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Newspaper of the
**Revolutionary
Socialist League**

For the Rebirth of The Fourth International

Vol 1

December 15,—January 15, 1974

No. 4

FUEL SHORTAGE SPEARHEADS CAPITALIST ATTACK ON WORKERS

by Jack Gregory

The energy crisis is ripping across the economy, smashing the capitalists' hopes of averting a major recession and bringing with it the threat of world-wide depression. Tens of thousands of American workers have already lost their jobs; worse is coming. The fiercest attacks on the proletariat's living and working conditions since World War II are now under way.

George Schultz, Nixon's Treasury Secretary, admits that under the best conditions over a million more workers will be thrown out of their jobs next year. Only a few days earlier, Schultz and the other "professional economists" were speaking in glowing terms of reducing inflation while keeping unemployment at its present 4.5 per cent level. Today they project 6 per cent unemployment and, as Schultz confessed at a November 29 press conference, they can't even guess how high inflation will go.

In fact, the capitalist economists don't know how bad unemployment will get, either. The 6 per cent figure that's been tossed out is only an attempt to mask just how

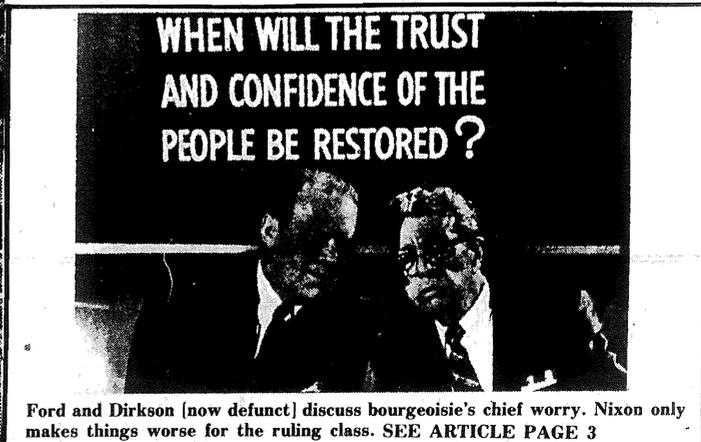
serious the crisis has become. John Swearingen, head of Standard Oil of Indiana, predicts 8 per cent unemployment. That would mean 3 million workers laid off next year. Even this figure is probably too low.

The US bourgeoisie itself knows that the lid has been blown off its fragile stability, and it is in open panic. The stock market is plummeting downward at a record pace while a new international monetary crisis stalks the European financial capitals. Europe and Japan are bracing for depression conditions that will travel like shock waves through the tottering world market.

Cont'd. pg. 6



Truck stall-in in Delaware



**WHEN WILL THE TRUST
AND CONFIDENCE OF THE
PEOPLE BE RESTORED?**

Ford and Dirksen (now defunct) discuss bourgeoisie's chief worry. Nixon only makes things worse for the ruling class. SEE ARTICLE PAGE 3

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LEECHES BLEED 1199

by Alice Watts

The militant strike of New York City's hospital workers in the first week of November was led to defeat by Leon Davis, president of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union. The events of the strike made clear all the inadequacies of even the most "progressive" reformist union leadership today.

The strike was called November 5 against the Cost of Living Council when the Council rejected a contract signed by the union and the League of Voluntary Hospitals. The contract called for a 7.5 per cent pay raise and other benefits.

When the COLC met in October, it offered the hospital workers only a 5.5 per cent raise and reduced benefits, despite the 10 per cent annual rate of inflation in New York City. This was a direct slap in the face to the low-paid, largely black and Latin work force. Pressured by an angry membership, Davis rejected the COLC



Leon J. Davis.

decision and ordered the hospitals struck.

There is no doubt that the strike was a threat to the government and its across-the-board attack on the working class; COLC members were frank in their public statements. "We are not going to let the strike push us into a settlement that violates the intent of the national economic stabilization program," said one. An economic consultant to the COLC worried out loud that the settlement would set a trend for many other workers. So at first the COLC contemptuously refused even to meet to consider the strikers' demands. The first two days of the strike saw mass militant picketing at the 48 voluntary (non-profit) hospitals and nursing homes. Pickets barred deliveries of oil, food, linen, and hospital equipment, letting in only vital supplies like drugs, blood, and oxygen. Scabbing volunteers and nurses who crossed the union's lines were harassed and heckled. The smaller hospitals and most of the nursing homes were

forced to move out their patients and shut down.

But Davis and the union leadership had a different plan. Davis wanted the strike to become orderly and "respectable" so he could bargain with politicians over the contract and with judges over anti-strike injunctions. Vice President Doris Turner, for example, ordered pickets to march in a well-spaced single file. Putting a stop to the pickets' massing in driveways, Turner politely asked the police for permission to inspect delivery trucks. The cops responded by letting all trucks in.

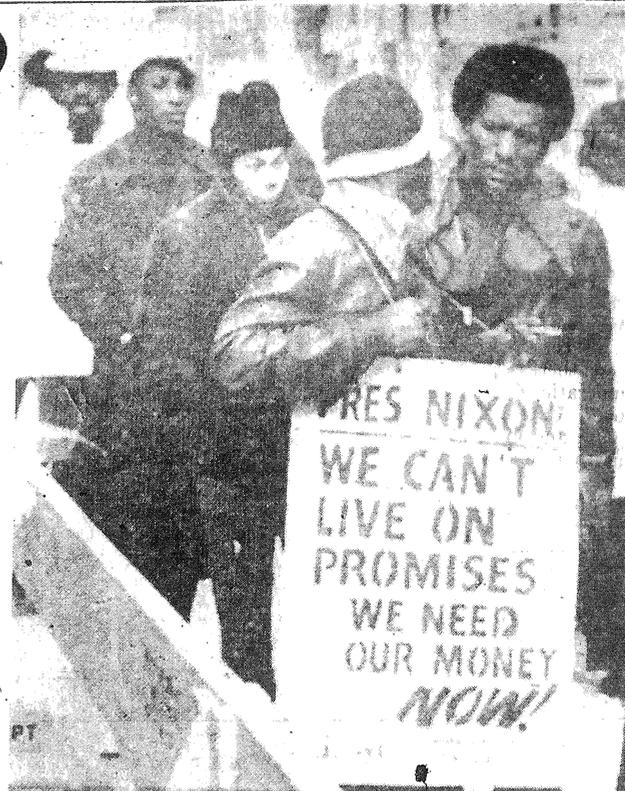
At Mount Sinai Hospital, a union strongpoint and traditionally the contract-setting hospital, Turner engineered the final blow to the strikers' morale. After Davis promised the hospital to let fuel trucks in, he called a meeting of all pickets to "discuss" the fuel situation. While the delegates stood at one end of the hospital voting *not* to allow oil in, police cordoned off the other end to allow oil trucks in. When the vote was over, strikers could only stand aside, one block away, while eight trucks delivered 40,000 gallons of oil.

Meanwhile, Davis' script

became clearer each day. Instead of placing the blame for the closed hospitals, the inconvenience, and the "health emergency" where it belonged—squarely on the employers and the government—Davis went on television to apologize for the strike! Instead of calling for support from city hospital and other public service workers, instead of linking up with the three other major strikes that broke out in New York the same day, Davis urged the 30,000 hospital strikers to concentrate on gaining "respect." Instead of rallying the labor movement, Davis held out his hat, hoping that politicians like Mayor Lindsay would plead the union's case for him.

With this strategy, Davis could only cringe when the government took the offensive: first, when the police beat back and arrested pickets, then when the federal court slapped a half million dollar fine on the union. Under Davis' leadership the strike lost steam in a week. It collapsed when the COLC "consented" to an additional 0.5 per cent increase. The extra money is just a sop. The 0.5 per cent over the whole contract year won't even pay for the lost week's wages. One worker explained, "We have to vote yes (on the COLC terms) because we have no leaders."

This strike was a conscious disgusting betrayal of the hospital workers by the Stalinist "progressives" at the head of 1199. The 1199 hacks, unlike some of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats who



Hospital workers challenge Cost of Living Council (COLC) edicts.

wouldn't recognize a picket line if they bumped into it, have led a fair share of militant strikes. The strikes that won union recognition at Mt. Sinai and Montefiore hospitals saw extensive use of militant tactics: beating scabs, overturning cars, sitting-in on hospital grounds and in the offices of the "pillars of the community" who sit on the hospitals' governing boards.

But that history is *proof* that this strike was *designed* to bring home only the peanuts that the capitalists

were prepared to throw. Instead of mobilizing the combative and militant hospital workers to fight a real battle for their elementary needs, to link this strike with those of the firemen and the printers for a real battle to smash the wage control machinery, Davis stumbled down to Washington, begged for a few pennies, and gratefully accepted even fewer as the best he could get. He kept his image with the bourgeoisie as a "statesman-like" unionist at his members' expense.

USS THE PROFITS OF POLLUTION

by Lee O'Shaughnessy

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has sued United States Steel Corporation for polluting northwest Indiana's air. The suit charges that the steel giant's Gary Works pumps more than 70,000 tons of "particulate matter" (dust, ash, and smoke) into the region's skies.

Caught with its pants down, United States Steel is trying to force the working class to pay the cost of modernizing its plant and equipment. U.S. Steel's arrogant tactics include two attempts to step up the economic attack on the livelihood of steel workers—in the guise of "fighting pollution."

U.S. Steel's first response to the lawsuit was to plead for more time to comply with minimum air pollution regulations. Two open-hearth steel-making furnaces at the Gary Works might be shut down if the company is required to follow the original compliance timetable. A company spokesman, quoted in the *Hammond Times*, said,

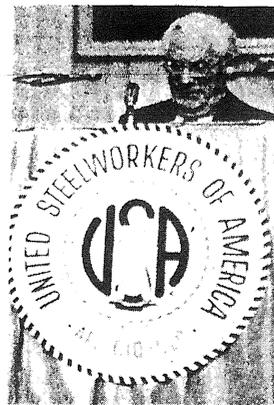
"If we are forced to shut down these two furnaces, we . . . will be faced with the possibility of laying off steel workers in Gary."

As it stands now, steelworkers at the Gary Works have little defense against this kind of blackmail. In October, the Wage Policy Committee of the United

Steel Workers of America publicized an "innovative demand"—for protection against loss of pay when plants are shut down due to anti-pollution requirements. Supposedly, this demand is to be taken up when formal contract negotiations begin early in 1974. But the pro-capitalist leadership of union president I.W. Abel has already undercut this demand by agreeing in advance not to strike no matter what the bosses say or do in the contract negotiations!

U.S. Steel's second attempt to make steel workers pay for pollution abatement received crucial assistance from Gary Mayor Richard G. Hatcher. With Hatcher's approval, the

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Steelworkers President Abel demands that steel companies always have their way—for the good of "productivity."

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By Bruce Landau

The Congress's approval of right-wing hack Gerald Ford as Vice President opens a new stage in the ruling class's confrontation with Nixon.

So long as the Vice President's office was occupied only by Spiro Agnew's lingering stench, Democratic and especially Republican party leaders were unwilling to throw Nixon out.

Without a Republican V.P., Nixon's removal would have thrown the Presidency to the Democratic Speaker of the House, Carl Albert. The Republicans obviously did not want to lose the Presidency entirely. The Democrats were afraid to force the issue, nor were they wild about the broken-down Albert becoming *their* man in the White House.

So now, by a cheering landslide majority, Republicans and Democrats are welcoming Ford into office. The Democrats, who advertise themselves as "the friends of the poor and the working people," are falling all over themselves to make Ford feel loved.

"Liberal" Hubert Humphrey is giving him private how-to lessons. The fact that Ford has led Congress's right-wing pack on every key issue of the day doesn't make the cynical Democrats blink an eye.

True, Ford coordinated the 1965 defense of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Bill; sure, Ford is a long-time enemy of all minimum-wage laws; of course, he is a leading cheerleader for every one of the Johnson-Nixon imperialist maneuvers throughout the world. So what? Nobody's perfect! And anyway, that's politics! The Democratic scum out-do themselves at every turn.

THE END OF HIS ROPE

Nixon, for his part, has almost nothing going for him. He has managed to ruin every chance he had to sneak back into the public's good graces. His "Operation Candor" fell smack on its face even before it began.

His private secretary, Rosemary Woods, has hired her own lawyer. Woods now denies she could have been responsible for the "mysterious" erasing of 18 minutes of Watergate tape. Her lawyer protests in court that Woods's early confessions were false, forced on her by White House attorneys.

Having fired former Special Prosecutor Cox and replaced him with the more dependable Leonard Jaworski, Nixon is now publicly denouncing Jaworski for

ENTER GERALD FORD



The last stalwart: Sun Myung Moon (who is worth \$15 millions) rallies to the support of Nixon with a nation-wide tour proclaiming the divine right of the Presidency.

being prejudiced against him. The head of the White House's legal defense team, Buzhardt, admits in open court that even he couldn't swallow the line that the tape-erasings were all innocent mistakes. Nixon had some choice words for Mr. Buzhardt after that performance.

The White House's legal team has been re-shuffled again. The new head lawyer is a recently-defeated candidate for district attorney in Pennsylvania. In the meantime, reporters keep asking embarrassing questions about Nixon's tax returns and cronies.

Nixon's ardent supporters are now down to the real estate shysters and the followers of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, a Korean multimillionaire and founder of the new "Unification Church." This right-wing crackpot outfit—Christianity's answer to the Mahara Ji—supplied most of the cheering flag-wavers for Nixon's mid-December White House Christmas-tree lighting ceremony.

The stage is clearly set for the bourgeoisie's final assault on Nixon. The pressure to make the move is now more intense than ever. U.S. capitalism is clearly headed into a tailspin, confronting the ruling class with a mountain of difficult decisions and demanding a series of slick and quick maneuvers.

Given a free choice, the

This nation is God's nation. The office of the President of the United States is, therefore, sacred. God inspired a man and then confirms him as President through the will of the people. He lays his hand on the word of God and is sworn into office. At this time in history God has chosen Richard Nixon to be President of the United States of America. Therefore God has the power and authority to dismiss him. Our duty, and this alone, is that we deeply seek God's guidance in this matter and support the office, itself. If God decides to dismiss this choice of His, let us have faith that He will speak.

bourgeoisie would still like a strong-man President in the White House. U.S. capitalism urgently needs such a figure to lead the attack on the working class and international capitalist competitors.

But the bourgeoisie no longer has a free choice. Nixon was at first supposed to be the longed-for strong-man. His blunders and public disgrace not only rule him out but also limit the alternatives now open to the ruling class as a whole.

Gerald Ford is clearly not the stuff of which strong-men are made. But that is not the role which the ruling class is assigning him. If Nixon is squeezed out, Ford's job will be to present a calm, smiling, non-controversial face to the TV cameras. The real task of running the capitalist state will be carried out behind the scenes by a cabinet of powerful figures and a staff of White House "advisors." Ford will play a purely figure-head role.

This, anyway, is the bourgeoisie's present strategy. This strategy could very well succeed. The anti-Nixon rumbblings on Capitol Hill are getting louder and louder, and Republican big-wigs are publicly giving Nixon about a month to prove why he should not be impeached.

But a strategy is one thing; the actual battle can be something else.

The same factors which give the bourgeoisie's anti-Nixon drive urgency—economic and political crisis—could also frighten the bourgeoisie away from any kind of risky action. The capitalists may yet decide that with the entire system on the rocks, impeachment would be too dangerous. Even a bourgeois

attack on Nixon might open the flood-gates of mass anger aimed not only against Nixon but against the ruling class as a whole.

Whichever way the bourgeoisie decides, the working class stands only to lose—and lose big. The present government crisis offers the working class a tremendous opportunity to step in and take matters into its own hands, to organize a general strike to force new elections, to build a revolutionary Labor Party and a workers' militia and replace the Nixons and Fords with a Workers' Government.

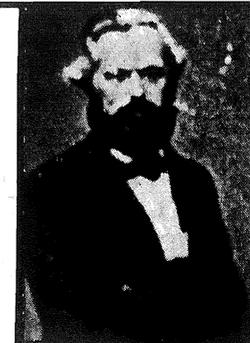
Workers who are "sick of hearing about that bastard, Nixon," who sarcastically say, "Let's just shoot him," are actually surrendering the field to the ruling class.

If the bourgeoisie is



Klaus Albrechtson

allowed to settle this crisis on its own, a short period of re-adjustment will occur, followed by an even more determined capitalist drive toward strong-man rule bent on crushing the working class.



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The Grundrisse

Karl Marx's *Capital* was to be only the introduction to a much larger work which would take up new subjects and expand those already raised. The *Grundrisse* was Marx's own outline for his planned master work. Though long available in the Moscow archives, it was not published in German until 1939. This is the *Grundrisse's* first and only English edition.

893 pages. \$4.25 (postage free). Supply limited. Order now from Haymarket Books (distributors for the Revolutionary Socialist League), 160 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois 60606.

Editorial

IT CAN HAPPEN HERE

Capitalism is a barbaric, murderous system. Its tiny ruling class lives by exploiting and oppressing the vast majority, the working class.

As the economic underpinnings of capitalism begin to crack, the ruling class resorts to more and more brutal, police-state methods to suppress potentially explosive opposition.

The bourgeoisie masks its repression with reassuring speeches about the sanctity of capitalist democracy. It counts heavily on the working-class' faith in an illusion — the illusion that political democracy plus sturdy civil liberties give the workers all the defense they need against capitalism and the capitalists.

The workers of Chile were destroyed by this illusion. Chile, so everyone said, was a democracy. Unlike other Latin American countries, Chile had a long tradition of democratic, constitutional, civilian government. The police, the courts, the army — all these were bound to respect the laws of democracy.

This was the message which Salvador Allende's Chilean Popular Front government repeated ceaselessly. It was repeated while the police shot down peaceful strikers and demonstrators. It was repeated right down to the army's *coup d'etat* on September 11. The next day, democratic Chile's most highly respected judge applauded the army revolt — on the grounds that capitalism had a right to defend itself against the people.

Over a hundred years ago, a reactionary Vienna tribunal made the same point only a little more clearly as it condemned the Austrian members of Marx's First International:

"The aim of the International is to emancipate the working class from the domination of the propertied class and from political bondage: this is irreconcilable with the state institutions which currently exist in Austria. Therefore anyone following or spreading the principles of the program of the International is undertaking an action preparing the ruin of the Austrian government and is therefore guilty of high treason."

Blind faith in U.S. capitalist democracy is drummed into children from the time they enter grade school. Teachers drag out the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and a very carefully edited version of American history.

Free speech, free press, freedom to meet, freedom to organize, right? Everybody in the democratic United States has freedom — except the exploited, except the oppressed, except those who try to use it against the ruling class.

One of the most highly prized and smugly paraded examples of bourgeois democracy in the U.S. has been the freedom from arbitrary search and seizure at the whim of the police. For decades, the Supreme Court has posed as the greatest defender of such individual freedoms. Now the masquerade is ending.

By a two-thirds majority vote, the U.S. Supreme Court stripped U.S. citizens of even their formal freedom from arbitrary

personal search. From now on, a cop can stop anyone he pleases on any charge (like breaking the speed limit or going through a red light) and then use the charge to justify a total personal search.

Until now, this was *legally* outlawed. A cop was only supposed to frisk suspects for weapons or evidence specifically related to the original charge. Nothing else discovered could be used as incriminating evidence in court.

Of course, this restriction was always strictly "for the books." Blacks in particular have always received a fine practical education in the value of formal restrictions like these. The new addition is this: what cops had to lie about in the past has now received a holy blessing from the sacred, democratic Supreme Court. It is now open season for the cops on just about anyone they feel like throwing up against the wall and frisking.

As the capitalist decline heats up the class struggle, this new ruling will be used to victimize individual militants, revolutionists, and uncooperative union figures.

An even clearer view of what "democratic" U.S. capitalism has in store for the workers' movement came out in the same month as the Supreme Court decision.

A memo written in 1968 by then FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to all FBI offices was forced out of the government's grip in December. The memo speaks for itself:

"The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents." The memo continues: "We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or faithful adherents. In every instance, consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership."

This is how the government's secret police responded to an extremely feeble, mostly middle-class movement which dissolved in the face of its own weakness. How much more viciously will they react when the workers' mobilize for their own needs!

With or without Nixon in the White House, U.S. capitalism is headed toward strong-man rule. A full-scale, across-the-board crack-down on left-wings and the most sweeping attack on civil liberties lie ahead.

The U.S. working class must learn to recognize in today's seemingly isolated events the early warning for tomorrow's even greater dangers.

Capitalist democracy means freedom only for the exploiters and oppressors of the masses. To defend their own hard-won gains, workers can rely only on their own organized strength. That is why a workers' militia is absolutely essential. A revolutionary Labor Party must be built to lead the fight for a Workers' Government, the most powerful instrument of workers' self-defense. Otherwise, the ruling class will teach U.S. workers the emptiness of capitalist democracy in the same way they instructed the Chilean proletariat.

FUND DRIVE ENDS AT 150 %

The Revolutionary Socialist League's first fund drive has ended in a resounding success. League members raised \$10,846—almost 50 per cent more than the goal of \$7,500—to purchase new typesetting equipment and to provide funds for the day-to-day operations of the League.

League members understood how vital was the success of this drive to the building of the League. To professionalize our press and staff functions, to send our documents and publications to revolutionaries in Europe, South America, and elsewhere, to spread the program and ideas of the League among the most revolutionary workers—these activities are a central part of the struggle for a reconstructed Fourth International.

League members therefore approached this drive with total commitment to its success. Initially, the goal of the drive was set at a figure which we felt would test, but not strain, the resources of the League. Contributions, raised mainly from League members, from the first exceeded the quotas set. Some comrades gave the equivalent of two, and one case 2½ weeks' wages; a friend of the League, supporting his family on welfare allotments, donated much of a private gift to the drive. Such sacrifices occurred in every League branch, and every branch far exceeded its quota.

The success of this drive does not end the League's need for money. The construction of a professional Leninist organization—the prerequisite for our political success—continues to demand heavy expenses. We will be holding a second fund drive in the first half of 1974.

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

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LETTERS

24th November 1973

To the Editor:

Nearly one third of Derek Hirst's review of the film *O Lucky Man* (*Torch* #3) consists of a gratuitous and thoroughly misinformed attack on surrealism. This lamentable digression should not be allowed to pass uncorrected.

One would think that surrealism today—outlawed in the Soviet bureaucracy's "satellite" countries as well as under all fascist regimes and military dictatorships (Spain, Portugal, Brazil) as a subversive movement, and continually harassed (albeit more subtly) for the same reason in the decaying bourgeois "democracies"—would receive more comradely consideration in a paper committed to socialist revolution. If Hirst chooses to advertise his ignorance of the current vitality of surrealism, of course, that's his own problem. But this abject defensive myopia, a deplorable trait in a revolutionist, is no justification for the absurd falsification of ideas and history.

That Hirst knows nothing of surrealism is demonstrated by the fact that he refers to it, not once but several times, simply as a "style." This altogether misleading term (a favorite confusionist device of bourgeois art critics and writers for the Sunday supplements) is employed to reduce surrealism precisely to the formal aesthetic categories it rejects and supersedes.

Still worse, however, is Hirst's casual citation of the unspeakable Jean Cocteau as the "leadership" of this alleged "surrealist style." If Hirst would take the trouble to do a moment's research he would learn that the surrealists in France despised the reactionary, commercial Catholic literary dilettante Cocteau more than they despised any other individual.

Hirst errs again when he pretends that the surrealists attempted "to destroy bourgeois culture before the social basis for that culture, capitalism itself, had been destroyed." Since 1927 the surrealist movement has affirmed unequivocally its adherence to the principles and methods of scientific socialism, and has offered every conceivable proof of its unshakeable solidarity with the cause of workers' self-emancipation. Documentation on this point is abundant and conclusive: see, for example, the "Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art" written by Andre Breton, the founder of surrealism, in collaboration with Leon Trotsky; more contemporarily, see the various contributions to *Arsenal/Surrealist Subversion*, journal of the surrealist movement in the United States.

Hirst's confusion in the domain of historiography is multiplied enormously when he stumbles into the domain of history. His pompous assertion that surrealism has been "integrated" into bourgeois culture—

Comrades,

Please send 20 copies of issue #4 of *The Torch*.

Your paper is well received here and is improving with each issue. Your article on Chile in #2 and Israel in #3 were excellent; we're looking forward to fuller discussions of Maoism and Maoist groupings in the U.S. in future issues. We are also anxious to see discussions on the call for workers' defense guards and the labor party.

The workers must rule,
(name withheld)
Norwood, Ohio

To the editor:

On October 18, in Milwaukee, I attended a speech by one of the founders of the Maoist "Revolutionary Union" (R.U.), Bob Avakian, on "Throwing Out the Bum": the removal of Nixon. I went in the hope of hearing any comprehensive plan of action which the R.U. might present to working people interested in or sympathetic to revolutionary socialism. Instead, what I heard and later witnessed at the following "open" discussion was an impressive *lack* of any revolutionary analysis or understanding by one of the very *leaders* of R.U. and his followers!

Throughout the entirety of Avakian's talk, at no time did he discuss the question of the *class* struggle or what plan of action one should take, except for vague generalizations about "organizing factories."

However, the full extent of R.U. beliefs was shown during the open-floor discussion. One black worker posed the extremely important question of the role of American revolutionaries today, which Avakian completely glossed over and ignored. But even more telling was the manner in which the speakers and their supporting audience dealt with a few people present from The Revolutionary Socialist League. The repeated call by Avakian for "unity" was totally contradicted by the extreme right-wing thug tactics exhibited by R.U. in "answering" questions put forth by League people.

I felt that while R.U. could not come up with any concrete plans of their own, they were completely hostile to the introduction of any really valid questions. To combat their insecurity, R.U. displays a striking lack of even bourgeois democratic rights and reveals their true right-wing approach. I received a copy of *The Torch* before the speech, as did many in the audience, and hope that you will continue making your paper available in Milwaukee. It is needed.

A worker,
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

a platitude of Stalinist and bourgeois hacks alike—belies his astonishing ignorance of dialectics and consequently his insensitivity to the complexities of historical development. Obviously the bourgeoisie has tried to plunder surrealism for its own repressive purposes, just as it has tried to plunder the works of Marx, Freud and every revolutionary innovator. But this plundering does not detract from the revolutionary essence, in their respective domains, of the methods and theories of Marx and Freud. Similarly, the defection of a Salvador Dali, the proliferation of pseudo-surrealist windbags—and even the appropriation of this or that isolated surrealist "technique" by advertising designers and bourgeois film-makers—do not detract from the revolutionary essence of the surrealist project.

When a socialist hack requested the aid of Frederick Engels in polemicizing against playwright Henrik Ibsen, Engels replied: "I prefer to make a thorough study of such things before condemning them." Derek Hirst would do well to consider this advice. His pretentious review demonstrates that the Revolutionary Socialist League did not leave all petty-bourgeois Menshevik philistinism behind in the International Socialists. Yet another effort comrades!

with surrealist greetings,

Franklin Rosemont

Arsenal/Surrealist Subversion

Derek Hirst replies—

The first and most basic error in Rosemont's uninformative invective, which oozes with the self-satisfied paranoia of the petty-bourgeois idealist, is the belief that my review includes an attack on the Surrealist "movement" and *Arsenal*. If that had been my purpose, I would have started with this from Trotsky: "The Bohemian artistic milieu is shut in its own narrowness. . . . The artistic schools of the last decades, Cubism, Futurism, Dadaism, Surrealism, have superceded each other without any of them coming to fruition." Notice that in this 1939 piece Trotsky defines Surrealism as an "artistic school," not a movement; he doesn't bother to differentiate it from other currents.

Questions of style are superceded, Rosemont has declared, because Surrealism is "in the service of the Revolution." Yet when Breton, in a work co-authored with J. Schuster, writes, "I have proposed to be inimitable. . . . I have rejected the commonly accepted disciplines. I have invented others for my use. If anyone can imitate me (in being inimitable) it is simply my reward," or, from the same work, "I have not imitated those who acquiesce to the desires of the masses or the powerful. I have established for myself, my rules, my principles, and my tastes, and I have overstated their difference, comparing myself in this with great poets, and through them, with all men."—it is difficult to see little *except* a petty-bourgeois ideal of style, high above class division, above "the desires of the masses," at work.

This was written late in Breton's

life; the school had greatly degenerated. So had Breton's politics. He no longer claimed to be revolutionary—he was now a "humanist," the Fifties' petty-bourgeois term for defeatism masked by ideals of "universal brotherhood." Breton, however, still thought himself a Surrealist. And Rosemont agrees: the work was included without comment in the January 1970 issue of *Radical America* devoted to Surrealism which he edited. As Rosemont declared in his introduction to this issue, "Surrealism is a movement defiantly not shut up in tight definition."

The mystical strains and extremely open-ended techniques of Surrealism led to its "plundering" by bourgeois culture at a time when bourgeois culture was starving for vitality and integrating and transforming a wide variety of currents, including black music. A style was manufactured which is still recognizable as a product of Surrealism. Rosemont is not talking about Surrealism but of Bretonism.



Jacqueline and Andre Breton (1940)

My review attacked a film which utilized this style as its has evolved over the decades. But I am also forced to attack the Surrealist "movement" as represented today by Rosemont. The half-truths used to evoke pity for *Arsenal*, his bald-faced lies, his sickening whitewash of the history of Surrealism, can provoke only hatred from any revolutionary Marxist. No doubt when it comes to the pinch, Rosemont will slither and slide in order to evade political responsibility for his verbal position—just as Breton did even during his most revolutionary phase. But it is comforting to know that whatever the history and outcome of the class struggle, Surrealism eternally retains its "revolutionary essence."

Breton once wrote to Trotsky, "You are one of these [great men]. . . the only one alive. . . I need a long process of adjustment to persuade myself that you are not beyond my reach" (to which Trotsky replied ". . . I am becoming a little uneasy about the future of our relations.") It remains to be seen if revolutionary Trotskyism is indeed beyond the reach of Surrealism or whatever Surrealism becomes in time. If Rosemont is serious about the development of a revolutionary art, he will define the "revolutionary essence" of surrealism and build from there.

FUEL CRISIS

Cont'd. from pg. 1

Right now, at the outset of the crisis, the hardest hit industries are those immediately dependent on oil. Aircraft expects to lay off 150,000 workers—Cessna Aircraft has already tossed 22 per cent of its employees into the streets. GM, Chrysler, and Ford are "temporarily" closing down over 30 plants. Elsewhere, whole shifts are being "indefinitely" laid off.

TIP OF THE ICEBERG

This is just the tip of the iceberg. Fuel is at the heart of all production. It is needed to run generators and operate machines in every sector of manufacturing. The shortages will produce shutdowns and unemployment across the board, and increased fuel costs will send prices of every commodity soaring. Next year's inflation will make last summer's jumping prices look mild. Real wages will continue to tumble but at an even faster rate.

This is the most acute shortage yet brought on by capitalism's failure to invest productively. It exposes as lies the Keynesian and Stalinist theories which insist the bourgeoisie's problem is *too much production* ("over-production"). The fuel shortage reveals capitalism's real contradiction, its *inability* to expand production, its inability even to produce the basic needs of its wage slaves, the working class.

The Arab "oil weapon" was only the immediate trigger to an already existing crisis. It is being played up in the bourgeois press in an attempt to deflect blame from the real architects of the shortage, the US bourgeoisie. More than one "revolutionary" organization has joined the hunt for individual swindlers, monopolies, or "blunderers" to put the blame on. This only distracts attention from the fundamental cause—capitalism itself.

During the whole past period, the bourgeoisie—unable to look past its immediate profits—pawed society's future to crisis by destroying the environment and by plundering raw materials at an accelerating rate. At the same time, stagnating capitalism threw billions into producing *means of destruction* ("defense" spending) and into other waste areas like speculation and financial manipulation, leaving plants producing necessary basic goods to rot.

For the past twenty years, US capitalism has invested next to nothing in research and development of energy. Alternate sources, like nuclear fusion energy and solar energy, are within the grasp of modern technology and could easily provide the energy needed in the conceivable future. But just as the bourgeoisie destroyed the environment in search of quick profits, so did it ignore these possibilities. It chose instead to cannibalize its dwindling oil reserves.

CLASS LINES DEEPEN

And now the working class in the advanced countries is being forced to pay harshly for the bourgeoisie's failure to produce

Who will freeze this winter, the capitalists or the workers? Who will be thrown out of work? Who won't be able to afford gas for their cars, to get out of the decaying cities and catch their breath for a week-end? Who, on the other hand, will reap the black-market profits?

Class divisions are being dramatically deepened. Faced with even more rapid inflation, workers will be even less able to afford food (especially meat), even less able to buy decent clothes, even less able to pay for their kids' education. The myth of the "classless capitalist society" has visibly, loudly shattered. The bourgeoisie will comfortably continue to wine and dine itself while workers are forced to huddle in the cold, eating garbage. The bourgeoisie will still jet coast to coast and around the world while workers are herded into ghettos close to their workplaces ("to conserve fuel").

Lack of heat and decent food is going to cause serious illness and epidemics. But the drug industry (which needs oil derivatives to produce essential medicine, like penicillin) already warns of a public health crisis from lack of drugs. The



first to suffer will be the young, the elderly, and the poor—especially blacks. When the epidemics spread, however, the bourgeoisie will make sure it has all the medicine it needs, have no fear!

All this is just the briefest glimpse of what lies ahead for the working class. The economic forces now being set loose threaten to topple the entire world market and throw capitalism into an international depression. Each nation will count unemployment in the tens of millions.

The Japanese economy faces its most severe crisis since World War II. Even before the energy crisis, wholesale prices in Japan were increasing 21.2 per cent per year. Japanese officials now estimate that fuel shortages may result in a 30 per cent drop in industrial production—full-scale depression.

Europe is in similar straits. Henri Simonet (vice-president of the Com-

mon Market's energy commission) predicts that, within the next year, unemployment will *double* in Europe and production will collapse. The British capitalists are already preparing for three-day work weeks while workers there face an unemployment level higher than during the Great Depression.

The simultaneous downturns in the major industrial nations threatens to crack the world economy wide open. The first shock waves have already rocked the shaky international monetary system, and Treasury Secretary George Schultz raced to France to meet with his British, German, French, and Japanese counterparts in an attempt to patch it together. Since all the major industrial nations depend heavily on trade with each other, the downturns will resonate from one area to another, dragging all of them down into the pit.

NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM

The crisis has brought the deadly forces of economic nationalism to the fore. Imperialist rivals now turn on one another to secure their own positions. France is breaking with the

"The unemployed,"
1924

her to war in the Pacific 35 years ago. Japan cannot tolerate the energy crisis which is now canceling her entire post-war growth, but to overcome the crisis she must find a means of securing ample fuel. The international fuel squeeze draws her ever nearer to conflict with other powers over the world's dwindling oil supplies.

The U.S. is making sure that its military machine is tooled up at all costs for whatever conflicts might develop out of the tense situation. Despite the removal of most U.S. troops from Viet-Nam, the Pentagon has asked for and received one of the biggest war budgets in its history. Kissinger spent December trying to whip NATO into shape by raising the spectre of a militarily powerful Russia. (So much for the Russian-American *detente*.)

Economic stagnation steps up imperialist rivalry, and rivalry demands a growing war machine. The stepped-up militarism, in turn, becomes a major source of continuing stagnation and waste. Thus, using an old moth-eaten 1950 Congressional emergency authorization, the Pentagon has ordered twenty-two oil companies to transfer more than 800 million gallons of oil to Pentagon stores in the next two months. This will come out of civilian supplies, of course.

BOSSES WANT STRONG-MAN

The bourgeoisie needs strong hands at the reins to enforce its attacks on the working class and imperialist rivals. In Japan, Premier Tanaka is being chastised by the ruling class for his failing to beat down the proletariat with sufficient brutality. Tanaka has now been forced to appoint his main political rival and economic critic, Takeo Fukuda, as Finance Minister. Fukuda has already announced his plans to take the cost of Japan's economic crisis out of the back of the working class.

In the U.S., all the current talk by liberal Democrats of restricting the powers of the presidency have been revealed as the most blatant lies. The Democratic Congress has voted Nixon emergency powers to act without consultation in the energy crisis, just as a Democratic Congress voted Nixon the power to impose wage-"price" controls (in his first administration) even *over his own timidity and hesitations*.

WHERE IS WORKERS' LEADERSHIP?

While the ruling class mobilizes, the proletariat is crippled by its lack of a revolutionary leadership. Never have the attacks on the U.S. working class been more nakedly prepared than now. Never has the need for the working class to wrest society for itself been more urgent.

What has been the response of the "authorized" leadership, the labor bureaucracy, to the crisis? For these shameless class traitors, it is still business as usual. When truck-drivers protested Nixon's gasoline restrictions by blocking interstate highways with their rigs, the Teamsters Union had nothing to say to its members but to order them to stop.

Cont'd. pg. 14

GREECE: NO ROOM FOR REFORMS



by Paul Benjamin

On October 7, Greek strongman George Papadopoulos formally disbanded his military junta, appointed a civilian cabinet, and announced preparations for Greece's first elections in ten years. Five weeks later, after three days of demonstrations, martial law was re-imposed, tanks rolled through the streets of Athens, and thousands were in prison. Papadopoulos himself was ousted a few days later by the same military clique in whose name he had ruled for six years. All told, the Greek experience in "liberatization" lasted less than ninety days.

Papadopoulos was thrown out because he had outlived his usefulness to the Greek ruling class. Six years earlier, the Greek bourgeoisie had been compelled to resort to a strongman to "purify" Greece in response to the growing radicalization of the Greek masses.

But under Papadopoulos the increasing stagnation of the Greek economy grew to staggering proportions. By July, 1973, Greece's annual rate of inflation stood at 13.1 per cent, the highest in Europe. Wholesale prices went up 35.8 per cent in one year. By the end of October farmers were refusing to sell their crops at official prices, well under the world market level. The black market was flourishing, and hoarding was widespread. Papadopoulos was unable either to shore up the economy or to control the social turmoil which it produced.

So by the summer of 1973, the campaign against Papadopoulos had support from Greek and international finance capital. John S. Pasmazoglu, a former deputy governor of the Bank of Greece, led the bourgeoisie's attack on the government's economic policies. Pasmazoglu had negotiated Greece's association with the Common Market in 1961. He now openly warned that the huge development loans and agricultural aid promised Greece under this agreement, and currently suspended, would be withheld until the Common Market governments were satisfied that a reliable regime was in power in Greece. Pasmazoglu advocated boycotting the proposed Greek elections

precisely because Papadopoulos could not provide the necessary guarantees of stability.

The United States had its own reasons for desiring a change in regime. Nixon used to be one of Papadopoulos's biggest boosters. In 1971, Agnew travelled to Greece to assure Papadopoulos that Nixon would override any Congressional ban on military aid to Greece.

Greece, in fact, plays a large role in the American strategy for safeguarding imperialism in the Eastern Mediterranean. Its naval bases are the home of the American Sixth Fleet. But in the recent Mideast war, Papadopoulos tried to curry favor with anti-American Greek nationalists by an ostentatious refusal to allow Greek bases to be used to supply Israel. The *New York Times* reacted to this ploy by saying "... there is no longer much of a strategic reason for aiding Colonel Papadopoulos."

The knowledge of this kind of support gave the Greek bourgeois politicians the nerve to come out of their holes and take on the government. By November, they were in full cry. A "Citizen's Committee for the Restoration of Democratic Legality," was formed, which called for the use of "all democratic methods in the struggle for popular sovereignty." The head of Greece's liberal Center Union Party, George Mavros, announced that "This government is about to collapse. Papadopoulos is fighting a rear-guard action." A Conservative politician, Panayotis Canellopoulos, publicly denounced police brutality and called for a "broad-based government of national unity."

ENTER THE MASSES

The regime's own "liberalization" campaign represented a desperate attempt by Papadopoulos to save his own skin by broadening his power base. Instead, the "liberalization" campaign succeeded only in releasing the pent-up anger and frustration of the Greek masses. Student strikes and university take-overs quickly developed from demands for academic reform to demands for political freedom. They won wide popular

support.

Most important, the leading elements of the working class began to actively support the protests. Twelve factories in Athens were shut down; public transportation was at a standstill. Of 866 people arrested after one day of streetfighting, 474 were workers.

The Greek bourgeois politicians originally supported the student protests. But when the movement actually went into the streets and stirred the proletariat, they fell silent. When Papadopoulos sent in his tanks to crush the demonstrators, they remained silent. Faced with the real possibility of mass struggle, these walking corpses from the cemetery of Greek parliamentarism jumped back into their coffins. They put up no alternative to military rule because in fact they had none, and they knew it. It was left to the most right-wing elements in the Greek military to get rid of Papadopoulos who was now totally useless either as a strongman or as a reformer.

The real struggle in Greece is actually only beginning. It is already clear that the new regime has no program for solving the economic and political crisis in Greece. The working

class has just begun to feel and demonstrate its own fighting ability. This coming winter will very likely bring a series of militant strikes and with it a new stage in the class war.

The same forces which produced the explosion in Greece are operating throughout the European continent. Already this fall we have seen a general strike in France and a new strike wave beginning in Great Britain. The economic stagnation which brought the Greek working class into action is the opening wedge of the general crisis of capitalism in Europe.

WALL STREET WATCHES, TOO

The Greek experience has its lessons for American workers as well. In an editorial titled "Back to Square One in Greece," the *Wall Street Journal* commented on the recent Greek coup: "It is far harder to practice democracy than we sometimes realize. The lesson is worth the attention of even the strongest democracies, including our own."

Yes, the warning signs are up. In times of crisis, the practice of democracy becomes a luxury which the ruling class can no longer afford.

JUST OUT!

Chile: Never Again!



HOW THE REVOLUTION WAS BETRAYED

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subordinated to the armed insurrection of the workers themselves.

What was thus being advocated as the policy of an allegedly Trotskyist International, whose announced purpose is to resolve the crisis of the proletarian leadership, is the method of *an alien class*, a method which requires the separation of the party from the working class itself.

The SWP and its supporters loudly proclaimed their righteous indignation at this abandonment of the Transitional Program. But the SWP had nothing of its own to offer. More, the policies they had formerly advocated and the new ones they were about to advocate were no more capable of preparing the socialist revolution than were those of their factional opponents. In fact, as far as the question of guerrillaism went, the SWP was tarred with the very same brush.

The reunification of the old Pabloites with the SWP was based generally on the common attitude towards the Cuban revolution held by them all. The unification was accompanied by a prolonged period of drumbeating for Che Guevara and Fidel Castro on the part of the SWP, including enthusiastic support for the concept of peasant guerrilla warfare as a over-all road to power.

VS.

After a series of empty and compromise resolutions adopted by World Congresses in 1963 and 1965, differences finally began to emerge at the "Ninth World Congress" in 1969 in a knee jerk response to the new emergence of the proletarian revolution in France in 1968.

The major dispute at this Congress, and the one which has continued to dominate the evening debate, was over strategic conceptions for the Latin American revolution. The old Pabloites, namely the Europeans with some North American support, advocated a strategy of "armed struggle" on a continental scale. This was openly conceived of as peasant-based guerrilla warfare counterposed to the traditional proletarian methods of struggle up to and including the armed insurrection. It was explicitly to be substituted (allegedly because of increasingly repressive conditions in Latin America) for trade-union work, mass mobilization, strikes and other methods of struggle associated with working-class activity.

"Guerrillaism" is the natural expression of the revolt of the petty-bourgeois method of struggle, and it can only be utilized effectively by the proletarian revolution if it is organized strictly under a revolutionary proletarian leadership and

In 1969, however, faced with the reality of the international working class beginning to march towards the conquest of power, the SWP, whose political approach in the US and hence internationally had become one of adapting to the most passive and pacifistic sections of the middle class, drew back from its own past with horror and began to counterpose a new "theory."

BUREAUCRATS VS. GUERRILLAS

This new theory is called the "Leninist strategy of party building." Its main focus is to build a party simply as *an apparatus, as a machine, not as a party of class-conscious cadres steeped in the Transitional Program and the Leninist method.* The way to do this, says the SWP, is to orient to where the "action" is—students, "left" currents, elections.

Thus they proposed for Latin America (where the question of state power is regularly posed) a policy which reflected the conservative, middle-class orientation of the SWP in the United States. Endless running in elections and organizing mass protest demonstrations on nothing but a basically liberal program—with a heavy emphasis on the financial and organizational strengthening of the party as an end in itself—were mechanically posed as the only alternative to guerrillaism.

For a party which thinks "class

action" is a court suit, this means the imposition of a reformist practice in situations where every passing day illustrates the necessity of putting forward a clearly *revolutionary* program.

The leading Latin American exponent of the policy advocated by the SWP is the PST (Socialist Workers Party) of Argentina. This party is headed by Nahuel Moreno, one of the oldest leaders of Argentine pseudo-Trotskyism.

The policy of Moreno's party is passive and reformist in the extreme. In the face of the massive upsurge of the Argentine working class which preceded the return of Juan Peron, the PST had nothing to offer but an

Nor is Moreno's policy restricted to Argentina. This same "orthodox Trotskyist" is the initiator of the move by the Uruguayan "Trotskyist" PRT(U) to support the *Frente Amplio*, a new version of the old Popular Front which binds the workers to the bourgeoisie. The Uruguayan working class has paid heavily for the illusions created by this front. As the PRT(U) contributed to these illusions, it shares responsibility for the recent bloody defeat of the Uruguayan proletariat.

The equally liquidationist, anti-Leninist policy of Mandel, Frank and Company can be seen in the role of the "official" section of the United Secretariat in Argentina, the PRT

(Revolutionary Workers Party). The PRT created the terrorist ERP (Revolutionary People's Army) which has carried out a number of assassinations, kidnappings, extortions and Salvation Army-style giveaways of food and clothing to the poor. Needless to say, the PRT is not a Trotskyist party and its policy of simple-minded terrorism, long denounced by revolutionary Marxists, has served only to demoralize and confuse the workers and to give the right wing the pretext for a reactionary offensive.

And yet the PRT did not spring from nowhere. In fact, its existence must be credited to our old friend—Nahuel Moreno. This paragon of "orthodox Trotskyism," today the SWP's man in Argentina, this defender of the "Leninist strategy of party building" had a somewhat different line a few years ago. In those days he was asserting that when the Chinese Communist party transformed itself into a peasant party, the party's Stalinism literally drained out of it. He also expressed the view which put him forward as the leading Castroist—"Trotskyist" revisionist in Latin America:

"To sum up (he averred): Stalinism is the product of counterrevolutionary pressure on a victorious workers' revolution; Maoism is the product of a provisional combination of counterrevolutionary Stalinism and the uneven development of the Chinese mass movement; Castroism is a direct result of the advance of the world revolution."

It should therefore be no surprise that in the early 1960s Moreno and the then newly-unified United Secretariat proclaimed that the Castroist current was revolutionary in essence. The task of the Trotskyists, they said, was merely to make these revolutionaries more fully conscious of the direction of their politics. To do this it was necessary to hook up organizationally with the Castroist groups organized in OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity). In Argentina, Moreno united his group with a Castroist group and together formed the PRT in 1965. Moreno thus made it possible for these open Castroists, admitted enemies of Trotskyism, to become members of the alleged "Fourth International" and then to use the prestige of Trotskyism to publicly attack Trotskyism itself.

After the Moreno group split from the PRT over details of guerrillaist activities, the PRT became the old Pabloites' favorite group in Latin America. They defended the PRT at every turn, refusing to criticize in any way its obvious repudiation of the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution. For their prostration before this group, Mandel, Frank and Company were rewarded by the PRT's open contempt for the United Secretariat, the PRT's claim that the Fourth International served as "a refuge for all kinds of counterrevolutionary

Cont'd. pg. 14



Jack Barnes [SWP-USA]



Hugo Blanco

VS.



Ernest Mandel



Mario Santucho [ERP]



Alain Krivine

electoral slate. Its electoral program was based on the conception that what was needed was workers' candidates, pure and simple, who would represent the interests of the workers. No understanding that the question actually posed was the conquest of state power, not merely the winning of a few votes.

This would have been bad enough, but Moreno did not stop there. He actually offered that—if Peron, the Bonapartist butcher, would only nominate on his own ticket a large enough proportion of Peronist workers, as candidates—then the PST would decide that Peron was really a good guy who had been misled.

JFK:



Behind the Liberal Legend

BY BRUCE LANDAU

November 22, 1973, marked ten years since the assassination of John F. Kennedy. The liberal media—newspapers, magazines, TV stations—exploited this anniversary for all they are worth. Why? Because they and the liberal Democrats are now leading a political campaign against Nixon in order to boost their own political stock. What better way to win people's hearts than to contrast Nixon and his crises with "the good old days" when liberal Democrat JFK was in the White House?

Revolutionaries should examine the record of the Kennedy Administration. It is worth the time. That record shows with blinding clarity that liberal politicians are no more pro-working-class than are the conservatives. It shows that liberal politicians are every bit as loyal to the capitalist ruling class as are the conservatives. It shows that liberals have no more "humane" answers to capitalism's crimes than do Nixon and his reactionary cronies.

We do not have to peek into any secret Presidential papers to prove all this. It is all right there in black and white—in Kennedy's own speeches and actions and in the books published about Kennedy by his closest advisors, Arthur Schlesinger (who wrote *A Thousand Days*) and Theodore Sorensen (author of *Kennedy*).

KENNEDY AND CAPITALISM

By and large, the US bourgeoisie was not wild about John Kennedy. Many considered him "anti-business." They were dead wrong. Like Franklin D. Roosevelt, Kennedy was not only "pro-business" but knew what capitalism needed even better than did most businessmen. Like FDR, Kennedy set out to enforce the

policies which capitalism required, even against the wishes of individual, short-sighted capitalists.

Kennedy's Treasury Secretary, Douglas Dillon, was a Republican, a wealthy capitalist (from the powerful Dillon, Read and Co. Wall Street brokerage firm), and Eisenhower's Under Secretary of State. In a 1964 speech, Dillon observed, "I don't think that there has been a President in a long time who had basically done as much for business. . . [but] it took the business community a long time to recognize this."

Kennedy's Secretary of Labor, Arthur Goldberg, put the cards on the table from the start: "Labor and management," he announced publicly, "will both be making a mistake if they believe that the Kennedy administration is going to be pro-labor."

Today, in 1973, world capitalism's decline is obvious. It can't expand production of necessary goods; the energy crisis is only the most dramatic example of this stagnation.

But the stagnation and decline which is obvious and dramatic today was visible even ten years ago. In 1960, industrial machinery in the United States was already old and inefficient. Productivity was low as a result. The 1957-58 recession was a tremendous blow, and total corporate profits actually fell from 1959 through 1961. Investment in new plant and equipment was meager. Persistent inflation expressed this failure to produce cheaply. The US ruling class was already beginning to lose its grip on the world market.

Kennedy set out to restore US capitalism's world supremacy. Productivity had to increase. New and more efficient machinery had to be purchased. This required fatter pro-

fits for the bourgeoisie.

As Sorensen records, Kennedy "stressed repeatedly that his hopes for economic growth, plant modernization. . . depended on ample business profits."

Kennedy set out to restore US capitalism's world supremacy. Productivity had to increase. New and more efficient machinery had to be purchased. This required fatter profits for the bourgeoisie. (As Sorensen records, Kennedy "stressed repeatedly that his hopes for economic growth, plant modernization. . . depended on ample business profits.") Higher prices were no answer: inflation was already pricing the products of US capitalism off the world market. No, profits had to increase while prices remained stable.

There was only one way to do this: tighten the screws on the working class. This is what Kennedy set out to do. He did it in two ways.

The first way was indirect. Kennedy increased government purchases

from manufacturers—that is, he enlarged the guaranteed markets for their products—primarily in the field of arms production and space equipment. At the same time, he cut back drastically on corporate-profits taxes. His Treasury Secretary bragged that Kennedy effectively reduced "the corporate profits tax from 52 per cent to 40 per cent."

Kennedy's program brought the corporations a profits bonanza. Sorensen boasts that "corporate profits throughout his administration rose some 43 per cent, higher and longer than ever before."

There was a second prong to Kennedy's high-profits program, a more direct and immediate attack on the working class. John Kennedy was the trailblazer for the productivity deals and the wage controls of the 1970s. He systematically used the power of the federal government to squeeze more and more production out of fewer and fewer workers for less and less pay.

The clearest example of this was the railroad conflict of 1962. The rail companies demanded across-the-board concessions by the railroad brotherhoods, especially on work rules. The unions threatened a national strike in self-defense. Kennedy stepped into the dispute "in the national interest." He outlawed the unions' right to strike and signed the country's first compulsory arbitration law in peacetime history. The Kennedy-appointed arbitrators—big surprise!—decided in favor of the companies. Scores of railroad employees were fired and the rest now worked harder than ever.

In 1962, Kennedy opposed US Steel's decision to raise its prices. A major confrontation developed which Kennedy won, forcing US Steel to

back down.

As a result of this confrontation, Kennedy's bogus reputation as an anti-business "giant-killer" got a big boost.

In fact, Kennedy's actions were not aimed at hurting business at all. On the contrary! The point was to force the slow-witted steel giant to accept the best strategy to fatten the corporation's own wallet at the workers' expense.

Of all basic industries in the US, steel suffered the most in 1962 from the effects of stagnation and inflation. Productivity was very low compared with European competitors, and prices were too high. Kennedy saw the need to restrict steel's booming inflation to keep US manufacturers in world competition.

But Kennedy was worried about something else. First and foremost, he was determined to maneuver unions out of the wage increases needed by their members. Persuading the union bureaucrats to sell out the ranks for peanuts was key to Kennedy's over-all push for bigger profits.

To justify these betrayals before the unions' ranks, Kennedy and the union bureaucrats needed a good sales pitch. If the corporations would only pass up increases in prices (but not in profits!), JFK and the bureaucrats would have the pitch they needed. In a September 1961 letter, Kennedy explained this clearly to the presidents of the giant steel trusts:

"If the industry were now to forego a price increase. . . it would clearly then be the turn of the labor representatives to limit wage demands to a level consistent with continued price stability. The moral position of the steel industry next spring—and its claim to the support of public opinion—will be strengthened by the exercise of restraint now."

The steel trusts got the point. They went along with Kennedy in 1961 and passed up price increases.

Then, in the spring of 1962, Kennedy turned his guns on the Steelworkers as promised. He made it plain to David MacDonald, the union's president, that "the moral position" of the corporations was strong and that "in the public interest" MacDonald ought to sing a sell-out contract.

MacDonald, for his part, aimed only to please his liberal President, even if by stabbing the rank and file in the back. Sorensen's chest fills with pride as he describes the deal Kennedy sold to MacDonald. It "provided for no general increase in wage rates at all." Sorensen exclaims, and it included only the smallest increase in fringe benefits. Over all, he continues, it was "well under the 1960 settlement, less than a third the cost of the average steel settlement for twenty years."

But then—just as Kennedy though he had found the ideal, no-fuss method of swindling the workers—the steel corporations broke ranks. In April, 1962, US Steel President Roger Blough strode into Kennedy's office and handed him a press release

announcing increases.

Kennedy's policy going how did this moron Blough no-money worker ranks like this? O Sorensen ki Kennedy's pr price hikes w worried, "no c listen to his p This was

prompted K showdown wit there saved K egypt from di popularity wi crats soared! " listen to Kenn recalls, "and were more m "Average wa Kennedy's ten lowest for an since the Seco Kennedy's i was the same He aimed to r world suprema out to suppress US's worldwid The main-thr Kennedy's vie national liberat arising in Asia Africa.

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Kennedy's actions were not starting business at all. On the point was to force the steel giant to accept a strategy to fatten the president's own wallet at the expense.

Basic industries in the US, and the most in 1962 from stagnation and inflation. The price was very low compared to European competitors, and too high. Kennedy saw the need to restrict steel's booming market to keep US manufacturers in competition.

Kennedy was worried about the steel industry. First and foremost, he determined to maneuver the price of the wage increases to the benefit of their members. Persuading the bureaucrats to sell out for peanuts was key to the overall push for bigger

by these betrayals before the ranks, Kennedy and the bureaucrats needed a good story. If the corporations would accept increases in prices (but not profits!), JFK and the bureaucrats would have the pitch sold. In a September 1961 speech, Kennedy explained this to the presidents of the giant

the industry were now to accept a price increase. . . it was clearly then the turn of the bureaucrats to limit the demands to a level consistent with continued price stability. The moral position of the industry next spring—and the support of public opinion—will be strengthened by the exercise of restraint

trusts got the point. They agreed with Kennedy in 1961 and to price increases.

In the spring of 1962, Kennedy turned his guns on the bureaucrats as promised. He made David MacDonald, the president, that "the moral position of the corporations was sold that "in the public interest MacDonald ought to sing a tract.

MacDonald, for his part, aimed to ease his liberal President, stabbing the rank and file in the back. Sorensen's chest fills with rage as he describes the deal sold to MacDonald. It was for no general increase in prices at all." Sorensen explained it included only the increase in fringe benefits. He continues, it was "well settled in 1960, less than the cost of the average steel for twenty years."

—just as Kennedy though found the ideal, no-fuss swindling the workers—corporations broke ranks. In 1962, US Steel President Hugh Stroh strode into Kennedy's office and handed him a press releas

announcing across-the-board price increases.

Kennedy could see his whole labor policy going down the drain. Just how did this short-sighted, low-grade moron Blough expect to sell any more no-money contracts to the Steelworker ranks after pulling a stunt like this? Once again, Theodore Sorensen kindly lets us in on Kennedy's private thinking. If the price hikes went through, Kennedy worried, "no other union would ever listen to his plea for self-discipline."

This was the thinking which prompted Kennedy's successful showdown with US Steel. His victory there saved Kennedy's over-all strategy from disaster. In fact, his popularity with the union bureaucrats soared! "Most union leaders did listen to Kennedy," Sorensen proudly recalls, "and their wage demands were more moderate" as a result. "Average wage increases during Kennedy's tenure were this nation's lowest for any comparable period since the Second World War."

Kennedy's international program was the same as his domestic ones. He aimed to retain US capitalism's world supremacy. Specifically, he set out to suppress all challenges to the US's worldwide economic empire.

The main threats to this empire, in Kennedy's view, came from the national liberation movements then arising in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

To cut away popular support for these movements, Kennedy employed Madison Avenue advertising techniques and welfare gimmicks to win over "the hearts and minds of the people."

He promised that with his new Peace Corps, Alliance for Progress, and Agency for International Development (AID), he would eliminate the causes of the peoples' anger. He promised to replace military dictatorships with kindly civilian government. He promised to distribute land to starving peasants. He promised to develop industry in the midst of poverty and dramatically raise living standards everywhere.

Kennedy did not keep one of these promises. Why? Because to make good on any of them involved undermining the empire itself.

US capitalism derives one basic advantage from its world empire. In the countries ruled by its puppet governments, it can buy workers and raw materials (oil, metal ores, etc.) at cut-rate prices.

To raise living standards and develop the economies in the empire would mean throwing away the profits of this plunder just when US capitalism needs them the most—when it faces a generally falling rate of profit and stagnation.

Unable to raise living standards and unable to sponsor social reforms, Kennedy had no choice but to give up talk about "civilian government," too, and throw his support behind the sturdier military dictatorships. Imperialism, after all, needed strong and loyal watchdogs. Sorensen describes Kennedy's conclusion:

"Unfortunately, he had learned, many of the more progressive civilian governments in Latin

America (as elsewhere) were less willing or less able to impose the necessary curbs on extravagant projects, runaway inflation political disorder. They were more likely to frighten away local and foreign investments. . ."

On the other hand, Kennedy realized, "the military often represented more competence in administration and more sympathy with the US than any other group in the country."

These are the reasons why Kennedy stuck with Ngo Dinh Diem's murderous military dictatorship right down to October 1963. In fact, it was Kennedy himself who made the first major escalation in the US military commitment to Diem. The secret Pentagon Papers make this crystal clear. Between 1961 and 1963, Kennedy multiplied the number of troops sent to Viet-Nam 25-fold, from 600 to 15,500.

The Viet-Nam war has gone down in history as "Johnson's war" or "Nixon's war." Only his early death cheated Kennedy out of his own fair share of the credit.

On civil rights, Kennedy was all fancy speeches and flashy gestures. But when the TV cameras were aimed elsewhere, he scuttled even watered-down civil rights measures one after another.

The most important thing for Kennedy was to stay safely inside the bounds of acceptable everyday capitalist politics. After all, he couldn't very well cut his ties to the whole Southern Democratic Party, could he? As Kennedy himself told trusty Ted Sorensen, he was not about to "drive Sparkmen, Hill, and other Southern moderates to the wall with a lot of civil rights demands that couldn't pass anyway."

Publicly, Kennedy used the White House as a platform to attack even

can brag about its civil liberties, limited government, separation of powers, "checks and balances."

But when (as now) capitalism starts sinking into its own decay, all the old bets are off. Gambling becomes too risky. When the bosses slash the living standards of the wage-slaves, the last thing the bosses insist on is freedom of protest for all. When capitalism itself threatens to break apart, the bourgeoisie wants a government that will enforce "order" not one pledged to "non-interference." The ruling class gropes for a strong-man, and bourgeois democracy is yesterday's garbage.

John Kennedy sat in the White House during the earlier stages of today's capitalist crisis. But even then, Kennedy understood capitalism's need for a "strong presidency" (as he called it) even better than Nixon, and he did his best to fill the bill.

Schlesinger recalls that "Kennedy

whether a nation organized and governed such as ours can endure. The outcome is by no means certain."

At the time, Kennedy admirers drooled over his oh-so-dramatic phrases. They loved to think of Kennedy like a feudal king rather than a mere bourgeois president. Using every public relations gimmick he could muster, Kennedy tried to create an atmosphere of royalty around himself and his family. He did not meet guests, he "held court." Smirking journalists called the Kennedy White House "Camelot" after King Arthur's mythical kingdom.

Nixon and Watergate only make more obvious what John Kennedy was doing. In Schlesinger's polite words, he was "restoring the personal character of the office," "recovering presidential control" in the interests of "clear decision and swift action." In plain English, he was preparing the ground for one-man



Daughter of the Royal Family christened by Boston's Archbishop Cushing.



During the steel crisis: Kennedy talks with the Attorney General and Secretaries Hodges, Goldberg, and McNamara.

peaceful civil rights demonstrations. In June 1963, he declared that "these demonstrations have increasingly endangered lives and property, inflamed emotions and unnecessarily divided communities. They are not the way in which this country should rid itself of racial discrimination."

TOWARDS STRONG-MAN RULE

When capitalism is strong and expanding, it can gamble a bit with the forms of bourgeois democracy. It

. . . was determined to restore the personal character of the office and recover presidential control over the sprawling feudalism of government. This became a central theme of his administration. . . "This was absolutely necessary, Kennedy explained, because "crisis at home and abroad made clear decision and swift action more imperative than ever before." In his first State of the Union speech, Kennedy announced: "Before my term has ended, we shall have to test

rule.

Today's liberal politicians point to the Kennedy Administration to show how they would run the White House. Fair enough. Kennedy's record is proof positive of what liberalism holds in store for workers: more attacks on their rights, their jobs, and their incomes; imperialism, imperialist wars, and a double-time march toward capitalist strong-man rule. That is the grim meaning of the "Kennedy legend" today.

ARAB STATES BETRAY PALESTINIANS

by Lois Aarons
and Paul Benjamin

Ever since the founding of the State of Israel the Arab rulers have professed strong concern for the rights of the dispossessed Palestinian people. Many who support the Palestinian cause still continue to look to these rulers for leadership in the fight against Zionism. A glance at the historical record and the 1973 war, however, shows how phony the concern of these "liberators" for the Palestinians really is.

In 1947, The United Nations partitioned Palestine, creating the Zionist State of Israel as well as a Palestinian state. War erupted almost immediately. Israel defeated the Arab countries that had united against it and then expanded to include much of what the UN had set up as Palestine.

But what happened to the part of Palestine successfully denied to Israel? Egypt set up a military administration over the Gaza Strip.

Abdullah of Transjordan made a secret deal with the Zionists enabling him to annex the remaining large portion of eastern Palestine (the Jordan River's West Bank) and thus create the Kingdom of Jordan. What Israel did not take, Egypt and Jordan did.

Most of the Palestinians who did not live in Gaza or the West Bank fled to the Arab countries. They have remained there, kept in refugee camps, for 25 years. The Arab regimes have made little attempt to better the conditions of the Palestinians within their borders, to find jobs for them, to absorb them. Instead, they have become the refugees' jailors.

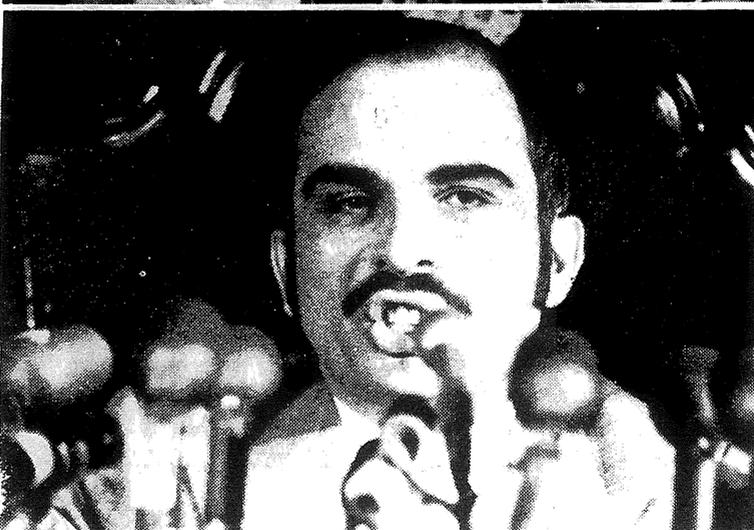
Palestinians are not granted citizenship in the countries to which they have fled. They are subject to strict military and police control. They must get special permits to travel from one country to another and (in some places) even to travel from one town to another within the same country. In order to work, they need special work permits; these can be gotten only through bribery.

In the late 1960s the Palestinians determined to speak for themselves, forming their own organizations to fight for the recovery of their homeland. The Arab rulers struck back quickly and brutally. Jordan and Lebanon, the states with the largest refugee populations, virtually allied themselves with the Zionist militarists in crushing the Palestinian movement. None of the other Arab rulers so much as lifted a finger to stop them.

Over half of the population of today's Jordan is Palestinian. Refugees play an important economic and political role in the life of the country; Jordan is the only Arab country with a large Palestinian



Jordanian troops drove Palestinians into waiting arms of Israeli forces.



BELOW: Jordan's King Hussein

working class. Jordan's King Hussein is also the Arab ruler most cooperative with American desires for a stabilized Middle East. His army is made up primarily of semi-nomadic Bedouins, alien to the urban working class and to the Palestinians in particular. By 1970, the army had already begun to attack commando bases all over Jordan.

In August, 1970, U.S. Secretary of State Rogers worked out a peace agreement with Jordan, Egypt, and Israel, an agreement which sold out everything the Palestinians had fought and suffered for by recognizing the legitimacy of the Zionist conqueror state.

The Palestinian resistance organizations, grouped under a loose umbrella-organization called the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), did not participate in drafting the agreement, nor did they accept it. The Palestinian commandos—who had previously been useful to the Arab rulers as a bargaining gambit and as a weapon against Israel—were now a nuisance. Moreover, their political influence among the rest of the Palestinians and the Jordanian masses proper was a distinct threat to the Hussein regime. On September

17, 1970, Hussein began the systematic destruction of the Palestinian movement.

Hussein's troops killed Palestinians indiscriminately, blowing up houses, looting, and raping. Refugee camps near the major cities were blown to bits. The Palestinian commandos, the civilian militias, and noncombatants as well suffered heavy casualties. After a week of courageous resistance, the Palestinians were forced to their knees.

Hussein's troops renewed the fighting in January 1971. An accord was reached on January 14th which represented a severe defeat for the Palestinians. It set up a joint Jordanian-PLO commission to assign locations for resistance bases, effectively restricting the commandos to limited areas.

More important, it hardened the distinction between full-time commandos and the Palestinian civilian militia; only the former were allowed to keep their weapons. This accomplished, Hussein knew he could easily handle the small armed forces which remained.

In April, Hussein ordered the commandos to leave Amman and other cities. By May, after another

round of fighting, the commandos were restricted to the Jordan Valley, between the Israeli and Jordanian armies. Jordanian troops surrounded these bases. Throughout this time, Hussein's troops were laying mines along the banks of the Jordan River where the commandos crossed into Zionist-occupied territory, and ambushing and shooting individual commandos.

The final round came in July, 1971. The commandos were driven out of several villages. The last refugee camp they controlled was occupied by the Royal Jordanian Army. With artillery, tanks and armored cars, they routed the lightly armed Palestinians. Those who were captured or surrendered were butchered. Many fled to the occupied West Bank and gave themselves up to the Israelis rather than face torture at the hands of Hussein's troops. The commandos' military bases in Jordan were thoroughly wiped out.

Lebanon was supposedly the haven for the Palestinian organizations after the Jordanian defeats. In fact, under Israeli pressure, the Lebanese government agreed to prevent guerrilla shooting over the border, infiltration across the border, and the spreading of overt military action anywhere in Lebanon.

In 1972 the government did nothing while Israel conducted raids against the Palestinian commando bases in Lebanon. Government attempts to restrict guerrilla operations were met by strikes and protests.

In April 1973 the lid blew off. Israeli raids in Beirut, Lebanon's capital, resulted in the murder of several top leaders of the PLO and the demolition of the headquarters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). A wave of indignation swept over Lebanon. There were protest strikes in Beirut and other cities. 250,000 people marched in the slain commando leaders' procession. The Lebanese Prime Minister was forced to resign.

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In Jordan, Union of Work (GUWJ), a federation of workers, was s; the Palestinian military attac commandos we ied by legal at GUWJ. The harassed and leaders, ordered many union me their jobs w companies, and

But the following month, following two terrorist actions by the PFLP (which cost the guerrillas popular support), the government cracked down. The Lebanese army surrounded two refugee camps and shelled them with heavy artillery. The fighting was one-sided and bloody. President Franjeh of Lebanon demagogically declared that the Lebanese would not tolerate a Palestinian "army of occupation."

It is with these events in mind that revolutionaries must consider the latest war of "liberation." For 25 years the Arab rulers have used the Arab's just hatred of Zionism for their own reactionary purposes. Every demand for production speed-up, every austerity program, has been defended by pointing to the Zionist menace. But Israel remains, Zionism remains. The Palestinians also remained; but they began to do something about it. The fervent response of the Arab masses to the struggle of the Palestinian liberation forces was not only a threat to Israel but a mortal danger to the Arab rulers themselves.

Israel is a colonial settler state, a belated European settler colony in the Middle East. As such, it is a junior partner to American imperialism as well as an imperialist state in its own right. The Palestinian struggle to regain their homeland by its very existence justly challenges the right of that state to exist. It is the most consistent expression of the Arab masses' aspirations for the unification of the Middle East against imperialism, for the establishment of democracy.

Militant Arabs throughout the Middle East recognize that the Palestinian movement is the heart and center of the Arab resistance to Israel.

The goals of the Palestinian movement have thus become thoroughly linked with the aspirations of the Arab masses. The great strike in Lebanon was by no means an isolated event, either in its support for the Arab cause or in its outrage at the Lebanese government.

In Jordan, the General Union of Workers in Jordan (GUWJ), a trade union federation of some 20,000 workers, was sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. The military attacks on the commandos were accompanied by legal attacks on the GUWJ. The government harassed and arrested its leaders, ordered the firing of many union members from their jobs with private companies, and attempted to

force mergers into more "cooperative" unions and to force new union elections. In September, 1970, the government's Intelligence Service was given veto power over union elections.

Most of the GUWJ's member unions did not submit to the ordered mergers by the September 1971 deadline. In those few that did, the results of the new elections were not what the government had hoped for. Therefore the government banned the GUWJ and dissolved all its constituent unions.

In January, 1972, two to three thousand Cairo University students staged a sit-in, sparked both by Sadat's retreat from his promise that 1971 would be the year of decision in the fight against Israel as well as by Sadat's internal government purges.

Among the students' demands were, "fight Israel, nationalize American interests in Egypt, provide real military training for the students, arm the masses, pay for defense against Zionist and imperialist aggression through higher taxes on the upper classes, release workers arrested after a militant strike, release Palestinian commandos arrested for allegedly assassinating the Jordanian premier, and political freedom for all Egyptians."

The police waited a day, then marched in. That afternoon, students marched protesting the arrest of their 1,500 comrades. The marchers took on the police and faced clubs and gas in return.

The struggle against Zionism now endangers the very foundations of the Arab ruling class. It has brought political opposition into the streets. It has forced open attacks on the Arab working classes. It threatens the imperialist connections upon which their class rule is based. The anti-Zionist struggle has become a luxury which the Arab ruling classes can no longer afford.

After the 1967 war, the United Nations Security Council passed "Resolution 242," calling for Israel's legal recognition by the Arab states in exchange for Israel's withdrawal from the territories conquered in 1967. The Arab regimes not only accepted these terms, they have actively campaigned for their implementation. In doing so they have declared their willingness to give Israel all the security guarantees its wants.

In return, they want the return of the Arab lands seized in the 1967 war. They want them for the oil of the

Sinai, for the military security of Syria, and most of all they want them as a gain to point to in order to conceal their capitulation to Zionism.

The recent war was fought by the Arab governments primarily to secure the implementation of Resolution 242, to pressure the imperialist powers to impose a settlement on the Middle East, to curb the Zionist dog they have nurtured for a quarter century.

The demand for the return of the occupied lands, if taken by itself, is legitimate. But it cannot be taken by itself. It rests on Resolution 242, on the callous betrayal of the Palestinian struggle, on the effective liquidation of the Palestinians as an independent political and military force in the Middle East.

The "victory" of the Arab rulers means the smashing of the Palestinians. Only if this were not the case would military support to the Arab

rulers be justified. In the present situation "victory" in fact decreases the leverage of the revolutionary forces in the Middle East, which must be based first and foremost on the Palestinians.

Only a leadership which can break with the imperialist powers and their Arab allies can carry through the struggle against Zionism, against the imperialist pres-

ence in the Middle East. Only the revolutionary proletariat, through the Permanent Revolution, holds the key to completion of the democratic tasks of the Middle Eastern colonial revolution. Only socialist revolution can win the battle of democracy and unify the Middle East against imperialism through a Socialist Federation of the Middle East.

Jordanian troops drove Palestinians into waiting arms of Israeli forces.

BELOW: Jordan's King Hussein

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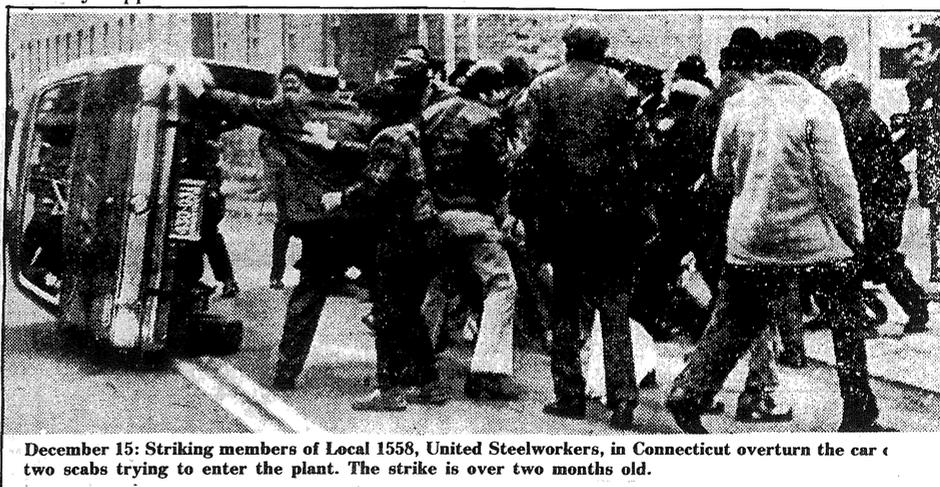
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Jordanian troops hunt down Palestinian guerrillas

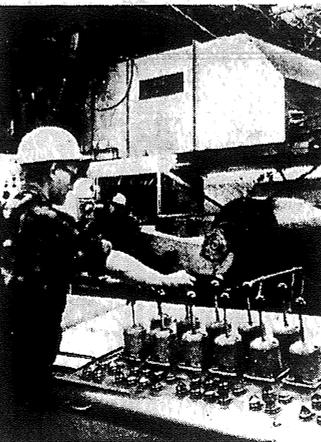


December 15: Striking members of Local 1558, United Steelworkers, in Connecticut overturn the car of two scabs trying to enter the plant. The strike is over two months old.

US Steel...

Cont'd. from pg. 2

city's Economic Development Commission is sponsoring low-interest, tax-free bonds for U.S. Steel to the tune of



Capitalists demand that workers pay to modernize their plants and cut down pollution.

\$20 million as a "substantial inducement to the corporation to proceed with the acquisition and construction of the [pollution-lowering] facilities."

— This is "Catch-22" all over again! Through the \$20 million bond sale, the Gary city government raises the funds to loan U.S. Steel part of the cost of installing pollution abatement equipment. U.S. Steel pays back the loan over a 30-year period at a much lower interest rate than in commercially available loans. Meanwhile, the bond-holders take advantage of a special tax loophole and pay no income tax on the interests they receive!

The Gary city government is backing the bond issue with its "bonding power." If U.S. Steel defaults on the loan, the City Council has promised to raise real estate taxes on the

homes and apartments of Gary's steel workers in order to pay the bond holders. (U.S. Steel has already wangled similar deals for its factories and mills in Kansas, Alabama, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.)

This cozy arrangement should be a particularly bitter pill for workers living in Gary. To minimize its taxes, U.S. Steel's Gary Works are already underassessed by at least \$119 million. The company avoids paying taxes. The workers must pay in their own taxes for the corporation's tax holiday. This is normal under capitalism, the dictatorship of the bankers and businessmen over the working class.

Steel workers are angry. The threat of layoffs and increased taxes are the latest provocations in U.S. Steel's attack on the working class's standard of living. It is necessary to fight back in order to make the bosses pay for the mess they themselves have created!

UNITED SECRETARIAT

Cont'd. from pg. 9

adventurers" and the PRT's demand that a new International be built—partly out of the United Secretariat plus the Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, and Cuban Stalinist parties. When, after these views and worse were repeatedly publicized, the United Secretariat majority made a few timid, tentative criticisms, the great majority of the PRT/ERP spat in its eye and broke off with it completely, leaving the United Secretariat to pursue this or that miniscule faction. Nor is the baneful policy of the two factions confined to Argentina. Today the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* headlines its articles on Chile, "There was No Revolutionary Party." But in the 1960's, the SWP and the United Secretariat in general were liquidating the Trotskyist movement in Chile. Luis Vitale, now a prisoner of the right wing junta, dissolved the United Secretariat POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) into the Castroite MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) in 1964. Thus, during all but the last few months before the September coup (when Hugo Blanco, one of the original practitioners of the guerrillaist line, belatedly organized a small group, the PSR [Revolutionary Socialist Party], there was "no revolutionary party" in Chile because of the deliberate policy of both the SWP and the International Majority.

The differences between these factions are many and seemingly varied. But both factions' political perspectives represent the abandonment of Trotskyist politics and therefore the betrayal of the interests of the working class.

In the area of Latin America both factions have demonstrated their bankruptcy. There, where the revolutionary possibilities have recently been the most frequent and extended, the true test of a political line has been made. Both groups have failed wretchedly and have contributed only to the maintenance of bourgeois rule.

The key to sorting out the welter of opposing lines, cliques and personalities is the Marxist analysis of

centrism. Centrism is the term for essentially opportunist (that is, pro-capitalist) forces masked with a veneer of revolutionary-sounding rhetoric. Fundamentally, centrist groups are agents of the left wing of the petty-bourgeoisie inside the workers' movement.

CHASING THE MIDDLE CLASS

Pabloism is a particular form of centrism which hides its petty bourgeois policies with perfunctory bows to Trotskyism. Both factions of the United Secretariat slugfest represent Pabloism. They share what is basically the same method. Guerrillaism and urban terrorism (on one side), passive electoralism and mass marches around liberal program (on the other) both represent petty-bourgeois policies.

Yet, the petty-bourgeoisie, as Trotsky demonstrated, is highly unstable. It vacillates between the more powerful class forces. In different countries in different stages of economic and social crisis and with different levels of class struggle, the petty-bourgeois layers of society will react differently and in often contradictory directions.

The main contradiction of the centrist United Secretariat is this, that the different factions, chasing after different sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie in various countries (and even within a single country) must, to preserve their "orthodox Trotskyist" cloak, assert their desire to preserve a democratic centralist International. Each faction must therefore accept the Leninist principle of democratic centralism in the abstract while refusing to allow the opponent faction to apply discipline and thereby cut it off from the specific petty-bourgeois current it is anchored in.

The result is a mess of petty-bourgeois centrist tendencies pulling in different directions, held together by an increasingly weak desire to be part of the biggest "Trotskyist" show in town.

The differences in the United Secretariat have been posed most sharply in Latin America. But they

are no longer restricted to one or two questions. They have broadened to such an extent and become so bitter that a split seems guaranteed. Among other things, there is a difference between the factions over the Vietnamese Communist Party (which the old Pabloites regard as a revolutionary and not Stalinist party), petty differences over anti-war perspectives, and further differences on a strategy for Europe. On the question of the "revolutionary" nature of nationalism, the old Pabloites have arrived at the position that all nationalism, except US black nationalism, is reactionary. The SWP, of course, is still plugging away on its general theory that "consistent" nationalism is... socialism! In the past few years the factional tensions as well have steadily increased. From occasional, localized disputes in Argentina and Britain, the fight has widened to

draw in the whole United Secretariat. The World Congress has already been postponed for better than a year, doubtless in hopes of avoiding the unavoidable. But centrism's crisis—like the capitalist crisis underneath—is only aggravated by postponement.

A NECESSARY DEMOLITION

In the struggle to reconstruct the Fourth International, the breakup of the centrist United Secretariat does not offer great gains in terms of immediate recruitment from the wreckage. Far from it! But the collapse of the United Secretariat will remove a major roadblock from the path of the Trotskyists in all countries. Many who have hitherto conceived of the United Secretariat as the Trotskyist movement will have their eyes opened, and new ferment in the world movement will be forthcoming.

FUEL SHORTAGE



Cont'd. from pg. 6

George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, promises his support for whatever measures the capitalist state may desire so long as "equality of sacrifice" is guaranteed.

"Equality of sacrifice"! That's a good one! How does a multimillionaire make a sacrifice "equal" to that of a sick, cold, starving, jobless worker? The answer is simple: he doesn't. And, of course, Meany knows this very well. "Equality of sacrifice" is the same wretched slogan which capitalism's lackeys in the labor movement raise whenever they get ready to stab the working class in the back. The last time Meany raised it, he was "demanding" that Nixon slow down inflation by imposing wage controls!

The working class doesn't need leaders who call on it to make sacrifices. *Sacrifice is the proletariat's way of life!* It is time—and long past time—to throw the sacrifices onto the class which is responsible for the growing international crisis: the capitalist class!

NEEDED: COMBAT PROGRAM

Workers must mobilize to fight the bourgeoisie's campaign of massive lay-offs. Demand a *sliding scale of hours*: put everyone back to work and divide all available work among all those willing to work! The capitalists want to use inflation, unemployment, and pay cuts to drive the workers and their families down to starvation levels and below. There must be full cost-of-living defense for all. For a *sliding scale of wages* to guarantee wage increases at least in step with price increases.

"But this is impossible!" scream the ruling class and its lieutenants who run the trade unions. "You will really bankrupt capitalism with such demands!" What they mean is that capitalism cannot keep workers alive, that capitalism can only be preserved by subjecting the working class to

mass unemployment, starvation, sickness, choking pollution, freezing winters, and—for those lucky enough to cling to jobs—disappearing wages and back-breaking speed-up. That road ends in a nuclear World War III to decide which of the imperialist monsters gets to preside over the world's smoking ruins.

This is where capitalism is now driving the world at breakneck speed. The working class is the only class which can stop this deadly drive. It must do so, not by tailoring its program to fit the needs of capitalism, but by basing its program on the need to put an end to capitalism once and for all.

Workers must demand the *nationalization of all industry*—first and foremost, all fuel mining and processing operations—*under workers' control*. A national Congress of Labor and the Oppressed must be called to form a Labor Party standing on a revolutionary socialist program. That revolutionary Labor Party will lead the entire working class in a fight for a *Workers' Government*, meeting the ruling class's armed attacks (remember Chile!) with a workers' militia.

Only a Workers' Government can carry the proletariat's struggle against capitalism and the capitalists through to a conclusion. Only a Workers' Government can organize production of fuels and all necessities according to what human beings need, not what profit-rates demand. Until the capitalist-produced shortages are ended, only a Workers' Government can organize the distribution of fuel and other scarce items according to the priorities of the working class, not those of the parasitic bourgeoisie.

THE ONLY ANSWER

This program—socialism—is the only answer to the catastrophe which capitalism has prepared. The proletariat must seize the fate of mankind from the hands of the bourgeoisie and grasp it firmly in its own.

Never was the need more pressing than right now for an international revolutionary leadership for the working masses. Forward—to the reconstruction of the Fourth International!



Argentine workers are being led to destruction by both wings of the United Secretariat.

HOFFA...

Cont'd. from pg.

just like everyone

Hoffa refused the dependable either the Democrats or the Republicans. He played one off against the other to raise his own power.

Starting in 1950, McClellan Committee Select Senate Committee on Improper Activities in Labor or Management, the government launched an attack on both Hoffa and the Teamsters. This built the careers of Robert Kennedy and a leading Senator, a Committee, Robert chief investigator.

The Committee farce. It lived for a while and never investigated the union besides the Hoffa "management" issue. The issue was never raised. This was clearly a one of Robert Kennedy's mouthpieces, Clark Hoff: "There will be problems in corrupt unions as long as the effective legal control tentacles of power are by the IBT" (*Ten Power*).

The result of the committee's "investigation" anti-labor Landrum Act and Kennedy's attempts to jail Hoffa finally succeeded in

FITZ MAKES HIS M

Hoffa was jailed just about when capitalism was in a period of post-war boom started turning sour. Inflation sped the War in Vietnam to be felt at home through turmoil, the peace negotiations grew, the risings broke out, the economy decayed rapidly, etc. Capitalism stepped up its squeeze more profits from the working class.

This meant some things for the labor movement and for the particular. The semi-independent role that Hoffa played in the labor movement was too dangerous. Hoffa's expensive for capitalism increased its anti-working class offensive. This especially true today capitalism's energy threatens trucking explosions.

Fitz is better suited for a new period. Hoffa is an independent operator, basically loyal to capitalism. Fitz is a toady pure simple.

Where the national

the whole United World Congress has postponed for better doubtless in hopes of unavoidable. But is—like the capitalist bath—is only aggrationement.

RY DEMOLITION

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ONLY ANSWER

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HOFFA...

Cont'd. from pg. 16

just like everyone else.

Hoffa refused to become the *dependable* lackey of either the Democrats or the Republicans. He preferred to play one off against the other to raise his own price tag.

Starting in 1956 with the McClellan Committee (or the Select Senate Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field), the government launched its attack on both Hoffa and the Teamsters. This committee built the careers of both John and Robert Kennedy: John as a leading Senator on the Committee, Robert as the chief investigator.

The Committee was a farce. It lived for four years and never investigated any union besides the IBT (much less "management"). Corruption was never really the issue. The issue was power. This was clearly stated by one of Robert Kennedy's mouthpieces, Clark Mollenhoff: "There will always be problems in corruption in unions as long as there are no effective legal controls on the tentacles of power controlled by the IBT" (*Tentacles of Power*).

The result of the Committee's "investigation" was the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act and Kennedy's continued attempts to jail Hoffa (which finally succeeded in 1967).

FITZ MAKES HIS MOVE

Hoffa was jailed in 1967, just about when capitalism's period of post-war prosperity started turning obviously sour. Inflation speeded up, the War in Vietnam began to be felt at home through social turmoil, the peace demonstrations grew, ghetto uprisings broke out, the cities decayed rapidly, etc. Capitalism stepped up its drive to squeeze more profits out of the working class.

This meant some obvious things for the labor movement and for the IBT in particular. The semi-independent role that Hoffa played in the labor movement was too dangerous and expensive for capitalism as it increased its anti-working class offensive. This is especially true today, as capitalism's energy crisis threatens trucking with explosions.

Fitz is better suited to the new period. Hoffa is an independent operator who is basically loyal to capitalism. Fitz is a toady pure and simple.

Where the national con-

tracts won by Hoffa were regarded by many rank-and-filers as victories, Fitz's contracts are universally understood as defeats.

The trucking industry and the ruling class will oppose any attempt by Hoffa to regain power. They now enjoy their stability and don't want that Shaken up. Hoffa's corruptness, his undemocratic crushing of any opposition inside the union, his sweetheart contracts aimed against blacks and women, his commitment to capitalism—all this is A-OK with the ruling class. But Hoffa demands too high a price for his services to capitalism, he is too unpredictable a pirate! As the *Commercial Car Journal*, a trucking industry mouthpiece, put it:

"In the wrong man's hands, it (IBT) could decide the day the U.S. stood still. These are critical words. But these are critical times. The nation is swinging back to peace. Much of the vital national tranquility will depend on the massive Teamsters Union. . . . The industry is growing up. The guy who once owned an old truck and drove it down the road and back with any kind of freight he could siphon off from his competitor. . . . these days are gone forever. The industry is faced with oncoming federal regulations. . . . The industry is facing a tough fight in Congress for highway money. . . . So who needs Jimmy Hoffa to muddy the waters. So if Hoffa makes a comeback the industry is going to suffer. So is the nation. Fitz may not be the best labor leader for the trucking industry, but for sure he is far from the worst. And compared to Hoffa, he's a saint."

Hoffa's phony "radical" rhetoric is designed to capture the best of the Teamsters, those most anti-Nixon, most unhappy with Fitzsimmons. But they are the cynical words coming from a man with a whole history of betrayals of Teamsters. In one breath, Hoffa can announce, "It seems to me that everybody who works with his hands is getting the worst end of the social deal in the United States. It means to me that the entire government structure is against the little man and for the big man." In the next breath, he says: "Well, sometimes we do override the membership. And if you

MOVIES BILLY JACK

by Derek Hirst

Billy Jack is a throwback to the liberal western tradition of the 1950s and early 60s. In this "old" liberal western (*Cheyenne Autumn* is one example among many) the peace of a poor Indian camp breaks when a few natives innocently enter the white people's town only to be cruelly toyed with. The Indian camp divides into two factions—those for blood and (from the film's point of view) lunacy, and those for a fair settlement and wisdom. The lunatics among both Indians and whites create havoc until an honorable lawman arrives. He successfully translates the wishes of the Great Father in Washington into native wisdom and peace is restored.

There is one huge difference with *Billy Jack*. Its cast is made up of aggressive hippy girls, gentle Indian boys, a puzzled tyrannical parent, a devoted pacifist, a few blacks (there are t.v. commercials in which blacks are less obviously used as tokens) and more.

This is the "socially aware" film to beat all others. Everything that's hip is here, even when it only makes the film more confused than it already is. What the bourgeoisie does with products—manufacture a million bottles of perfume and then advertise it as a "very original scent"—the middle class does with life styles. *Billy Jack* is one long advertisement for a certain middle-class life style.

Billy himself, besides being the leading local mystic and karate expert, represents the

didn't override them you couldn't have a union" (*Gallery Magazine*, October 1973).

A leadership is needed in the IBT and the trade unions that will tell the truth—say what is—to the working class and not attempt to do capitalism's work through lies, deceit and cynical maneuvers. The IBT and the trade unions must become the organizations of the masses of people, not just the select few. To unleash the real power and potential of the IBT requires a total fight for independence from all influ-

lunatic fringe who wants to fight the arrogant, violent whites to the death. The wise old chief who wants peace is played by youngish, blond Dolores Taylor. She runs Freedom School. Children of all ages and colors here learn to sing folk songs and take out their aggression in psychological games. Above all, naturally, Dolores is a pacifist.

The film tries to make itself "real" through Dolores Taylor's absolutely horrible acting. You aren't supposed to look at her as a horrible actress, though, but rather as a lovely, down-to-earth, 100-per-cent natural woman. There are so many shots of her enjoying and laughing at the hip antics of her "beautiful" students that you are nauseated from them alone.

When she is raped by the son of a prominent white citizen, Billy, the self-appointed protector of Freedom School, kills the son with one chop in the neck. The town, and the law, come after him with guns blazing. He wants to fight to the end, but is convinced by the pacifist wisdom of the school administrator he loves to stand trial and peacefully voice his righteous anger to the world.

Billy Jack, despite its superficial concern with racism, is a fantasy about an absurd class war. The white people's town is represented by its petty bourgeoisie—its little shop-keepers, its town council, its big landlord and his son. The "radical" middle-class staff of Freedom School and their students seek freedom from the crass

ences of the capitalist state. The phony threats of a Hoffa will not do.

The unrest in the ranks of the IBT, which runs very deep, will be exploited by both men in their attempts to gain power for themselves. On the other hand, the Hoffa-Fitz fight can give us an opening in which to pose the need for the only real alternative to these two capitalist stooges—a revolutionary leadership that will fight for a socialist program that can put an end to today's economic, social, and political crisis.

materialism of the petty bourgeoisie.

It's no mistake, then, that Freedom School is located next to a reservation and the Indian *students* are the most prominent Indians in the film. The radical middle-class worships the wretched poverty of the reservation as an implied alternative to the materialism of the town (though the school itself of course is very comfortable). To these "radicals" Indian poverty is part and parcel with "naturalness." Their radical idealism boils down to reactionary wishy-washiness.



Star actor Tom Laughlin (who also directed and co-produced *BILLY JACK*) gallops to the rescue.

The same contradictory viewpoint is seen in their attitude towards violence. While supporting the pacifist attitude, the real points of interest in the film are the rape scene, the scenes where Billy demonstrates his expertise at karate, the final shoot-out.

The law, though not all of the lawmen, is the consistent hero throughout *Billy Jack*. Admittedly the law needs some changes, it needs to be brought more into line with the ideals of the Constitution, but if everyone would just follow the law the alarming fight for money and survival could be kept within reasonable limits and everyone would be happier. Billy himself is the film's superman, but he becomes its hero only when he exchanges his lunacy for the law and the good of us all.

And the good of the film's producers. With Billy alive they can now make a sequel, which will be entitled *The Trial of Billy Jack*. The middle class radicals will undoubtedly arise triumphant in their wisdom. There is nothing that could have been done with *Billy Jack* and there will be nothing in the sequel which could make it anything except hard-core junk.

HOFFA BACK AT THE WHEEL?

by Jon Myers

"You'll have more riots and more trouble in this country than you ever had. . . And out of the blood will come some recognition that you've got to change the system."

- Jimmy Hoffa, *Gallery Magazine* interview, October 1973.

"There is no need to reform the Teamsters' Union."

- Jimmy Hoffa, *Meet the Press*, October 14, 1973

Jimmy Hoffa, the master of double-talk and the double-cross, has now been double-crossed himself. He doesn't like it. That's what's behind the current power struggle inside the



Hoffa in late 1950's promising news conference he would NOT call for a general strike.

Robert Kennedy poses for cameras as a hard-working McClellan Committee investigator.

2.1 million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The prize is the presidency of the union.

Hoffa was released from prison two days before Christmas, 1971, after serving four years and nine months of his combined thirteen-year sentence for jury tampering and mail fraud. Nixon commuted Hoffa's sentence and put him on parole until March 1973. Nixon also barred Hoffa from "direct or indirect management of any labor organization" until March 1980.

Hoffa now believes that this arrangement was a double-cross engineered by the current President of the IBT, Frank Fitzsimmons. Yes, the White House let Hoffa out of jail—as a means of winning Teamster votes. But the ban on union politics, Hoffa believes, was added to protect

the position of Fitzsimmons, whom Nixon has called "my kind of labor leader."

Hoffa was tricked. As he put it: "When I was paroled in the penitentiary, I asked the chief caseworker and the warden whether or not the terms of the March 10, 1973 document (the date when the parole would end) were all the restrictions against me. They assured me that it was. And I signed it. And I met Fitzsimmons in Lewisburg after I left the prison and he didn't tell me about it. Then, when I got to St. Louis, a newspaper reporter at the airport said to me 'what about the 1980 restrictions?' That was the first we knew about it." *Gallery Magazine*, October 1973.

Hoffa has announced his intention to seek the presidency of Local 299 in Detroit in November 1974. The fight in Local 299 will be a crucial fight for Hoffa. It was his road to power in the 40's and 50's. Through control of Local 299 he was able to win control over the Central States Council, a key powerbase in the union.

The fight in 299 will be especially bitter, since Detroit is Fitz's home



local as well. The Local President, Dave Johnson, is a Hoffa man who will step down, but the Vice President happens to be Richard Fitzsimmons—Frank's son.

HOFFA'S ROAD TO POWER

Hoffa represents a section of the labor bureaucracy that learned its basic lessons in the 1930s and 40s and had to fight its way to the top. Hoffa can remember when truck drivers were unorganized, considered "riffraff" (by even the union's President, Daniel Tobin) and earned only nine dollars a week.

Hoffa was shown what organizing over-the-road drivers could mean as a central powerbase for the IBT by revolutionaries—the Minneapolis Trotskyists who led the Minneapolis General Strike of 1934 and who organized the Teamsters in the

Midwest. Farrell Dobbs, a leading Trotskyist, was the first to organize over-the-road drivers and founded what is today known as the Central States Conference of Teamsters.

In 1941, when the government and Tobin launched an all-out attack on the revolutionaries in the IBT, Hoffa was Tobin's hatchet man. He applied his vision of a centralized, powerful union to the needs of the capitalist state and the emerging trucking industry. The trucking industry was becoming more centralized, and it needed a national union to deal with. The big operators used Hoffa to police the industry and help them drive out their smaller competitors. At the same time, they were willing to grant high wages to drivers as long as capitalism continued to "boom" in the 1950's.

Hoffa's rise nevertheless provoked fear and resistance among part of the

bourgeoisie and sections of the IBT. Many of the regional IBT "chiefs" resisted the National Master-Freight Agreement—Hoffa's attempt to centralize the union and to set up national bargaining. Hoffa had to go through bitter fights in the Bay Area, Philadelphia and elsewhere to win national bargaining. And while the trucking bosses went along with Hoffa, the ruling class is not just the trucking industry. Many capitalists who worry about the economy as a whole became fearful of even Hoffa's growing power.

While committed to making the system work, Hoffa also made it clear in the 50s and early 60s that he would demand a price for his loyalty to capitalism. Like a small businessman, Hoffa has a petty-bourgeois mentality—he cherishes his "independence." That is, he cherishes his right to steal

Cont'd. pg. 15



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STACKS OVERSIZE

Wel

Road in

by Paul B

The class Britain today great heights. Prime Minister Heath, bent on the British program of wage speed-up scheme his big guns on Union of Miners. NUM has called vote to back demands. The set for a full confrontation.

All eyes are no—the eyes of t tional bourgeoisie of the most advan everywhere.

If Heath's str ceeds, it will en