum. A particularly reactionary political regime was required in the region, in order to police these operations.

For this, the Republican Reconstruction governments set up in the region right after the Civil War would never do. Though they were by no means "anti-capitalist," the social group to which they appealed were the propertyless and socially volatile black "freedmen." A more socially conservative ally in the South was needed to support the political and economic goals of the U.S. national bourgeoisie, goals including the control of lands in the South for speculative investments and railroad construction; order to replace relative disorder of Reconstruction; and a firm base of political support for U.S. capital's expansionist aims internationally.

This ally was to be found in the capitalist class of the South; mostly merchants plus a few manufacturers. Its political base was in the most self-consciously capitalist ("Redeemer") wing of the southern Democratic Party. With the support of northern capital, the "Redeemers" wrested control of the South's state governments from the Reconstructionists by the late 1870's.

The implications of Redemption were profound. Blacks, even under Reconstruction, had generally been denied the key democratic demand in an agrarian economy—the distribution of the land—and were left in a position, along with many poor whites, between slavery and an independent petty-bourgeois farming class—that is, as tenants and sharecroppers. Others became simple laborers. With Redemption, many of the political and civil rights which had been won in the preceding period were, in practical terms, lost. (The formal withdrawal of these rights—"Jim Crow"—would come later, especially in the 1890's.)

As for the southern bourgeoisie, it was incorporated, in a subordinate status, into the national ruling class; and the southern economy



1938: poverty-stricken cotton-pickers receive their miserable wage.

was subordinated to the national one. At the same time, the southern capitalists were given a substantial political clout within the U.S. as a whole. The old southern aristocracy, though still having some independent political weight, and having some policy differences with the Redeemers, were also drawn into playing a fundamentally supportive role to capital in the South.

This arrangement was, of necessity, an especially repressive one—particularly for workers, tenants and sharecroppers, and small farmers. The most brutal exploitation and oppression of all these groups was essential to make the post-war deal in the South work.

BLACKS

But the principal target of repression was the South's black population. Blacks, far more than any other part of the population, embodied the failure of U.S. capitalism to deliver on the promise of bourgeois democracy. For the same reason, they represented the most potentially explosive segment of the population. At all costs, the blacks had to be disenfranchised, terrorized, and isolated from white workers and farmers.

The regime which did this to blacks had precious little to offer to any part of the proletariat and lower petty bourgeoisie. The precarious nature of post-war southern capitalism demanded the crushing of unionizing efforts, agrarian movements, extensive use of convict labor by private firms, wholesale usury, and the disenfranchisement not only of blacks but of poor whites as well.

NOT A NATION

The parallels, of course, which exist between the relationship of northern to southern U.S. capitalism and the relationship between an imperialist nation and a colony are just that—only parallels. Parallels and analogies are useful only so long as their limitations are clearly recognized.

The U.S. South is not now and never has been a "nation" in any Marxist sense of the term. (Thus,

the Civil War was a progressive, democratic struggle on the side of the North. The struggle of the Confederacy was not a (defeated) war for national self-determination!) The oppression experienced in the South is regional (and especially racial—for the blacks), not a national oppression imposed by a foreign imperialist power.

DEVELOPMENT

Lately, the South has undergone a relatively deep, though belated, economic development. Made possible by the U.S.'s post-war international imperialist domination, this has taken place in the period following World War II. The region has rapidly become more industrialized, including the expansion of industries, both traditional to the region as well as late entries. Agriculture has been modernized and diversified, using up-to-date mechanized equipment and scientific technique. Changes within southern society as a whole have corresponded to these changes in the economic substructure; this is quite notable in such categories as education and transportation.

But despite all the quantitative changes, the South still bears the same qualitative relationship to the rest of the American economy. It remains an especially backward and oppressed region, a reservoir for decaying capitalism. The post-war "progress" and "modernization" must be seen in this framework.

Southern industry is still characterized by the dominance of labor-intensive industries. Textiles remains the largest single employer, while those old favorites, pulpwood and lumber, still loom as major regional enterprises. And, though the South over the past quarter-century has grown at a faster industrial clip than has the nation as a whole it is still far behind the national average in the degree of its over-all development. Though no longer predominantly rural, the proportion of its total population which lives in rural areas is around one and a half times the standard of the U.S. at large. Its per capita income is only 80 per cent of the



Reconstruction governments, leaning on the southern black "freedmen," were dispersed by the alliance of northern and southern capitalists.

national average. In these aspects and other, similar ones, continuity with the past has not been broken.

IMPLICATIONS

The character of the recent Oneita struggle and the question of the labor movement generally in the South today is intimately linked up with the analysis presented above.

U.S. capitalism needs to plunder the South of its resources and its cheap labor supply. This need will increase as the present capitalist crisis sharpens further. No working-class leadership which ignores this fact and which fails to attack the problem at its roots—that is, capitalism itself—can alleviate the condition of southern (and especially of black) labor or even prevent that condition from worsening dramatically.

The whole history of the labor movement in the South testifies to this conclusion. Everyone from the Knights of Labor through the present-day Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) has failed the test, and each time the reason for failure

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