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Newspaper of the
**Revolutionary
Socialist League**

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

Vol 1

FIGHT THE LAYOFFS!

By Jack Gregory, Editor

The worsening economy has produced depression conditions in the auto industry. Over 200,000 auto workers are being laid off in December, and the slumping auto sales picture indicates that many workers will not be recalled in January.

Auto, together with housing construction, were the consumer-oriented industries that paced the post-war boom. Housing has been in crisis straits for well over a year, and now auto has followed suit. The plight of these sectors most sharply illustrates the break-up of economic stability, and foreshadows what capitalism has in store for the entire working class, if its plans go unchallenged.

U.S. capitalism has a choice. It can try to fight inflation by dampening the economy, which will send unemployment skyrocketing. Or it can attempt to stimulate the economy to fight unemployment and recession, in which case inflation threatens to reach astronomical levels. But it cannot both slow inflation and prevent the recession from deepening. So whatever it chooses, the workers lose.

When Gerald Ford took office in August, he announced that inflation was

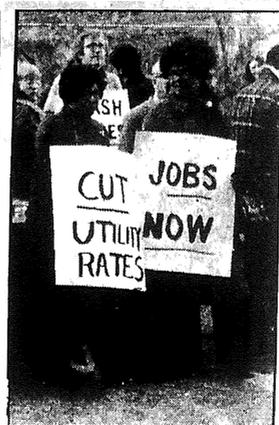
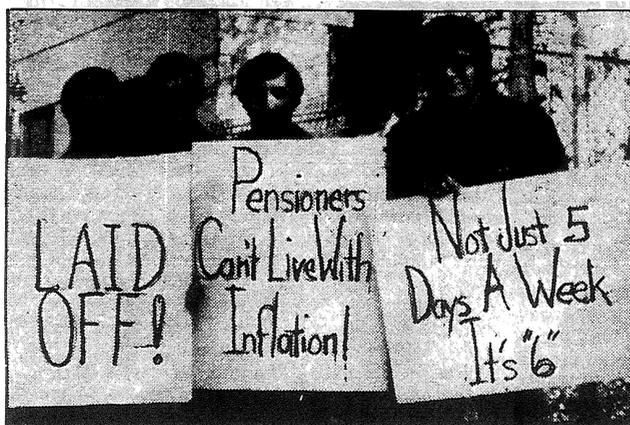
"Public Enemy Number One."

Ford announced that it was the duty of every American to combat inflation, and urged that consumers exercise great restraint in spending. Together with this, the Ford Administration announced that it would cut back government spending and launch a tight money policy intended to cut inflation by dampening economic activity.

Ford's policies have already reaped the whirlwind. By late October he was already under harsh attack by the auto industry. Chrysler chairman Lynn Townsend pinned the blame for the auto slump on the government's anti-inflation policies, claiming that American workers were unable to get credit for car loans because of the tight money program, and that additionally, consumers were following Ford's advice and not buying new cars.

This is true, but it is only part of the story. Inflation has jacked up the price of new cars steadily over the past two years. The spurt in auto sales last summer represented workers trying to get in under the wire by buying 1974 models at the end of the season. Inflation has eroded buying power by cutting real wages, and so workers are less

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Workers must force UAW to mobilize struggle against layoffs and inflation. TOP: 7,500 demonstrate in San Diego demanding jobs. LOWER LEFT: UE members picket General Electric plant in Muncie, Indiana protesting simultaneous layoffs and forced overtime. LOWER RIGHT: A Pittsburgh demonstration.

War Threatens Mid-East

By Cliff Gordon

The Arab summit conference at Rabat, Morocco, and the appearance at the UN of Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) mark a new phase in the struggle in the Mid-East. At Rabat, King Hussein conceded the PLO's right to represent the Palestinian people. With this accomplished, Arafat visited the UN, where he was received with the protocols normally reserved for visiting heads of state.

At the UN, Arafat reas-

serted the PLO's aim: the creation of a secular Palestinian state in which Moslems, Christians and Jews could live in harmony. Hidden under the militant rhetoric was a statement that the PLO would accept, as a "step" toward their ultimate goal, the establishment of a Palestinian state consisting of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza strip.

In other words, Arafat and the other Arab leaders are prepared to make a deal with the Israeli bourgeoisie. They will try to head off the aspirations of the Palestinian and Arab masses in return for

a truncated Palestinian state. This is how Arafat and the other Arab leaders wish to sell the Palestinians to imperialism.

This proposal occurs precisely when the class struggle in Israel is boiling over in the form of food riots, demonstrations and strikes against inflation and other effects of the capitalist crisis, such as Israeli war debts. At the same time, the Palestinian masses have intensified their struggle in response to the change in the relation of forces in their favor.

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UMW Strike

Ranks Resist Miller Sell-Out

On November 13, just one day after the United Mineworkers strike officially began, UMW President Arnold Miller announced that a tentative agreement between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators had been reached. Although the public reports are by no means complete, the main outlines of the proposed pact are clear.

The proposed settlement includes the Mine-workers' first cost of living escalator clause and sick pay provisions. It calls for an immediate 9 per cent wage increase with 3 per cent increases in 1975 and 1976. Pensions for miners already retired will increase from the present \$150 per month to \$250 per month by the third year of the contract. Those retiring in the future will receive pensions of up to \$400 per month.

To pay for this, the mine owners will increase their royalty payments to the retirement fund from 80 cents per ton to \$1.55 per ton. There are to be four safety inspections per mine per year. And to sell the package there is a bonus of \$80 per miner, which is supposed to overcome the wage-cutting toll taken by inflation over the past few years.

MILLER HAILS OFFER

The union bureaucrats and the coal operators have acclaimed the pact as record setting, involving an increase in wages and benefits of 49.9 per cent (This was the bureaucrats' initial estimate. Miller has now jacked this up to 53 per cent). Compared to what the miners need it is pitiful.

With inflation now at 12 per cent annually, the wage increases will not come close to catching up with what has already been lost, nor will they provide protection for the future. To ensure this, there is a cap of 8 per cent on the cost of living formula. While the pension increase is substantial, it is still inadequate; nobody can live in dignity on \$400 per month. The royalty payments themselves are a far cry from the \$2.40 per ton that the miners demanded, and even this could not have built a large enough fund to really protect retiring miners. The four safety inspections is what is left of the union's demand for a full-time company-paid safety inspector at each mine. And although five days of paid sick leave may be a first step for the UMW, it is far behind what other organized workers have won.



Miller in West Virginia tries to sell the rotten new contract to the coal miners.



Restive Pennsylvania coal miners strike a day ahead of official strike deadline. Miller's job now is to hold back the militancy of the UMW ranks.

There were many things left out of the public accounts. There was no mention of any of the demands for a 30 hour week, for an end to compulsory overtime, for quadruple pay for holiday work. Miller obviously threw these away. And the demand for the right to strike over health and safety conditions was discarded.

SELL-OUT

It should be clear to militant workers that this lousy excuse for a settlement could have been reached without a strike. What is actually being "negotiated" by the bureaucrats and the industry representatives is not a contract for the miners but what tactics to use to sell the miners down the river.

This explains the charade that has accompanied the whole negotiations. The settlement itself came just a few days after Miller "dramatically" broke off negotiations in a cheap public relations stunt to show the ranks just how tough he is. The *Wall Street Journal*, which knows about these things, noted that the "union men (meaning the bureaucrats) worry that if a settlement gets to the coal fields early next week, it may arrive before the miners have worked off the steam they've built up over the past year in anticipation of a walkout."

The murder of Sam Littlefield, a member of the 38-person bargaining council who was shot during a holdup in his hotel in Washington, gave Miller a convenient pretext to delay the vote on the Council. By doing this he hoped to head off a contract rejection movement.

As of this writing, this maneuvering does not appear to have accomplished much. On November 20, the Bargaining Council, which must approve the contract before it can be sent to the ranks for ratification, voted not to accept the pact. It did not, however, vote to reject it. Instead it voted to send Miller back to the bargaining table to renegotiate some parts of the agreement. It indicated that these parts were "minor," but Miller is now talking about basic issues such as wages, the right-to-strike clause, and the pact's proposal to split the miners' two-week vacation into a summer week and a winter week.

The industry, for its part, at first indicated that it would be willing to "listen" to proposals to

"rearrange" provisions in the contract as long as the total package was not increased. On November 21, the BCOA spokesmen claimed that they would refuse to negotiate further, while Miller, in West Virginia to build support for the contract, stated that he had been told no such thing.

The invisible man behind all these goings-on is the rank and file miner who has strong feelings about the pact. If the Bargaining Council is divided, as was rumored, then the ranks must be dead against. Tom Shoemaker, Council representative from District 12 in Illinois, summed up what are probably the feelings of the rank and file. He said that he had surveyed 200 miners and did not find one who was prepared to vote for the agreement. "Outside of the benefits for the pensions and the widows, the rest of it stinks. I think the miners will vote it down 50 to 1 in Illinois."

Despite its paltry character the pact itself is a reflection of the militancy of the miners. When the rest of the labor movement, particularly the auto workers, is faced with mass layoffs, the miners forced the Coal Operators to come up with a pact that at least looked like something.

STEEL FORCED TO CLOSE

While the coal industry and the union bureaucrats fiddle around in their efforts to trick the miners, the economy will suffer from the effects of the miners' strike. Steel companies have stretched out their coke-making cycle to conserve short supplies of coal and many have started to bank the coke-consuming furnaces. U.S. Steel, which is the worst hit, has already shut nine furnaces and is preparing to close eight more. If the strike goes beyond December 1, as is now almost certain, U.S. Steel says it will have to close down entire plants. What is true for steel will be true for other sectors dependent on coal. The result will be further layoffs and a worsening of the condition of the staggering economy.

Business Week of November 23 cites a government economist's statement that the Ford Administration is anticipating a temporary addition of 0.3 per cent to the country's unemployment rate as a result of a relatively short mine strike. The industry, the government, and the capitalist press

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will work overtime in order to convince the miners and the working class as a whole that the blame for the layoffs and the worsening economic situation lies with the miners.

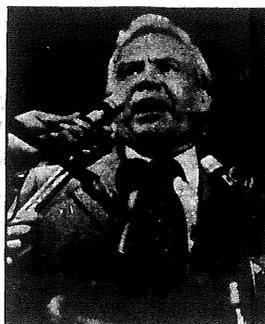
BLAME THE BOSSES

The blame for the general economic situation lies with capitalism and the capitalist class as a whole. The mineowners and their labor lieutenants share the full blame for the strike and its effects. The miners, as all workers who produce the wealth of this country, deserve to get what they need.

As we have seen, the mineowners are enjoying record profits. They can afford a lot more than they say. If the industry cannot afford the miners' demands, the mines should be nationalized and placed under the control of the workers. There can be no solution to the economic crisis by grinding the

miners and the rest of the working class into the dirt.

Up until now the Federal Government has kept a low profile. Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service chief Willie J. Usery, Jr., has urged the Administration to hold off direct intervention for the time being. If the miners hold out for a better contract, as now seems likely, the pressure on them



W.J. Usery, Jr. intervenes to "mediate" coal dispute at the expense of the miners.

will mount. It will be under these circumstances that Usery will step in to "direct" the negotiations. If the "pleasant" methods do not bludgeon the miners into submission, the government will resort to more direct methods. Class conscious workers should keep their eyes on the coalfields and be prepared to come to the aid of the miners.

Miller is now showing his true colors. He is a class collaborationist bureaucrat who seeks to use his past reputation as a rank and file leader and his militant rhetoric to sell out the miners. He remains committed to capitalism and therefore to forcing the miners to bear the burden of the capitalist crisis.

Whatever positive steps he takes are the result of the pressure of the ranks and his fear of the ranks. He only waits for the miners to lower their vigilance. The struggle to throw out Miller and replace him with a revolutionary leadership remains on the order of the day in the UMW.

Busing Fraud

SPARTACISTS

BY ROGER CID

The race crisis in Boston has exposed the black community to the deprivations of racist mobs. Behind these and the other forces at work in Boston stands the bourgeoisie. This class is seeking to protect itself from the effects of the capitalist crisis, and particularly the threat of proletarian upsurge by pitting different sections of the working class at each other's throats. The Boston crisis shows us the bourgeoisie at work. And of necessity it poses in the sharpest form the contrast between the Marxist method of revolutionary socialism and bourgeois devices of centrism.

To see this it is necessary to discuss the revolutionary approach to the crisis in Boston. This approach begins with the Leninist-Trotskyist conception of the epoch of imperialist decay, an epoch in which capitalism has outlived its usefulness as a social system. In this epoch, capitalism fetters the productive forces and threatens mankind with ruination if the proletariat does not intervene with the socialist revolution. It is an epoch, as Trotsky wrote in the **Transitional Program**, "when, in general, there can be no discussion of systematic social reforms and the raising of the masses' living standards."

After over 30 years of imperialist war and deep economic crisis, capitalism after World War II entered a period of relative stabilization within the imperialist epoch. This period has now come to a close and the deep decay of capitalism is oozing to the surface. To save itself and its rotting system, the capitalist class is unleashing a massive assault on the living standards of the workers and oppressed masses throughout the world. The inflation and unemployment in the United States are just the tip of the iceberg. Famine, depression, racial pogroms, fascism and war are what capitalism has in store for the world's people unless the proletariat in alliance with the oppressed overthrows capitalism and begins the construction of socialist society.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The classic bourgeois strategy to maintain its rule has been and still is "divide and rule." The workers have no wealth, no capital. All they have is their capacity to labor, their consciousness and their organization. If the workers can be kept divided, the bourgeoisie can maintain itself. Thus, the capitalists will exert every effort to keep the workers divided along national, regional, racial, sexual, occupational, etc. lines. Racism and its close relative national chauvinism are among the most powerful weapons in the capitalist arsenal. The history of the United States—indeed, the history of the world—shows the central importance of these tools. As capitalism decays, the bourgeoisie will use these weapons more and more blatantly.

The economic crisis affects not only the working class. It also places intolerable pressure on the middle layers of capitalist society. These layers, as Lenin pointed out long ago, are transmission belts for capitalist ideology into the working class. They

FRONT FOR BOURGEOISIE

are therefore crucial to the capitalist schemes for dividing the workers. How to best utilize these unstable social layers to prop up bourgeois rule is often the cause of important tactical differences within the ruling class.

Sometimes these differences cannot be resolved smoothly within ruling class institutions. The different bourgeois factions then seek to mobilize different sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie and middle class in these struggles. Since the issues involved are significant social questions which are of vital interest to the proletarian masses, these battles inevitably draw in masses of workers.

Despite differences each faction of the bourgeoisie agrees on the need to confuse and divide the workers. The factional battles are consistent with this since through them the workers are drawn into fratricidal conflict instead of a united struggle against the ruling class. In effect, the workers become the cannon fodder used by the bourgeoisie in the latter's internecine battles. The result is to obscure the fundamental class issues at stake, to blunt the class struggle and to foment civil war within the working class.

BUSING FRAUD

The crisis in Boston is just such a situation. There is no section of the bourgeoisie that considers busing to be a real solution to anything. But the issue does have an important tactical significance. Some sections of the bourgeoisie seek to use busing to smooth over a "rough edge" of capitalist society. Busing, they think, will make it look as if the United States is moving toward racial equality. It will therefore improve the "image" of the United States and at the same time divert the black masses from the real struggle to end their oppression. The black masses will remain under the leadership of the integrationist-minded black middle class, and through them tied to the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie. Thus a united class struggle on the part of black and white workers will be prevented.

This approach however comes into conflict with those sections of the bourgeoisie who have their political base in those layers of society which are most openly racist, specifically sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy. The tactic of these bourgeois forces is to use blacks and other minorities as scapegoats to whip up the rampant racism that infects the petty bourgeoisie and vast numbers of white workers. In this way, blacks can be kept "in their place" and the whole working class kept divided.

For obvious reasons, the liberal forces appear as the "friends" of blacks. In the absence of a revolutionary proletarian alternative to both the bourgeois liberals and the bourgeois conservatives, the black masses will see the liberals as the only force which has any concern for their interests. This is reinforced by the consequent fact that these liberals have an open alliance with the organizations of the black middle class, such as the NAACP, the Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. As the economic situation

deteriorates and racial polarization intensifies, the black masses become ever more tightly bound to the bourgeois liberal forces through the black middle classes. Even those black workers most suspicious of the liberals are thrust into their arms.

A similar process is at work among the white workers. Those workers and petty bourgeois most infected with racism are whipped into a racist frenzy by the bourgeois and petty bourgeois political forces who see busing and the attempts of the pro-busing liberals to increase their strength as a threat to their political interests. There are, however, white workers who are not completely corrupted by racism. Many of these oppose busing because they correctly see it as no fundamental solution. They also oppose busing because, for both racist and non-racist reasons, they are afraid to send their children to the ghetto schools. As the polarization intensifies, they are left hanging and are forced into the hands of the racist demagogues.

STATUS QUO

In effect, both factions of the bourgeoisie stand for the maintenance of the status quo. They tell the workers that what is available now is all there is. The social "pie" can be no larger. The workers must tighten their belts and fight among themselves for the crumbs. The conservatives are upfront in their efforts to buy off the white workers in the fight to discipline the blacks. The liberals pretend to support the blacks. Time and again, history has shown that capitalism will always choose the white workers as the favored patsy and the blacks as the victims. When the struggle intensifies, the liberals will inevitably capitulate to the racists, deserting the blacks and leaving them open to pogroms. The blacks will be battered while the white workers, having destroyed their only real opportunity to fight for their real interests, will face ever-worsening conditions.

The immediate task of revolutionaries is two-fold:

1) The blacks must be defended as the first step in stopping the fratricidal warfare. The blacks must not rely on the liberals who will only sell them out. They must organize their own defense guards. At the same time, they must fight within the labor movement for the organization of workers' defense guards. This must become part and parcel of the struggle for a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions.

2) Revolutionary socialists must fight to convince the entire working class that as long as it accepts the "reality" of the diminishing "pie" as the framework for its struggles, it will be doomed to fight the bourgeoisie's battles, not its own. Fighting over the crumbs will win nothing for black or white workers. Fight for higher wages, jobs, housing, schools and the democratic rights of all oppressed peoples!

Socialists must tell the truth to the working class and not "tail" the present wrong consciousness of the workers. Only in this way can they avoid being the agents of the bourgeoisie. Revolutionary and

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Editorial Statement

FIGHT THE LAYOFFS!



Workers march during Depression calling for four-day work week, jobs and an end to discrimination against black and foreign-born workers.

Cont'd. from p. 1

able and less willing to buy new cars.

This becomes clear when the small-car market is examined. Last year, as a result of the energy crisis, the small-car field boomed, and industry consultants hailed it as the hope of the future. This year, small car sales have plummeted, while luxury car sales have remained relatively stable. This means just one thing: workers cannot afford new cars; only the rich can. Any way it's looked at, the slump is deep and the lay-offs are here to stay.

UAW

What is the mighty United Auto Workers union doing about the layoffs? Here is one of the most powerful labor organizations in the world. Its militant history, especially in the great Flint sit-down strike of 1936-37, sparked the CIO upsurge and inspired millions of workers around the world.

The UAW is doing nothing—nothing positive, that is. It is being shackled by a cowardly class collaborationist bureaucracy, that will not mobilize the tremendous strength of the ranks against the attacks.

Doug Fraser, UAW vice-president in charge of Chrysler, is outspoken about the bureaucracy's strategy. Fraser blames "sloppy" management practices, not the capitalist system, for the plight of the auto worker. And, sure enough, he has a proposal for Chrysler: "Maybe they can get Ed Cole (former president of General Motors) to come out of retirement. In this situation, they (chairman Townsend and president Ricardo of Chrysler) are guilty of negligence, incompetence, or manipulation."

Sure thing, Doug. Bring in a more "efficient" administrator to better wring the workers' necks.

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Other labor donated

Since November 19, when Fraser made his pathetic plea to Cole, General Motors has shown what a "well-run" auto company will do. GM is laying off close to 100,000 workers in December. But never you mind. It will lay them off efficiently.

Fraser is the same genius who declared that rather than shutting down its Jefferson Assembly Plant in Detroit, Chrysler should spread the lay-offs equally through its various factories. And they took his advice. The lay-offs are being spread equally—everyone's being laid off.

Unfortunately, Fraser's antics are not cause for laughter. They are the worst form of class treason. Just when the UAW should be striking a crushing blow against the bosses' schemes, Fraser and his fellow bureaucrats are telling the rank and file to roll over and play dead.

Until a few weeks ago, the UAW liked to boast that it had a fool-proof unemployment insurance plan, its Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB). SUB was supposed to guarantee laid-off workers 95 per cent of their take home pay for the duration of the lay-off. *Solidarity*, the UAW newspaper, published several feature articles in the past year gloating about its iron-clad system.

SUB GOING UNDER

But now, when SUB is needed the most, its flimsy nature has been exposed. Chrysler is dipping into the SUB fund for holiday pay for those laid off. It has, to begin with, only about \$900 per worker in the SUB fund. Ford's SUB fund is at \$885 per worker. GM has only \$258 per worker in its fund. This means that SUB will not be able to cover workers on lay-off for any extended period of time. Schemes are in the air now to guarantee benefits to workers with five years or more seniority, at the expense of the majority of auto workers thrown out of their jobs.

The UAW bureaucracy has proved incapable both of protecting the jobs of the rank and file and, failing this, of guaranteeing their living standards when they are out of work.

The bureaucrats claim that nothing can be done about the situation. That is a lie, deceit based on treachery and cowardice. The workers have the strength to turn the situation around. What is needed is a coordinated fight and a leadership which does not accept the limits posed by the capitalists.

Militants should demand that mass meetings of the union be called immediately to deal with the crisis—city-wide meetings of the entire UAW in Detroit, regional meetings in other parts of the

Cont'd. next page

FUND DRIVE TOPS GOAL HEADS FOR \$11,500

The members and friends of the Revolutionary Socialist League have responded with dedication to the League's third semi-annual fund drive. At the drive's close last month, the goal of \$10,000 had been surpassed, with \$10,161 collected. Late-arriving pledges will raise the total to \$11,469 (115 per cent).

As in the past, several long-time friends of the League gave as generously as their limited means allow. We value these expressions of commitment on the part of those who because of circumstances cannot be directly engaged in revolutionary work. By far the largest portion of the contributions, however, came from the League's own members, active sympathizers and contacts. By giving unstintingly to make possible the expansion of the League's work in the next period, they demonstrated their dedication to building the League as the U.S. nucleus for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Debates

Revolutionary Socialist League Vs. Spartacist League

CRISIS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM TODAY

- Is the current period prerevolutionary?
- Are we on the threshold of depression?
- Does capitalism require strong-man rule?
- What program to meet the crisis?

-Los Angeles

LA CITY COLLEGE
855 N. VERMONT

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7 1:00 P.M.

RSL-JAMES ALEXANDER
SL- JUDITH SINCLAIR

-Chicago

SECOND UNITARIAN CHURCH
656 WEST BARRY

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15 3:00 P.M.

RSL-STEVE MILLER, CC MEMBER
SL- SANDOR JONAS, NC MEMBER,
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY FOR THE MID-EAST

-Cleveland

CLEVELAND STATE UNIV.
UNIVERSITY TOWER ROOM 314

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11
7:30-10:30 P.M.

RSL-CLIFF GORDON
SL- DAVID EASTMAN

League Forum

LENINISM TODAY: THE STRUGGLE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

-New York

22 EAST 17TH ST., ROOM 927

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13 7:30 P.M.

SPEAKER: WAYNE GORDON

country. Out of these for a national emergency a fighting class would propose a conference, a program.

Unemployment is the response should UAW should demand week be cut to thirty provide jobs for all should not be confined should take this movement, champion across the board, to people.

Next, a massive movement demanded to combat misery of the cities insist that there is no done and is crying rebuilding the cities unemployment. We herding programs po — nothing less than union rates.

Inflation, which employed auto work full cost of living Living Allowance (C bureaucracy's her inadequate. In the amounts to cutting

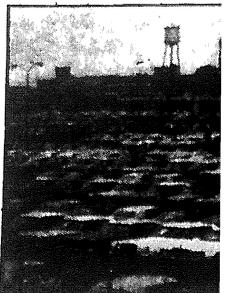
The bureaucrats respond that this program will claim that it should respond: open ourselves. Fraser has is mismanaged; let

FIGHT

We are reprinting Detroit in mid-November Socialist League in shutdown of Chrysler. The UAW bureaucracy strategy has since industry—over 200,000 this month.

The threatened Chrysler Assembly Plant most spreading throughout Chrysler workers fact result of the Jefferson workers in stamping also lose their jobs. Jefferson at the exp have not produced that Jefferson will remain

The crisis at Jefferson example of the auto members. Chrysler's shutting down for at the Lynch Road Assembly have been threatened and General Motors out of work. Over 50, on indefinite layoff. A this assault on auto workers lies in store for the whole capitalist crisis here. For thirty years c



Unsold cars in the storage Avenue assembly plant.

WE TOPS GOAL R \$71,500

Friends of the Revolutionary responded with dedication to the annual fund drive. At the time, the goal of \$10,000 had been reached. Late arrivals brought the total to \$11,469 (115 per

cent of the total). Long-time friends of the League, as well as their limited means of expression of commitment, are to be commended because of circumstances. In addition to the contributions of the League's own members, and contacts. By giving of their time and energy, they have made possible the expansion of the League in the next period, they demonstrate the building of the League as a force for the reconstruction of the

ites ry League Vs. eague

IMPERIALISM TODAY

Period prerevolutionary?
Threshold of depression?
Require strong-man rule?
Meet the crisis?

LEGE
RMONT
DECEMBER 7 1:00 P.M.
LEXANDER
INCLAIR

MARIAN CHURCH
BARRY
DECEMBER 15 3:00 P.M.
MILLER, CC MEMBER
JONAS, NC MEMBER,
YOUTH LEAGUE

ARY STRATEGY
MID-EAST

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DECEMBER 11

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ASTMAN

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THE STRUGGLE FOR
DINARY PARTY

T., ROOM 927
DECEMBER 13, 7:30 P.M.
NE GORDON

country. Out of these meetings should come the call for a national emergency congress of the UAW to pose a fighting class struggle campaign. The RSL would propose a revolutionary program to such a conference, a program outlined below.

Unemployment is the most pressing issue, and the response should focus in on an alternative. The UAW should demand, as it once did, that the work week be cut to thirty hours with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all auto workers. And this demand should not be confined to the UAW—auto workers should take this demand to the entire labor movement, championing a fight for thirty for forty across the board, to provide jobs for all working people.

Next, a massive public works program must be demanded to combat unemployment. The decay and misery of the cities is reason enough for workers to insist that there is productive work that needs to be done and is crying out for workers to do it. While rebuilding the cities, public works would alleviate unemployment. Workers must reject the scabbering programs posed by the Ford administration—nothing less than a massive program with pay at union rates.

Inflation, which continues to erode the wages of employed auto workers, should be countered with full cost of living escalators. The UAW's Cost of Living Allowance (COLA), like all the rest of the bureaucracy's heralded programs, is woefully inadequate. In the face of soaring inflation, it amounts to cutting real wages.

The bureaucrats and the industry are likely to respond that this program is utopian. The industry will claim that it just can't afford it. Militants should respond: open the books and let us see for ourselves. Fraser has already charged that Chrysler is mismanaged; let the ranks see for themselves.

FIGHT CHRYSLER'S OFFENSIVE!

We are reprinting an auto bulletin distributed in Detroit in mid-November by the Revolutionary Socialist League in response to the then-rumored shutdown of Chrysler's Jefferson Assembly Plant. The UAW bureaucracy's "spread-the-layoffs" strategy has since been implemented by the auto industry—over 200,000 auto workers are on layoff this month.

The threatened closing of the Jefferson Avenue Assembly Plant most clearly reveals the poison spreading throughout the UAW. Already 7,100 Chrysler workers face indefinite layoffs as a direct result of the Jefferson crisis. An additional 3,000 workers in stamping and manufacturing plants will also lose their jobs. These efforts to "save" Jefferson at the expense of the UAW workers have not produced the slightest guarantee that Jefferson will remain open.

The crisis at Jefferson is only the most blatant example of the auto bosses' attack on UAW members. Chrysler's Detroit Universal plant is shutting down for at least one month. Workers at the Lynch Road Assembly plant's afternoon shift have been threatened with indefinite layoffs. Ford and General Motors have also thrown thousands out of work. Over 50,000 UAW members are now on indefinite layoff. All workers must understand this assault on auto workers as a forecast of what lies in store for the whole of the labor movement as the capitalist crisis heads toward depression.

For thirty years capitalism has fattened itself

And in fact the industry cannot afford this program, that is no reason to scrap it. Instead, it points to the fact that the workers must organize production themselves—nationalization of the auto industry under workers' control.

The lay-offs hitting auto are the opening guns of a massive onslaught against the entire working class. The depression in auto is already being felt in other sectors, and workers are now being thrown out of work in many industries. The UAW, which is currently hardest hit, should take the lead in galvanizing a class-wide response. The emergency congress of the UAW is essential, but it should see as one of its major tasks the organization of a national Congress of Labor and the Oppressed, to bring together all sectors of the working class—organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, to wage a united fight against the capitalist onslaught.

As steps toward such a conference, militants should demand immediate co-ordination between the various unions affected by the auto lay-offs. Militants in the UAW should demand co-ordination with the United Rubber Workers (URW), since the tire industry is already going into decline because of the slump in auto. Militants in the URW should press for the same end.

On the agenda at the Congress of Labor and the Oppressed would be the launching of a revolutionary labor party to fight for the interests of the working class. The proletariat cannot accept the misery that capitalism holds before them—they must respond with their own independent political party to wrest power from the capitalists and place it firmly in the hands of a workers' government.

The crisis is not in the ranks. The ranks of the UAW, and the working class in this country as a whole, have the power to decisively smash the

through the imperialist settlement which followed World War II. U.S. industry was allowed to stagnate as the U.S. ruling class used its world hegemony to loot the rest of the world. The end of the post-war boom has ripped apart the imperialist world order of past decades. The results can be seen in the skyrocketing inflation and political upheavals spreading throughout the advanced capitalist countries, and the outright starvation facing millions in the underdeveloped world.

Now the American captains of industry and finance must find the capital to modernize their aging plant and equipment and offset the fall in their profit rates. This requires a direct rollback of all the gains workers have won in earlier years. It means throwing hundreds of thousands out of work. It means a ruthless paring of funds for housing, education, transportation and other vitally needed public services.

The days of piecemeal reforms are over: "equality of starvation" is all the bourgeoisie can offer. The enormous power and potential of a united labor movement must be thrown into the scales to fight for a workers' alternative to capitalist decay, a workers' government with a socialist program for economic reconstruction in alliance with workers throughout the world. The UAW will play a pivotal role in creating this alternative.

The UAW is located in the heart of American industry. Its key role in the economy, its long history of militancy and its huge influence in the labor movement mean that the UAW can provide the leadership that all workers are looking for. If UAW workers unite behind a fighting program in the face of the present crisis, they can lead a mobilization of the working class as a whole against the coming depression. If the UAW bureaucrats surrender, they will give the green light for capitulation to every hack in the labor movement.

The UAW tops have chosen their side. Doug Fraser did not merely accept the program of spreading the starvation now being carried out by Chrysler; he invented it, arguing the need to "spread the layoffs throughout the corporation." By doing so, the UAW tops have revealed themselves as the open agents of the ruling class in

capitalist attack. It is a crisis of leadership. Militants should begin putting forward the proposals outlined here. Advanced workers should join with the Revolutionary Socialist League in fighting for the revolutionary program put forward here and for the leadership that is needed in place of the corrupt bureaucracy—a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions and for the working class.

The depression in the auto industry is spreading to other sectors of the economy. Here are examples of the impact it has already had:

Uniroyal's

Jefferson Avenue Plant in Detroit has laid off 35 per cent of its work force. This tire manufacturer has laid off all workers at this plant with less than five years seniority.

Goodyear Tire & Rubber

has shortened work weeks at five tire plants, affecting several thousand workers.

B. F. Goodrich

is already planning to lay off two per cent of its work force.

Douglas & Lomason Co.

makers of auto-trim parts, is slashing 30 per cent of its workers.

Muskegon Piston Ring

is planning to lay off 20 per cent of its work force.

Libbey-Owen-Ford

a glass maker, has laid off 1,200 workers indefinitely.

Pittsburgh Plate Glass

is laying off 1,100 workers indefinitely in addition to shutting down two plants for all of December.

Kelsey-Hayes

a wheel-maker, laid off 200 workers.

These are just a few examples, and this is just the beginning. For example, General Motors alone consumes more than 20 per cent of domestic steel production. As the crisis deepens, steel and other key sectors of the economy may follow the downward path of auto. Labor must pose a united response.

the labor movement. They have cynically adopted a strategy which can only divide the workers—shift against shift, local against local—in an attempt to divide the UAW against itself and prevent a mobilization of the massive social force which a united UAW would represent.

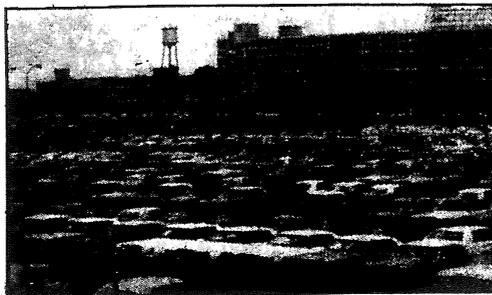
So-called "revolutionary" groups within the UAW, like the Jefferson Assembly Revolutionary Union Movement (JARUM) and its allies in other locals are attempting to set themselves up as the real defenders of the working class inside the UAW. They have called for freely elected unemployment councils within the UAW. This call is correct and should be supported.

But JARUM has refused to argue that these councils should fight to make the capitalists pay for the crisis that they themselves have created. By restricting the role of these councils to welfare services, JARUM has begun by accepting the limitations on the struggle which the capitalists and their agents in the UAW want to impose. Instead, these councils must act as factory committees fighting within the UAW for a leadership which can meet the capitalist attack.

Militants can begin fighting for this strategy now by urging the need for unity of all workers in the face of the coming depression. Working class unity means nothing unless it means unity of the workers against the capitalists and their state on every level of the struggle. By employing the method of the united front against the capitalists in fighting for factory committees militants can take the lead in defending the workers' interests, while explaining to workers who still have illusions in capitalism that real unity can only be achieved through the struggle to adopt and carry out the socialist program.

The most pressing need is for a unified defense

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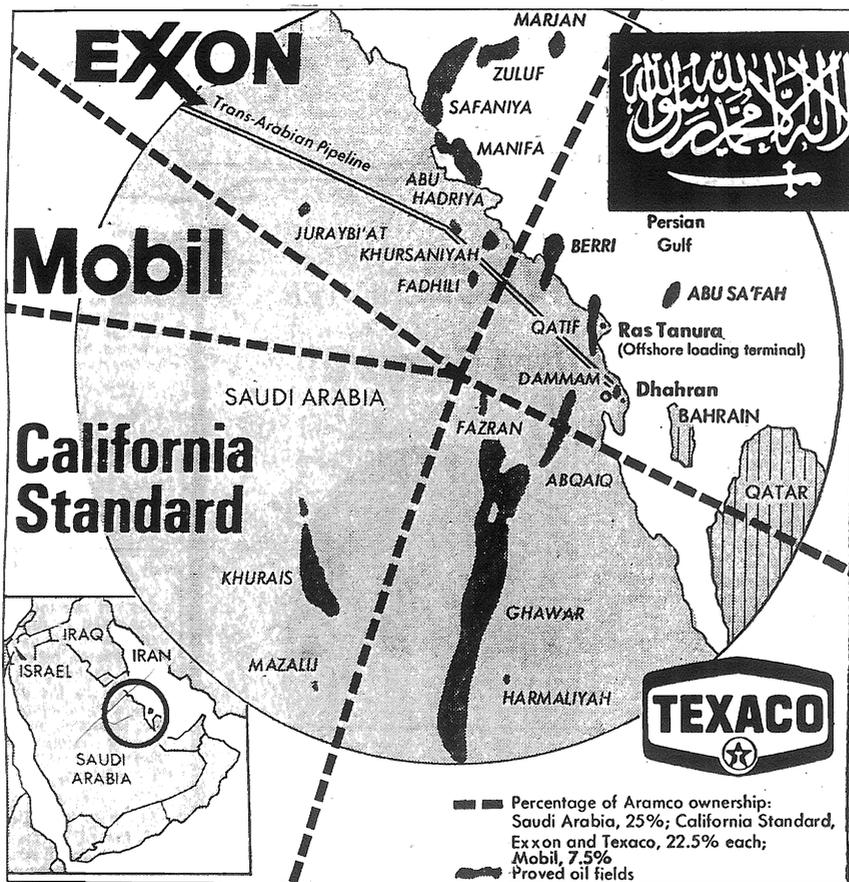
Unsold cars in the storage lot at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue assembly plant.

WAR THREATENS MIDDLE EAST

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The Israeli government is now pressed to the wall. On one side it faces its own workers and oppressed masses who are struggling against the Zionist bourgeoisie's attempt to pass the costs of its wars and crisis on to their shoulders. On the other side, it faces the growing militancy and determination of the Palestinians, the rest of the Arab masses and (goaded on by the latter) the Arab bourgeoisie. And it faces pressure from within its own class, in the form of the right wing of the Zionist bourgeoisie which will refuse to give up the West Bank and to make any deal that recognizes the legitimacy of the rights of the Palestinians.

The governing clique, however, is disarmed in the face of the right, since it supports the entire ideological edifice that motivates the policy of the latter. Its only hope is to maneuver into a position where it appears to be forced—by the economic situation, by the threat of virtual complete diplomatic isolation of Israel and by the pressure of the United States—to accept the deal.



Within the context of capitalism, the only short run alternative to this deal is full scale war in the Mid-East, as the intensification of the struggle of the Arab masses and the Israeli workers places increasingly intolerable pressure on both the Arab and the Israeli bourgeoisies. The deal itself, however, solves no fundamental problems, since it is unlikely to appease the militant Palestinians for any substantial period of time. So, even if the deal is accepted and an emasculated Palestinian state is erected, war will remain the ultimate destiny of the region unless the workers and peasants intervene with their revolutionary solution.

This turn in the Mid-East situation comes right on the heels of the war-mongering attempts of Kissinger and Ford to bludgeon the Arab bourgeoisie into lowering oil prices. This crude big-stick diplomacy is part of a general campaign to blame the economic crisis on the oil price increases and to blame the increases on the Arab nations alone.

There is no doubt that the oil price increases are hurting the international capitalist economy.

Increased prices of oil raise the costs of all commodities that are either made from petroleum-based products or which utilize petroleum-derived fuels for power in their production. Since these products are legion, the increase in the oil price sends waves of inflation throughout the international economy. Moreover, the increased foreign reserves held by the oil producers are becoming an intolerable burden on the capitalists' financial institutions, which are threatening to collapse under the weight.

But the oil price increases are only one manifestation of the underlying cause of the inflation. The rampant inflation of today is the logical outcome of the whole post-war boom and its collapse (See Torch No. 15).

ENERGY CRISIS

After years of plundering the world's oil resources, raking in fabulous profits as a result of the international cartel established in the late twenties and failing to invest sufficiently in new

energy sources and refining and shipping facilities, the oil companies have produced the international energy crisis. But this is not all.

When the Arab oil producers, under the pressure of the Arab masses, utilized this situation to increase their share of the loot, the oil companies took advantage of this to jack their prices up. Meanwhile they and the U.S. capitalist class as a whole blame the resultant havoc not on themselves, not on capitalism, but on their junior partners, the Arab ruling classes. Behind this cynical maneuver lies the reality of the place of oil and the oil car-

tel in international capitalism.

Thirty years after the razing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, oil remains the most advanced form of energy that capitalism has been able to put into general use. The possibilities latent within nuclear power for abolishing the necessity of human drudgery have been nothing more than empty and bitter promises in the hands of the capitalist ruling class. It is the possession of oil which will determine who is to survive and who will be trampled underfoot in the pitiless economic and military conflicts that lie ahead.

Oil has been king of strategic raw materials for decades. Access to large oil reserves is not only necessary for an imperialist power to maintain its own productive apparatus and retard the slide back into more primitive forms of energy. Possession of oil is simultaneously the means of limiting the flow of oil to other nations, a political weapon with which to bludgeon states, both weak and strong, into submission.

Those powers which have no oil must obtain it, or be at the utter mercy of those who do. Thus, today,

oil hungry European states vie with the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and each other for influence in the Mid-East.

WESTERN EUROPE AND THE OIL OCTOPUS

The recently discovered North Sea oil deposits offer no solution. These oil fields cannot supply more than 10 to 15 per cent of Europe's total requirements by 1980. Even this assumes that sufficient capital will be available to overcome the enormous difficulties and expense of drilling in the world's roughest body of water. 20 times the capital investment is required over that for typical Mid-Eastern wellheads. It is clear that Europe must have Mid-East oil or die.

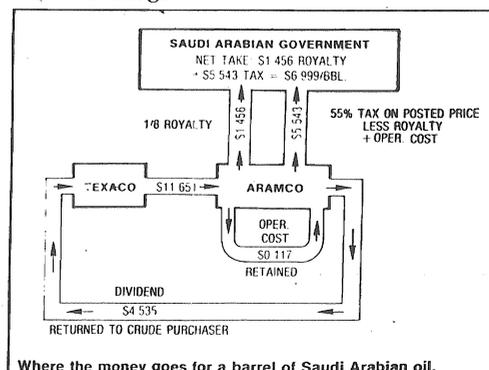
Who controls Mid-Eastern oil? The example of Saudi Arabia is instructive. 93 billion barrels have been proven to exist within its borders. This is one quarter of the total world supply, and one third of the oil available to the U.S. and Western Europe. The operating costs, including labor and the replacement of worn equipment, come to less than 12 cents per barrel. Saudi oil is plentiful, high grade, cheap and owned by one company. That company is the Arab American Oil Company (Aramco).

ARAMCO

"Aramco is owned by four American oil companies (Socal, Exxon, Texaco and Mobil) and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The company is only an oil producer and refiner, and has exactly five customers to which it sells crude and products: the five shareholders." (World Oil, June, 1974).

In recent months, Ford and Kissinger have stepped up pressure on the Arab governments to reduce their price that they charge the oil companies or face economic and even military reprisals. The capitalist press is attempting to prepare the U.S. population for military intervention in the Mid-East through portraying the world as being strangled in the grip of the greedy 'oil cartel,' i.e., the oil producing nations.

The Saudi government, however, does not sell oil to Europe and the U.S. The U.S. oil companies do this, and their control of the world oil supply places them in a position to extract profits far above the actual value of the oil they sell. The table below, taken from the Economist (June 8, 1974) demonstrates very clearly who is not suffering from the oil shortage:



The profits these four companies make from their monopoly position are to a large extent disguised by their relationship to Aramco. When the posted price (the price at which oil is purchased at Ras Tanura and other Saudi ports) of Saudi oil rose to \$11.651 per barrel in 1974, Texaco (for example) could piously disclaim responsibility for soaring oil prices. After all, \$11.651 was the price per barrel that Texaco had to pay.

Texaco, however, owns a share of the company from which it purchases the oil and out of that eleven dollars plus it pays per barrel, it received back in the form of dividends from its Aramco stock \$4.535 per barrel (see accompanying diagram). By concealing this fact, Texaco tries to bury the fact that it has more than doubled its profit per barrel of oil. The oil trusts have used the oil boycott to jack up the price of oil.

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The rest of the world must buy Saudi oil from the shareholders at whatever price they can. With operating costs close to zero, the oil giants' profit represents the looting of Arab resources and the European economy by the oil firms by means of extortion.

CARTEL CONTROL REMAINS

The oil cartel is unconcerned about the gradual nationalization of oil undertaken by most of the Arab states. As Frank Jungers, American director of Aramco told *Fortune* (February, 1974), "What really counts to the shareholding companies is the financial split and access to the oil." In other words, nationalization of oil by the Arab regimes will not upset U.S. domination of world oil supply. The super-profits and power of the oil cartel will remain intact.

R.W. Scott, the editor of *World Oil* concurs: "... Even if nationalization occurs, Aramco's operation would probably not change, although its assets would be purchased and owned 100 per cent by the government. ... The Saudis. ... well realize that they have neither the trained personnel nor expertise to assume complete operational control of such a large and complex undertaking. ... Nationalization, should it occur, would be principally in name. ... Aramco would probably assume the role of a service contractor and might be paid for its services by a share of production. Too, it would likely to be guaranteed a long term supply of oil for its American company shareholders." (emphasis added)

After 35 years of exploiting the oil fields and cheap Arab labor, the oil companies do not mind selling the Arabs the right to extract their own oil. The costs of any interruption of oil production resulting from political disturbances will be absorbed by the Arabs, while Exxon and the others retain sole access to the oil and thus their monopolistic position in relation to the world market.

The oil cartels do little but rake off the bulk of the profits. In 1973, Exxon's profits from its U.S. operations increased by 16 per cent while in the Eastern Hemisphere they rose by 83 per cent, netting 150 million dollars in pure profit from European sales.

OIL EMBARGO

The oil embargo that followed the 1973 war provided the most striking confirmation of the awesome power wielded by the oil cartel. Aramco and other companies operating in Arab companies were made responsible by the Arab regimes for administering the embargo to the U.S., the Netherlands and others on the blacklist.

The U.S. cartel's total domination of world oil supplies enabled it to sell Arab oil normally destined for the Netherlands to non-embargoed France and Great Britain, while switching non-Arab Iranian, Venezuelan and Indonesian oil to the huge refineries in Rotterdam and to the U.S. As a result, a major effect of the embargo was to place the U.S. cartel in a position where it could exact even higher super profits than usual at prices ranging up to \$20 per barrel to the embargoed states.

SHORTAGES

According to H.R. Warman, the exploration manager of British Petroleum, world oil output will decline by the 1980's. While large oil fields remain to be discovered, in his view these will not be significant in relation to the depleted fields already known. Because the giant oil firms have systematically 'skimmed' the richest and most accessible portions of the existing fields and then moved on, the remaining oil will become increasingly more expensive to extract. The enormous profits which have flowed into the oil industry have been obtained at the expense of sacrificing future production, and have themselves created the estimated 28 to 73 billion dollar capital shortage which now faces the U.S. oil industry. (*Oil and Gas Journal*, October 8, 1973)

The availability of oil in the future will be further restricted by the shortage of shipping and port capacity. In 1973 \$20 billion were spent on the construction of super-tankers. Yet there are few

ports in the world with facilities to load and unload them.

The real shortage of oil is further exacerbated by the manipulation of oil supplies on the part of the U.S. cartel, artificially compounding the existing crisis, itself the result of the superprofits these firms have received as their share in U.S. imperialism. While the development of the world's oil



The Palestinian Arabs will be leading element in the Arab Revolution. TOP LEFT: Palestinian guerrillas celebrate atop an Israeli jet they have blown up. TOP RIGHT: 1974: One of over 1,000 demonstrators in New York demanding self-determination for Palestinians. BOTTOM: A Palestinian mother receives automatic weapons training in commando camp.

resources has now revealed itself to be nothing more than the spoilage of this crucial raw material on a grand scale, entire national economies from Italy to India have been wracked with impossible balance of payments deficits; billions of dollars which they must pay to finance the further expansion of the power of this parasite on world production.

The less oil that is available, the more direct the extortion and parasitism becomes. The oil debts will mount, devaluations will continue, speculation will increase—until depression and imperialist war impose their own solution to this insoluble contradiction.

THE MID-EAST CAULDRON

The combination of great power rivalry for Mid-Eastern oil and the determined resistance of the Arab masses to imperialist domination has made the Mid-East a likely flash-point for World War III. The political, economic and cultural divisions within the Arab world have been seized upon by the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and lesser imperialist powers, and utilized to further their own influence and ambitions in the Mid-East.

Throughout the post-war period up until the present, the U.S. has been successful in keeping an iron grip on the wealthiest Arab oil producing states

of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Arab Emirates through propping up semi-feudal monarchs like King Faisal. These relics of the Crusades would not last more than a few months without U.S. support and are completely subservient to the oil cartel.

While the key oil fields have been kept directly under U.S. controlled regimes, the remainder of the Arab world is held under the imperialist gun in the

form of Israel. Israel at once acts to stem the tide of Arab nationalism, through naked military power, and blocks the extent to which the U.S.S.R. can penetrate into the politics of the region.

NASSER

Nasser sought to establish Egypt as the Arab Prussia, the powerful military province that could unify the Arab states into a single nation and use the oil which lies overwhelmingly beyond Egypt's own borders to finance an industrial revolution. Just as Bismarck used the coal of the western German provinces to transform the hundreds of separate German states into the Second Reich, Nasser made no distinction between bringing the Arab capitalist class into sovereign mastery of its own national territory and turning that class into an imperialist bourgeoisie.

The difference between Nasser and Bismarck consists only in this: capitalism is in the epoch of decay. Nasser failed and Egypt remains an oppressed and super-exploited semi-colony of U.S. imperialism. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces are today incapable of completing the national democratic revolution. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can accomplish this.

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Nasser's vision of Egypt leading the way to the creation of a Pan-Arab state accompanied him to the grave in 1970. The history of Sadat's regime can be summarized as a stubborn attempt to retreat into a relationship of open vassalage to the U.S. Yet as much as he would like, Sadat is prevented from completely turning his back on Nasser's bold nationalist scheme, for he is faced with the same dilemma that faces all Arab rulers.

The threat of Nasserism in its ability to waken the revolutionary sentiments of the Arab people is responsible for the partial and tenuous unity of the Arab states against Israel, the most visible representative of the forces of imperialism in the Mid-East. For years, Faisal, the emirs and Hussein of Jordan have been forced against their will to make at least demonstrations of support to the struggle against Israel, from financial contributions to direct military intervention. Faisal must be able to pose himself as a supporter of Arab unity to prevent Saudi Nasserites from using the militant oil workers to overthrow him.

Nasserism, however, is not qualitatively different from the 'nationalism' of the desert sheiks. Fundamentally, it is no less conciliatory towards imperialism and is an expression of deeper social forces: the instinctively revolutionary passions of the Arab workers and peasants which have yet to find their real expression in a Leninist vanguard party.

For their part, the Arab masses are nationalist not because they are concerned with raising their own bourgeoisie to power. They know that in order for the U.S. and its allies to continue plundering the Mid-East, it is necessary that the Arab population be kept in a state of ignorance, hunger and overwork. They know that to enforce this exploitative arrangement, the U.S. must deny them the political rights which they could use to abolish their servitude.

The Arab masses are nationalists for no other reason than that they see the right of self-determination as a step out of poverty and backwardness and a step toward a better life. To remain in power, the Arab rulers must promise them this better life.

As the contradictions within imperialism relentlessly press on to absolute proportions, the Arab masses find their circumstances deteriorating in like measure, as the U.S. attempts to force them to absorb the greater impact of its own declining rate of profit and stagnating productivity. This increases the pressure on the Arab ruling classes as whole. They must attempt to win a better deal from the imperialists without posing any serious challenge to its dominant position.

The Arab bourgeois nationalists are caught dead in the middle. They need imperialism to protect themselves from the masses who would quickly attempt to overthrow them were Israel to fall, but if the U.S. does not relent and make concessions, the population will be driven to desperation and revolt anyway. This explains the vacillating character of the bourgeois national movement and the regimes which wage war on Israel while avoiding scrupulously any measures which might lead to any more than a very partial and limited victory.

This conflicting pressure is what produces the apparent contradiction of ultra reactionary Hussein throwing the Arab Legion against Israel, while guerrilla leader Arafat makes it clear that he will settle for a Palestine which comprises the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

For this task, the reconstruction of the Fourth International must proceed with the organizations of its sections in the Mid-East. As war again appears imminent, military support to the Arab regimes is the central question. An Arab victory will hasten the development of revolutionary ferment within the Arab states.

Revolutionaries support the nationalization of

foreign oil holdings, the right of the OPEC affiliates to raise prices and institute oil embargoes and all other measures which pose the means of checking the U.S. reign in the Mid-East and which facilitate the transfer of imperialist profits back into the Arab countries.

In order to expose the Arab nationalists (all of them, from Hussein to Arafat) as incapable of completing the liberation of Palestine, it is necessary to demonstrate the solidarity of the Leninist vanguard with the Arab masses in their fight against Israel and the U.S. Raising the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government and socialist revolution in the Mid-East is inseparable from the talk of supporting every measure and every blow which the Arab regimes find necessary to strike against the U.S. and Israel, regardless that they do this only in order to retreat at the first opportunity.

It is necessary to advocate the deepening of these measures through demanding 100 per cent immediate nationalization of all foreign concessions with no compensation and placing these under workers' control. Only through placing the oil industry under the direct regulation and management of Arab workers is it possible to insure that the power of the oil cartel will be broken in the Mid-East and that nationalization does not become merely a means of furthering Arab dependence upon the U.S. companies.

Hussein, Faisal and the other Arab rulers directly tied to the U.S. must be forced to contribute to the war effort. Faisal sends only token financial aid. Hussein refused to open a third front against Israel in the 1973 war, allowing the Israelis to denude the Jordan River front for the attack on the Egyptian Sinai armies.

The program of the Fourth International is for the destruction of the Zionist state of Israel and the creation of a single Palestinian state.

The class struggle is now breaking out into the open in Israel. The Palestinian section of the Fourth International will make a special effort to reach the Oriental Jews, themselves in open revolt against the Zionist regime which is forcing them to bear the cost of its military debt and expansionism. It will do the same to reach the Israeli working class which is war weary and angry at the attacks upon its living standards. Under the banner of socialist revolution, guaranteeing full rights for Jews and Palestinians, the possibility for subverting the imperialist Zionist state from within has never been greater.

It is above all, however, the Palestinian Arabs who will continue to be the leading element in the Mid-East revolution. Homeless, herded into refugee camps under appalling conditions, countless times betrayed by the Arab ruling classes, the Palestinians will always be among the first to recognize the impossibility of regaining their homeland except through socialist revolution throughout the Mid-East and the defeat of the Arab nationalists for leadership of the struggle against Israel.



1948: Israelis force Palestinians from their homelands.

Fight Chrysler's Offensive!

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of those immediately in danger. The layoff strategy has the explicit motive of dividing the workers against each other. Factory committees must resist this strategy by fighting for job retraining and pensions with full cost of living escalators at capitalist expense to unite the interests of those presently laid off and those still working in a common struggle.

This demand must be supplemented with the call for a sliding scale of hours and wages, dividing the available work up among all those able to work without lowering wages. Concretely this means fighting for 30 for 40; a six-hour day with no cut in pay and full cost of living escalators. Militants will point out how this demand can effectively unite the union with the masses of unemployed, while providing a way out of the merciless speed-up and overtime now faced by those who have kept their jobs.

Militants must use the factory committees to demand that the UAW force the capitalists to open

their books for the workers' inspection. Rumors are flying around that Chrysler is bankrupt. They will explain that workers need accurate information as to the real conditions in Chrysler to prepare their own strategy; that without this the workers will be fighting on the bosses' terms from the very start.

The factory committees must demand that the UAW fight for nationalization of Chrysler if Chrysler cannot meet its demands. But the workers must at the same time protect themselves from the capitalist state; in many countries nationalization has been used by the ruling class to intensify its attack on the workers through the "public" interest. The first defense of the workers against capitalist nationalization schemes must be to couple the demand for nationalization with the demand for workers' control of accounting and production. But in calling for state intervention workers must call for a political alternative to capitalist rule; they must fight in the labor movement for a labor party to form a workers' government.

The UAW hacks will try to argue that the UAW is too weak, too isolated to fight for these demands. Militants in the factory committees must meet this argument head on by demanding that the UAW must fight from the beginning to extend this program throughout the labor movement. They must call for a freely elected emergency conference of the UAW to map out a strategy against the layoffs and plant closings. At this conference they must demand that the UAW take the lead in organizing a Congress of Labor and the Oppressed in which all sectors of the working class can meet and work out a common strategy against the capitalist attack.

Such a Congress will give militants an opportunity to fight for their program before the working class as a whole. They will demand that this Congress, representing a united front of all workers against the ruling class, must have a political expression, a labor party with a socialist program. Through such a party the workers' movement will challenge the capitalists directly for control of the state power. The united front for defense will emerge as the workers' offensive for a workers' government to carry out the socialist program.

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HOW THE R.U. RESTORES CAPITALISM

Part One: THE OVERTHROW OF THE SOVIET WORKERS' STATE

BY WALTER DAHL AND JACK GREGORY

The destruction of the Russian workers' revolution and the victory of state-capitalist revolutions claiming to be socialist in several countries have disoriented and disarmed the revolutionary movement. Because Russia, China, Cuba, etc., appear to have done away with capitalism—only to have restored it in a different form—many have come to regard state-capitalism as a new and progressive social system. Thus capitalism, a system in decay on a world scale, has acquired a host of unwitting defenders.

The support and apology for state-capitalist "socialism" demands that the counter-revolutionary national interests of state-capitalist regimes be catered to. Marxism is twisted into a bourgeois ideology. For this reason, the Marxist analysis of state-capitalism—the so-called "Russian Question"—is essential for the understanding and the overthrowing of capitalism everywhere.

Since the bitter conflict between the Soviet Union and China broke out over ten years ago, the followers of Mao Tse-Tung have labeled the U.S.S.R.

"revisionist," and more recently many have decided to call it capitalist. After a decade of name-calling with only the barest attempts to analyze the degeneration of the Russian revolution, a worked-out Maoist analysis of Soviet state-capitalism has just been published by the Revolutionary Union (RU), a U.S. Maoist group—RED PAPERS No. 7, a 150-page booklet called "How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle."

APOLOGY FOR CAPITALISM

Belying the Maoists' claims to stand for a revolutionary alternative to Soviet revisionism and imperialism, this document is in fact an apology for state-capitalism. It defends the Stalinist counter-revolution that destroyed the Soviet workers' state in the 1930's, and it justifies the state-capitalism of Maoist China today.

Maoism cannot abandon Stalin. To label Stalin as the grave-digger of the revolution, to admit that it

was the Stalinist bureaucracy that led the state-capitalist counter-revolution in Russia, would cut Maoism adrift without a rudder. To realize that state-capitalism was restored in Russia by 1938 would require coming to grips with the fact that China, too, is a capitalist society. As we shall show in this series, the same Stalinist methods that destroyed the Russian workers' state and transformed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois party likewise destroyed the Third International, in particular turning the Communist Party of China into a grouping dominated from top to bottom by bourgeois ideology.

Likewise, to reject Stalin would mean rejecting the notion that the Communist Party U.S.A. was a revolutionary party until the early 1950's. It would require the Maoists to search for their revolutionary heritage—for the continuity of theory, strategy and tactics—away from the tattered rubric of William Z. Foster. In short, rejecting Stalin would mean the abandonment of all that is holy to Maoism. There

would be nothing left to define Maoism. The way would be opened for serious consideration of the true continuity of Bolshevism, revolutionary Trotskyism.

PATCHWORK THEORY

Therefore, it is necessary for Maoists to construct a patchwork theory that excuses Stalin for all responsibility in the counter-revolution. Stalin's "revolutionary integrity" is carefully guarded by omissions, distortions and lies.

The RU's theory is carefully tailored to conform to these requirements. From start to finish it is a whitewash of Stalin's role.

The RU begins by taking up the question of how capitalism can be restored in a workers' state. Red Papers 7 correctly identifies the workers' state as a transitional society spanning capitalism and socialism.

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Stalin casts "ballot" in phoney 1937 elections. This "election," which was "nearly unanimous," was held while Stalin was physically liquidating the remnants of the leadership of the October Revolution.

For the RU, rejecting Stalin would mean the abandonment of all that is holy to Maoism. There would be nothing left to define Maoism. The way would be opened for serious consideration of the real continuity of Bolshevism, revolutionary Trotskyism.

The transitional society must consciously eliminate all the remnants of capitalism in the workers' state. The revolution cannot be confined to one country—it must spread internationally, or the isolated workers' state will become more and more distorted by the need to compete with the bourgeois world, militarily and economically. The divisions inside the working class, inherited from capitalism, must be eliminated—divisions between mental and manual labor, skilled and unskilled labor, race divisions, national divisions, etc. The cultural level of the proletariat must be elevated qualitatively.

All of these conditions must be met to fully liberate the creative potential of the workers, to eliminate scarcity and to raise the masses to the level where they themselves can directly determine production. In other words, the task of the transitional society is to abolish the effects of the law of value and to create the free association of producers in place of the state.

So long as capitalist relations are not stamped out, the threat of counter-revolution is present. The capitalist relations that linger on are represented in human terms by alien class forces. In Russia in the 1920's, these forces were the kulaks, the technocrats and other elements in the state apparatus and backward sectors of the proletariat who were under the influence of bourgeois ideology. These human forces form the nucleus of the counter-revolutionary threat.

The RU admits some of this. They are forced to. In order to side with the Chinese against the Russians, they must call Russia state-capitalist. And this requires identifying the bourgeois forces which existed inside the Russian workers' state.

"SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY"

However, the RU does not take up the key point, a point that Lenin stressed time and again. Without successful workers' revolutions abroad that would break the strangle-hold of isolation, Lenin insisted, the workers' state would not survive indefinitely. Socialism cannot be built in one country,—and especially not in one as backward as Russia—it can only be built internationally.

This was the key thesis in Lenin's attitude towards proletarian rule in Russia. The revolution must attempt to maintain itself against the counter-revolutionary forces that will inevitably gain strength under conditions of isolation, but at the same time it must pursue the most consistent internationalist policy to speed the international revolution that is the only real salvation of the workers' state.

Stalin repudiated all of this in 1924—nearly as soon as Lenin died—when he formulated his infamous theory of "socialism in one country." By this he did not mean simply strengthening the workers' state—his theory plainly stated that the tasks of the transitional society could be accomplished in isolated Russia by itself.

From this point on, Stalin subordinated the needs of the international proletariat and the Comintern to the narrow diplomatic needs of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is for good reason that the RU does not treat the theory of socialism in one country, nor stress that the isolation of the revolution was the primary factor in its degeneration. To do so would require repudiating Stalin in favor of the revolutionary position, the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution.

The RU, then, deals exclusively with the internal situation. But they are correct to state that the kulaks, the apparatus and the low cultural level of

large parts of the working class posed the danger of counter-revolution. But these dangers were all imminent in the 1920's. One would think that the RU would attempt a serious analysis of what became of the threat of the kulaks and the technocrats between the 1920's and the 1950's.

Nothing of the kind! The RU is anxious to deal with this period in as cursory a manner as possible. The 1930's must be buried in order to absolve Stalin.



Famous "kitchen debate" between Khrushchev and Nixon. Khrushchev continued Stalin's anti-Leninist peaceful coexistence line.

Right: Pepsi in Russia



Before we describe what really went on in this period, it is worth taking a look at the RU's analysis of Khrushchev's counter-revolutionary role. We will find that nearly all of the ideological crimes of which Khrushchev is accused were committed previously, and a thousand times more brutally, by Stalin.

KHRUSHCHEV

The RU claims that capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union in the years following Stalin's death, culminating in "the seizure of power" in 1956-57. Although the RU and Chairman Mao both admit that "mistakes" had already been made under Stalin, their basic claim is that it was Nikita Khrushchev and his followers in the top leadership of the Soviet Communist Party who steered the relations of production back into capitalist channels. Khrushchev took advantage of the fact that "the continuing presence of capitalist production relations under socialism provides an objective basis for the restoration of capitalism," since he himself was "in sympathies, outlook and style... linked closely with bourgeois forces among the bureaucrats, upper level managers and corrupt Party officials."

Khrushchev's first move, according to the RU,



"The Shining Light," idealized painting of Stalin. Stalin built personality cult while he crushed Russian workers' state.

was a three-pronged "ideological attack on the political basis of proletarian power, Marxism-Leninism." First he condemned Stalin as a dictator in order to confuse the Party. Secondly, he promulgated the doctrine of peaceful coexistence with imperialist countries like the U.S. Finally, he suggested that the Soviet Union was no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat but rather a "state of the whole people" and that likewise the party was now a "Party of the whole people."

Having roused his supporters and weakened the proletarian defenses, Khrushchev then was in position to attack "the very structure of socialist society." In particular, the RU charges him with 1) destroying the system of collective farms by making them independent of state control and thereby "strengthening the anarchic capitalist element of the economy"; 2) abolishing centralized planning in favor of regional ministries; and 3) purging the Party of "honest communists" and replacing them with technicians, engineers, scientists and administrators—a new layer of intelligentsia in service to the Party rulers.

Finally Khrushchev's destruction of socialism and restoration of capitalism was completed after his own ouster. His successors Brezhnev and Kosygin fully established capitalist relations by introducing profit accounting by individual factories and collective farms and at the same time consolidating power into the hands of the central authorities.

Unfortunately for the RU, Khrushchev was merely making minor reforms in an already established capitalist system. Most of his "ideological crimes" had already been committed—by Stalin. But before going into this, let's trace the counter-revolution as it really occurred in Russia, as opposed to the RU's fairy-tale rendition.

THE REAL SITUATION

From the outset, the Russian workers' state was isolated. Following the Civil War, proletarian rule was in dire straits. Millions of workers, including most of the best Bolshevik worker-militants, were killed in the aftermath of October. The Civil War likewise decimated industry and crippled the agricultural sector.

Lenin set to work to strengthen the endangered workers' outpost. He implemented a holding action. The only salvation for the proletariat, in the long run, was workers' revolution internationally. The workers' state must be maintained until aid came from the workers of the world.

But, as Lenin stated in the trade union debates, this meant taking stock of the internal situation. Russia was not a healthy workers' state—it was "a workers' state with a bureaucratic twist." That is, precisely because of the low cultural level of the proletariat, the workers were not capable of directing production without aid. They were forced to rely on technocrats, administrators and other elements from the old Czarist apparatus.

Similarly, the proletariat in Russia was outnumbered several times over by the peasantry. This was another pressure distorting the workers' state. The

proletariat must make concessions to the peasantry, Lenin stated, to maintain the *smytchka*, the alliance between town and country.

CONCESSIONS

So concessions had to be made to two alien class forces, the bureaucracy and the peasantry. Lenin sought to make the **minimum** concessions necessary to maintain the alliance with the peasantry and to utilize the needed skills of the technocrats in the interests of the workers' state.

But as the isolation of the revolution wore on, the concessions to both of these groupings posed grave dangers to the proletariat.

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ers and weakened the power of the party. The party then was in a state of anarchy. The structure of socialist construction was destroyed. It charges him with 1) the destruction of collective farms by the abolition of state control and the introduction of an anarchic capitalist system; 2) the abolishing of centralized ministries; and 3) the destruction of the party apparatus and the "left communists" and the "right communists" and the "anarchists" and the "scoundrels" and the "scoundrel layer of intelligentsia."

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J. Khrushchev was in an already "ideological" state. Most of his "ideological" commitments—by this, let's trace the course of the party apparatus in Russia, as it occurred in Russia, as a result of the party apparatus.

CONSTRUCTION

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Sections of the Bolshevik Party came to represent, in practice, the views of these alien class forces.

Bukharin increasingly stood for the interests of the rich peasants, the kulaks. He coined the slogan "kulaks—enrich yourselves" to summarize his theory that the workers' state could only survive by allowing the kulaks to increase their accumulation. Bukharin argued that when the kulaks increased their wealth, they increased the national wealth. Unfortunately, Bukharin "forgot" the class struggle—when the kulaks enriched themselves, they did it by raising grain prices at the expense of the workers.

Bukharin's intentions were to strengthen the workers' state by increasing its wealth. But he was led to completely reactionary conclusions, demonstrating the danger of even long-time Bolshevik leaders capitulating to bourgeois ideology under conditions of enforced isolation.

Similarly, Stalin's capitulation to bourgeois ideology cannot be explained by saying that he was "evil." Stalin represented, indeed organized, the party apparatus, which was closely interwoven with the state apparatus. He viewed matters from the same bureaucratic vantage point as did the technocrats, and came to be their champion. In short, the kulak threat was personified by Bukharin within the party, the threat of the apparatus by Stalin.

THE KULAK THREAT

In the 1920's, the kulaks were the greater threat. The Stalinist apparatus did not yet have the strength to stand independently; it pursued a policy of tacking and veering between the kulaks and the proletariat. Indeed, in the 1920's proletarian living standards were gradually increased until 1928; grievance procedures and the right to strike in industry were maintained; admission of technocrats into the party was restricted. The Stalin faction was forced to adapt to the pressures of the workers.

But at the same time, Stalin adapted to the pressure of the kulaks. The differentiation in the countryside accelerated, as the kulaks dominated the commanding heights of the agricultural sector. By 1925 the kulaks were able to force grain prices up by withholding their crop, placing the nation at their mercy.

In 1928 the situation came to a head. After defeating the proletarian forces of the Joint Opposition (Trotsky-Zinoviev), Stalin was forced to confront Bukharin and the kulaks. In the late fall of 1928 the kulaks withheld grain on a mass scale, endangering the continued existence of the workers' state.

Stalin launched an all-out war against the kulaks, as well as their Bukharinite supporters inside the party. This was necessary as an act of self-preservation: kulak counter-revolution would have opened the gates to foreign invasion of Russia, sweeping the Stalinist faction out of power.

STALIN SLAUGHTERS THE PEASANTRY

But Stalin did not limit himself to destroying the kulaks. He turned brutally against the poor peasants as well. Stalin saw salvation in forced industrialization of Russia, and to carry out this program at breakneck pace millions of peasants were driven off the land and herded into the cities as a cheap source of labor. Millions more who resisted were slaughtered.

The smytchka between town and country was destroyed. Soviet agricultural production fell precipitously (for example, the peasants' slaughter of livestock reduced the number of cattle in the Soviet Union from 70.5 million head in 1928 to 38.4 million in 1933). The agricultural sector has never recovered—agricultural productivity in Russia today is a meager 11 per cent of that in the U.S.

Liquidation of the kulak threat could have been a major step towards strengthening proletarian rule. Instead it served the opposite purpose. Stalin used it as the pretext to assert his unbridled rule over all areas of the population. He ruthlessly attacked the poor peasantry. Likewise, he launched a vicious onslaught against the proletariat.

Between 1928 and 1933, real wages of the Russian working class were cut in half, where they remained

for a decade. The urban meat ration dropped by two-thirds in this same period. All in all, the standard of living of the working class was barely two-thirds of what it had been under Czarism in 1913. (This is being generous to Stalin—the figures used are official prices, which ignore the generally prevailing black market prices which were several times the official statistics).

There is more. In this period, 1928-1933, the Stalinist faction outlawed strikes in the Soviet Union. Labor pass books were introduced for most categories of work in 1931, and for all workers by 1938. These were used to control and blacklist workers—no worker could be hired without showing his "industrial passport" with a complete record of his job history as compiled by his bosses. The trade unions were deprived of their rights to negotiate wages and defend workers' rights.

Space does not allow us to go through Stalin's barbarous treatment of the national minorities—it was Stalin, not Khrushchev (as the RU asserts) who transformed the Soviet Union into the prison-house



Soviet factory workers during drive for industrialization. 1928-1932 workers living standards were cut in half.



Stalin and his future victims, Bukharin and Ordjonikidze.

of nations. Nor can we at this point analyze the treacherous foreign policy that sold out the British, Chinese, German and Austrian proletariat and destroyed the Comintern as a revolutionary organization.

For now, we will just underline that the industrialization of Russia by Stalin was carried out by disciplining the proletariat viciously, driving its wages down far below value and decimating the agricultural sector.

But this is only the beginning of the story. The process by which Stalin carried out these measures destroyed the Bolshevik Party, consolidated the technocratic apparatus and molded it into a new ruling class.

The pre-conditions for complete restoration of capitalism were established by 1933. The proletariat had been deprived of even the most elementary

rights; its interests were subordinated fully to the state apparatus's relentless drive to strengthen its grip; the proletariat was everywhere confronted by a social grouping dominated by the ruthless capitalist need to accumulate by making living labor serve dead labor.

But the character of the Russian state was not yet settled. For the counter-revolution to triumph, the Stalinist apparatus had to root out every possible avenue through which proletarian resistance might flow.

STALIN CRUSHES THE PARTY

First and foremost, this meant completely crushing every spark of resistance in the party. The organized consciousness of the proletariat is the basic weapon in the struggle to transform capitalist society to socialism in the transitional society. The highest proletarian consciousness is revolutionary Marxism, and in Russia this was embodied in the Bolshevik Party. The triumph of the counter-revo-

lution, then, was synonymous with the destruction of the party in every sense.

By 1933, as Trotsky correctly explained, it was no longer possible to have a reform perspective towards altering the course of the party. The grip of the Stalinist faction was too secure to attempt to root it out through peaceful measures. Revolutionary measures were necessary.

But sparks of life still existed in the party. Primarily, they were represented by the Old Bolsheviks, the survivors of Lenin's party from the Civil War period. And it was against these elements that Stalin turned his fury in the

period 1934-38. The Society of Old Bolsheviks and the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles were declared illegal. Thousands of Bolsheviks were liquidated in the purges. The culmination was the kangaroo "show trials" in which Zinoviev, Bukharin and other close associates of Lenin in the period of revolution were murdered after being forced to make transparently false "confessions." Tomsky, the old trade union leader, was "liquidated." Tukhachevsky, the leader of the Red Army for two decades, was purged, together with nearly every member of the officer corps who had survived the Civil War. In every sector, Stalin sought to stamp out all those who remembered, no matter in how distorted a way, the October Revolution.

TERROR AND PURGES

This was accompanied by a campaign of terror launched against the proletariat. In all, three million were killed between 1936 and 1938; six million were arrested for ten years or more; eight million were sent to slave labor camps.

The figures tell the story with the party well. For example, 1,108 of the 1,966 delegates to the 17th Party Congress (1934) had been arrested for "crimes against the revolution" when the 18th Party Congress met in 1939. Only 59 delegates to the 17th Party Congress were delegates again in 1939. 115 of the 139 members of the 1934 Central Committee had been purged by 1939—98 had been shot. And of the Bolshevik Central Committee from October, 1917 only one remained—Stalin. The Bolshevik Party had been ruthlessly and systematically crushed—destroyed in its entirety.

It is no wonder that the RU flees from serious study of this period. How could they reveal the truth and still dare to claim that it was Khrushchev who destroyed the Communist Party?

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The 18th Party Congress celebrated the triumph of the technocratic apparatus over the proletariat. Previously, Stalin had been forced to at least nominally pay homage to the need to preserve the party as a proletarian institution. In 1939, following his destruction of the Bolsheviks, this hindrance was removed. At the Congress, Stalin attacked the bigoted attitudes of hostility at admitting intellectuals, and opened the party to all "conscious and active workers, peasants and intellectuals, loyal to the cause of communism." Here is the "state of the whole people" in its crudest form!

This was the recognition of a transformation that had in large part already taken place. The "new intellectuals"—the technocrats, engineers and plant managers—now dominated the party. In 1923, before the death of Lenin, only 29 per cent of factory managers were Party members. By 1936, the figure was between 95 per cent and 100 per cent. In this year, 82 per cent of chiefs of construction and 40 per cent of chief engineers were "communists."

By 1938, then, the Stalinist counter-revolution had triumphed. Capitalism had been restored in the U.S.S.R. The vestiges of October that had survived in the party had been consciously stamped out. Nothing remained but a technocratic apparatus, a machine of bourgeois rule.

It was the Trotskyists who fought the Stalinist counter-revolution, who insisted on the need for an industrialization program, who first warned of the danger of kulak counter-revolution.

So it was Stalin, not Khrushchev, who destroyed the party. It was Stalin, not Khrushchev, who consolidated the state apparatus against the proletariat. It is no wonder that the RU does not treat this period seriously—even by its own standards. If they revealed the truth about the thirties they would be forced to conclude that it was Stalin who led the capitalist restoration. By concealing this, the RU serves only as the most cynical apologists for the counter-revolution as it really took place.

RU SLANDER

The RU attempts at one point to justify its deceit. Red Papers 7 has this to say about the purges:

The Trotskyites, Bukharanites, and other traitors and wreckers met with defeat. The masses of militant workers and Party cadres united overwhelmingly behind the proletarian line of Stalin and the Party's Central Committee. The purges of the 30's, despite weaknesses and excesses, marked an even greater victory for the proletarian line. By 1939 it had become crystal clear that all openly disruptive and factional activity could and would not be tolerated.

The RU can only resort to grisly boasts, empty slogans and outright slander. Perhaps, they murmur, the purge of five-sixths of the Central Committee was an "excess." Very well. But then how is it conceivable that "the masses united behind the proletarian line of the Central Committee?"

The purpose of all this crude bombast is to exonerate Stalin, at all costs to the truth. Says the RU: "We believe that the Stalin question and the question of Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism are two different questions."

THE TROTSKYISTS

It was the Trotskyists, who the RU smears with the labels "traitors and wreckers," who carried out the consistent fight against the Stalinist counter-revolution and for the interests of the proletariat. It was the Trotskyists who, years before Stalin dreamed of an industrialization program, insisted upon the need for one. It was the Trotskyists who first and more forcefully warned of the danger of kulak counter-revolution, while Stalin was siding

with Bukharin.

But the Trotskyists insisted that the industrialization program could and must take place for the benefit of the proletariat, insisting that increases in productivity be accompanied by increases in real wages for the proletariat. Likewise, the Trotskyists insisted that the living standards of the rural proletariat and the poor peasantry be increased at the expense of the kulaks and the budding capitalist middle-men in the twenties. The Trotskyists insisted that the wage differentials between skilled and unskilled labor, and mental and manual labor, be reduced. The Trotskyists called for a proletarian internationalist policy, against Stalin's class collaboration, and for party democracy to counter the threat of the apparatus. (All of this and more can be found in *The Platform of the Joint Opposition*, presented in 1928 and slandered and rejected by the Stalinist faction.)

Stalin made a mockery of this program, carrying on his forced industrialization program which destroyed the living standards of the proletariat and poor peasantry. The RU, to cover Stalin's crimes, must heap slanders upon revolutionary Trotskyism.

The RU slaps Stalin on the wrist. "Under Stalin inequalities did exist," they admit, "and Marxist-

nothing in common with Marxism," and this was used as the ideological justification for maintaining one of the most blatant systems of wage inequality in the world. Yet the RU still claims that under Stalin "the proletarian policy was to push forward toward greater unity and equality wherever this was possible."

Red Papers 7 is a deceitful whitewash from start to finish: it was Stalin who smashed the party, Stalin who implemented the state of the whole people, Stalin who strangled the international revolution, Stalin who grossly exaggerated inequality in the proletariat, and Stalin who consolidated and led the technocrats and the rest of the apparatus against the proletariat. Khrushchev's deeds pale in comparison.

RU FALSIFIES HISTORY

The RU's falsifications are intended to obliterate the central fact of Soviet history: by 1938, the Russian proletariat was faced with a new bourgeoisie in the shape of the Party bureaucracy. The proletarian revolution of 1917 had been overturned. In the October Revolution, the working class had grasped for itself the state power and created certain institutions: nationalized means of production, central planning, the state monopoly of foreign trade—tools which were to be used for its liberation. The bourgeoisie had been removed from power and expropriated, and political power had been placed in the hands of the vanguard of the proletariat, the Bolshevik Party.

Stalin and his followers, by crushing the proletariat and finally by strangling the Party, eliminated the last surviving remnant of the Bolshevik Revolution. The transformed Party bureaucracy thereby confronted the proletariat as an alien, non-proletarian force. Such a force can represent nothing but capital, since the bourgeoisie in whatever form it appears is simply the embodi-

ment of capital. The nationalized property, central planning, and monopoly of foreign trade had been transformed into weapons of the bourgeoisie once it had fully expropriated the proletariat.

SOVIET IMPERIALISM

During World War II and after, the newly-established Soviet bourgeoisie expanded its earlier nationalist policies to full-fledged imperialism. The internationalization of the Soviet counter-revolution—the spread of state capitalism to Eastern Europe, China and Korea—was built on the defeated attempts to internationalize the Soviet revolution in the '20's and '30's. The pressure of world capitalism,

both military and economic, is what made the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union possible.

Only the spread of the revolution abroad could have eliminated the economic scarcity and military danger that strengthened the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois-restorationist elements within the struggling Russian workers' state—the peasantry (especially the kulaks), the demoralized and bureaucratized privileged layers of the working class, the specialists, officers, and bureaucrats of Czarism who were retained under Bolshevik rule, and the "socialists" whose real ideas of socialism had been, in effect, state-capitalism.

The conservatism, cynicism and bourgeois aspirations of these elements were a constant danger to the revolution—a danger that could have been subdued only by internationalizing the revolution. And it is this cynicism that the RU, by distorting history, represents.

Subsequent articles in this series will deal with the international policies of the Soviet Union, both the betrayals of the Communist International under Stalin and the imperialism of the Soviet Union after the state-capitalist victory. The series will also investigate the rise of state-capitalism in China, and will finally take up the major questions of Marxist theory that are raised and mangled by the RU.



Leon Trotsky led Red Army to victory over counter-revolutionary forces in Civil War. Later, Trotsky continued fight against counter revolution in its Stalinist form.

Leninists have concluded that these were too extensive. Such inequalities included wide wage differentials between skilled and unskilled labor and higher compensation for managerial and technical personnel."

But this is just a cover, a device to mildly rebuke Stalin while still standing in solidarity with him. What was the real character of the wage differentials?

In 1931 Stalin inaugurated his official "anti-equalitarian" policy, which resulted in a wage system that paid skilled workers almost four times as much as unskilled—to say nothing about managers. In 1937, it was necessary to decree a minimum wage of 110 rubles per month, at a time when skilled workers received up to 300 rubles, engineers 1,500, and plant directors a minimum of 2,000 rubles per month (with incentives for increased production on top of this).

LENIN VS. STALIN

Lenin had stated that the tendency in the workers' state would be towards increasing equality, and advocated "the gradual equalization of all wages and salaries in all professions and categories." Stalin's slogan was "Equalitarianism has

N.Y.
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In New York City 150 leftists heard V. Revolutionary Society Ed Clarkson of the on the topic "Revolution and the Crisis Today."

Since its inception the Revolutionary Society has consistently combated the capitalist League over its refusal to revolutionize. It has been several debate organizations, with its demonstrations and politics of the SL. The debate decisively ended the political bankruptcy of the roots of its roots.

Comrade Dahl's analysis of how the concept of revolution flowed from its Marxist analysis of imperialist decay (November, 1974) Cde. Dahl's opening

He demonstrated the Spartacists' desire for a post-war boom in their Keynesian capitalism can avoid

SL EMPLOYMENT

Further, Cde. quoting the Spartacists until 1971 the SL there was a post-war boom they had attributed methods of state spending and money. The SL's denial, to a boom is the flip-side attitude—both are imperialism.

When things look like a boom, the Spartacists genuflect before the boom to the Keynesians. When the SL says that things will always be. So no boom, and the depression. It is the established fact, vulgar empiricism.

A Torch
CHILE
Never

HOW THE RU WAS BETRAYED

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N.Y. Debate

R.S.L. Trounces Spartacists

In New York City on October 26, 150 leftists heard Walter Dahl of the Revolutionary Socialist League debate Ed Clarkson of the Spartacist League on the topic "Revolutionary Leadership and the Crisis of Imperialism Today."

Since its inception over a year ago, the Revolutionary Socialist League has consistently confronted the Spartacist League over its liberal approach to revolutionary politics. There have been several debates between the two organizations, with each debate further demonstrating the bankrupt politics of the SL. The October 26 debate decisively exposed the theoretical bankruptcy of the SL and got at the roots of its rotten politics.

Comrade Dahl opened with an analysis of how the SL's reformist concept of revolutionary leadership flowed from its failure to make a Marxist analysis of the epoch of imperialist decay (See *Torch* No. 16, November, 1974 for excerpts from Cde. Dahl's opening statements.)

He demonstrated, first of all, that the Spartacists' denial that there was a post-war boom is nothing but a cover for their Keynesian notion that capitalism can avoid depression.

SL EMPIRICISM

Further, Cde. Dahl proved by quoting the Spartacists' press that up until 1971 the SL had believed that there was a post-war boom, and that they had attributed it to Keynesian methods of state fiscal policy, arms spending and monetary manipulation. The SL's denial, today, that there was a boom is the flip-side of their former attitude—both are the crudest empiricism.

When things look good, the Spartacists genuflect before appearance and hail the boom together with the Keynesians. When times are bad, the SL says that things were always this way, and that this is the way they always will be. So now there was never a boom, and there will be no depression. It is the worship of the established fact, the hallmark of vulgar empiricism.

A Torch Pamphlet

CHILE: Never Again!

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This method is familiar. It has long been employed by the Stalinists of the Communist Party. The CP is famous for labeling every right-wing government with military trappings as "fascist." In Germany in the 1930's, for example, they successively labeled the Social-Democratic government and the various right-wing and Bonapartist regimes that preceded Hitler as fascist. But if these were fascist, what difference could Hitler make? Therefore, the CP failed to warn the proletariat of the need to concentrate its fire on the main enemy, the Nazis, who were out to destroy every institution of the proletariat.

CRISIS? WHAT CRISIS?

The Spartacists pursue a similar method on the economy. If there was no boom, and there need be no bust, why warn the proletariat of the need to prepare for the coming crisis? And the SL carries this line of thought to its logical conclusion, gutting Trotsky's Transitional Program of its revolutionary content.

The Transitional Program was written in 1938 to provide the bridge to bring the masses to revolutionary consciousness. It is based on the conception that in this epoch, the conditions are ripe, indeed over-ripe,

but must first of all become conscious of its power, of the fact that its independent strength can smash the bourgeoisie together with all of the Bonapartist and fascist trappings. But as well, the working class must be warned that it cannot rely on the mercy of the bourgeoisie or its state for defense. It must learn that it cannot scoff at the danger of fascism, but must combat it vigorously as soon as it rears its despicable head.

Cde. Dahl demonstrated how the SL's empiricism leads them to jettison the Marxist implementation of the Transitional Program in practice. He recited the SL's line towards the British workers, which told them that if they seized factories there was no need to worry about the Labour government sending in troops. He repeated their approach towards the Italian situation where today, when the danger of military take-over looms, the SL passively whines that the civil service bureaucracy really runs the government, so the situation there is business as usual. He discussed their attitude towards Watergate, where the SL claimed that "the norms of bourgeois democracy" were being restored, and scoffed at the drive towards strong-man rule that characterizes this epoch.

The Revolutionary Socialist League will publish transcripts of the debate in full so that the Spartacists' travesty of Marxism can be placed before the revolutionary workers.

for socialist revolution. The crisis is one of revolutionary leadership—the proletariat has been thwarted time and again by the betrayals of the reformist, Stalinist and centrist misleaderships.

The task of the revolutionary leadership is to rally the proletariat to its historic mission, the overthrow of capitalism. In this epoch, capitalism cannot qualitatively expand the productive forces. Instead, it is forced to viciously turn upon the proletariat to wrest away whatever gains it has conceded. Interludes of stability, such as the post-war boom, are not ruled out. But the direction is towards the bourgeoisie utilizing the brutal methods of fascism in the attempt to drive down the proletariat.

SOCIALISM VS. FASCISM

In other words, the bourgeoisie will hurtle civilization back centuries to maintain their class rule. Despite periods of respite, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in this epoch is the struggle between socialism and fascism, between the liberation of humanity and its destruction.

The Transitional Program, standing on this analysis, can only be wielded as a weapon if the direction of capitalism is understood. The proletar-

lead steadily downhill." And what is this? Nothing but the statement that in the epoch of decay capitalism rolls merrily along. There is no need to fear an outright crash.

Cde. Clarkson further demonstrated his mastery of Marxism in discussing the RSL's position that armaments production, though itself the production of surplus value, does not contribute to the further production of surplus value since arms do not enter into the reproductive process. Clarkson proudly announced, "Now wait a minute comrades, neither do apples." Perhaps apples eaten by Cde. Clarkson are unproductively consumed, but for the working class apples contribute to the reproduction of their labor power.

FASCISM? NO PROBLEM

Clarkson drew the logical political conclusions from his reformist economic analysis. He tried to ridicule the RSL for an article in *The Torch* warning of the embryonic fascist movement developing the U.S., an article which covered a march by a group of Nazis on the streets of Cleveland. He attacked our call for workers' defense guards, claiming that the fascist movement in this country is minuscule and hence should be ignored.

This is more of the SL's complacency, on a par with that which Cde. Dahl cited on their lines toward Britain, Italy and Watergate. Ignore the fascists, says the SL, because they're small. Well, so are the revolutionary forces. But the fascists will grow as the crisis deepens—a

crisis which the SL shuts its eyes to. The time to begin to warn the workers of the need to aggressively combat the fascists is not when they become a mass movement, but as soon as they surface.

SL ROUTED

All in all, the New York debate was a rout. The SL was roundly trounced. Their failure to put forward a systematic analysis, as did the RSL, was not an accident. It is the necessary consequence of their empiricism. The SL demonstrated that it does not understand the epoch, does not understand the nature of the period in which we live, does not and will not wield the Transitional Program in a revolutionary manner, and will not rally the working class to meet the tasks it faces.

Comrades of the Spartacist League will naturally be reluctant to admit that the New York debate was such a rout. They will be tempted to say that we have distorted what took place, and that we ripped Cde. Clarkson's words out of context. We think that the evidence will be even more damning in the full context.

That is why we are publishing the full debate in pamphlet form. We challenge the Spartacist League to do the same.

KEYNESIANISM

Let's call this by its proper name. It's the Keynesian analysis of a decade ago, which said that capitalism need not fear depressions any longer, and that the post-war recessions took the place of full-scale depression.

Again, "We do have the conception that the epochal crisis of capitalism in the epoch of decay is its inability to qualitatively expand production, but that doesn't have to do with any particular economic crisis that will

SL FRONT FOR BOURGEOISIE

Cont'd. from p. 3

militant workers must have the courage to stand against the stream within both the black and white sectors of the working class to say: "Enough of this. You are playing their game."

In Boston, the immediate task becomes to defend the black students and wage a battle to defend the rights of the blacks to attend the schools of their choice, that is, to refuse to be segregated into rotten ghetto schools. In order to untangle the situation, it is necessary to bring the class question to the fore. It is crucial to expose the tricks of the bourgeoisie, to expose the fraud of busing as a solution to the educational crisis.

In accordance with this, the Revolutionary Socialist League fights to defend the rights of blacks to go to any schools they choose. It opposes the intervention of government troops and calls for the protection of the black students by defense guards organized by the black organizations and the trade unions. We call for expanded education and good schools for all at the expense of the capitalists and in the context of a struggle for full employment and other transitional demands that address the needs of black people and the entire working class. We point out that only socialism can fulfill these demands. At the same time, we fight to expose busing and every other bourgeois scheme that seeks to utilize the oppression of blacks as a means to foment race war and set the workers at each other's throats.

CENTRISTS CAPITULATE

In contrast to this, the rest of the Left has blatantly capitulated to the bourgeois forces. Not the least of these capitulations has been committed by the Spartacist League. The SL vigorously presents itself as the only organization with a revolutionary strategy for the crisis in Boston. In fact, they have played the role of the left wing of the bourgeoisie. Their line on busing is fundamentally indistinguishable from that of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers' Party. Like them, the SL fights for the bourgeois fraud of busing, only opposing the tactic of relying on the bourgeois state to implement this program. The SL thus fights to spread the illusion that blacks can win their rights, not through united class struggle, but through a direct alliance with a section of the bourgeoisie.

The SL falls for every one of the bourgeoisie's tricks. Busing, the liberals contend, is part and parcel of the struggle for better schools. It is, in other words, a reform. The SL echoes this line. In a leaflet announcing the SL speaking tour on the Boston events, busing is described as "a minimal attempt to allow the black poor a share in the benefits of white society."

The overwhelming majority of black students and particularly the children of the most oppressed sectors of the black community will see nothing of these "benefits." Only a tiny fraction will be bused to the better schools in the middle-class suburbs. These will most likely be the children of the black middle class who will have the connections to get their children into these programs. Meanwhile the children of the working class families will be shuttled around within the city limits where all the schools are crumbling. Busing is no reform at all, but a fraud from beginning to end.

The SL claims to recognize that "the capitalists seek to grant concessions to one section of the working class at the expense of another." They fail to fight this tactic in practice. The "concession" involved in busing is to the black middle class at the expense of black workers. This, of course, the SL does not see. Moreover, one would expect serious revolutionaries to expose what busing represents. Instead, the SL has placed busing at the center of its agitation, demanding "Implement and Extend the Busing Plan." Thus, despite their words, they become proponents of the busing fraud and agents of the bourgeois trickery.

What should one expect, however, of those who see busing as an "attempt to allow the black poor a share in the benefits of white American society?"

The bourgeoisie which is watching its system rot before its eyes, which is throwing thousands of workers out of work and fomenting race war to protect itself is not interested in "allowing" black workers to share the benefits of white society. They are attempting to channel the black struggle for democratic rights and better schools into a head-on confrontation with white workers. Instead of fighting to defend the black students and black rights and at the same time exposing the busing scheme and the cynical role of the bourgeoisie, the SL takes upon itself the job of becoming the bourgeoisie's pro-busing agents among the black workers and the working class generally.

This is just the beginning. The SL newspaper *Workers Vanguard* (Sept. 27) describes busing as "an elementary, although somewhat artificial, democratic demand." In the November issue of *Young Spartacus*, published by the SL's youth group, busing is described as "a minimal application of the elementary democratic right of black people to equality in education, although certainly a bourgeois measure." The confusion in these two quotes is astounding.

"Busing, we are told, is a "somewhat artificial" democratic demand. This is quite a characterization. What is an artificial demand? The democratic demand in question is the right of blacks to refuse to be segregated into ghetto schools, that is, the right of blacks to go the schools of their choice and not be mauled or murdered for it. This is not artificial in the slightest. The SL is calling on blacks to fight and run the risk of death to "implement and extend" busing which they consider to be... artificial. This is sheer cynicism.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The SL has fallen for another bourgeois trick. To see this it is essential to understand just what democratic demands are.

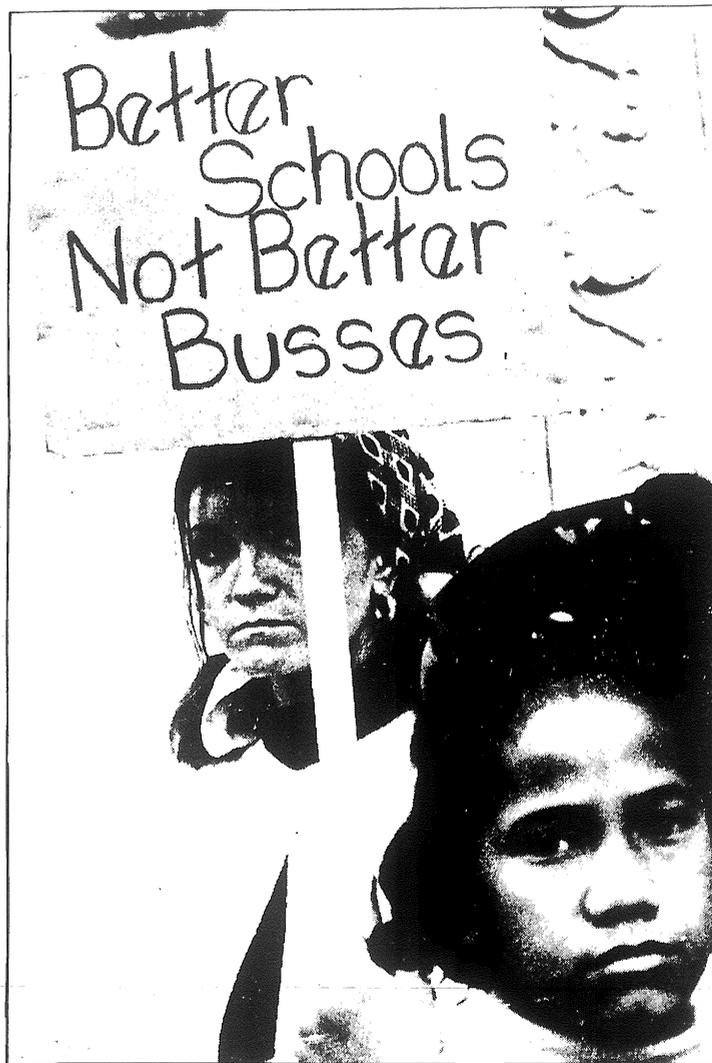
Capitalism promises equality to all people. Equality Before the Law; Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—these slogans and the various demands that flow from them, e.g., freedom of speech, press, assembly, no discrimination on the basis of race, creed, religion, for the right of nations to self-determination, etc. were, as Lenin pointed out, first put forward by the revolutionary sections of the petty-bourgeois in the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries. These were the promises of young expanding capitalism. Today, when capitalism is in decay, capitalism cannot fulfill these demands. On the contrary it strives to destroy the democratic gains of the masses. Only the socialist revolution can bring about the complete and genuine fulfillment of these demands.

Oppressed people under capitalism, in the absence of revolutionary proletarian leadership, still put forward their demands in terms of these promises of capitalism. They see their oppression based not so much on capitalism as on their denial

of the above democratic rights. They merely want the rights seemingly accorded to everybody else. As of now, only the most advanced sectors of these peoples realize that to win these rights and eliminate the special oppression they face, capitalism must be overthrown. The task of Bolshevik-Leninists then is to fight for these democratic rights alongside the masses, constantly pointing out that they can only be fully won and maintained through the socialist revolution.

BOURGEOIS TRICK

Central to the bourgeois ploys in Boston is a sleight of hand. Just as they say that busing equals the struggle for better schools, so they contend that busing equals the democratic rights of blacks. Busing, we are told, is a democratic right. So, if you are for fighting for black rights, you must be for busing. This lie is designed to bind the black masses and advanced white workers to the bourgeoisie and to prevent the formation of independent class



School struggle on West Coast several years ago. Forced busing is a bourgeois scheme for dividing the working class and derailing workers' militancy into race war.

struggle alternative. This is what the SL swallows hook, line and sinker.

But this line is suicide for the working class. The right of blacks to refuse to attend segregated schools, to attend the school of their choice, is under attack and must be defended. But busing proposes to do this by busing the children of white workers to the ghetto schools that the blacks are rightfully trying to escape. The bourgeoisie argues that since there are not enough decent schools someone has to go to the ghetto schools. It is sure political death for a revolutionary to accept this way of approaching the question.

The schools in the white workers' communities are in an advanced state of decomposition.

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Revolutionary Marxists do not advocate levelling down as the road to equality. Shall the U.S. workers accept reduced wages in order to be equal with the workers of the underdeveloped countries? Should employed workers accept wage cuts to enable the capitalists to employ unemployed workers? This is the bourgeois way of thinking.

Nobody should attend the ghetto schools if they do not want to. If all the workers wish to send their children to the middle and upper class suburban schools, socialists support their right to do this and will demand that the state arrange transportation for the children. If this leads to overcrowding of the suburban schools, we answer, "Build more and better schools for the workers at the expense of the capitalists." Revolutionaries demand what the workers need, not what capitalism can afford. Reformists and centrists accept the limitations of capitalism.

INTEGRATION

Underlying the identification of busing with the struggle for black rights is another liberal tenet—that the struggle for black rights equals the struggle for racial integration. And, as part of a consistent pattern, the SL capitulates to the bourgeois liberals here too.

To the liberals and their black middle-class allies, integration is the solution to the "Negro Problem." They wish to completely intermix blacks and whites, in order to assimilate blacks into the "American Mainstream." This is not seen as an answer to poverty and the other deepseated problems of the black masses. The real motivation for bourgeois integrationism is to make all blacks act in accordance with middle-class values. Although there is no hope of making all or even a sizeable number of blacks materially comfortable with good housing, schools, health facilities, etc., the liberals do hope that the black masses can be given some "culture." They hope, in other words, that if blacks are fully integrated into white society some of the "whiteness" will rub off on the blacks, that the rebellious characteristics of the black masses that the white liberals and their allies in the black middle classes find so disconcerting will be eliminated.

The fact that the Spartacist League confuses busing with the struggle for black rights is not an accident. They share the fundamental assumptions of the bourgeois liberals. And like the liberals, they are proponents of integration. *Workers Vanguard* (Sept. 27) writes: "Defense of racial integration is a principled question for Marxists." And the November 8 issue proudly proclaims: "The Spartacist League has a consistent record of supporting racial integration."

The Spartacist League case for integration is based on two propositions: 1) that integration leads to a united class struggle, and 2) this integration is possible under capitalism. The first proposition is explicit in SL propaganda. The second is necessarily implied by the first.

The SL, announces the November issue of *Young Spartacus*, is "in favor of the all-sided integration of blacks into society, for then the basis for a united class struggle is strengthened." Integration, however, means the subordination of blacks to the dominant whites. It represents a strategy to quell the black struggle. It is an attempt to smother the rebellion of black workers who increasingly can come to realize that the only way in which they can achieve their demands is in the context of a united class struggle against capitalism.

Even under conditions of prosperity, integration is only a possibility for a few, leaving the bulk of black masses outside the "benefits of White American society." Integrationism thereby spreads the illusion of the possibilities of peaceful reforms of capitalism, tying the black workers through the black middle class to capitalism. This is the integration that the SL has had a "consistent record" in supporting.

But this is not all. The notion that integration strengthens the basis for a united class struggle implies that this integration can and must come before the united class struggle. But capitalism in decline is incapable of integrating the black masses. Does any one who knows what the vast, long-term unemployment and layoffs in basic industry, the inflation, the deterioration of the cities, the schools,

the hospitals, etc., means for blacks doubt this?

To pose integration as strengthening the basis for a united class struggle at precisely the moment when capitalism is demonstrating its inability to provide the black masses with decent jobs, homes, etc., let alone integrating them, is saying that the road to freedom lies through the struggle for integration. It is telling the black workers that they should struggle first for integration and then for socialism. This is nothing but a miserable Menshevik stage-ist conception: integration first,



Nazis demonstrate for "White Power" in Boston. Blacks and all advanced workers must organize to smash Nazi threat.

then the class struggle. And as history has shown, and as the SL practice in Boston is showing, when the struggle is divided into stages, it is the second stage, the class struggle, the socialist revolution, that gets thrown away.

The revolutionary proletariat stands for the elimination of racial barriers and oppression. Under communism, national and racial divisions will disappear in the course of being supplanted by a new, truly international human culture. But to confuse this with integration today, which is a thoroughly bourgeois strategy, would be (as Lenin said of Kautsky's confusion of bourgeois and proletarian democracy) "either crass stupidity or very clumsy trickery."

In reality, the international human culture may be approached via a variety of detours. Blacks may opt for separation not integration. In any case, the task of revolutionaries is to unconditionally defend the right of blacks to make this choice, while politically struggling against both integrationism and nationalism, which both represent varieties of bourgeois ideology.

But underlying the SL's pro-busing and pro-integrationist position is the fact that despite its rhetoric, the SL believes that capitalism is capable of systematic reforms. What else, may we ask, is all-sided integration? This is completely consistent with their entire approach to political economy. The New York debate between the RSL and the Spartacist League clearly exposed the SL's revisionist conception of the epoch of capitalist decay. The debate revealed their abandonment of Trotsky's conception of an overall decline in capitalism and highlighted their conception of the epoch as simply a series of cyclical ups and downs, with the present crisis simply just one more "down."

What does all this mean? What does the Spartacist League represent? As we have shown, integrationism represents the standpoint not only of the bourgeois liberals but also of the black middle class. The SL's capitulation to this layer, at the expense of the black masses, is of a piece with a broader capitulation. The Spartacist League's underlying belief that capitalism is capable of granting systematic reforms is just one reflection of the fact that the SL politically capitulates to and represents the interests of the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy.

If this appears far fetched, a look at the SL's position in immigration should eliminate doubts.

While claiming to be against "racially and nationally discriminatory immigration laws," the SL comes out in defense of the "right" of an imperialist state to limit immigration. According to the SL, unrestricted immigration could "wipe out the national identity of the recipient countries" (*Workers Vanguard*, January 18, 1974). The SL thus defends the "national identity" of the United States (the use of Belgium and Holland as examples should fool no one).

This "national identity" is the national and racial composition of the U.S. population as it has been created by years of discriminatory immigration policies. It is the "national identity" as created and defined by imperialism. The SL position is nothing but a capitulation to national chauvinism and racism which has served to divide the international working class and delay the socialist revolution.

But this disgraceful performance is not over. Note their position on the question of the "illegals" who daily cross the U.S.-Mexican border illegally in search of jobs and better living conditions in the United States. The SL argues that "an 'open' U.S.-Mexico border would . . . induce impoverished Mexican laborers to flood the U.S. labor market, becoming an unprotected pool for capitalist superexploitation" (*Workers Vanguard* Jan.

18, 1974). The SL appears here to be concerned with all the workers. In fact, it is concerned only with the U.S. workers. The "impoverished Mexican laborers" are already unprotected from capitalist exploitation, and at the hands of U.S. capitalism at that.

What the SL is saying is that the workers should starve in Mexico not in the United States. Stay and rot in Mexico so as to "protect" the jobs and wages of U.S. workers! This is the content of this position. And what is this if it is not the platform of the labor bureaucracy which seeks to protect their jobs by tying the U.S. workers to the U.S. bourgeoisie and dividing them from the rest of the international working class. This is the program of the liberal, pro-imperialist, pro-protectionist sectors of the labor bureaucracy whose positions are enhanced by the strength of U.S. imperialism and who themselves are directly tied to the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie.

The Marxist program emphasizes the right of Mexican and other oppressed workers to go where they please. It is unalterably opposed to any restrictions of this right created by imperialism in order to divide the working class. In the context of defending this right, revolutionary Marxists warn that moving all the oppressed workers to the imperialist nations is both impossible and no solution even if it were.

It is here that we come full circle. The Spartacist League line on busing is basically the same as that of the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy, with one exception—the SL opposes the call for the intervention of U.S. troops in Boston. But this latter is absolutely essential to the SL's particular centrist character, since without it, the line of the Spartacist League and the line of the liberal labor bureaucrats would be identical.

It is therefore no surprise that despite the SL's talk about the **Transitional Program**, when it comes to practice, this program goes right out the window. The SL advances the bourgeois program as the center of its agitation in Boston, while it mentions the transitional demands only as tack-on afterthoughts. This tack-on cover is characteristic of centrism: a revolutionary gloss covering a reformist essence. In reality, the need to fight for the class independence of the proletariat is ignored. The fight for class unity is jettisoned in the interests of an alliance with the bourgeoisie. The struggle for socialism is subordinated to the struggle for bourgeois integrationism.

Terrified Opportunism

Workers Vanguard Embraces "Truth"

By Chris Hudson

Eager to snatch up even the dirtiest stick with which to beat the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Spartacist League devotes over a page of the September 13 issue of its paper, *Workers Vanguard*, to an attack on the RSL by "Truth," a group recently expelled from the League for entrism and disloyalty. In its own introduction, *Workers Vanguard* completely suppresses any mention of its numerous political disagreements with "Truth." This from a paper which regularly bemoans the "opportunist appetites" of others!

As explained in *The Torch* No. 14, the group which subsequently dubbed itself "Truth" was an entrist clique, a product of petty-bourgeois demoralization which substitutes apolitical maneuvering and "base-building" for honest political struggle. The leaders of "Truth," Kevin Tracey and Margaret Brecht, put together a following—six members of the RSL's Chicago branch and one member of the Detroit branch—consisting with one exception of Brecht's long-time personal following and their close personal associates. These principled fighters attempted to maintain themselves in positions of power in the League while concealing their real political views.

Brecht and Tracey, who were later to call themselves the "Soviet Defensist Minority," concealed their politics and the evolution of their politics from the RSL Political Committee, of which they were members. At the League's founding convention, when he was in the leadership, Tracey mildly termed the state-capitalist position in the basic political resolution a "few traces of an incorrect political line." His actual view, that the state-capitalist position is "in essence" a capitulation to U.S. imperialism, he revealed only seven months later, after he learned he was to be expelled.

SYCOPHANTS

Brecht and Tracey made no attempt to correspond with loyal League members holding the Soviet defensist position, but did communicate secretly with Brecht's sycophants—all of whom announced "reconsideration" of the Russian Question within 24 hours of Brecht's announced change of position. Even then, Brecht and Tracey refused to fight for their views, refusing several challenges to debate or present their viewpoint. Only after nearly two months, when already faced with expulsion as a disloyal clique, did they put forward as a factional platform a laundry list of "positions" virtually none of which they had ever raised before.

Once outside the League, Brecht-Tracey concocted a statement to explain away their backroom maneuvers. This is the statement reprinted by *Workers Vanguard*. Portraying a political fight they never waged, Brecht-Tracey write that "the struggle began at the January 1974 (actually December 1973) meeting of the CC" where several members concluded that the resolution on state-capitalism

"was inconsistent with the world view of Trotskyism." In reality, Brecht shut her mouth about this insight for two solid months, and when accused of secretly reconsidering or changing her view in December, lied that she "was not and had not."

In sum, the group which now calls itself "Truth" concealed its politics as long as its leaders held positions of power in the RSL, revealed them only when forced to do so, and even now cannot tell the truth about its own origins.

CYNICAL, BUT SO WHAT?

The Spartacist League knew all this before it printed the statement of "Truth." *Workers Vanguard* has already called Kevin Tracey, ideological leader of the group, "cynical" (WV, Feb. 1, 1974), and its introduction to the "Truth" statement admits gingerly that it is "quite conceivable that the RSL leadership's charges," i.e., that the group "are unprincipled maneuverers and cliquists, are true." But, claims the SL, expulsion on such charges is unprincipled, a "smoke-screen to obscure the programmatic issues," which are "decisive."

This is pretty rich, coming from a group which forces out its oppositionists (Trager, Cunningham) without formal charges. But in any case, no better refutation of the SL's formalism can be found than Trotsky's discussion of 1931 on a similar cliquist grouping. Significantly, this friendly admonition was addressed to... Max Shachtman, who apparently voiced formalistic scruples similar to those of the SL:

It is obvious that decisions must be arrived at according to the principled lines of the different tendencies... But this criterion must not be conceived pedantically and so formalistically... Judgment must be based on the fact that it is an altogether unprincipled clique... which does not take ideas seriously, and with whom we must watch not their theses but their fingers... The programs, the theses, the principles, are highly important when they represent a reality. However, when they are only an adornment and a mask for clique struggle, then they must be booted aside in order to uncover the gentlemen concerned and represent them in natura. (Writings, 1930-31, p. 239)

DIFFERENCES HIDDEN

Aside from the fact that their pedantry and formalism shows they have not read Trotsky, if the SL took their preaching about "programmatic issues" seriously, they would state their differences with "Truth." Certainly it would be hard to imagine another tendency coming on the political scene with the views of "Truth" and not earning a hostile blast from WV instead of a coy simper. For example:

The fact that Tracey supported the Arab states in the Middle Eastern war, "a war between imperialism and the backward countries" (Tracey, "Resolution on the Middle Eastern War," adopted by RSL Central Committee, Dec. 1973), is not mentioned by WV, which wrote that "the

working masses can have no stake in the victory of either side in this reactionary war" (Oct. 12, 1973). Nor does WV mention Tracey's characterization of the defeatist position held by the SL as "Shachtmanite" and "an accommodation to American imperialism."

The "Truth" group's position of supporting Mitterand on the first round in the recent French elections, and its view that "those who advocated abstention in the election are playing the role of scabs on the movement of the French proletariat" (Declaration of Faction of the Trotskyist Tendency), are not mentioned by WV, which held the position attacked by the "Truth" group and called "Truth's" position, when raised by the OCI, "a qualitative betrayal of Trotskyism" (April 26, 1974).

Numerous other differences, from the Proletarian Military Policy which the SL ridicules and "Truth" supports ("Their Army and Ours," Truth No. 1) to the burning question of surrealism, are not mentioned.

RUSSIAN QUESTION

And to top it off, the differences between the SL and "Truth" on the Russian Question are swept under the rug! To the SL, the explanation for the formation of "deformed workers' states" in Cuba, China and elsewhere is that the petty-bourgeois led movement "on its own momentum smashes capitalist property relations..." (Spartacist No. 6, June-July 1966, re-stated in WV, July 19, 1974). To Tracey this was the essence of the SL's Pabloism. "All the deformed workers' states owe their existence not to... the 'revolutionary' petty bourgeoisie, but to the continued existence of the (Russian) workers' state," based on the "dominant force" of Russia in these countries ("In Defense of October," April 1974).

Workers Vanguard mentions none of this, though it has been fully

acquainted with the views of Tracey for more than two years. WV in fact raises just one criticism of "Truth": that back in 1972 Tracey's "workerism" led him to "reject the possibility of fusing with the SL despite substantial programmatic agreement." Even this implies that there is "substantial programmatic agreement" today.

ROTTEN BLOC

The hallmark of centrism is an unprincipled combinationism. The SL has no respect for the "Truth" clique or its leaders. But they are willing to make an unprincipled bloc with them to use them as a club.

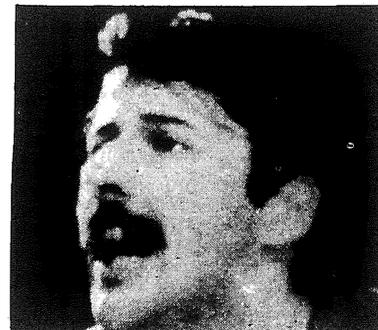
There is a political logic to this blatant opportunism. The SL is desperate for slanders to use against the RSL. The SL's lack of understanding of the economic crisis has been exposed in a debate which smashed their petty-bourgeois theories (see articles in *The Torch* No. 16 and in this issue). The SL's "theory" of the Stalinist states reveals itself as an eclectic hash; once the SL goes beyond repeating formulas about "proletarian property relations" and tries to explain the creation of these relations by the petty bourgeoisie, its "theory" drags it toward open Pabloism. (About this Tracey was not wrong!)

The SL and "Truth" each have no grasp of Leninism. Each reaches certain formally correct positions (the pro-Arab stand of "Truth," the SL's refusal to back Mitterand's Popular Front) while capitulating to the bourgeoisie in the next breath ("Truth's" support of Mitterand, the SL's Middle East defeatism). Thus there is a certain logic in their unprincipled embrace. Above all, the SL in its theoretical poverty must reach for gossip and slander against the RSL as a substitute for theoretical combat. For this purpose, the pathetic concoctions of a clique for which the SL otherwise has no respect serves them well.

MIGUEL ENRIQUEZ

We mourn the death of Miguel Enriquez, General Secretary of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), murdered by the bestial regime of General Pinochet and his military junta. Comrade Enriquez died as he had lived, heroically. Together with his companion, Comrade Carmen Castillo, Enriquez resisted the brutal assault by the paid murderers dispatched by the regime. After two hours, Enriquez fell, machine gun still in hand. Comrade Castillo, seven months pregnant and sorely wounded, was arrested and cast into the prisons of the Chilean butchers.

In September of 1973, the Chilean proletariat suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Pinochet and his American backers. Since then the forces of reaction have bathed the country in blood in their efforts to



wipe out resistance to the sway of capitalism and imperialism. Despite systematic torture and repression, they have not succeeded in smashing the revolutionary aspirations of the masses. Throughout the world, the proletariat is beginning to march anew against the famine, repression, destit-

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BOOKS



Fascism and Big Business

By Daniel Guerin;
Monad Press, N.Y.,
1939, 1973; \$3.25

Reviewed by Darryl Clark

The re-publication of Daniel Guerin's book *Fascism and Big Business* is timely. The worldwide capitalist crisis and the growing class struggle once again make the threat of fascism an urgent one. It is late, rather than early, for revolutionaries to prepare themselves to deal with it.

Guerin's book, originally written in the mid-'30's, studies fascism by concentrating on what Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany had in common. It is a thoroughly documented storehouse of information about what fascism says and what it does—two very different things. We can use this book. It's major weakness is that it doesn't explain clearly and concretely what we have to do to stop fascism.

CRUSH WORKERS

Guerin explains how fascism leads the attempt of capitalism to save itself from its own crisis by crushing the working class. For all its mystical rhetoric, fascism is really built around slashes in wages, terrible cuts in the standard of living and the total destruction of all working class resistance, especially the trade unions and revolutionary organizations. In both Germany and Italy, as Guerin shows in detail, wages were

driven down in just a few years to far below half what they had been. These attacks continued until the end of the fascist regimes. Fascism also represents the centralization of capital in the hands of the big capitalists based in heavy industry. Small businessmen are ruthlessly sacrificed to the big; even the big capitalists in light industry suffer when wages are slashed so far that demand for their

products is cut. The central dynamic of capitalism—accumulation for the sake of accumulation, production for the sake of production—is carried out with a vengeance.

But in spite of all that the state can do to rescue the system, the contradictions of capitalism cannot be suppressed. And so fascism does not relieve capitalism from the drive toward world war. Instead, it plunges the capitalist system into war with even more ferocity.

LIES

Fascism does not win power by telling people what it is; the fascists lie about what they represent and what they will do. They appeal to desperate people, who see no way out as society seems to be falling apart around them, and who finally decide to try the fascist answer.

Guerin tells us in detail how fascism is able to bring these desperate people to itself—especially the middle classes and the lumpen proletariat. He shows how the fascists pretend to be anti-capitalists, even claim to be the only true socialists: "We young Germans of the war generation, we National Socialist revolutionists, we ardent socialists, are waging the fight against capitalism and imperialism incarnated in the Versailles Treaty..." (Guerin, p. 79). The Nazis, under the name of the National

Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, claimed to represent the way out of the catastrophe that faced Germany: neither capitalism nor communism, but "national socialism."

And they came on as the party of "the little guy," caught between the capitalists and the workers who was sick of being pushed around by the rich and the communists. They claimed they would break up the monster corporations and the big landholdings: "A hundred thousand independent cobblers are worth more to the economy of the people and the state than five giant shoe factories." (p. 86) And, addressing mainly those who didn't have the social position to transform the society, they appealed to an irrational, mystical faith in a Leader.

On this program, which they betrayed completely as soon as they captured the state, the fascists built the machine that took power. But they succeeded only because there was no revolutionary proletarian leadership to smash them, because of the betrayal of the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaderships.

It is the discussion of the struggle between the fascists and the working class and its leadership that Guerin falters in. He goes only half-way. Nevertheless, what he tells us is worth something.

He describes the street-fighting tactics of the fascists and their strategy of demoralizing and terrorizing the workers. He describes the failure of the Social Democrat and the Communist leaders to offer real resistance, and how they steered their followers into futile attempts to get the capitalist state to stop the fascists, or somehow to overcome their guns and clubs with solidarity at the voting booth. And he demonstrates how many workers were reluctant or unwilling to follow this losing, passive strategy—the same strategy that led to disaster in Chile.

WORKERS' RESISTANCE

In Italy, for instance, in spite of the scornful sneers of these "leaders," workers organized and armed themselves as the "Arditi del Popolo." . . . On the rare occasions when the anti-fascists offered an organized resistance to fascism, they temporarily got the upper hand. For instance, in Parma, in August, 1922, the working class population successfully checked a fascist attack in spite of the concentration of several thousand militiamen 'because the defense was organized in accordance with military methods' under the direction of the Arditi del Popolo." The temporary successes of these attempts at resistance provide just a hint of what could have been done with a resolute, political leadership—the leadership of a revolutionary party.

This is where Guerin stops. After pointing the reader in the generally correct direction and nudging him with a hint or two, Guerin fails to draw

the necessary conclusions clearly and concretely: that the workers must defend themselves with arms and organization; that the resolute leadership of a revolutionary party is necessary.

TROTSKY

Leon Trotsky did not confine himself to such hints and nudges. In *Whither France*, at about the same time as Guerin's book, Trotsky posed the tasks of revolutionaries with enormous concreteness. "The duty of a revolutionary party," Trotsky wrote, "is to foresee in time the inescapability of the transformation of politics into open armed conflict, and with all its forces to prepare for that moment just as the ruling classes are preparing.

"The militia detachments for defense against Fascism are the first step of the road to the arming of the proletariat, not the last. Our slogan is:

Arm the proletariat and the revolutionary peasants."

Guerin also never discusses the central, tactical weapon of the revolutionary proletariat in the fight against fascism, the united front. During the



Stormtroopers march on headquarters of Die Rote Fahne, German Communist Party newspaper. Stalinist leadership refused to fight for united working class front against fascism.

entire decade of the '30's, Trotsky repeated that the Bolshevik-Leninists must press the different working-class contingents led by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, Anarchists, etc., to unite against fascism. At the same time the revolutionaries might fight for the revolutionary program, since the only way to fully defeat fascism is through the socialist revolution. Guerin, who in the '30's was one of the numerous sympathizers of Trotsky who refused to wage the fight against centrist misleaderships, consequently fails to explain the crucial united front tactic.

In spite of its weaknesses, *Fascism and Big Business* is a valuable book. It can help us understand our enemy, and plan the fight against it. With this book we can understand better the uneven attitude of the ruling class toward fascism and attempt to use their temporary disagreements. We can understand how fascism wins people to its banner, how it manages to sound like a populist revolt in the name of "the little guy," while really representing the most brutal attacks on workers by the big capitalists. We need to understand these things, and warn the rest of the working class about them. And we have to lead the resistance against fascism, which means leading the struggle for socialism. As Guerin himself says, "What is fascism, at bottom, but the direct product of the failure to achieve socialism?"

ution and war spawned by capitalism. The Chilean working class has demonstrated that despite its temporary defeat, it will not be the last in line in the struggle for a humane and communist world.

Miguel Enriquez symbolized the revolutionary dedication and aspiration of the Chilean proletariat. His steadfastness in life was demonstrated by his unwillingness to leave Chile after the coup. His steadfastness in fighting his murderers needs no further mention. Both in life and death Comrade Enriquez symbolized the tenacity of the masses and their will to fight on in the face of barbarism.

In mourning the death of Comrade Enriquez, we in no way retract our judgment that the false policy of the MIR was itself one of the causes of the defeat of the Chilean proletariat. The MIR under Comrade Enriquez made a fundamental error in its political support to the Allende regime. Allende's claim that the bourgeois state and the bourgeois army could be an ally of

the workers seriously disarmed the masses. One tragic consequence, and not a small one, is the death of Enriquez. Despite errors, Enriquez remained a sincere revolutionary and a martyr in the cause of humanity.

The ultimate responsibility for the murder of Enriquez lies in the hands of American imperialism. Pinochet and his ilk are really only tentacles of this octopus which is attempting to strangle the world. We would have learned nothing from the mass repression in Chile, nothing from the murder of Enriquez, if we didn't scream from the rooftops, "What is happening in Chile will happen here . . . unless the working class rises up in time to prevent it." When American workers march against growing unemployment, rampant inflation, brutal racial discrimination and against the threat of even worse conditions, they will find their overseas comrades already in the front lines. Inspiring them all will be the memory of such men as Miguel Enriquez.

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CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE SOUTH

Part Four: The Struggle for Revolutionary Leadership

BY DAVID FRANKLIN

We have, up until now, noted and described the super-oppression and super-exploitation of southern labor, both historically and in modern times. To the bourgeoisie, this is, of course, a delightful reality; capital incessantly aims at maximizing profits, at the expense of the working class and any section of it.

But what of the workers? Undoubtedly, this arrangement has been a misery for them, as much as it has been a pleasure for the bourgeoisie. In the final analysis, then, why have southern workers traditionally "put up with this shit," or rather why were they unable to alter it? This article will deal with that question, by examining historically the social conditioning of southern workers. It will also show how this conditioning is being changed radically, and the opportunities this presents for workers' struggles. And further, the importance of a revolutionary leadership in the South.

OBSTACLES TO CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

The southern proletariat, between 1860 and 1940, despite many militant struggles, was noted for its "passivity" relative to other sections of the class. The reasons for this are rooted in the over-all social conditions of the South; and though these reasons are categorized here, in concrete reality they are all highly interrelated.

One factor was "rural consciousness." Industry was cast in a primarily agrarian setting; from this it followed that the bulk of southern labor was at first recruited from the farms. As late as 1907, for example, almost 75 per cent of the women and children in southern textile mills had spent their childhood on the farms. The workers in general were subject to rural heritage and influence.

This created a "rural consciousness," a highly individualistic social psychology among the workers. This individualism militated against the natural tendency towards unity in the workplace—and the necessity of collective action against the bosses. (That this social psychology was a product of the particular southern environment, rather than anything "innate" in southern workers, is indicated by the fact that southern migrants to urban Michigan formed a backbone for the organizing of the UAW.)

The move from farm to mine or to mill was seen by southerners as a step upwards from their previous mode of living, and this conception was a conservatizing force. This isn't hard to understand; for the small and landless farmers were subjected to a one-crop "lien system." Under this system, a farmer would pledge his crop, out of necessity, to a supply merchant, who in turn extended credit in the form of supplies to the farmer at an exorbitant interest rate.

As it worked out, the farmer would go deeper and deeper into debt to the merchant. Further, he was impelled to plant cotton, the "cash crop," the result being the general overproduction of cotton, and the falling of cotton prices. This reinforced the farmer's plight. The general misery of farmers in the backward agricultural system of the region could make a mill boss appear to be as "philanthropic" as the latter liked to pose himself as being.

In addition, the vast amount of these poor farmers in the region created an excess supply of labor relative to demand, which tends to cut the working class's economic leverage.



1929: Massive Gastonia textile strike demonstrated revolutionary potential of Southern labor.

Just in case the bosses would take on a bad image in the eyes of the workers, the formidable tool of racism was constantly wielded. Blacks, of course, had been kept socially inferior to whites. This was not only in agriculture, but in industry as well. They were largely kept out of the latter, particularly textiles, and when employed, were kept in the worst jobs, in such places as sawmills and foundries. The inroads they had made into certain crafts had been eroded. The bourgeoisie used black oppression against white workers to exploit racial prejudices, and used the very real threat of hiring blacks (or something less than hiring with the convict lease system) if white workers forgot their place.

On occasion, whites and blacks were able to unite in common interests. Perhaps the most famous example of this was the New Orleans General Strike of 1892. Black and white workers, under an integrated leadership, brought the city to a virtual standstill, the strike ending in a partial victory. Another example is the insurrection of Tennessee coal miners in 1891 against the convict lease system. Armed miners freed hundreds of convicts who were to be used as scabs and gained a victory against the Tennessee Coal Mining Company.

But if 1892 New Orleans showed an example of racial harmony, 1894 New Orleans saw a race riot over the hiring of blacks to replace white dockworkers. The bosses were overall quite successful in using racism to keep white workers in their place, and blacks in theirs (further down), to the detriment of both.

If a racial alliance could not be solidified, neither could an on-going alliance between "town and country"—the workers and farmers—be had. Though the farmers at times exhibited violent social opposition to the bourgeoisie, by themselves they were incapable of fundamentally altering conditions; they needed an alliance with the urban working class. And it was precisely this that was missing in the greatest agrarian uprising of the period—the Populist rebellion. Without the "hook up" to the workers, the rebellion failed, and the disillusioned white farmers turned against the blacks—aiding in the latter's disfranchisement and the establishment of Jim Crow segregation.

CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

But the failure of proletarian struggles in the South simply can't be chalked up to "objective conditions," or the alleged "passivity" of southern workers. On many occasions workers proved to be

extremely militant, to unite across color lines and with farmers against the common class enemy.

This fight against the bosses expressed itself in a number of ways—the Gastonia, N.C., strike of 1929; Populism; the organizing drives of the Knights of Labor; 1892 New Orleans, etc. Many other examples would have to be added to make the list complete. And the exact aims of each struggle varied. But they all had something in common—the lack of a revolutionary leadership.

A revolutionary leadership would have realized that the fight couldn't be won simply in the South; victory would require a conscious decision to smash the entire capitalist system, and the formulation of a correct program to meet that end. If the system were not overthrown, then the general underdevelopment of the South would continue, with all the attendant poverty and misery.

This in turn would (and did) set severe limitations on the various black-white worker-farmer alliances that did occur. Despite temporary alliances, the very real problem of who would get the meager

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Further, the defeat simply meant that the old hostilities course bearing the Tom Watson, for Populist rebellion for black and white Populism; the question going to get the crucifix and who was to be decided against them (blamed them) in the an ardent champion black rights.

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The rapid industrial increased leverage for the demand for labor. be sure, in many rural still scrambling for South as a whole, among workers, less a job that comes along. example, has completed many areas to attract worker we've got, we fill," says the chairman Louis S. Morris, in Week.

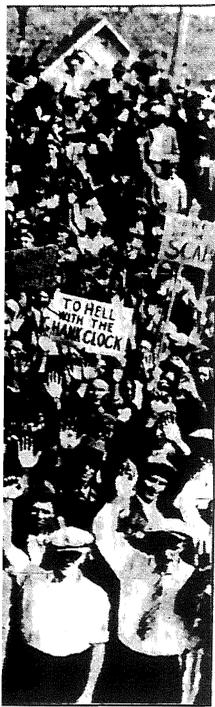
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crumbs, among the black and white workers and farmers, remained; and this economic competition inhibited any chances for long-term social alliance. In addition, racism could only be thoroughly smashed by smashing the social-capitalist—base for it. The continued existence of capital meant that racism was constantly whipped up to divide the blacks and whites.

Further, the defeat of these movements didn't simply mean that these alliances "faded"; rather, the old hostilities were revived (with blacks of course bearing the brunt of renewed antagonisms). Tom Watson, for example, was a leader in the Populist rebellion, and saw the need in the abstract for black and white unity. But with the failure of Populism, the questions were posed as to who was going to get the crumbs from the same old system, and who was to blame for the defeat. Watson decided against the blacks in the former, and blamed them in the latter; he subsequently became an ardent champion of racism and the denial of black rights.

That a revolutionary leadership did not exist in the struggles guaranteed the continuation of the "same old crap" and the defeat of the heroic struggles that did emerge.

The "modernization" of the South, while providing a field day for capital, has nevertheless opened up some powerful opportunities for the working class. Many of the traditional obstacles to a powerful southern labor movement have been or are in the process of withering away.

Urbanization and the general growth of industry has meant the growth of a working class that has an "industrial heritage," as opposed to a rural one. Undoubtedly, plants still exist and are built in small towns, notably in the textile and apparel industry. But the "paternalistic" mill village, the "company town," is becoming outdated, when one observes the industrial centers of Atlanta, Charlotte, Birmingham, etc. In general, the objective basis for the individualist, self-defeating "rural consciousness" of southern workers is being eroded.

The rapid industrial expansion has also meant increased leverage for workers in the labor market; the demand for labor has risen relative to supply. To be sure, in many rural areas, poor southerners are still scrambling for a few crummy jobs. But in the South as a whole, there is more self-confidence among workers, less of a tendency to grab onto any job that comes along. Textile management, for example, has complained about the inability in many areas to attract new workers: "For every worker we've got, we have another job we'd like to fill," says the chairman and President of Cone Mills, Louis S. Morris, in the March 2 issue of *Business Week*.

BLACK WORKERS

Closely related to the last phenomenon is the growth of a large black proletariat in the region; industrialization has enabled blacks to enter the factories from which they had previously been excluded. Again, in line with their general oppression, they have been kept in the crummiest, worst-paying jobs. This has important implications for the future: due to their special oppression, black workers tend to be the most militant and advanced portions of the class. And their militancy has already had marked positive value.

Oneita is one obvious example of this. Another

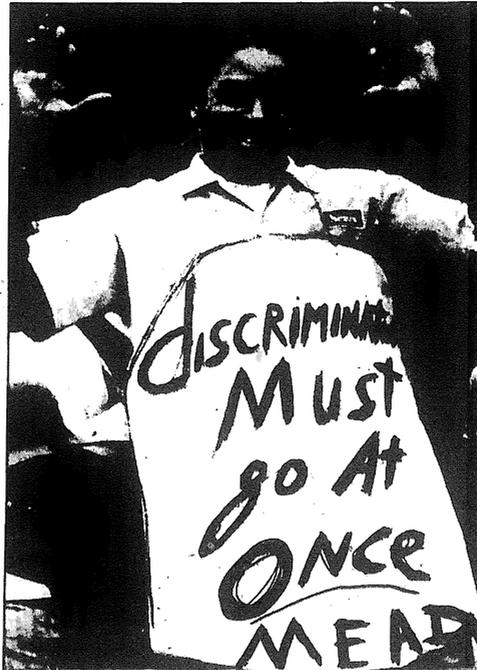
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no llevarlo a cabo. Al contrario, sólo subraya el hecho de que los obreros tienen que organizar la producción ellos mismos, de que hace falta la nacionalización de la industria automotriz bajo el control de los obreros.

Los despidos que afectan hoy a la industria automotriz son las primeras salvadas de un cañoneo masivo, de un ataque frontal contra toda la clase obrera. La depresión de la industria automotriz ya se está sintiendo en otros sectores, y los obreros están siendo echados de sus empleos en muchas industrias. El UAW, que

involves the struggle of workers of the broiler chicken industry in Forest, Mississippi. In the 1950's, the poultry plants were overwhelmingly white—and all were unorganized. With the entry of blacks, the class struggle has been sharpened, with one of the results being the organization of unions in three of Forest's plants.

Still another example is the strike at Mead Packing in Atlanta during the summer of 1972. Though only partially successful, this strike for union recognition and an end to racial discrimination was overwhelmingly composed of blacks, with one of the strike leaderships being the Maoist October League. No, the OL isn't revolutionary, despite what its members say or think, and Maoism can only lead workers ultimately to defeat. But the fact that Mead workers would follow a self-proclaimed Marxist leadership points to a creation of the situation where black workers will be in the vanguard of a united southern proletariat in a final victory against their mill bosses.



1972: Blacks take the lead in united struggle against Mead Corp. in Atlanta

That is, they will be, given correct—revolutionary—leadership. And that is exactly what is missing in a region where workers are more and more getting fed up with their super-oppression and exploitation. The current, reformist leaders offer no real solutions. We have already seen how the Textile Workers Union's policies militate against its own limited goals of trade unionism; their cowardly methods of plant-by-plant organizing, avoiding the big companies; their dependence on the bourgeois state to grant concessions; their inability to grasp and fight the capitalist base for racial divisions among the workers.

Leaders of much stronger unions, such as the UAW, don't exactly have the same problems. But they, too, accept capitalism, and its products—

actualmente es el sindicato más afectado, debe tomar la iniciativa en coordinar la respuesta de toda la clase obrera. El congreso de emergencia del UAW es esencial, pero este congreso debe ver como una de sus tareas principales la organización de un congreso nacional del trabajo y de los oprimidos para reunir a todos los sectores de la clase obrera, tanto los organizados como los no-organizadas, los empleados y los desempleados, para llevar a cabo una lucha unida contra el ataque capitalista.

Como un paso hacia ese congreso, los militantes deben exigir la coordinación inmediata de los varios sindicatos afectados por los despidos en la industria automotriz. Los militantes

racial, sexual, national oppression... and regional oppression. To fight for equality for southern workers will mean a fight against these hacks, as well as the capitalists they serve.

Only a revolutionary leadership—a leadership that understands the Permanent Revolution and its practical applications—can guide southern workers to final victory. But "understanding" the Permanent Revolution is not enough. It must be conveyed to southern workers in a manner that will mobilize them for a conscious onslaught against southern capitalism.

TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

The method for mobilization means a "transitional approach," one based upon Leon Trotsky's Transitional Program as the appropriate program for an epoch in which the proletariat is the only class capable of solving fundamental democratic tasks; and one which connects the reform and democratic desires of the workers to the need for revolution to fulfill these desires.

Transitional demands and slogans, geared to southern workers, must address themselves to the particular conditions of southern capitalism. These must include:

Equal Pay for Equal Work—Abolish the Southern Wage Differential; Abolish Racial Discrimination. Southern workers, particularly black workers, must not be forced to pay for capitalism's sickness.

Organize the Unorganized; Abolish the Right to Work Laws and Other Anti-Labor Legislation. Southern workers should have the elemental democratic right of self-organization.

End the Runaway Shop. Workers from regions outside the South must also be protected from the super-oppression of southern capitalism.

A Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours. This means to divide the available work among the available workers, with no cut in pay, and leading to jobs for all. This demand, like racial equality, must be at the expense of the bosses, and not at the expense of any of the workers.

For a Workers' Militia. To defend the workers in their harsh struggle against their exploitation and oppression.

REVOLUTION

But these demands can't be "left by themselves"; capitalism will not permit wage equality; it will not allow for any thoroughgoing organizing of southern workers; the bosses are unable to pay the price for the rottenness of their system. The demands raised must be connected with a revolutionary solution. Therefore, the following demands must also be posed:

For a National Labor Party Based on a Revolutionary Socialist Platform.

For Nationalization of the Banks, Corporations and Large Farms under Workers' Control.

For a Workers' Government.

And, what is essential, southern workers must know that the revolutionary solution to their misery, and the misery of the workers in general, cannot be made merely on a national level, much less a "southern" one. It entails an international revolution, under the guidance of an international revolutionary—Trotskyist—leadership. Thus, we must add the essential slogan, **For the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.**

gobierno obrero.

La crisis no está en las filas de los obreros. Las filas del UAW, y la clase obrera en general en Estados Unidos, tienen el poder para aplastar decisivamente el ataque de los capitalistas. Lo que hay es una crisis de liderato. Los militantes deben comenzar a presentar las proposiciones que se esbozan aquí. Los obreros avanzados deben unirse a la Liga Socialista Revolucionaria en luchar por el programa revolucionario propuesto aquí y en luchar por el liderato que se necesita en lugar de la burocracia corrompida—un liderato revolucionario en los sindicatos y para la clase obrera.

Traducción de AV