

the TORCH



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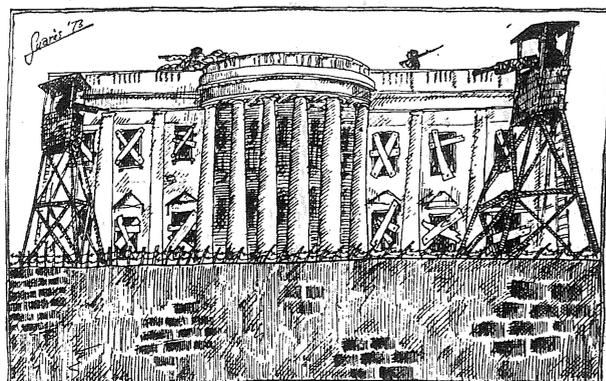
DOWN WITH NIXON! FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

by Bruce Landau, EDITOR

The "Nixon affair" is nothing short of a full-scale leadership crisis inside the ruling class. That is why it is shaking the society to its foundations. As the facade of bourgeois politics is broken open, workers can get a clearer view of what Nixon and the entire ruling class has in store for the proletariat.

Like all political crises, this one reflects more fundamental social and economic convulsions below. It also exposes and temporarily unbalances the plans of the entire capitalist class: to build a stronger state machine than ever to more effectively combat resistance to U.S. imperialism's program at home and abroad.

The key task for revolutionaries is sharply posed. We must seize upon this precious opportunity to show the rest of the working class that its own future is at stake, that neither Nixon nor his capitalist opponents can be allowed any longer to rule this society, and that the only road open for the working class is to intervene in the political crisis in its own name, in its own interests, relying on its own strength, and to take all the reins of political and economic power into its own hands through a workers' government.



STABILITY GONE

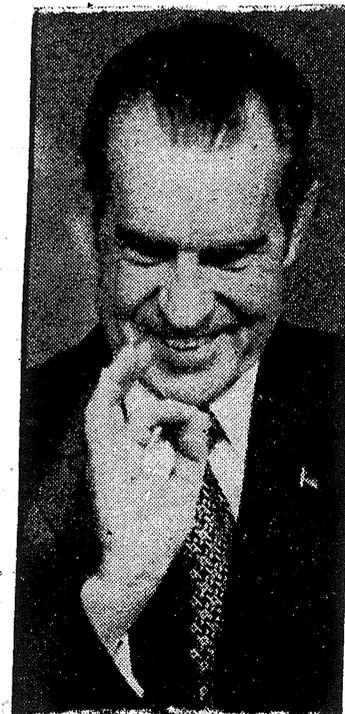
During the 1960s, world capitalism's post-World War II stability began to break down. The political impact of this process was terrific even then.

Within the United States it gave impulse to the wave of wildcat strikes which swept through the labor movement (especially in auto). It sparked the rank-and-file revolts aimed at toppling long-time union chiefs in steel, electronics, longshore, and maritime.

The most sensitive barometers of the new economic troubles were the middle-class students and the black population in general. The civil rights/black liberation movement, the anti-war/anti-imperialist movement, and the various movements of protest based primarily among students—all these grew up out of the same fundamental cause: the miserable failure of capitalism to deliver on its promise of equality, peace, justice, and social welfare.

Capitalism's economic tremors sent shock waves even earlier and more powerfully through Europe. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, it had produced

Cont'd. pg. 8



FORD SETTLEMENT	Pg. 3
MAOISM AND CHILE	Pg. 10
NEW BLACK MAYORS	Pg. 2
AFRICAN DROUGHT	Pg. 13
ISRAELI IMPERIALISM	Pg. 6
COMMUNIST PARTY ON CHILE ..	Pg. 12

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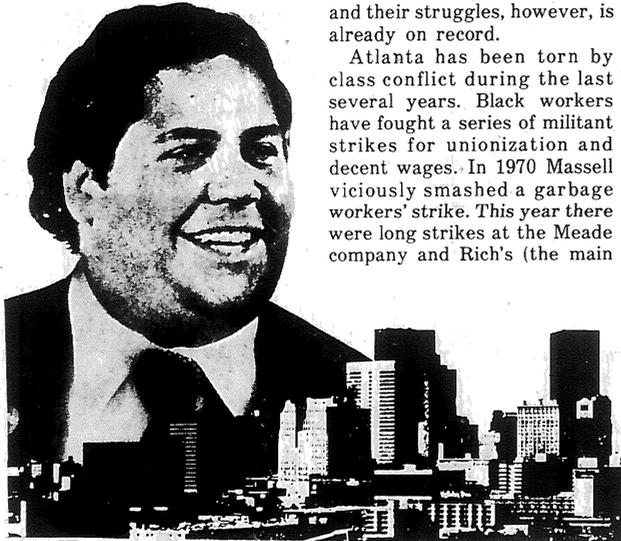
Atlanta's Big Money Picks Black Mayor

by Donna Reisman

ATLANTA, GA.—Maynard Jackson is one of the only four black members of Atlanta's very exclusive "Commerce Club," the local ruling class's private shadow government. For the last four years, Jackson, a Democrat, has been grooming himself to become mayor of Atlanta. On October 17, he succeeded. He beat incumbent mayor Sam Massell, a raging strikebreaker and a spattering racist.

Jackson won, in a city that is over half black, because he was able to convince people he could 'unify and save' Atlanta. But most of all, he won because he convinced the ruling class that he was preaching their kind of unity and salvation.

Atlanta is the South's commercial and financial center for the U.S. bourgeoisie. Capitalists have a heavy investment in the city and so a big stake in who is to be its political boss.



STALINISTS' NEW HERO: DETROIT MAYOR COLEMAN YOUNG

Detroit, like Atlanta, elected its first black mayor in the November elections, as Democratic State Senator Coleman Young defeated the reactionary ex-Police Commissioner John Nichols.

The Communist Party's newspaper, the *Daily World*, praised Young's election in a front-page story on November 8th, proclaiming that "Young has a long history of struggle, mostly in the field of labor and Black liberation."

In fact, like Jackson in Atlanta, Young is simply another pro-capitalist black political hustler. In supporting them, the Communist Party is seeking to lead the black masses and the labor movement into the arms of their worst enemies.

The Communist Party story boasted, for instance, that "Young's victory was a smashing defeat of the racism, red-baiting, and police terror

At first they balked at the idea of having a black mayor and threw their money to a white moderate in the primary. But when the run-off election was between Jackson and Massell, they quickly lined up behind Jackson. Democrat Massell had totally disgusted people, particularly black workers, and Jackson seemed just the man to patch up the cracked image of the Democratic Party.

Black workers have suffered the most during Atlanta's period of so-called "boom." They are suffering all the more in these times of decline. Unemployment among blacks is fifty per cent higher than among whites. Since 1959, the difference between the median income of Atlanta's whites and blacks has almost doubled. Jackson won much of his support among black workers by promising to find them jobs and boost their incomes. His real attitude toward workers' and their struggles, however, is already on record.

Atlanta has been torn by class conflict during the last several years. Black workers have fought a series of militant strikes for unionization and decent wages. In 1970 Massell viciously smashed a garbage workers' strike. This year there were long strikes at the Meade company and Rich's (the main

department store). Jackson was Vice-Mayor during all this. He was the co-partner in this repression, yet he managed to get away without a scratch on his image as 'labor's friend.' This is just the kind of mayor the capitalists want—one who can promote "unity" by tying black workers to the Democratic Party with one hand, while he crushes their militancy with the other.

Jackson's program for "making Atlanta a great city," also showed him to be the capitalists' man. One of his leading money-bag supporters is Augustus Stern, chairman of the Trust Company of Georgia. Stern told a reporter that Jackson "will have to be careful about pushing too hard to satisfy black demands."

Jackson takes his cues from Stern and the other capitalists. That after all is the heart of his promise to improve Atlanta's capitalist economy. He seeks to please the exploiters of Atlanta workers better than Massell did.

Jackson brags that he can strengthen the ties between "the business community and the city" this, Jackson promises, will keep Atlanta prosperous. In other words, toadying to the capitalist class.

Referring to the capitalists, Jackson put his lines right out front:

"We must not kill the goose that laid our golden eggs. Instead we want to keep those geese fat, happy and laying more golden eggs than ever."

What this means for Atlanta's working class is clear. It means continuing and stepping up Massell's anti-labor policies. It means catering to the whims and desires of the upper class instead of to the needs of the

troit's police terror squad, STRESS, but says he would like a program of police entrapment similar to those in New York and Chicago—two cities especially noted for police terror. Young proposes, "We must think in terms of controlling and containing people without killing them." (*Detroit News*, October 21st). That is his real platform—keep the lid on for the bosses of Detroit! He will stop at nothing to serve those bosses.

After the 1967 Detroit riots,

workers. It means giving the police free reign in their attacks on the working class. This program was brought out into the open even during the campaign.

The Atlanta Police Department has the highest record of murder of any U.S. city. Cops, with the blessings of notorious Police Chief Inman, killed thirteen blacks in the first eight months of 1973. There is strong sentiment among the black masses to dump Inman and his trigger-happy decoy squad. Jackson, aware of this anger, at first said he would fire Inman, leaving all else the same. Now he's even backed down on this. He says he'll keep Inman until he "proves he can't do the job." Thirteen murders evidently

prove nothing. Jackson's solution to Atlanta's high crime rate is even better. He says he will see that more cops are put in black neighborhoods "to protect them."

Jackson wants to start a vigorous housing program. For whom? Middle class whites, of course. Jackson says he plans to build a lot of "middle and upper middle income housing" to stop the rich from fleeing the city. This is the meaning of Jackson's program for Atlanta. Jackson's campaign manager, as quoted in the October 17 *Atlanta Constitution*, naturally puts it in prettier phrases: "close work with the business community, the key to economic development."

SELLING THE SELL-OUT

AT  FORD

The miserable Ford sellout is provoking a mass reaction among the Ford workers. Although the UAW International is hesitating to reveal the vote tallies, every indication is that the pact has been overwhelmingly rejected by the skilled workers in record voting turnouts, while the low turnout among the production workers was more closely split.

A demonstration of 400 workers at Solidarity House (UAW headquarters) on Wednesday, November 7, and a meeting of 100 workers on Friday, November 9, which voted to send a telegram of protest to UAW President Leonard Woodcock and to organize for another demonstration on Monday, November 19, dramatized the issue. Both were jointly organized by the United National Caucus and the leadership of Local 228 of the Ford plant at Sterling Heights, Michigan.

The contract rejection movement has been led by the skilled tradesmen who mobilized largely against one particular provision. This supplemental letter to the contract gives management the right to replace skilled workers who refuse to work overtime with part-time workers, production workers, or outside contractors.

Although proposed as a way to maintain production, the craftsmen correctly see it as a way to force them to work

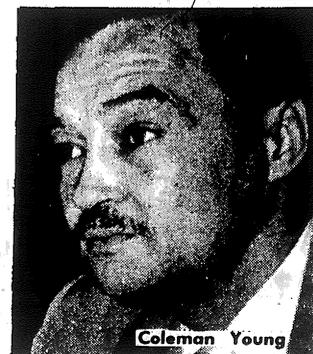
overtime and to weaken their position generally. On a more general level, the high demand for skilled workers and the resulting leverage that this offers in bargaining for higher wages and benefits contrast starkly with the peanuts that Woodcock and company brought home from Ford's.

Given the low turnout of production workers in the voting, the overwhelming "no" vote of the skilled workers may be sufficient for a pro-rejection

Cont'd next page

Young co-sponsored a resolution stating, "Whereas, during four years of office, Ray Girardin faced some of the most crucial moments ever experienced by a police commissioner during the civil disorders, the manner in which he directed the department at that time, tells the story of this man's humanity and great compassion for his fellow man." This "friend of the people" praised the then retiring Police Commissioner Girardin's bloody suppression

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Coleman Young

Sell-

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Ford Pact: 'ALL WORK, NO PAY'

by Terry Shephard

After knuckling under to Chrysler, the UAW leadership has chosen to eat crow out of Henry Ford's hand rather than risk a serious fight. A determined strike would require mobilizing the ranks; but that scares Woodcock as much as Ford. UAW tops cringe at the thought of mobilizing the ranks and unleashing the pent-up anger and frustration that could sweep the whole Woodcock gang out onto the street. Instead, they preferred to bow

and scrape before Ford, hoping that their disgusting servility would win enough crumbs for them to appease the workers' anger. The result of this cowardly policy is that Ford workers, like the Chrysler workers before them, got nothing—a big fat zero!

In the tentative Ford agreement, "voluntary overtime" means a ten-hour day and forced overtime six Saturdays a year. Even these minimal restrictions on overtime can be waived at the whim of the company. In addition, compulsory overtime still applies both before and after model changeover. The overtime restrictions can also be waived during "critical" periods when higher production is needed to supply other plants. In the context of the parts shortages which the Big Three is crying about, this means that Ford workers in stamping plants and other "critical" plants can forget about voluntary overtime altogether.

The UAW claims that the cost of living allowance (COLA) formula in the new contract, patterned after the Chrysler agreement, will give Ford workers about 11 cents an hour more, based upon government figures for August-September. What they try and hide is that part of this 11 cents will be used to finance dental care, 30-and-out, additional holidays, and other items supposedly won in the new agreement. To get this "breakthrough," the UAW hacks gave away a cost-of-living adjustment that was due in September. And just to show Henry which side they were really on—in case he had any doubts—Woodcock and company tied the whole COLA formula in with the one in Canada in order to use Canada's slower increase in the cost-of-living index to slow down wage increases in the U.S.!

The 25-and-out provision for foundry workers appears at first glance to be a real step forward for those workers not chained to the killing assembly line. But it **doesn't** apply to this section of the workforce! Skilled craftsmen, drivers, and many other classifications are excluded from this arrangement. No worker who is stuck on the line is going to last for 25 years in the first place. When the UAW says 25-and-out, it really means it—**flat out** on a cement slab!

Also given away in the new

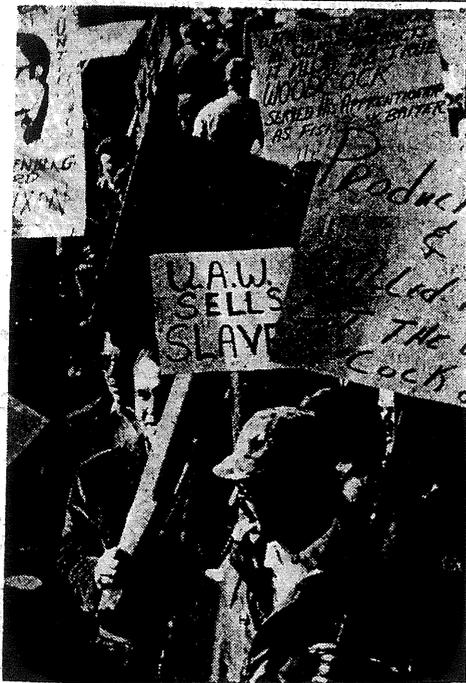
agreement is the promised one-year re-opener clause. Work standards, line speed, and the scheduling of vacations is still left to the company. New union representatives for health and safety have been added, but they have been given no power to do anything. Under the new contract, skilled craftsmen can be replaced by production workers or even by outside contractors if they refuse overtime.

And to top this whole mess off, the UAW has agreed to a new "streamlined" grievance procedure. Now workers are promised a "prompt solution" of their grievances through "oral discussion" with their foreman. Anybody stupid enough to try this "solution" will find himself sitting on the sidewalk wondering what hit him! For grievances that can't be handled at this level, a pilot program is planned to facilitate the "prompt resolution of grievances to relieve tensions, promote understanding and further industrial stability in the plant." In plain English: to keep the workers in-line.

The auto bosses are on the offensive. They made the UAW chiselers back down after only three days of actual striking at Chrysler. They made Woodcock meekly submit to Ford without the slightest pretense of a fight. Now GM workers will face the severest test of all.

The UAW is retreating. General Motors seeks to turn this into a rout. Unless GM workers can wrest control over the union from the Woodcock gang and replace them with a revolutionary leadership, they will be driven to the wall. A strike, totally unprepared for by the UAW leadership could still be forced upon Woodcock at GM. If Ford wouldn't give an inch, General Motors will try to grab for a mile. Woodcock will try to avoid a fight at all costs, but even a rat will fight if cornered. But Woodcock can't win. A rat is no match for a jackal!

To halt the auto bosses' attack, auto workers must carry the fight beyond the contract round. They need a leadership committed to the interests of all workers and not to the Big Three kings. There is still time to oust the pro-capitalist lackies that run the UAW. Auto workers must begin the fight now. There can be no compromise with these scoundrels! ■



Ford workers demonstrate at UAW headquarters in Detroit.

Sell-Out

majority. If this is so, it will mark the first time in UAW history that a national contract proposal has been rejected by the rank and file. And it will certainly throw a monkey wrench into the well-laid plans of Woodcock and his management buddies to sell the Ford workers out quietly. Woodcock will now have some swift maneuvering to do to make sure that the fury of the Ford skilled workers does not spark a similar response among the GM workers, whose contract expires Monday, November 19.

A 1966 amendment to the UAW Constitution gives the skilled tradesmen the right to vote separately on the contract and many are contending that a rejection by the skilled tradesmen is enough to reject the whole deal. Ford, for its part, insists that all it needs is a straight majority vote of its employees, regardless of skill, for ratification. Woodcock will gladly go along with this, especially if he can manipulate

an acceptance vote from the production workers. He would then bring those parts of the contract most objectionable to the craftsmen back to the bargaining table and allow the rest of the contract to go into effect. In general, the production workers, who are mostly young and with little or no union experience, have been slower to react than the skilled workers. Even so, the vote of the production workers has not been as strongly in favor of the pact as the International had hoped.

Now the International, through its local hacks, will try to turn the production workers against the skilled tradesmen. They will start reminding the production workers (most of whom are black) that the skilled trades are lily-white (although this is the result of collusion between management and the UAW bureaucrats themselves). They will then organize for a new vote, claiming that the earlier ones were invalid because the turnout was small, and they

Detroit...

of the ghetto revolt.

Young's labor record is no better. During his mayoral campaign, he supported restrictions on the right of public employees to strike. He has sponsored school decentralization legislation of the type used to break teachers' unions in other cities. He maintained a studied silence during the recent Detroit teachers' strike and during the outbreak of wildcat strikes by black workers against Chrysler Corporation.

Instead, Young did his talking to the ruling circles in Detroit, promising that he will

help them as Mayor. The October 24th *Detroit News* reported that on the evening of October 23rd Young "capped a three month courtship of Detroit's establishment... in the Recess Club, a wood-paneled businessmen's sanctuary..." The \$100-per-ticket cocktail party was organized by the real masters of Detroit: the "highest ranking officers" of General Motors, Ford and several of the largest advertising agencies were represented, according to the *News*. As one executive put it, "Our people sat down privately with the senator and decided he was not the wild-eyed radical he'd been painted to be."

Right. ■

will use one trick after another to try to get the production workers to accept the contract.

For example, David Mundy, an Uncle Tom International stooge and chairman of the casting center and foundry unit of Local 600, has blamed the small anti-contract vote of the production workers in his particular unit on "outside agitators." His tactic will be to mobilize the more backward elements among the production workers to vote for the pact so that they will get their paid Christmas vacations and will receive their retroactive pay before the holidays. He has no intention of warning them that these goodies will be gone in no time while the contract will be around their necks for three years.

Mundy has already demonstrated the hysteria with which the UAW bureaucracy is greeting opposition in the ranks. On Tuesday, November 13, Local 600 began its second election among skilled tradesmen in the maintenance and construction unit. Shouting matches and fistfights broke out between Mundy's stooges and opponents of the pact. According to a witness, Mundy fired two shots at William Harrell (a young, white skilled tradesman) after arguing with Harrell violently about the contract. When Harrell fled to a nearby gas station to call the police, says the same witness, Mundy and three others followed. One of the pursuers reportedly shot Harrell as he stood in the phone booth. ■



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Young

Editorial

FORWARD TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The AFL-CIO held its national convention in October. The question of Nixon and the Watergate scandals dominated the proceedings. Federation President George Meany's opening speech was a real display of fireworks and thunder.

"Never before in history has a great nation been governed so corruptly." Nixon's policies, Meany declared, have been aimed at "making a fast buck" for the giant corporations, the banks, and other "fat cats" at the expense of the working class.

Let us keep in mind," he added, "that the Watergate and the cover-up was paid for by the great corporations of America—the members of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, who seem more than willing to pay out some of their exorbitant profits in order to place their hirelings in strategic posts in a friendly government."

Meany demanded that Nixon "take the shackles off wages—the only part of the economy stringently controlled for more than two years." As a result of government-corporate attacks, he concluded, the living standards of U.S. workers "are going backwards."

Every single word of this is true. Every word and more. And the cold fact is that the U.S. ruling class still has far worse planned for the workers in this country and throughout the world. The present political struggle in Washington is being fought between a ruling class anxious to get on with those plans and a President too incompetent to carry them out.

But Meany's words, while true, are also cynical and hypocritical in his mouth. Meany is the bourgeoisie's chief lieutenant within the labor movement.

It was Meany who invited Nixon to the last AFL-CIO convention as an honored guest. It was Meany who gave Nixon his under-the-table endorsement in the 1972 elections.

Now that Nixon has been exposed for the gangster he always was, Meany is backing away from his recent chum. But rather than prepare the working class for struggle, he is only groping for new capitalist heroes and new pro-capitalist economic policies. Meany is for simple impeachment, which would place the reactionary Gerald Ford in the White House. His answer to wage and price controls is "the free market"—turning from capitalist discipline back to capitalist anarchy. In either case, it is the worker who is plundered.

In every single union today, from the auto workers to the farmworkers, the bureaucrats are tied to capitalism's apron strings. In every case, this spells repeated defeats for the working class.

So long as this double-dealing, traitorous leadership remains in control, the working class will suffer more and more defeats, each one more horrible and devastating than the last famine and disease in Africa and Asia, military revolt and dictatorship in Uruguay and Chile, the threat of nuclear war for the Middle East's oil—all these are samples of

what the future holds if capitalism's agents, the reformists and Stalinists, can retain and strengthen their grip on the international working class.

A new leadership is required, a real revolutionary socialist leadership. Without it, there is no hope. With it, everything becomes possible.

The Revolutionary Socialist League has one task and one task only: to reach the most advanced workers, to train them, and to weld them into the revolutionary leadership so urgently needed. We fight to rebuild the World Party of the Socialist Revolution—the Fourth International—and its United States section. The Fourth International will lead the world revolution.

Every task requires tools, every fight requires weapons. For our purposes, the most important tool, the most important weapon, is a national, revolutionary newspaper. That newspaper is **The Torch**.

Through **The Torch** we will reach the proletariat's advanced layer and educate it in the analyses, strategies, and tactics of Marxism.

To make **The Torch** serve this purpose, we need to increase the number of its readers. Most important, we must increase the number who read it regularly and who are thereby able to see our views explained, rounded out, and developed over time. At the same time, we will carry forward the concrete, practical task of building a revolutionary party, by drawing the advanced workers to the League itself.

Lenin explained the connection between these two tasks to the Russian Marxists in 1901:

"The role of a newspaper. . . is not limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education, and to the enlistment of political allies. A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer. In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and improves communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labor."

To achieve these goals, **The Torch** has begun its first large-scale subscription drive. Our goal is to win one thousand new subscribers by February 1.

Every militant, every revolutionary who reads **The Torch** has a responsibility to build this subscription campaign. Every thoughtful worker will personally see to it that the readership of **The Torch** is expanded.

The construction of a revolutionary vanguard is the result of practical work. Building **The Torch** is the most pressing, practical step of the day.

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PARENTS FIGHT... Cont'd from pg. 5

Last year, parents in New York's District 4 in East Harlem, saw through this strategy. They led a successful school boycott to restore budget cuts for their schools, while at the same time rebuffing racist and nationalist attacks on the teachers, who respected the boycott.

Thus in New York, the Fleischman Commission Report on the Quality Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education in New York State advocated tying teachers' salaries—and their jobs—to student test scores while at the same time boosting the maximum limits on class size. The various community control schemes stewed up in the past few years are equally designed to break the teachers' unions while diverting attention away from capitalism's inability to improve the schools.

Neither Fuentes nor Shanker supported this boycott. Fuentes prefers union-busting efforts instead of leading a real fight for funds. Behind his nationalist rhetoric, Fuentes is nothing but a political hack who has climbed aboard the "community control" bandwagon to protect his own job and political prospects.

Shanker's role is equally criminal. Although he failed to win budget restorations on his own, he advised teachers to break the East Harlem boycott and respect the miserable contract for which he was responsible. He has failed utterly in protecting his members' living conditions, working conditions, and even their jobs. Thus it is only natural that Shanker's "militancy" should focus on demands for more cops in the schools. He has no solution to the crisis in the schools. He hopes merely to police it.

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Dear Sir:

I liked the two parts of the Carter-Shorter interview. The man who interviewed the two militants asked the right questions. He didn't follow after them, politically. I've seen the two interviewed in another left paper, and that's what they did—just follow them. The first two issues of **The Torch** are the most revolutionary papers I've ever seen.

Yours,
Chicago auto worker
[name withheld by
request.]

Dear Sir,

I liked the second issue of the **Torch**, and thought it was very good in terms of writing and stories. I especially liked that the falling rate of profit was explained in the oil crisis article.

There was one thing, though, that seemed drastically wrong: ending the Carter and Shorter interview with such a bad political statement was inexcusable. Even lack of space was no excuse.

On to the revolution,
M.
Milwaukee, Wis.

LETTERS

Dear Editor,

Your article on the oil crisis was good, but it didn't pay much attention to parts of the problem that are important.

True, there is an oil crisis, and we working people will have to pay for it. But the article seems to suggest that this will result in new methods of obtaining energy that are more modern and efficient.

I believe that the oil shortage will just result in more profits for the oil industry and the use of methods of oil production like getting oil from coal and methods that don't produce any new technology.

I used to live in Texas, which produces a whole lot of oil, but now the oil industry is suggesting strip-mining some of the most beautiful forest land in Texas, to get oil from coal.

I don't think workers will get anything out of high gasoline prices but sore feet from walking.

Yours,
C.D.
Detroit

Dear sir:

I have read what you write in your auto-strike pamphlets and most of it is true. Something needs to be done about this double-dealing by the union heads all in their favor and nothing for the dues we pay.

Yours,
H.F.
Detroit auto worker

Dear Comrades

Your latest issue of **Torch** on "Chile—Never Again," the Mid-East oil crisis, interview with Chrysler militant workers, etc., was simply wonderful! Enclosed please find three separate gift subscriptions for the people listed.

Yours for the world
socialist revolution,
C.V.
Pasadena, Calif.

Dear Editor,

We were pleased to receive the first issue of **The Torch**, and we felt it was a good first issue. We had, however, some measure of disagreement with both the "Liberal Hucksters Stir" and "Showdown in South America" articles. Our criticisms of both are essentially the same.

Their analysis of liberalism was simplistic and unconvincing. The appeal of the liberals is a real one for workers, and must be more seriously dealt with. Simply to say that the liberal leaders whom many workers respect are "hucksters," conscious agents of the capitalist class—we don't go along with this approach.

Can one really say that Allende's "assigned task" was to "defend the capitalist system"? No: Allende was a man who based his program on the mistaken belief that since socialism is a "rational" solution for society's problems, the capitalist class could be won over to acquiesce in its institution (a widely held belief, however self-evidently ridiculous it may seem).

We can't see him as a criminal capitalist agent. What is needed is a discussion of why there is no peaceful road to socialism.

Comradely,
J. & J.
Madison, Wis.

Reply: Whatever Allende's good intentions, his ultimate loyalties were to the capitalist class, and his "socialism" included—from the beginning—explicit defense of the capitalist system. Thus, the tone and content of both the Chile and the "liberal Hucksters" articles are appropriate to the criminal treachery of these misleaders.

The comrades are quite correct in pointing to the need for discussion showing the impossibility of a "peaceful road" to socialism. In large measure, the recent military coup in Chile is history's latest refutation of reformism—see "Chile—Never Again" by Shelley Kramer in **Torch** No. 2.

N.Y.C. PARENTS FIGHT TEACHERS



Fuentes rallies his supporters. . . in his office.

NEW YORK—This city's school decentralization program has once again succeeded in hurling teachers and black and brown parents at each other's throats. In school District 1, in Manhattan, the United Federation of Teachers, led by Albert Shanker, and the "community control" forces, led by School Superintendent Luis Fuentes, have been feuding for two years over control of the local school board. Last month, after Shanker's supporters (who control the school board) suspended Fuentes, a six-day school boycott by black and brown parents resulted in throwing the whole issue into the courts.

District 1 is made to order for the kind of racist demagoguery cherished by both Shanker and Fuentes. About 95 per cent of the students in the district's elementary schools are Puerto Rican, black or Chinese. But the district's adult population is about half white, most of whom are elderly people with no children in the schools.

Fuentes has succeeded in turning the honest desires of black and brown parents for a decent school system into a weapon against the UFT. At the end of the 1972-73 school year, Fuentes wrote a "Superintendent's Message" which said, "Our first difficulties were, like the rest of the city, budgetary. Contracts between the Board of Education and unions. . . consumed a Central Board budgetary increase and transformed it into a budget cutback. . . . These same contracts. . . mandate that excessing [firing] of teaching and supervisory personnel be done by seniority."

Fuentes calls the union's efforts to protect the jobs and living standards of its members "patronage." Shanker, in turn, plays upon the racist fears of the district's white population to defend his own conservative, bureaucratic grip over the UFT. By doing so he has enrolled enough support to dominate the school board, which has totally ignored the real needs of the black and brown community.

Both the budgetary crisis and the threat of union-busting are real. They are only one aspect of the continuing degeneration of the nation's urban centers and its impact on public education. Schools are run-down, lacking the necessary books and facilities to teach job-related skills. Teachers are burdened by ever-increasing

Cont'd pg. 4

documents of struggle



The Revolutionary Socialist League was born in struggle—struggle against pseudo-Marxism, struggle for the revolutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky. The battle we waged inside the International Socialists was fought out over questions of burning relevance for all socialist militants: how to re-build the revolutionary International; how to construct a U.S. vanguard party; how to fight for socialism in the trade unions; the relation between Marxism and the movements of blacks, Latinos, women, and the oppressed in general.

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THE NATURE OF ZIONISM

Why Israel Serves Imperialism

by Paul Benjamin

The roots of the latest war in the Middle East are deep ones. They lead down into the history of the Zionist movement itself and the very nature of the state of Israel.

Zionism grew out of the decay of world capitalism which set in during the late nineteenth century. It reflected both the growing anti-Semitism produced by a declining capitalism and a refusal by Zionism's founders to attack capitalism itself.

In earlier centuries, during its revolutionary era, capitalism fought to snap the social chains of feudalism. In the process, capitalism assaulted the artificial barriers and restrictions which had traditionally oppressed and isolated Europe's Jewish population for generations.

But as capitalism decayed, its ability to expand the frontiers of prosperity and freedom declined as well. Capitalist society began to come apart under the strain. The ruling classes of Europe desperately needed a scapegoat—a diversionary target—for the anger and resentment building up among the masses. They needed someone who could be blamed for the people's suffering other than capitalism itself. They needed to prevent mass discontent from feeding into the growing socialist movement.

The Jews were the ideal target. In Western Europe, the partial democratic rights won by the Jews were openly threatened in these years. In capitalism's vassal states of Eastern Europe, the Jewish masses had never won the most elementary rights and now suffered under intensified attacks. A wave of anti-Semitism swept over the entire European continent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Many among the Jewish masses turned to the international socialist movement, realizing that only by destroying capitalism could they protect and extend human dignity and freedom. Thousands of Jews joined the trade unions and political parties of the socialist movement. Outstanding revolutionary leaders from Jewish backgrounds, like Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky were dedicated champions of proletarian internationalism. Lenin noted in 1913 that "the percentage of Jews in the democratic and proletarian movements is everywhere higher than the percentage of Jews among the population."

The Zionist movement arose in direct antagonism to this revolutionary move-

ment. Marxism stood for internationalism, for the world-wide alliance of the working class against all capitalists and oppressors. The Zionists desired something very different. They planned to defend the Jews from persecution by turning to nationalism. Zionism is the strategy of building a specifically Jewish country in the Middle East, complete with an entire class structure (from Jewish workers to Jewish capitalists). Zionism seeks relief for the world's Jews by building "a state like any other state." Zionism and Marxism, therefore, were and could be nothing but deadly enemies.

To transform the Zionist program into a reality, three things were necessary. First, the Jewish youth had to be won away from Marxism. That is, they had to be diverted away from the class struggle against world capitalism.

A PEOPLE

Second, the Zionists needed a people with which to populate their new state. Europe's Jews were persecuted, but they were also deeply attached to their European communities. Palestine, in addition, was mostly desert and was

alien and unattractive to most European Jews. The Zionists did what they could to force them to Palestine nevertheless. Time and again, the Zionists worked hand in hand with the worst enemies of the Jews themselves in order to advance the Zionist program of mass emigration to Palestine.

In 1903, for an early example, Theodore Herzl (founder and leader of world Zionism) requested and received cooperation from V.K. Plehve, the rabidly anti-Semitic Russian Minister of the Interior. In a letter to Herzl, Plehve promised his "moral and material assistance with respect to the measures taken by the Zionist movement which would lead to the diminution of the Jewish population in Russia."

The Zionist movement was not content merely to urge Jewish workers to break with their non-Jewish worker-comrades and unite with Jewish capitalists. In pursuit of its scheme of mass occupation of Palestine, Zionism deliberately assumed the role of lap-dog to the ruling class's own anti-Semitic campaigns.

In 1938, David Ben-Gurion told the Zionists that they had to deal skillfully with the Nazis' extermination of European Jews. At all costs, he warned, we must not allow this slaughter to separate the Zionist project in Palestine from the question of the Jews' salvation. If the Zionists should allow for any easing of persecution other than migration to the Middle East, the Zionist project would fail. As he wrote to the Zionist Executive in that year:

"If Jews have to choose between the refugees, saving Jews from concentration camps, and assisting a national museum in Palestine, mercy will have the upper hand and the whole energy of the people will be channeled into saving Jews from public opinion. If we allow a separation between the refugee problem and the Palestine problem, we are risking the existence of Zionism." Zionism went on to the infamous deals with the Nazis through which the "Zionist cadre" were preserved while millions went to their deaths. Thus in 1944 Rudolph Kaestner, Zionist Committee secretary in Budapest, coaxed 800,000 Jews onto the trains to Auschwitz in return for the lives of 1,000 of the wealthiest Hungarian Jews. After World War II, Zionists lobbied behind the scenes to keep the Western hemisphere closed to Jewish immigration to force the concentration camps' survivors to Palestine. The Jewish masses could be and were sacrificed on the altar of Zionism.



1948: British troops raise the Israeli flag to mark the founding of a new nation.

TERRITORY

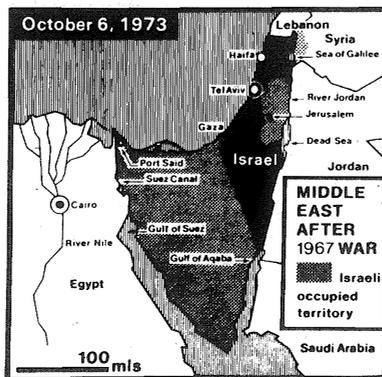
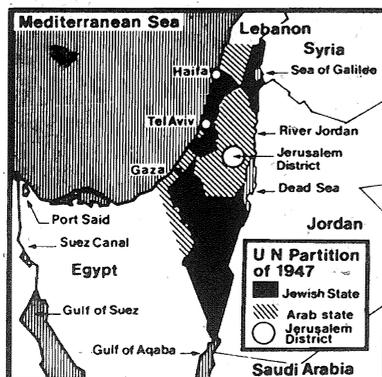
The third ingredient of Zionism's recipe is territory. Palestine was dictated from the beginning by religious traditions. The complication was that Palestine already had a population, an Arab population. The singular nature of Zionism lies in the fact that the Zionist movement did not intend to use the native population as a source of cheap exploitable labor, but instead wished to utterly disperse and destroy them.

To build a definitely and permanently Jewish state in Palestine required the mass expulsion of the region's Arab inhabitants.

This was a project to which the Arab masses themselves, of course, would never agree. It had to be accomplished through deals with the oppressors of the Arab masses—namely, with the imperialist powers which controlled the Middle East and with the oppressive semi-feudal regimes which exploited the masses in league with imperialism. As a result, Zionism and its product, Israel, have from the start been tied to the most oppressive, reactionary forces in the Middle East.

According to Max Nordau, Herzl's deputy, "Our aspirations point to Palestine as a compass points to the North. Therefore we must orient ourselves towards those powers under whose influence it happens to be." Zionism went in turn to Turkey, to Germany, to Britain and then to the U.S. in its search for an imperialist patron. The sales pitch was always the same.

Theodore Herzl wrote in his pamphlet *The Jewish State*, when Palestine was still part of the Ottoman Empire (under Turkish rule), "If his Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could undertake the complete management of the finances of Turkey. We would form there a part of the wall of defense of Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism. We would, as a neutral state, remain in contact with all



Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence."

Ben-Gurion put the same deal much more briskly when addressing the Zionist Congress in 1935 although the favored imperialist power had changed: "Whoever betrays Great Britain betrays Zionism."

And an Israeli newspaper commented in 1951, "Israel has been given a role not unlike a watchdog. One need not fear that it will exercise an aggressive policy towards the Arab states if this will contradict the interests of the U.S.A. and Britain. But should the West prefer for one reason or another to close its eyes, one can rely on Israel to punish severely those of the neighboring states whose lack of manners towards the West has exceeded the proper limits."

Within the Arab world, Zionism's alliance policy is the same. In 1922 it was the reactionary Hashemite ruler of Trans-Jordan who signed the joint political agreement with Chaim Weizmann which endorsed Zionist goals in Palestine. Similarly, in 1948 it was with imperialism's puppet, King Abdullah, that Israel signed a secret treaty dividing Palestine between them. Jordan's king today is Hussein, again one of the most brutal and reactionary rulers in the region. Whenever Hussein is threatened with revolt from within, Israel's armies mass on the Jordanian border in an open threat to Hussein's enemies. Hussein, reason the Zionist chiefs, can at least be "reasoned with."

Since gaining independence, the Zionist state has steadily extended this policy to every aspect of its foreign policy. Israel supported the U.S. in the Korean War. It sent its own officers to give advice to the U.S. military machine in Viet-Nam. It supported the efforts of the French government and the terrorist Secret Army Organization to crush the Algerian independence movement. Today Israel works with the CIA in Africa, acting as a funnel for foreign aid and military training.

"LEFT" ZIONISM

Naturally, this record, this program, is not one which is easy to sell to anyone but outright reactionaries and imperialists. So Zionism has consistently tried to dress itself up as something other than what it is. Its supporters point to its *kibbutzim* (cooperative farms)—which in fact play the tiniest role in the Israeli economy—as proof that Israel is a socialist state. Especially in trying to project a pleasing image abroad, Israel pushed forward a "left" face, particularly through the various "Labor Zionist" and "Left Zionist" parties and personalities.

But the inevitable implications of Zionism make the "left sell" very difficult. The problem was squarely presented by David Hachohen, now a leader of Israel's Mapai "Labor" Party, as he described his discussions as a socialist student in Britain:

"Even here, in these intimate surroundings, I had to fight my friends on the issue of Jewish socialism, to defend the fact that I would not accept Arabs in my trade union, the *Histradrut*; to defend preaching to housewives that they not buy at Arab stores; to defend the fact that we stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there. . . to pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes; to attack Jewish housewives in the markets and smash the Arab eggs they had bought; to praise to the skies

the Jewish Fund that sent Hankin to Beirut to buy land from absentee landlords and to throw the peasants off the land. To buy dozens of dunams (a land measurement) from an Arab is permitted, but to sell, God forbid, one Jewish dunam to an Arab is prohibited; to take Rothschild, the incarnation of capitalism, as a socialist and to name him the "benefactor"—to do all that was not easy."

The brutal policies of Zionism and Israel grow inevitably out of their own essence. Israel remains what it has always been, what it has to be: junior partner of world imperialism. The Zionist state is neither economically nor militarily self-supporting; imperialism is



Driven from their land, Palestinians still subsist in tent camps.

its very lifeblood.

CONTRADICTIONS

The contradictions inherent in such a state have caused three strike waves in the last eleven years. The internal fabric of the state is torn by conflict within the Jewish population itself,

between Oriental and European Jews, between workers and capitalists. The Jewish population is held together only by a fear which is maintained by the Zionist regime through constant propaganda and military adventurism.

The regime itself is moving steadily to the right. The pressures of a large captive Arab population—a result of Zionist expansion in the 1967 war—have increased the role of the militarists in the government. General Dayan is now a "respectable" politician; his role as an independent military lobbyist is now assumed by General Sharon, Israeli "hero" of the latest war. Both Dayan and Sharon played major roles in developing Israel's policy of mass reprisals against

civilians in retaliation for Palestinian guerrilla raids. The political expression of this increased militarism was the entry of the most ferociously chauvinist and expansionist group, the Herut Party, into the government of national unity formed at the time of the 1967 war—the government led by Hachohen's "Labor Party."

Peron's "War on Marxism"

by Shelley Kramer

The defeat of the Chilean working class has shifted the focus of the Latin American revolution to Argentina. Tragically, there is no leadership in Argentina capable of leading the working class to power.

The Communist Party of Argentina is treacherously trying to bind the working class to Peron through yet another of its "Democratic Fronts" with the national bourgeoisie:

"Without abandoning its well-known positions, the Communist Party will take a positive stand on the new government. It will back the government's every legislative act or move tending to implement progressive measures advocated by JLF [Peronist Party] during the election campaign. . .

(Statement of the Central Committee of the CP, March 18, 1973, published in *Nuestro Palabra*)

As in Chile, the CP counts on the "loyal elements" of the armed forces officer corps to defend their "democratic front": "The process of disassociation [sic] [from the oligarchy and imperialists] will involve the armed forces, where elements loyal to the patriotic, democratic San-Martinian traditions of national liberation will see separation from elements serving oligarchic and imperialist reaction."

The CP pays homage to Peron's supposed commitment to "a genuine advanced democracy in our country with a social, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist content." Meanwhile, Peron has declared a "frontal war on Marxism." Since the assassination of right-wing labor leader Jose Rucci, Peron has ordered a purge of the left wing of his movement.

The main victims of Peron's war have thus far been members of his own movement. First he is putting his own machine in order before ordering it against the working class at large. But he is impatient. He does not want the working class to go as far as it did in Chile. Already his goon squads have opened fire on left-wing union meetings in Cordoba, and the offices of the CP and PST (*Partido Socialista de Trabajadores*) have been repeatedly shot at and fire-bombed.

The groups within Argentina which are contending for leadership in the working class failed to foresee Peron's war plans and have also failed to map out a revolutionary strategy for the workers' defense.

The PST, a group supported by the SWP of the U.S., claims to understand Peron's role, but it opportunistically panders to the illusions of Peron's left-wing followers. The starkest expression of the PST's opportunism was its disgusting attempt to hide its own party banner during the September elections. The PST cynically chased after a popular Cordoban labor leader, Agustín Tosco, to head up its election slate.

Israel's Zionist character dictates its international as well as its domestic policy. Imperialism, chauvinism, racism, militarism—these are all unavoidable products of Zionism, of the construction of an alien state forced onto the Arab masses and maintained against their will. Not long ago, Menahem Begin (a right-wing Israeli politician) was asked about "the problem of the Palestinians" by a young Israeli member of the "Ein Hahoresht" kibbutz. Begin's angry reply strikes to the heart of the matter: "My friend," said Begin, "take care. When you recognize the concept of 'Palestine' you demolish your right to live in Ein Hahoresht. If this is Palestine and not the land of Israel, then you are conquerors and not tillers of the land. You are invaders. If this is Palestine, then it belongs to the people who lived here before you came. Only if it is the Land of Israel do you have a right to live in Ein Hahoresht. . ."

No group or party which refuses to attack Zionism as such can combat the domestic or foreign policies of the Israeli state. There is only one solution to the Middle East "question." For the Israeli working class, Israel itself is a prison, the largest self-constructed and self-policed concentration camp in the world. For the Arab masses, Israel is an imperialist intrusion and an imperialist oppressor which props up the most backward, reactionary forces within Arab society itself. Only the campaign for a Socialist United States of the Middle East as part of a worldwide proletarian revolution points to a way out of continuous misery, oppression, and slaughter for Jew and Arab alike.

Tosco, a leader of the Light and Power Union, politically combines elements of left Peronism, syndicalism, and Stalinism. As a union leader, he serves to reinforce all the political backwardness within the militant Cordoban workers' movement.

Only a few months before the PST nominated Tosco, they themselves characterized his performance as follows: "although not itself a class-struggle leadership. . . [it] passively goes along with the fact that the class struggle activists are continuing to gain in strength in the rank-and-file union organizations." (*Avanzada Socialista*, July 11-18). Then, three months later when it came time to win votes, PST leader Juan Coral asked Tosco to head its slate, declaring that Tosco "symbolizes this completely new stage in Argentine workers' struggles that opened up in 1969 (*Avanzada Socialista*, August 22-24). Quite an about face! The only problem was that Tosco was even a bigger opportunist than the PST. He refused to commit himself to an independent left slate, forcing the PST to run its own candidates. Nonetheless the PST's groveling exposes their refusal to "say what is" to the working class at a time when truth is a matter of life or death.

A new leadership is needed in Argentina—one that will turn the grins back on Peron and lead the working class in a war against capitalism. Once again, as in Chile, the construction of such a leadership is the most urgent task facing Argentine workers.

NIXON...

Cont'd. from pg. 1



major working-class explosions in France, Italy, Spain, Great Britain, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

From the viewpoint of international capitalist diplomacy, the world was turning into a shambles. The decade-old power blocs began to crack wide open, from NATO, CENTO, and SEATO, down through the ruptures among the Stalinist state-capitalist states (Eastern Europe vs. Russia, Russia vs. China, and so on).

On all fronts, therefore, the new period demanded new policies and new strategies from the ruling class in the United States. Most urgently of all, the U.S. bourgeoisie needed a stronger, more stream-lined state machine than it had ever had.

The Eisenhower years had typified the routine slow-moving, sloppy, relatively decentralized regime of a nation resting confidently on its world-wide supremacy.

In its new period, this was unacceptable. The push for a strong, centralized, one-man government, therefore, was a hallmark of John F. Kennedy's administration. He was for greater economic controls enforced by the government. He fought continuously to centralize control over all foreign and domestic policy into his hands alone.

The problem for the ruling class was this: The very same developing crisis which demanded the move toward strong-man rule also threw the capitalist politicians themselves off balance. The disintegration of the Democrats' "New Deal coalition" reflected this.

Faced with its own failure to "deliver", the Democratic Party watched helplessly as its political base—the New Deal coalition of liberal capitalists, the unions, and the Uncle Tom leaders of the black organizations—broke down. Each part of this coalition pulled in different directions.

ENTER NIXON

The ruling class' general political confusion gave Nixon his chance. He won the Republican nomination in 1968 by posing as more moderate than the disastrous Goldwater and closer to the Republicans' Mid-West "grass roots" than the Rockefellers, Lindsays, and Javitses. Humphrey's nomination and lackluster campaign put Nixon in the White House in 1968. The McGovern fiasco gave Nixon the biggest landslide in history. In both cases, Nixon's victories were not self-made but handed to him by the disintegration of the Democratic Party's support under the blows of the capitalist crisis.

In the summer of 1920, Leon Trotsky

explained to the Third World Congress of the Communist International that in times of social crisis, the shadiest elements of the bourgeoisie step forward and assume leadership of their class:

"Firms hitherto standing in the shadows have stepped to the forefront. Solidity, stability, tendency toward 'reasonable' compromises, observance of certain decorum both in exploitation and in the utilization of its fruits—all this has been washed away. . . ."

"To the foreground have stepped the newly rich: war contractors, shoddy profiteers, upstarts, international adventurers, smugglers, refugees from justice bedecked with diamonds, every species of unbridled scum greedy for luxury and capable of any bestiality. . . ."

This is the sector of the U.S. bourgeoisie which Richard Nixon stands for. Swollen fat in the decades after World War II, they make their money from real estate swindles, padded government arms contracts, financial manipulations, monopolies, every sort of unproductive scheme and gimmick.

The rest of the U.S. bourgeoisie holds its nose around these types, but their representative today sits in the White House nevertheless. And because the bourgeoisie more than anything else has needed **someone** in the Presidency who would help along the drive toward a "strong state," the capitalist class at large until recently has given Nixon wholehearted support. So long as Nixon was able to perform this role, the ruling class was on his team.

But what, then, is the reason for the present ruling-class attack on Nixon? How do we explain the bourgeoisie's anger and resentment against him today and the widespread demands for resignation or impeachment?

Nixon's bourgeois opponents want to appear as the valiant defenders of civil liberties and democratic government. They therefore spend most of their time publicly attacking Nixon as a threat to liberty and democracy.

Nixon is a deadly enemy of the working class, and he has no love for the fine points of constitutional procedures. **But this is equally true of his bourgeois opponents!** Despite their public masquerading, they are just as bent on strengthening the capitalist state as a weapon against the proletariat and international competitors as is Nixon. The ruling class is furious with Nixon because he has **failed** to execute the smooth transition to strong-man rule which capitalism desperately needs.

NIXON'S FAILURE

Nixon's failures here have a number of causes.

The Watergate exposures, first of all, have revealed the particularly gross corruption of his administration, its ties to the shadiest sections of the bourgeoisie and even to the underworld itself. No President who tries to increase the power of the state and "the law" can afford to be so nakedly exposed as a crook himself.

More important, Watergate revealed something else. The bourgeoisie knew for years about Nixon's use of the filthiest measures against blacks, students, revolutionaries, workers, and Vietnamese peasants. None of that caused them to lose sleep. But the Watergate hearings demonstrated that Nixon has been using similar tactics to undermine political and personal oppo-

nents **within the bourgeoisie itself.** And Nixon's Attorney General, John Mitchell, told the Watergate committee that he'd do it all again in order to elect his President. The ruling class learned it had created a monster.

But most important of all is Nixon's record-breaking destruction of his own popular support. To build a strong-man regime, in current circumstances, a President must be admired, must be worshipped. The population at large must have implicit faith in him and in his every decision. Otherwise his attempts to strengthen himself will meet resistance at every turn.

But Nixon's fall from public grace has been astounding. Every new gambit slashes his base of support further. Even before Nixon fired special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, only about thirty-one per cent of the population approved of Nixon's performance in office. After news of this latest bit reached the public, the Gallup poll-takers found that Nixon's support had dwindled to only seventeen per cent! That is not enough support to sustain a weak presidency, let alone a strong-man.



Atlanta Nixon rally during 1972 election headed by a five-year-old baton twirler.

Finally, the bourgeoisie wants to remove Nixon because, unstable as his position has become, he cannot present a strong front to either the allies or the opponents of the U.S. bourgeoisie on a world scale.

NEED PUBLIC "CONFIDENCE"

Nixon's ruling class enemies want to remove Nixon precisely to restore public faith in the capitalist state so that the march toward strong-man rule can begin again—with a more capable strong-man. Unless that public confidence can be won back, the capitalist state will remain a dangerously weakened tool for the U.S. bourgeoisie at home and internationally.

These are the real reasons for Nixon's low standing in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. We are not guessing. The thoughts of the bourgeoisie appear in print day after day in the newspapers they control.

The *New York Times* speaks for the ruling class's liberal wing. In its November 9 editorial, it warned, "The American people" must have "a leadership worthy of their trust."

On November 11, the *Times* further. Yes, it admitted, corruption in government was old news in Washington: "cheating, deception and corruption have indeed been too readily condoned in the conduct of politics, business, and personal affairs." What, then, was Nixon's special crime in the eyes of the *Times*? The answer followed immediately: "What President Nixon must

ultimately answer for is that he allowed the corrupt usurpation of power and privilege to **defile the summit of government and the authority of national institutions**" (emphasis added).

The motives behind the bourgeoisie's drive against Nixon are clearest when we examine the list of his opponents. Even the ultra-reactionary *National Review* has joined the chorus, announcing: "This country is in the midst of a classic crisis of regime, and the basic issue. . . is the credibility and legitimacy of the head of the government." "If Mr. Nixon becomes convinced—and by a few more months it will be sure, one way or another—that he has irretrievably lost the support and trust of a solid majority of the people, it will then be his duty to resign his office as the only act to heal the grievous wound."

The *Wall Street Journal* *Street Journal*, too, has joined the chorus. In an editorial on November 1, the editors underlined the considerations which drove them to demand that impeachment proceedings begin: "If the public is to be left with any sense that this is a nation that respects the rule of law. . ." and "the public must be given a feeling

that they are governed by serious and responsible men" (emphasis added).

RULING-CLASS HYPOCRISY

The ruling class wants to dump Nixon, we repeat, not because he put too much power into the Presidency but because he did it badly. The strong state is the ideal of the **entire bourgeoisie.**

For reasons of public relations, Nixon's ruling-class enemies parade as outraged democrats and civil libertarians. Every one of them, however, is prepared to use the bloodiest, most dictatorial means to keep the proletariat down. This, too, is far more than guess-work. See what the U.S.'s "democratic" bourgeoisie thinks about the events in Chile, where a man democratically elected to the presidency was deposed and murdered by the military—who then proceeded to murder and imprison his supporters and clamp the most brutal military rule upon the population.

In the last issue of *The Torch*, we quoted the liberal *New York Times*' friendly attitude to the military butchers in Chile. The pattern is even clearer for example, in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. The very next day after it demanded that Nixon be impeached, the *Journal* ran another editorial entitled "Chile in Perspective." For those who believe Nixon's ruling-class opponents are staunch defenders of democracy, "Chile in Perspective" should be an eye-opener.

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CLASS HYPOCRISY

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"Military rule is never a pleasant solution," begins the Journal. "But given the total collapse of the Chilean economy that Salvador Allende had engineered, unwittingly or by design, some form of totalitarianism was in the cards." And later: "Chileans will have some painful adjusting to do now that the Allende party is over, but it's vastly preferable that they do it under the generals than under the kind-of rule Dr. Allende envisioned." Anyway, say these valiant defenders of democracy, "Given the ideological divisions in Chile, it's amazing there's been as little bloodshed as there has. . . military excesses have been grossly exaggerated." And the editorial laughingly concludes, "As long as the generals don't get carried away themselves, Dr. Allende's should be an easy act to follow."

Nothing could expose more clearly the hypocrisy of the ruling-class's complaints against Nixon's disregard for the Constitution. Here is the real face of the capitalist class. Whenever the working class gets out of control, the ruling class speaks with one voice: "Kill!"

The working class in the United States must have no illusions in either Nixon or his bourgeois opponents: Every sector of the ruling class has the same fate in store for the proletariat: less food, more inflation, fewer jobs, intensified work-pace, rotting, decaying cities, and an ever-stronger national state machine to crack the whip.

SOCIALIST ANSWER

There is only one way in which the working class can save itself from this future. It must snatch control over society out of the hands of the entire ruling class. The workers can avoid the future planned for them by Nixon and his opponents, too, only by taking over the society themselves. Not a single representative of the exploiting class can be trusted with control over our lives for another day, whether he parades himself as "conservative" or "liberal," openly right-wing or "progressive." Only the working class can be trusted with the fate of the working class. This is the lesson which revolutionaries must pound away at constantly while the Nixon scandal focuses all eyes on the question of state power. **Down with Nixon! Down with all the capitalist politicians!**

In place of the two capitalist parties, we must have a party of the working class which stands on a revolutionary program. **For a congress of labor and the oppressed to build a labor party!**

The ruling class wants to remove Nixon as quickly and quietly as possible, preferably through a resignation like Agnew's. In that way it can quickly slip Gerald Ford (a more controllable capitalist stooge) into the White House behind the people's back.

No! We will have no part of this maneuver. Nixon must be brought to trial, not before the Senate (the bourgeoisie's own private club), but before the congress of labor and the oppressed! There we will document not only Nixon's corruption but all his murderous attacks on the world's working people and the complicity in his crimes of the entire ruling class.

The bourgeoisie wants to sneak in Ford? Not a chance! **We demand new elections!** The bourgeoisie refuses? **For a nationwide general strike of labor to force new elections!**

The ruling class does not give a damn about civil liberties or constitutional procedures when these things get in its way. This is clear in the entire bourgeoisie's demand for strong-man rule. This is the lesson of Watergate itself. Most starkly, this is what the bourgeoisie proved in Chile and what the U.S. bourgeoisie proves when it applauds the Chilean butchers.

Workers in this country dare not count on the "democratic principles" of the U.S. ruling class. Workers must prepare to defend themselves. **For workers' defense guards everywhere!** The proletariat and the oppressed will have saved themselves only when they actually conquer state power. **With a labor party to a workers' government!** This is the program on which a revolutionary leadership would organize the working class today.

In contrast, the labor movement's chiefs are either completely tied up with Nixon himself (Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters), vacillate between Nixon and the Democrats (Meany), or put all their faith in the bourgeois liberals (Woodcock, Bierne, Shanker, Chavez, and so on).

Last month, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy made a great show at its convention of furious opposition to Nixon. "Nixon is corrupt! Nixon is undemocratic! Nixon is the tool of the corporations!" All very true. And it was all just as true one year ago when the AFL-CIO gave Nixon its back-handed endorsement! Meany's resolution to impeach Nixon came only days after the AFL-CIO executive council appointed Nixon's own "top labor-management troubleshooter" to be number three man in the AFL-CIO's pecking order, and possible successor to Meany himself!

If the working class of this country is to defend itself against the onslaught of the ruling class, it needs the only kind of leadership that is not bound hand and foot to one section of the ruling class or another. That is, the working class must have a revolutionary leadership.

The present governmental crisis tests out every group or party which puts itself forward to lead the working class. One after another, it exposes their bankruptcy.

The Communist Party, of course, takes the cake. How does the CP propose to organize the working class to defeat the ruling-class threat? Very simple. The editorial in the October 26 issue of the CP's Daily World explains: "The petition

campaigns which urge the House to impeach the President, and the Senate to convict him, are the central means for enlisting the power of the American people—to remove the peril to world peace and our security." Period.

The Communist Party has swallowed the false claim by Nixon's opponents that Nixon himself is the main threat to "world peace and our security," and that Congress is now fighting to restore bourgeois democracy. The Stalinists' blatantly opportunist, class-collaborationist stands squarely on that lie.

Interestingly, the exact same myth is accepted and repeated by the gullible arch-sectarians of the Spartacist League. In fact, they say boldly what even the CP is a little embarrassed to claim. The Spartacists' newspaper, *Workers' Vanguard*, of October 26 trumpets:

"Finally, there are those who see the Watergate affair as a sign of impending fascism or full-scale bonapartism. In fact, it is just the opposite—Congress is restoring the norms of U.S. bourgeois democracy, and the power of the government has been greatly reduced" (emphasis added).

Lenin and Trotsky insisted time and again that opportunism and sectarianism were not enemies but twins. The proof continues to pile up.

In the race for opportunist honors, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party is not far behind the CP. The SWP's message to the working class is shouted in the huge, page-one headline of its November 16 newspaper, *The Militant*: "Socialist Suit demands halt to Watergating!" The SWP, you see, is taking Nixon to the bourgeois courts. There is a mass working-class strategy for you! In fact, it is turning this "socialist suit" into its principal campaign, and it proudly advertises its list of allies: including a couple of Democratic Congressmen, Gloria Steinem, Benjamin Spock, and LBJ's Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

LENIN ON REVOLUTION

Lenin explained the two essential conditions for revolution over fifty years ago. His words are strikingly relevant today.

First, the ruling class must be unable to "live and rule in the old way," to "carry on in the old way." That is, capitalism's crisis must drive the bourgeoisie to make new attacks on the exploited and oppressed masses. Second, the masses themselves must be "unwill-

ing to carry on in the old way." That is, the workers must feel themselves unable to bear the new ruling-class attacks. Lenin continued:

"It follows that, for a revolution to take place, it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, and politically active workers) should fully realize that revolution is necessary, and that they should be prepared to die for it; second, that the ruling classes should be going through a governmental crisis, which draws even the most backward masses into politics. . . . weakens the government, and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to rapidly overthrow it."

The kind of government crisis Lenin describes is clearly going on right now in the United States. The bourgeoisie is caught between its economic ills and need for strong-man rule (on the one hand) and a chief executive unable to carry out the political tasks assigned to him (on the other).

More than any other single event in recent memory, this government crisis is forcing more and more workers to recognize the connection between their own growing misery and the ruling class's political maneuvers.

The objective conditions for revolution, in short, are there. What is so obviously and tragically lacking is the subjective condition. Workers have no leadership capable of transforming the masses' growing anger and resistance into clear, conscious, revolutionary understanding. The trade-union leaders as well as the fake "socialist" opportunists and sectarians only help the bourgeoisie to keep the workers confused and demobilized. If these misleaders are not replaced, the government crisis will be resolved on the capitalists' terms and the march toward strong-man rule will proceed. At the end of that road lies Chile.

The key task of this period is to construct the revolutionary leadership which the proletariat needs and which the present situation cries out for. This is the task which we of the Revolutionary Socialist League confidently undertake. There is no one else to do the job.

MAOISM...

Cont'd. from pg. 11

There is obviously one thing wrong with the RU's new and exciting strategy. It is the very same program which led the Chilean masses to the slaughterhouse!

As the "national bourgeoisie" has proven over and over again, its "own objective class interests" demand that it stand by the international imperialists, landlords, and "big bourgeoisie" (different from the "national bourgeoisie"?) whenever the workers mobilize! That is exactly why Lenin and the Bolsheviks had to destroy not only imperialist power, but also the power of Russia's "national bourgeoisie" in 1917. The bourgeoisie knows what class solidarity is, especially when confronted by its most dangerous common enemy: the revolutionary proletariat.

For all their fuming and cursing at Moscow and the Chilean Communist Party, the Maoists have no strategy other than the one which turned Chile into a bloodbath.



A demonstrator at a St. Louis anti-Nixon rally breaks through police lines.

BETRAYAL IN CHILE

Maoism Means Class Treason

by Eugene V. Lee and Bruce Landau

As capitalism's international crisis deepens, the key task facing us is the construction of a new leadership able to organize the world socialist revolution. Today, millions of workers are searching for organizations capable of showing the way forward. But they find dozens of groups all claiming to fill bill. How can a revolutionary worker separate the wheat from the chaff?

The disaster in Chile gives the worker a way. How did the various groups claiming to be revolutionary react to Allende's government from the start? What strategy did they advance for the Chilean workers? What conclusions have they drawn from the *coup d'etat*? By answering these questions, we get a clearer picture of just how these groups measure up—and just how they will act when push comes to shove in the United States.

The events in Chile place the treachery and betrayal of the USSR and its Communist Parties—in Chile and internationally—in the brightest light (as the article by Eugenia Scott in this issue of *The Torch* makes clear). The pro-Moscow Stalinists were the loudest champions of Allende's "alliance" with the "progressive" capitalists in Chile and his promised "peaceful road to socialism."

JUST OUT!

Chile: Never Again!



HOW THE REVOLUTION WAS BETRAYED

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Mao and Bandaranaike. Peking heartily endorse her government's bloody suppression of rebels.

The Chilean workers were dragged into an "alliance" with Chile's capitalist class by Allende and by his supporters, the Communist and Socialist Parties. In order to cement this alliance—an alliance between victims and executioners—the Stalinists and reformists disarmed the workers and fought against all attempts by workers to attack the key pillars of Chilean capitalism. On September 11, the "progressive" Chilean capitalists called on their military thugs to dissolve this alliance in the workers' blood.

MAOISM'S CLAIMS

For more than a decade, Mao Tse-Tung's China and the various Maoist organizations around the world have claimed that they offer a real revolutionary alternative to the "revisionism" of the USSR and of the official Communist Parties of the world. But the Chilean case blasts these phony claims to smithereens and shows that at bottom all Stalinists—whether pro-Moscow or pro-Peking—stand for the same suicidal program.

Today, the Maoists are straining every mental muscle to prove that they and they alone stood for a really revolutionary policy in Chile. They pretend that the sole responsibility for the Allende government's betrayal of the Chilean workers and peasants rests on the pro-Moscow CP of Chile, Allende's strongest supporters.

The Maoists have to do this. Otherwise, workers might discover that Peking and the Maoists have been pushing the very same line: "Workers! Build an enduring alliance with the 'national bourgeoisie'—i.e., with your deadly enemies!" This line has been a stock-in-trade of Maoism from its birth, and it has produced exactly the same results each and every time it was followed.

The Maoists' main charge against Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Kosygin, and the pro-Moscow CPs is that their policies "deviate" from the ideas of Mao's hero, Josef Stalin. The fact is, however, that it was exactly Stalin who was the greatest champion of tying up revolutionary workers to the leading strings of the "national bourgeoisie" in the 1920s, '30s, and '40s. He did this in China in 1926-27, France, Spain, and the U.S. in the 1930s. It was under Stalin's orders that U.S. CP chief Earl Browder offered to "shake the hand" of J.P. Morgan, the king of U.S. finance capital, in order to cement an "alliance" with the "progressive" capitalists!

Time and again, the CPs and Stalin himself—Stalin, the patron saint of Maoism—lulled the workers to sleep with sweet songs about the good will of the capitalist class. Until the capitalists called in the police, the army, and the fascist gangs.

IN STALIN'S FOOTSTEPS

China and world Maoism follows in Stalin's "glorious" footsteps. Ten years ago—in June, 1963—Mao fired one of the early shots of the Moscow-Peking uproar in an open letter to the CP of the USSR. Even here, while denouncing Moscow's surrender to Western imperialism, Mao's own capitulation stood out clearly.

The letter refers to "the nationalist countries which have recently won political independence" and notes that they "are still confronted with the arduous tasks of consolidating it, liquidating the forces of imperialism and domestic reaction, carrying out agrarian and other social reforms and developing their national economy and culture."

What should workers do in such countries? How should they carry out these burning tasks?

Mao's open letter to Khrushchev, while noting the possible treachery of capitalists, announces:

"In some countries, the patriotic national bourgeoisie continue to stand with the masses in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and introduce certain measures of social progress. This requires the proletarian party to make a full appraisal of the progressive role of the patriotic bourgeoisie and strengthen unity with them."

The immediate test case for Stalin-Mao's policy was Indonesia. In 1965 Indonesia had a Communist Party of three million members, the largest CP in Asia outside China itself. In the Peking-Moscow dispute, the Indonesian CP(PKI) was a loyal Mao

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sia. In 1965 Indonesia st CP in Asia outside (PKI) was a loyal Mao

supporter. The policy of the PKI, dictated by Mao, was identical to the disastrous line carried out by the Chilean CP a decade later. The PKI was ordered to forge an "alliance" with Indonesian President Sukarno, the representative of Indonesia's "progressive, anti-imperialist bourgeoisie." By kissing Sukarno's feet, so Peking and the PKI promised, Indonesian workers and peasants would complete the tasks of the anti-imperialist stage and then open up a "peaceful road to socialism."

PKI chief D.N. Aidit, Peking's man in Indonesia, bragged in 1964 and 1965,

"The alliance with the national bourgeoisie has also been realized. We have now collaborated with the Indonesian bourgeoisie for nearly ten years, and the revolutionary forces have continually developed rather than grown fewer during this time, whereas the reactionary forces have experienced failure after failure."

These brilliant successes, argued Aidit, dictated the line for the future as well: "therefore the Communists must strive with all their power to preserve and further develop the alliance with the national bourgeoisie."

1965 was the year that Indonesia's "national bourgeoisie" put on an end to these ten years of "collaboration." It unleashed its murderous henchmen in the army and in private gangs against the PKI and against revolutionary workers and peasants in general. The result was one of the most horrible massacres in modern history. At least 200,000 were slaughtered within days.

In the years which followed, Peking's scramble after international alliances with "progressive capitalist" regimes was stepped up and became even more cynical. When Pakistan's dictator Ayub Khan threw his armies against Bangla Desh's struggle for independence, Mao sent Ayub his warm regards and hopes for the best of luck. In 1971, the capitalist Bandaranaike government of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) launched a blood-purge against pro-Maoist students and unemployed youths, killing thousands. Mao sent Bandaranaike a note of congratulations.

There are no words to describe such vicious, cynical, counter-revolutionary backstabbing.

This is the "proud" tradition of Stalinism-Maoism. It helps explain the rotten line spewed out by Maoists in the U.S. when they have discussed Chile.

THE GUARDIAN

The *Guardian* is the leading Maoist newspaper in this country. For over a year it has been desperately groping to put together a Maoist party. Since the September coup in Chile, The *Guardian* has struggled to prove that only pro-Moscow Stalinists are responsible for the Chilean workers' fate.

The facts are very, very different. Loyal to Stalin and Mao, the *Guardian* has from the beginning been a firm champion of Allende's UP government, the government which disarmed the Chilean masses and misled them with praises for the "progressive" capitalists and the "loyal constitutional" armed forces.

The *Guardian* was well aware of Allende's refusal to antagonize the Chilean ruling class and gave that policy their seal of approval.

On November 7, 1970, for example, the *Guardian* advised Allende to "stay in power by neutralizing—but not alienating—the military, political, and economic forces" of the ruling class. By the same token, the *Guardian* sternly ruled out "precipitous action which might counter Chile's history of bourgeois democratic institutions—in which the people take pride. . ."

In an editorial on December 22, 1971, the *Guardian* made the following brilliant "Marxist-Leninist" observation:

"At this point, Chile's army, wooed by both left and right, is still maintaining its neutrality in upholding constitutional order. What direction it will take when the chips go down in the future cannot be predicted."

This wide-eyed faith in the military



Allende with the very same generals who toppled the popular front government and seized power for themselves.

grew even worse over time. On March 21, 1973—less than six months prior to the September coup—the *Guardian* cheerfully predicted:

"In the months since October, it has become increasingly clear that there is little hope for a military coup in the near future."

And now just how did the *Guardian* size up Allende's Popular Unity government itself? What did the *Guardian* say about this government which boot-licked the bourgeoisie and its army, which took power only through a deal with the major capitalist party (Christian Democrats), which included bourgeois parties in its government, which brought the military itself into the cabinet, which forbade workers' militias and disarmed all the workers it could, which called out scabs to break workers' strikes and called out police to break up workers' demonstrations? Once again, the *Guardian* stands loyally in the Stalinist-Maoist tradition.

On June 14, 1972, the *Guardian* declared that Allende's government "cannot create socialism, but it can prepare the masses for the struggle."

On March 28, 1973, the *Guardian*'s editorial explained that the UP was extremely popular with Chile's workers and peasants and fully deserved their support: "After all," said the *Guardian* editors, "the UP has waged consistent

battles against those who have exploited the Chilean people."

When the exploiters of the Chilean people finally decided that Allende was too lenient in putting down worker and peasant revolts, they murdered him and handed power to the military itself. Allende's fate was of his own making, one which he shared with thousands of workers whom he set up for the final coup d'etat.

What conclusions did the *Guardian* draw after the coup about Allende's government—a government so tied to capitalism and so fearful of the workers that it refused to call for an uprising even to save itself from the army? The "Marxist-Leninist" *Guardian* lied through its teeth: "A popular, progressive, anti-imperialist, democratic government has been subverted and overthrown!"

building an alliance of workers, poor peasants, and agricultural laborers on a revolutionary socialist program.

Such a program is based on knowing in advance that no important reforms, no important steps forward, are possible so long as the bourgeoisie retains its economic and political power.

This, as we say, is the viewpoint of the Revolutionary Socialist League. Having attacked the class-collaborationism of the Chilean CP, what program does the RU recommend? What practical alternative to the CP's program does the RU offer?

None! A socialist program and a socialist revolution, chants the RU, was not on the agenda in Chile. What was required was only a "democratic revolution."

"This democratic revolution,"

FOLLOWING THE LINE

Of all the Maoist newspapers, *Revolution*—published by the Revolutionary Union (RU)—has brought Stalinism-Maoism to its most glaring contradictions. In its October 1973 issue, *Revolution* devotes one page after another detailing the betrayals of the Chilean CP. Most of all, *Revolution* attacks—and quite correctly—the CP's demand that workers hold fast to their "alliance" with the Chilean capitalists:

"Everything the workers did, they [the-Chilean CP] said, had to be done within the framework of what was acceptable to the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy, the constitutional system that the bourgeoisie itself had created to exploit the people and maintain its rule. Everything the workers did that seriously threatened the bourgeoisie's order had to be held back."

Absolutely right! The Stalinists' insistence that the bourgeoisie be maintained as an ally forced the CP and Allende to abandon anything which threatened to antagonize the bourgeoisie—i.e., anything which threatened the bourgeoisie's wealth and power.

That is why Trotskyists, the supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League, insisted that the Chilean workers abandon these treacherous "allies" and strike out on their own,

says the RU, "would be aimed primarily at the imperialists, big bourgeoisie, and the landlords. It would include the nationalization of all the big business and capital of the imperialists and their domestic allies, and the distribution among the peasants of all the big landlords' holdings."

BACK TO THE BOURGEOISIE

Assuming that the nationalized land and industry would be controlled by a state controlled by the proletariat and peasantry, this outlines a socialist revolution. The RU may, if it insists, call it merely a "democratic revolution," but the major question is still how will it be achieved? The RU does not like the UP coalition and its need to placate its bourgeois members. What strategy does the RU propose?

"... the democratic revolution does not do away with all sections of capitalism within Chile, but preserves those sections that can contribute to the anti-imperialist struggle and help to build the new economy. (In other words, it tries to win over a part of the national bourgeoisie which, in its own objective class interests, wants the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie defeated.)"

Cont'd. pg. 9

THE COMMUNIST PARTY (U.S.A.)

Partner in Chile's Disaster



At a funeral in Santiago for massacred victims of Communist Party betrayal.

by Eugenia Scott

The need for a new, revolutionary Trotskyist leadership for the international working class has never been clearer than now, in the wake of the military revolt and bloodbath in Chile. The existing working-class leadership—the Stalinist Communist Party and the reformist Socialist Party—led the way to disaster by refusing to map out a class-struggle program for the Chilean proletariat. Today it threatens to repeat its treachery all over the world.

The only way to avoid military coup and open the road to socialism is to organize the workers, landless laborers, and poor peasants independently of the capitalist class. They must be organized into independent mass movements capped by a national council which will replace the capitalist state with its own power.

The workers must be led on the basis of a program aimed at smashing the economic power of the landlords and capitalists. The workers must be armed and organized into militias, trained and drilled. Most importantly of all, the working class must be led by a revolutionary party which steadily prepares the masses for the struggle ahead—which repeatedly warns them to have no faith in the ruling class or its political stooges; which warns workers against the treachery of the capitalist



Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of CP of Chile.

state, particularly its army; which warns them to rely only on their own strength, to smash the state, to seize all political power in their own hands, to seize control of the land, the industry, and the banks. This was the program of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. It is the program of the Revolutionary Socialist League.

This is not the program of the world's Communist Parties, however, and has not been since the mid-1920's when Josef Stalin took control of the Communist International. Since then, the Communist Parties have preached the program of "revolution by stages." The details of the stage theory vary a bit from one country to another, but its basic outlines are the same everywhere.

In the first "stage," the Communists insist that the workers forget about the tasks of overthrowing the capitalist class and the bankers as a whole. Instead, the Communists demand that the workers form a solid alliance with whole sections of the ruling class in order to carry out a list of "democratic tasks"—winning land reform, free speech, free press, free election, national independence from imperialism, fighting against the "monopolies" alone.

In order to maintain this alliance, naturally, the Communists become the bourgeoisie's policeman—seeing to it that the workers do not demand or do anything which will frighten off the "good," "progressive," "patriotic," "sub-monopoly" capitalists.

This was the road traveled in Chile. The road led to the slaughterhouse. Once again, the "good, progressive, anti-imperialist" capitalists proved their basic loyalty is to the rest of the international ruling class and not to the "democratic" role which the Stalinists' script assigns to them.

By disarming the workers of Chile, by insisting again and again that they must do nothing to prepare for civil war against the ruling class and its state, the Communists gave the go-ahead signal for the coup d'etat which took place. The treacherous details of this process were analyzed in the last issue of *The Torch* by Shelley Kramer.

The Communist Party of the United States, like the Communist Party of Chile, poses as a revolutionary party. In

fact, it is identical to the Chilean Party which stabbed the Chilean workers in the back. From the start, the CPUSA was the biggest fan of the Chilean Stalinists' strategy.

On August 28, 1970, the newspaper of the CPUSA (the *Daily World*) printed the text of a speech by CP Secretary Gus Hall on Allende's election to the Chilean Presidency. At the very hour when the seeds for Chile's mortal agony were being sown, Hall happily declared, "the proper ingredients of military, non-military, violent, non-violent tactics at the proper time is what I think Chile indicates—the proper combinations at the proper time."

Taking note of the Chilean CP's "stage" program of defeat, Hall made clear that the CPUSA would carry out the same program here: "now briefly, what are some of the specific lessons for us? That there can be fast and speedy movements, but not skipping of stages." At all costs, Hall warns the workers, do not skip over the "stage" of surrender to the capitalist class!

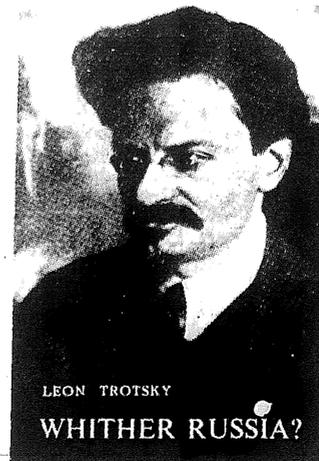
Again, on October 17, 1970, *Daily World* writer Luis Enrique Delano applauded Allende's election platform and insisted, "all these transformations can clear the path for moving bloodlessly onto the road of socialism." In fact, the

CP-Allende "road" proved "bloodless" only for the ruling class!

How could there be a peaceful road to socialism when the capitalists' hired killers—the army, the navy, the air force—remained armed to the teeth? Simple, replied C. Pintor in the *Daily World* of August 28, 1973: "The Chilean Armed Forces, despite pressure from the right, have maintained a professional role and perform their duties." In fact, incredible as it may seem, the CPUSA even applauded Allende's decision to bring the military gangsters into his very cabinet. On August 15, 1973, the *Daily World's* editorial blandly declared that "the inclusion of four military commanders in the cabinet, and its reconstitution as the National Security Cabinet, testifies to the acuteness of the peril, and to Allende's determination to quell the fascist threat."

As the Chilean ruling class poised for its attack in the fall of this year, the Communists in both Chile and the U.S. continued to demand that workers disarm. In Chile, the Communists prepared the workers for struggle—with petitions against civil war! In the U.S., the *Daily World* of September 5 whined, "The Communist Party, although recognizing that the situation is serious, states

Cont'd. pg. 13



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HOW IMPERIALISM "DEVELOPS" A CONTINENT

DROUGHT,
FAMINE,
DISEASE
IN AFRICA

by Paul Benjamin

Six million West Africans are starving to death. Faced with a four-year drought, the plundered economies of sub-Saharan Africa have collapsed into social chaos, disease, and famine.

Six nations—Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Niger and Senegal—face the most staggering and human economic losses. Between a quarter and a third of their 25 million people are in peril. Hundreds of thousands have already died from epidemics caused by malnutrition.

The economies of the region have completely fallen apart. The area's gross national product has been cut in half. Agricultural production has fallen 30 to 50 per cent. One third of the livestock is dead. The devastation of the countryside has driven farmers and herdsmen into the cities, where they themselves are now packed together like cattle. The cities of Nouakchattin (in Mauritania) and Mopti (in Mali) have doubled and trebled in a matter of a few months.

Politicians and newspapers try to chalk off this plunge back into barbarism as the "uncontrollable whim of nature." That is a lie. The current lack of rain, obviously, is the work of nature. But what about the total failure to protect land and people from the drought's effects? Is this failure, too, "uncontrollable"?

Of course not! Human technology has risen to spectacular heights. Solutions have been discovered to one "natural disaster" after another. The truth is simply that these solutions have been denied to the sick and starving African masses—not by nature, but by imperialist capitalism.

The agony of Africa reflects in concentrated form the situation of the entire world during capitalism's death convulsions. Imperialism is the system which loots the world of its labor and resources in order to temporarily postpone capitalism's collapse in Europe and the United States. Imperialism—that is, international plunder—enforces the wretched poverty of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and turns natural disaster like drought into gigantic human catastrophes.

Consider the case of Upper Volta, where half the population faces sheer starvation. Last June 36,000 tons of sorghum and millet seed grain were needed to sustain the country's agriculture. They were never delivered

because of the lack of decent roads and communication.

Consider the case of Dakar, in Senegal. The normal water supply has been cut in half through falling reservoirs. Water is available if the wells could be deepened. But this takes heavy

food to survive even without drought. Agricultural development takes dams and dikes for irrigation, fertilizer and machinery. Africa lacks all these things. Africa is sucked dry of everything but misery by imperialism.

Africa is at the mercy of the capitalist

harder than ever to get, and their terms were yet more brutal—including not merely higher interest but also restrictions on where the money could be spent.

Loans themselves are only a slow poison in Africa's bloodstream. Africa's foreign debt mounted from 6.3 billion dollars in 1965 to 9.2 billion dollars in 1969. Interest payments on this debt snowballed from 625.4 million dollars in 1968 to 843.9 million dollars in 1971. Debt service payment will take up fully one quarter of Africa's export earnings by 1976. The African economy is literally mortgaged to imperialism.

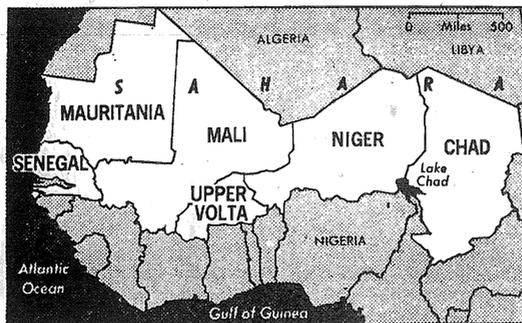
The imperialist powers thus hold Africa in bondage. The present crisis of capitalism has already checked African hopes for development. As the crisis deepens, the imperialist powers can only attempt to tighten their stranglehold on Africa and increase the misery of the Africans in order to safeguard their own bankbooks. The famine in West Africa is only the first fruits of capitalism's future in Africa.

As imperialism's world crisis deepens, in addition, the number of its victims will soar. West Africa will suffer. All of Africa will follow. Tomorrow it will be the turn of Asia and Latin America. Can Southern Europe be very far behind?

As a young system, centuries ago, capitalism's genius was its ability to harness nature in a variety of ways to advance human civilization. Today capitalism stands before civilization as an executioner; it shows its "genius" by transforming nature into the instrument of mass murder.

League fights for a program of class struggle.

Not so for the Communist Party. Knowing that "Big Business resists," the CP is already sounding retreat for the workers. Our program, they carefully note, "is subject to the limitations imposed by the continued existence of capitalism"! Like the Chilean CP, they concede defeat in advance by promising not to threaten "the continued existence" of the bourgeoisie's rule. It is not much of a surprise, therefore, to read a few pages later in the CP's "New Program" about how they want to lead the way to socialism: "Of course, we advocate social change by peaceful means, through political institutions and people's organizations within the American Constitutional framework."



Hundreds of thousands have swarmed south from the map's white area, which is hard hit by drought.

drilling equipment. The Senegalese don't have any.

Consider the case of Africa as a whole. Food production is increasing only slightly over two per cent annually. Population grows at close to three per cent annually. Africa, where the overwhelming majority of the population are herdsmen and farmers, has to import

world economy. Over 90 per cent of Africa's exports go to 20 industrialized countries in Western Europe, North America, and Japan.

The world recession of the early 1970's cut Africa's export income by over one billion dollars. At the same time, the recession brought with it a sharp decline in foreign aid to Africa. Even loans were

PARTNER IN DISASTER...

Cont'd from pg. 12

that it is possible to win the majority of the country against the coup d'etat attempts and against civil war, for the defense of the constitutional government and of institutional change." On September 11, 1973—that is, as tanks rolled into Santiago—the *Daily World* proudly quoted Chilean CP leader Orlando Millas: "... the unity of the people will bar the way to civil war."

The Communists are everywhere the architects of surrender, the organizers of the bloodiest defeats. They "succeeded" in carrying out their traitor's role in Chile.

The Communist Party of the U.S. was a full partner in that incredible betrayal and now has the blood of the Chilean working class splashed across its own banner as well. If the workers of the United States give their support to the Communist Party, they will face the same awful fate suffered by their brothers and sisters in Chile.

The "New Program of the Communist Party of the U.S.A." points in exactly this direction. It divides the workers'

struggle into two stages, the first one for "radical reform" against "monopoly power," the second one the socialist revolution.

In this first stage, the CP stands for—not a socialist program to destroy capitalism and replace it with workers' rule—but "a program of radical reform, aimed at curbing monopoly power and enlarging people's power." Just what does that mean? The CP plans to demand a "voice by labor" regarding "production schedules, use of automation, the closing of old plants and the location of new ones, prices, on-the-job safety, product quality, exports and imports."

In all these fields, the CP admits, "Big Business resists any voice by labor." How does the CP suggest this resistance be defeated by the workers? The Revolutionary Socialist League argues that any real "curbing" of ruling-class power will require a full-scale working-class attack on the capitalists' source of strength, their control of industry and the existence of the capitalist state. The

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BOOKS

THE BIG SWINDLE by Lori Larkin. Published by the Revolutionary Socialist League. 50 cents. Available from Haymarket Books.

by Joseph Kala

The **Big Swindle** tears away the cover of lies and confusion pasted over the productivity drive by the defenders of capitalism. This pamphlet reveals the productivity drive's true nature, as one part of an over-all, unified attack on the working class's standard of existence.

This attack, combining speed-up, unemployment, inflation and cuts in social services, is rooted in capitalism's decay, its inability to expand the forces of production. The only alternative is the revolutionary reorganization of production by the working class on a world scale. The program presented in **The Big Swindle** is based on this fact; every slogan presented here to defend the workers' position points in this direction. As an aid to the understanding and use of this method, **The Big Swindle** is an essential part of the armament of every thoughtful militant.

Lori Larkin's pamphlet begins by discussing the two basic ways in which capitalism can raise productivity. One way is to improve machinery, and technical methods—to expand the productive forces. The other way is to increase the intensity of exploitation—speed-up. **The Big Swindle** is packed with economic statistics and statements of business and government officials which show the inability of U.S. capitalists to use the first method, to improve tools and machinery. The productivity drive—squeezing more work out of fewer workers using antique machines—is the method which capitalism uses instead.

This situation is not new, not temporary, and not limited to the U.S. Since the turn of the century, on a world scale, capitalism has been unable to sufficiently expand the forces of production; the horrors inflicted on humanity since then—two world wars, the Great Depression, fascism—are the direct results. The present decline in world economy confronts mankind with the threat of more of the same.

In a crisis of these dimensions, the

need for revolutionary socialist leadership is decisive for the working class. **The Big Swindle** examines the role of the trade union bureaucrats and reveals not merely their complete unwillingness and inability to lead a struggle in workers' interests but also their practical alliance with the capitalists' anti-labor offensive. The trade union bureaucrats, from the most "progressive" to the most reactionary, believe in capitalism, base themselves on capitalism and its continued existence and so they have no alternative but to do capitalism's bidding. In a detailed, concrete analysis of the productivity "deals" perpetrated by the "leaderships" of the United Steel Workers, United Transportation Union, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, the United Mine Workers and the United Rubber Workers, Larkin exposes the common trait: increased output and profits at the cost of workers' jobs, wages, working conditions—and lives. This is the essential nature of all productivity "deals"—they are absolutely one-sided. Often there is not even the pretense of offering

THE BIG SWINDLE: The Story Behind Productivity Drives



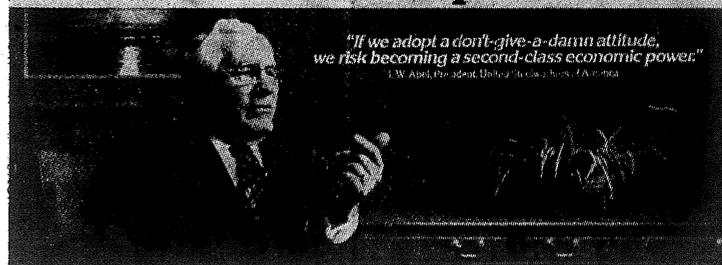
By
Lori
Larkin

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workers higher real wages, only an open attack. But never is there more than a pretense; never is there real protection against the onslaught of inflation. In every case the "deal" leaves the workers in retreat and their unions crippled.

The Big Swindle arms the reader with the hard facts and arguments he needs to demonstrate this to others and begin turning the workers' retreat into a counter-attack.

The Big Swindle is an important and valuable weapon in the class struggle. But it has its weaknesses, too. Most of the pamphlet was originally published in the newspaper of the International Socialists, the centrist organization which expelled its left wing, today's Revolutionary Socialist League, in July. The material included in **The Big Swindle** was far to the left of the IS's standard pap, and the IS was always uncomfortable with it. Nevertheless, the pamphlet still bears some of the marks of its birth in a centrist outfit.

For example, while Larkin correctly ties the signing of productivity "deals" by the trade union leaders to their bureaucratic and undemocratic nature, she doesn't show the roots of this bureaucratism clearly. Union leaders' support for capitalism makes their support of the productivity drive natural and necessary. To enforce their sell-outs on the ranks, they have to use bureaucratic, undemocratic methods in running the unions. The fight for union democracy and the fight for revolutionary program are directly linked. The sell-outs to the productivity drive today are the result of the failure of revolutionaries in the 30's and 40's to win leadership of the CIO.

Any leadership which fails to base itself on the necessity of workers' revolution, which fails to put forward a program for this objective, becomes a roadblock to any working-class struggle, even the most minimal, defensive ones. For this reason any faith in the new, more "progressive" pro-capitalist bureaucrats of the Arnold Miller type is fatal. Despite their "radical" masks, they have no real alternative to the capitalists' anti-labor program. That's why Miller has already shifted to lecturing the Mineworkers' ranks about the importance of worker-capitalist "cooperation"—and the necessity to increase production!

The Revolutionary Socialist League stands for an anti-capitalist program,

one based on an understanding of the real nature and dynamic of the productivity drive. Our program provides the only road for labor—the road of workers' revolution. Starting from the necessity for a socialist reorganization of society, we put forward immediate defensive demands that lead in this direction. The demands for 30 for 40, no price increases, full cost of living protection, equal pay for equal work, and so on, answer the immediate needs of workers and provide the basic outlines of how the working class would reorganize production—dividing up the available work among all the workers, providing a decent standard of living for all. Nationalization of industry under workers' control, international union cooperation—the basis for breaking the chains of private ownership and national boundaries placed on the forces of production. The crowning demand—for a workers' government—is the demand for working-class rule, the only way in which the other demands can be fully and really won and defended.

Another weakness in **The Big Swindle** is too little discussion of the international scope of the productivity drive. In particular, the attempt to squeeze more and more profits out of workers for less and less is going on all over the world, not simply in the U.S. The unity among the capitalists is international, and the workers' response must be international in its essence. The program as it appears in **The Big Swindle** is somewhat weak here.

By the same token, it must be emphasized that the productivity drive hits different sectors of the U.S. working class with varying impact. The biggest crunch is felt by black workers, Latino workers, women workers, workers living in or migrating from the South in general. These most oppressed sectors bear the brunt of unemployment, of cuts in social services. For these workers, too, the effect of inflation and speed-up is the sharpest.

Not surprisingly, therefore, it is from these sectors of the class that the most advanced, far-sighted workers are emerging, workers who most clearly understand the dimensions of the crisis and who are in the long run the ones who will lead the entire class. It is to the best of these workers, the future members of the revolutionary party, that **The Big Swindle** is most valuable, providing them with a program for revolutionary leadership.

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BOSSES ATTACK...

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The capitalists will work hard to avoid an actual recession. Given the laws of capitalism and the requirements of continued bourgeois rule, first and foremost the costs of maintaining an arsenal and the state machine generally, these efforts can only mean intensified efforts to squeeze blood out of the workers.

At bottom, therefore, the question of whether or not an actual recession occurs in large measure depends on the class struggle. It is possible, for example, that the sacrifices which the workers have already made plus those that their misleaders have agreed to make (the rotten contracts signed this year) may give the capitalists enough of a profit margin, enough maneuvering room, to make the downturn milder than

an actual recession. Combined with the appropriate manipulation of the money supply (known as "monetary policy") and of the spigot of deficit financing (known as "fiscal policy"), this may enable the capitalists to take the economy in for a "soft landing" (as the bourgeois economists put it).

In other words, if the working class remains misled and demobilized and if the capitalists can manipulate the right economic levers, we may be in for a period of minimal growth—close to, but not actually at, zero—followed by a new superficial upswing.

But the kind of "soft landing" which the capitalists pray for demands that the workers themselves form the runway! Although fine for the capitalists, this will mean worsening the recession-like con-

ditions in which the majority of the working class lives: the steady rise in "hard-core" unemployment (reflecting a much higher real unemployment rate) and the escalation of inflation, which will further attack living standards.

Of course, a full scale recession is also possible, if a slip-up in Washington occurs or if the workers decide that they do not wish to be robbed blind peacefully. And lurking in the shadows is the ever-present threat that today's slowly developing international crisis will be ignited by a new monetary crisis or a trade war, and explode into a full-scale depression like the Great Depression of the 1930's.

Any way you look at it, there will be no return to the post-war prosperity conditions. As the capitalist economy heads downhill, whether slowly in a zig-zagging fashion, or rapidly, the capitalists will use one means or another to force the workers to pay.

SELL-OUT UNION CHIEFS

Key to the capitalists' success in beating the workers into submission this year has been the labor bureaucracy.

Sitting prosperously astride large bureaucratized unions and working closely with the employers and the employers' state, the bureaucrats have tremendous resources at hand. And they use them.

In auto, they were not content to "set up" militant workers by refusing to defend them against management provocation. The bureaucrats actively assaulted the militants, as at the Mack Avenue occupation, under the guise of fighting "outside agitators." In freight, the hacks allowed management to temporarily lay off militant young workers a few weeks before the contract expired as a hint to those who had ideas about fighting for something real in the new contract.

In fact, even where the bureaucrats have their own position and dues base to defend, their ties to the ruling class and their firm commitment to bourgeois legality and to capitalism generally makes them capable of only one role—flunkies for the ruling class.

Until the working class throws these hacks out, the capitalists will continue to "prime the pump" of its decaying system with the working class's life blood.



O LUCKY MAN

by Derek Hirst

Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones."

The relevance of this statement from the *Communist Manifesto* to the field of entertainment has been shown lately in a series of films (*Oklahoma Crude*, *Judge Roy Bean* among many others). None succeed as well as *O Lucky Man* in making the point.

But Marx used his analysis to help forge a state in which the rulers no longer have the privilege to ride an uncontrollable economy to tucked-away resort hotels while the working-class majority must struggle desperately just to get by. "Abolish capitalism," Marx concluded. "The workers must rule!"

The creators of *O Lucky Man* are themselves too entertained by current affairs to wish for the slightest change. They wallow in the "uninterrupted disturbance" manipulated by the ruling class. That only adds to the amusement.

Director Lindsay Anderson has followed the middle class movements into bemused passivity. In his last film, *If . . .*, Anderson sympathized with the revolutionary dreams of a boarding school student. As these dreams of the middle class dissolved in the economic reality of the 1970s, so did Anderson's sympathies dissolve. The dreams had to fail because when this movement did produce a world-view, it was a non-proletarian world view based on the illusion that capitalism could be more fun than it is. Today, with the middle-class movements defeated and laid low by economic pressure, Anderson too has bowed down into the natural stooped-over position of the middle class.

O Lucky Man is about a young English working man who is bent on getting ahead. He begins as a wholesale coffee salesman. His tools of trade are six weeks' training, ambition, a willingness to do anything his customers might expect of him, and sex appeal. If there is

a role for women in *O Lucky Man*, it is to demonstrate this last point. Women can't resist him. As in the James Bond spectacles, women create the hero as much as the action does.

In the course of events, the hero loses his job. A string of fantastic adventures then brings him to London, the city of his dreams. "It's the biggest money market in the world!" he exclaims feverishly.

Another coincidence, and the hero becomes the assistant to a super-capitalist, Sir James. Sir James, a walking catalog of capitalist barbarity, is planning—in collaboration with the stooge rulers of an African nation—to spray a deadly chemical over a section of the nation where nationalistic rebels are waging war. This is intended to make the nation safe for Sir James' factories.

Much, if not most, of the dealings between Sir James and the nation's president are illegal to one degree or another, and the hero, unruffled by it all, becomes the fall guy for one small step in the process. "Trust me," says Sir James as police lead the hero away. And that ends that. Sir James builds his factories, the hero is jailed, fresh adventures abound and fade.

The surrealist style of the film is well-suited to the story. Surrealism, in the earlier part of this century, was a consciously revolutionary style. Even when not directly political, surrealism sought to revolutionize consciousness by attacking bourgeois logic and romanticism.

But at the same time, the style was a direct outgrowth of capitalism's decay. The surrealists, perhaps more than they knew, depicted the anarchistic clash and agitation of every sector of society. Their attempt to destroy bourgeois culture before the social basis for that culture, capitalism itself, had been



The film's lucky guinea pig, actor Malcolm McDowell

destroyed led gradually to the integration of the surrealist style, like the "mind-expanding" styles of the '60's, into bourgeois culture itself.

Earlier in the century, the surrealist film style depended on clashing images, which quickly tripped on each other's heels, for its effect. The style developed under the leadership of Cocteau and others, but especially of Luis Bunuel. Bunuel gave the style smoothness. Juxtaposition occurs between larger segments of the film which often flow into one another. Anderson, in using a variation of this style, may well have sounded the final death bell of surrealism as a revolutionary style in films. *O Lucky Man* uses the surrealist style in a consciously anti-revolutionary manner. Rather than being an attempt to revolutionize consciousness, it enforces bourgeois consciousness with directness rarely seen. The roots of surrealism are clearly in the forefront in sharp focus.

The film's fundamental point of view is most perfectly captured by the daughter of super-capitalist Sir James. She believes that everything (not every-

body—everything) is equal. Appearing at three points in the film, she apparently has as many ups and downs as the hero. The main difference is that she doesn't care; she hasn't tried to go anywhere. Her opinion of the hero is that he is "old-fashioned." In a decaying capitalist culture, where the tendency is to pull even those who have "made it" down into the working class as capital is concentrated in fewer hands, her judgment of the hero is accurate.

Accepting this truism, that there is little point in trying to fight to the top of capitalism, the film concludes that there is no reason to fight at all. Luck shines on those who passively await her. The film rejects the only conclusion it could have logically reached: that there is only one fight worth fighting—the fight to destroy capitalism and replace it with an international workers' state. Because it does not come to this conclusion it can find no conclusion except "flow with the tide."

O Lucky Man is a passive celebration of capitalism. As such, it celebrates decay.

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Bosses Press the Attack

THE UNIONS' RETREAT AND WHAT LIES AHEAD

by Ron Taber

The lead article in the October 16 *Wall Street Journal* starts out as follows:

"Economists, armed with slide rules and computers, debate whether a recession impends. Some indicators of business activity say yes. Some say no. The outlook remains unclear: But don't tell the average working man. For him, the recession began a year ago."

This bourgeois organ, which is paid to keep the capitalists well-informed, is telling the truth. The above article goes

been skillful enough to avoid them (except where the workers involved, like the Farah strikers and the Farmworkers have been completely isolated by the labor bureaucrats). No, this year the workers have been defeated in comparative peace and quiet at the bargaining table.

The UAW's Chrysler and Ford settlements, which are now provoking a rash of wildcats, won only a miserable 3 per cent wage increase. The Master Freight

Everything else about the society confirms this viewpoint: the deterioration of the cities and the environment, the food crisis and shortages in other major sectors, and so on. All of these are just different means which the capitalists use to shift the costs of the crisis onto the backs of the working class.

DECLINE AHEAD

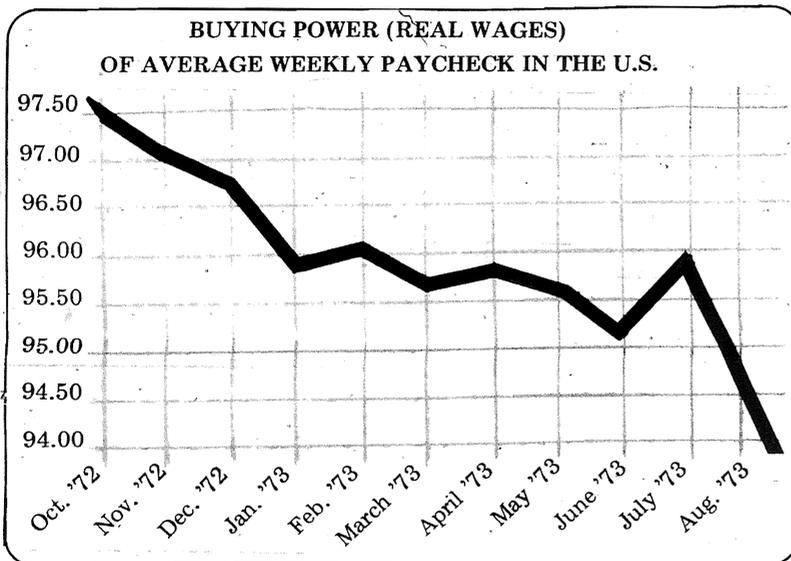
Every day is now bringing home signs that the present upturn is beginning to flatten out and that the economy is entering a period of stagnation. According to the *New York Times* of October 31, there is already some slowdown in real output, and housing starts are

down. In addition, new car sales declined 12 per cent below October of last year, while new orders for factory goods dropped a steep 1.6 per cent in September.

And despite the drop in unemployment reported in October, there are clear signs of a general increase in unemployment over the coming months. Lastly, virtually all the bourgeois economists are talking about the coming economic downturn, while a significant minority is sounding the warning bell for a full-blown recession.

These are fairly sure signs that a nose-dive for the capitalist roller coaster is just around the bend.

Cont'd pg. 15



on to discuss the shrinkage of approximately 3.2 per cent in workers' buying power since October of 1972. (See the graph which summarizes these figures.) Even these statistics do not give a complete picture. In the first place, the adjustment of wage figures, even adjusted to take into account the rise of living costs, do not register the fact that workers buy more of some items than of others.

For example, workers spend a large portion of their wages on food, whose price has increased at more than twice the monthly rate as have prices in general (food items now rise 1.4 per cent per month; all items rise 0.6 per cent per month).

Further, the adjusted figures only take into account general price increases and Social Security and Federal income tax payments, but ignore heavy state and local Taxes which have also gone up.

YEAR OF DEFEATS

In short, the past year has been a year of serious defeats for the U.S. working class. These setbacks have not been primarily expressed in busted heads and broken strikes (although there have been plenty of these). The capitalists and their agents in the labor movement have

contract negotiated by the Teamsters earlier in the year garnered a mighty 7 per cent per year. These are just two of the better known examples.

A look at the summaries of all major contract settlements this year confirms this pattern. Contracts signed in the first half of this year (which covers a major portion of the 1973-74 contract round) have brought home first-year wage increases of only 5.8 per cent. Even combined with other benefits, many of which most workers will never see, first-year increases amount to a bare 7.4 per cent. Not much to sing about!

Meanwhile, on the other side of the barricades, profits are up 32 per cent this quarter compared with the same quarter last year. The stark contrast between this figure and the decline in real wages is very significant. In most capitalist upturns, profits and real wages often rise together, although even then profits still significantly outstrip wages. The downward motion of real wages during the latter part of this upturn is the major reason for the upturn's apparent strength. Far from being a sign of a healthy economy, this only points to the diseased nature of U.S. capitalism, the gradual development of the capitalist crisis behind the facade of a "boom" induced by wage controls and credit.



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December

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AT

The energy the capitalists bringing with thousands of worse is coming living and working under way.

George Sel Treasury Sec that under the over a million will be thrown jobs next year days earlier, S other "professionists" were glowing term inflation while employment at per cent level project 6 per cent employment and confessed at a press conference even guess how will go.

In fact, the economists do bad unemployment either. The 6 per cent that's been tossed an attempt to