

# S.F. MASS STRIKE

by Pat McCarthy

On March 8, San Francisco came to a standstill. The power of a united working class was shown when transit workers refused to cross picket lines set up by striking members of the Service Employees International Union, bringing bus, trolley, and cable-car service to a halt. The shutdown continued for nine days and ended in a stalemate.

Although only a partial mobilization of the working class, the San Francisco strike pointed to the significance of the general strike as a revolutionary weapon. Writing in the wake of the brief 1934 general strike in France, Leon Trotsky said:

"The fundamental importance of the general strike, independent of the partial successes which it may and then again may not provide, lies in the fact that it poses the question of power. . . . Whatever may be the slogans and the motive for which the general strike is initiated, if it includes the genuine masses, and if these masses are quite resolved to struggle, the general strike inevitably poses before all the classes in the nation the question: *who will be the master of the house?*"

The San Francisco strike is living proof of the truth of Trotsky's words. In the course of the strike and in its aftermath, the workers and their leaders, the bourgeoisie and their state, emerged to carry out their historical roles under the pressure of the class struggle. The partial and incomplete struggle in San Francisco points the way towards the vastly greater struggles to come in the future.

The strike resulted from the Board of Supervisors' offer of a miserable two to five per

cent wage increase to 12,000 "miscellaneous employees" represented by four SEIU locals. This in the face of an 8.9 per cent rise in the cost of living in the Bay Area during the past year!

The SEIU locals, in a weak striking position, multiplied their strength when San Francisco Labor Council President John F. Crowley authorized picketing at the Municipal Railway and at port, airport and sewage treatment facilities. When the strike began, 1,800 Muni drivers shut down the city's transit system. These measures paralyzed the city. The cost to business and the city treasury was estimated at \$100,000 for the first week of the strike.

## ALIOTO MANEUVERS

The bourgeoisie immediately launched a vicious counter-attack against the strikers. The Chamber of Commerce filed a one-billion dollar damage suit against the unions. On March 11, Superior Court Judge Clayton Horn did the Chamber's bidding, declaring the strike illegal and ordering it broken.

In 1934, an attempt to use the National Guard against striking dockworkers resulted in a four-day full-scale general strike. San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto had no intention of provoking a similar confrontation by a clumsy and unnecessary use of force. Instead, he posed himself as an "honest broker" between the Board of Supervisors and the strikers, angling for a deal with the SEIU leadership.

## LABOR HACKS RESPOND

The local union bureaucracy and Labor Council were forced to pose as militants as the strike began in order to

Cont'd. p. 2



Striking workers battle police in San Francisco. Ruling class violence against strikers will increase in the future.

## ›Editorial‹

# Nixon: Out NOW!

For the past 30 years the U.S. ruling class has supported the continual strengthening of the state apparatus, the centralization of government in the hands of the Presidency. It has done so because only a "strong state" with effective control over the country's economic and political mainsprings can preserve the bourgeoisie's power, its prosperity and its very existence against capitalist competitors and working-class resistance.

Nixon's incompetence in strengthening the "strong state" has placed the prestige of the state apparatus itself in jeopardy. But in attempting to get rid of him, the ruling class has embroiled itself in the contradictions of its own regime.

## TRYING TO FORCE NIXON OUT

The ruling class wants Nixon out. But it also wishes to preserve and strengthen the power of the Presidency. It would prefer a

quiet, "dignified" resignation which would eliminate Nixon without harming the prestige of the Presidency itself.

Nixon has refused to go quietly. The bourgeoisie is presently trying to force him out by threatening impeachment. But as it uses this threat more and more openly, the impeachment process takes on a life of its own, endangering not only Nixon, but the power of the Presidential office itself.

In attempting to find a way out of its government crisis, the ruling class is forced to actively undermine the very roots of the bourgeois democratic order. James L. Buckley, a right-wing Republican Senator from New York, pointed out in a statement last month that in pushing for impeachment the ruling class risks endangering not only the Presidency but the credibility and effectiveness of the bourgeois system of government as a whole.

Cont'd. p. 4

# SAN FRANCISCO STRIKE

Cont'd. from p. 1

maintain their standing with the workers. In fact they have no stomach for a real fight. Faced with the danger of massive fines and police intervention they were simply looking for a way out.

The union hacks were afraid that in defending themselves the workers might escape their control. The ranks had already demanded adding a 22-man rank and file committee to the bargaining unit, which Crowley reduced to a "consultative" committee. Six thousand workers had forced the hands of the bargaining committee by striking early and thwarting their plans for a last-minute sell-out. The bureaucrats were thus quite willing to prevent the workers from taking over the strike by delivering the workers into Alioto's hands.

## SETTLEMENT

After nine days, Crowley and Alioto reached a settlement which split the difference between the union's demands and the original offer. This provided \$13 a week across the board—about 8 per cent for the lowest-paid categories previously offered two percent. But there would be no raises until July 1 and the full raises would not take effect until January 1, 1975.

The strikers had rejected a similar offer on the second day of the strike. Now the obvious collusion of their "leadership" and Alioto had its effect. The 1,000 workers who showed up for the ratification voted to accept the contract, although with a 25 percent "No" vote.

The strikers were thus forced into accepting a stalemate. A massive demonstration of labor solidarity behind the SEIU workers, a general strike of all San Francisco workers in support of the SEIU strike, was the key to real victory.

Instead of working to organize mass labor support, the union tops went to Alioto. The limitations of the struggle, imposed by the bureaucracy, prevented any major gains. The resulting stalemate represents only a brief pause before the struggle is renewed.

The bourgeoisie is now moving to wipe out even these partial gains. In carefully coordinated moves, the Chamber of Commerce, conservative members of the Board of Supervisors, and several organizations of big property-owners are now "considering" a referendum on the June 4 ballot to wipe out the settlement.

The Chamber of Commerce's lawyer, Victor Levit, laid plans for a "taxpayers' suit" to cancel the raises on the grounds that they were achieved through an illegal strike. "I don't know who'll bring the suit, but I'm sure that there'll be one," Levit smirked.

## STRATEGY VS. WORKERS

In this way the ruling class uses even the partial victories of the working class for its own purposes. They hope to provoke small businessmen, the lower middle classes, and conservative workers against militants by appealing to their interests as small-property owners.

The very elements which are being ground down by the economic crisis, who face constantly increasing property taxes and other taxes, will in this way be lined up with the capitalist interests who are causing the crisis. It tries to turn the economic and social agony of the petty-bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

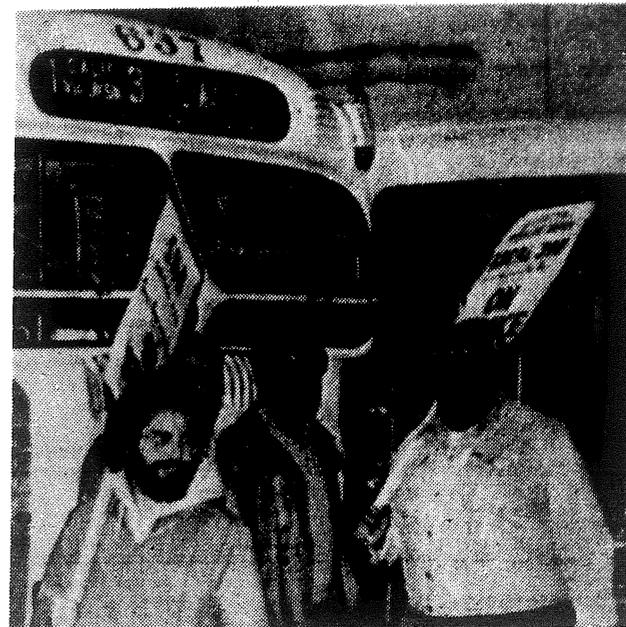
The San Francisco strike demonstrates that *at present* the ruling class is still working out its strategies. It shifts between legal repression, open force and the maneuvers of liberal "friends of labor" like Alioto. But as the economy continues to decay, the bourgeoisie will increasingly resort to force to carry out its strategy of forcing the working class to pay for maintaining capitalism.

## THE GENERAL STRIKE

The working class must meet this strategy with its own program for the socialist reconstruction of the econo-

my. It must fight for the sliding scale of hours and wages as an answer to unemployment. It must demand the nationalization of industry and banks under workers' control to make the bosses pay for the crisis they have created. It must fight in the trade unions for a Labor Party with a revolutionary program, for a workers' government to carry out this program.

The general strike will be a crucial weapon in this fight. In Philadelphia last year, in Seattle and San Francisco this



year, the general strike, or the threat of a general strike, has been the workers' best defense against the capitalist attack. The very ferocity of this attack is forcing the workers to act together, to rediscover the weapons of revolution.

The trade union hacks, agents of the ruling class in the workers' movement, fear

this weapon. They fear the workers will come to understand the enormous power which lies in their hands. As they are drummed out of the labor movement the proletariat will increasingly be able to stand up in its own name, under its own banner, to recognize its power as "the master of the house."

# RHEINGOLD SELL-OUT

by Rod Miller

## BROOKLYN, NEW YORK—

The 119-year-old Rheingold brewery, scene of a three-day sit-in by its 1500 employees in February, has been purchased by Chock Full O'Nuts, the giant restaurant chain. The brewery was closed February 1 by Rheingold's parent company, Pepsico, who claimed the brewery could not be operated profitably.

The Rheingold workers occupied the plant for three days demanding that the brewery be kept open. No efforts were made by their Teamster leadership to win the support of other city workers or the support of Teamster-organized Pepsico workers in other cities. With the workers demoralized, the sit-in was called off when a group of Democratic politicians claimed they had found a potential buyer for the brewery.

In an article on the Rheingold occupation (See *The Torch* #6), *The Torch* pointed out that today's deepening recession is bankrupting increasing numbers of smaller companies. The recession thus centralizes desperately needed capital in the hands of the country's largest and wealthiest corpora-

tions. In the process, hundreds of thousands of workers will lose their jobs unless they are organized around a program which puts workers' needs ahead of profits.

*The Torch* declared that while prospects for a sale were dim, if the brewery was sold "the best that the workers can hope for is that some of them will keep their jobs—with sharply cut wages and with many other rights and benefits eliminated."

*This is exactly what happened.* Better than a third of the work force will not be recalled when Chock Full O'Nuts resumes production at the plant. The 1973 contract lengthened the work-week five hours with no increase in weekly pay to "assist" the financially ailing firm. Now those lucky enough to return to work have had this three-year contract extended until 1978 with no increases in pay!

The extended contract will not even contain a cost-of-living clause in its first year. Not only will the returning Rheingold workers have their wages slashed by New York's severe inflation, but their union "leaders" also surrendered "costly" work rules to make the sale possible.

These hacks ignored the fact that Chock Full O'Nuts is

one of the most profitable corporations in the country. It can easily afford to employ the full work force through its high profits, writing short-term, localized losses off for tax purposes. Instead of fighting for the lost jobs, the union tops preferred a quick "successful" sale that would boost the reputations of the company, the mayor, and themselves.

Is this the best that workers can hope for these days? New York City Mayor Beame certainly thinks so. Praising the "spirit of cooperation" that saved Rheingold, Mayor Beame explained that "the success has demonstrated again that business, labor, and government leaders—working together—can preserve and promote the economic health of this city."

What about the "economic health" of the more than five hundred workers who will not be returning to work? Or the health of those now forced to try and stretch their wages to meet New York's better than 10 per cent inflation? *The New York Times* commented that this "sensible and mutually beneficial accommodation reflects credit on both sides." Right. The Democratic politicians will take the credit while workers will soon be buying food on credit!

# Workers Shut Down Ethiopia

by William Jackson

Traditionally the working people of Ethiopia have passively accepted the backward, feudalistic system under which they live. The very backwardness of the economy has kept the people ignorant, respectful of their Emperor, Haile Selassie, and scattered around the countryside as downtrodden peasants.

The economy is so undeveloped that half the coffee beans collected each year—the major crop—are picked wild, not from plantations or farms. The political system is just as backward.

Ethiopia is an empire, ruling over half a dozen subject nationalities, and an absolute monarchy, with the Emperor as head of both church and state. The land is controlled by a few great lords, and by the church, which owns 30 per cent of the arable land. The phony legislature (which until now has had only advisory powers) is

tively frozen. Even organized workers have received pay increases of only 5 to 10 per cent—in a country without a minimum wage, where the average wage is about 75 cents a day, with unionized workers getting only \$1 to \$1.50.

In the middle of February, 3,500 taxi drivers in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital, went on strike, protesting increases in the prices of gasoline, spare parts, and licensing fees. Students and unemployed joined them, demonstrating, stoning buses and cars, and fighting the police. Teachers and airline employees also went on strike. All public transport and much private travel stopped.

The police shot demonstrators down in the streets. On March 4, a large number of workers and students were machine-gunned in the courtyard of the Addis Ababa city jail. The government admitted 36 deaths—but foreign observers put the number closer to 100.

## ARMED FORCES MUTINY

By Monday, March 5, the harshness of the government's response had apparently succeeded. Haile Selassie extended the hand of "conciliation" to the butchered workers and students by announcing a token cutback in the price of gasoline.

But the suppressed turmoil in Ethiopian society continued to rise. At this point the armed forces mutinied. Over 10,000 soldiers, led by enlisted men and junior officers, seized the second largest city, Asmara. The ranks of the air force and navy, and sections of the police, joined in the rebellion. The military demanded higher pay and democratic freedoms.

Again Selassie offered mild concessions. He authorized a pay raise (from \$41 a month to \$56 a month), fired his



Ethiopians demonstrate against Selassie's feudal regime.

cabinet, and appointed a new prime minister — Endalkachew Makonnen, a wealthy landowner. Selassie promised a constitutional convention at some future date.

## GENERAL STRIKE

At this point the working class reappeared on the scene. The 100,000 member Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions called a nationwide general strike, for the first time in its conservative history. The main point at Massawa closed, airports shut down, the railways went dead.

Many factories, department stores, banks, large farms, and the government newspapers shut down. The important coffee-processing industry, although not unionized, nevertheless was seriously affected by the lack of trucks. The workers showed that even in a largely peasant economy, the proletariat has far-reaching power.

The unions presented a 16-point program, including, according to the *New York Times*, "a minimum wage, freedom to strike, free education, cost-of-living raises, and the right to publish a labor newspaper that had been banned by the government." Again the government promised reforms. The basically conservative union heads meekly agreed to end the two-week strike on the strength of the royal promise to carry out a few of their demands.

At this date, the rebellion has apparently won the promise of a constitutional monarchy. But the gains of the workers will be shortlived if the struggle is not carried further. The Ethiopian crisis is only part of the world economic crisis. In each country in Africa and Asia, decayed regimes are tested anew by the same forces of rampant inflation, famine and political decay. Democratic reforms will be followed by military rule as capitalism fails to meet these tests.

The demands for land to the peasants, an end to inflation, and democratic freedoms cannot be met by a landlord-capitalist regime. The weak Ethiopian bourgeoisie rests on the social power of the landowners, propped up by the monarchy and, in the last analysis, by the links between the officer corps and the United States.

## NEEDED PROGRAM

The monarchy and the class it represents must be overthrown. The working class, leading the peasant masses, the rank and file of the armed forces, and the students, must arm themselves to accomplish this. They must demand a revolutionary constituent assembly, which can become the basis for the rule of the workers.

The working class must raise a program to meet the democratic needs of the people and the interests of the exploited. The peasants must distribute the land

among themselves. The self-determination of Eritrea must be guaranteed. The US military base must be expelled.

A fair and just distribution of food must be organized under the workers' authority. The unemployed must be put to work, industry must be placed under workers' control. The army and police must be disbanded and replaced by a popular militia.

Above all, the Ethiopian workers must form revolutionary links with the workers of other countries, particularly in the rotting capitalist regimes in neighboring Kenya and Sudan.

## AFRICAN REVOLUTION

The Ethiopian uprising is only the beginning of a new wave of revolt which will sweep across Africa on the winds of the world economic crisis. This wave will succeed or fail according to the degree of its coordination and the ability to construct a leadership.

A revolutionary leadership which can win the support of the unions, soldier committees, and the rest of the



Famine will riddle all Africa until workers take power in their own interests.

popular forces does not yet exist in Ethiopia, where Selassie's absolutism has kept all political development to a minimum. In building such a leadership, the political backwardness, isolation, and fragmentation of the nearly 50 African states must be overcome by international means, through the reconstruction of the revolutionary Fourth International and the building of its African sections.



Map shows cities where army revolted.

composed almost entirely of landlords.

In 1972 a so-called "land reform" measure was put before the legislature. It would have limited a peasant's rent to "only" 30 per cent of his crop. The lords voted this down as too "communistic." (But Ethiopia does have a very modern U.S. military base, the largest in Africa.)

## PROTEST INFLATION

The recent upheaval was triggered by the soaring inflation of recent months. Since January, the price of food has risen 50 per cent. Like all economically backward nations, Ethiopia has been hit in the last few years by the worldwide inflation and the developing world economic crisis. In particular, the oil crisis has been a hammer blow to the weak Ethiopian economy. The price of gas has risen to \$2.50 per gallon in Ethiopian dollars (\$1.25 in US currency) in the last few months.

In the face of this inflation, the wages of unorganized workers have been effec-

They fear the come to under- enormous power their hands. As amed out of the ent the prole- easingly be able its own name, own banner, to power as "the house."

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# 'Editorial' NIXON OUT NOW!

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Buckley began by noting that a televised impeachment trial could scarcely fail to harm the Presidency:

"For three months or more the Senate Chamber would be transformed into a stage set for the greatest melodrama ever conceived. History would come to a stop for the duration—in the country and throughout the world. The ruler of the mightiest nation on earth would be starred as the prisoner in the dock. The chamber would become a 20th-Century Roman Coliseum as the performers are thrown to the electronic lions." Buckley's comparing Nixon to a Christian martyr is scarcely convincing. His comparison of American workers to the Roman mob is totally disgusting. But the danger for the ruling class he points to is real.

Buckley goes on to warn that this spectacle could only deepen the "spreading cynicism about those in public life and about the political process itself":

"Suppose the House votes articles of impeachment and the Senate convicts. That result would leave a sizable, stubborn minority convinced that the media had hounded Richard Nixon out of office in order to upset the mandate of the 1972 vote and subvert what it believes to be the foundations of the republic.

"On the other hand, suppose the House fails to impeach, or the Senate, judging a House-voted impeachment, fails to convict. With equal certainty that would leave a major segment of the constituency equally embittered and unreconciled, convinced that the Congress had placed political expediency above its duty. Does either outcome hold the slightest promise of domestic tranquillity?"

Buckley's solution is for Nixon to freely accept the palm of martyrdom and step down, thus "preserving the Presidency." The bourgeoisie as a whole would prefer this solution. Nixon does not.

## NIXON'S COMMITMENTS

Nixon is committed, in his own fashion, to fulfilling the tasks of the bourgeoisie as he understands them. His anxiety to save his own neck should not conceal the fact that as a loyal agent of the ruling class he too wants to preserve the Presidential powers and the "strong state."

But as a consequence of his own incompetence he is now being forced to extend Presidential privilege through autocratic claims. His arrogant assertion that the President alone has the right to determine what evidence may or may not be used in judging the President is equivalent to removing the Presidency from the confines of bourgeois legal tradition almost entirely. His methods can only further weaken the myth of "popular government."

Nixon's own miserable performance, his abysmal standing in the polls, and his deteriorating position in his own party preclude his chances of making this claim stand on his authority alone. But the ruling class, in its desperate efforts to maintain the authority of his office, cannot afford a full-scale confrontation over his claims. The legislative branch, through the House Investigating Committee, is too weak, too divided and too afraid to maintain its musty authority under ruling class

pressure.

## CONGRESS PREPARES RETREAT

The proposed arrangement that Robert St. Clair, the President's lawyer, be allowed to review the White House tapes jointly with the Committee to determine their relevance is only the first demonstration of Congressional capitulation. In effect, the Congress will be forced to accept a substantial part of Nixon's assertion of privilege in the very process of preserving the Presidency from its present occupant. It will inevitably compromise its own authority. Far from "limiting" the Presidential authority, the Congress is already preparing to retreat.

## STRENGTHENING THE PRESIDENCY

The impeachment process itself can only increase the tendency towards strong-man rule. Regardless of its outcome, in the next election the ruling class will be united in demanding a strong President, "above politics," who can "heal the wounds" it has been forced to inflict on itself. Working-class attempts to protect themselves from the consequences of the economic crisis will be publicly condemned as "irresponsible" and ruthlessly crushed.

But in strengthening the "strong state" the bourgeoisie is destroying the political myths with which it conceals its rule. Future Presidents will face fewer legal restrictions or Congressional restraint. The Congress itself will be dismissed by both President and public as the impotent rubber stamp it already is.

The current national cynicism and disgust with capitalist politics can threaten not merely the livelihood but the political existence of the proletariat. If allowed to develop into sheer political apathy, it can only accelerate the tendency towards strong-man rule.

The democratic rights workers have forced the ruling class to concede over two centuries of struggle will be ripped away in the name of order and "domestic tranquillity." The economic gains won by the proletariat will disappear in a welter of mass unemployment, inflation and social decay.

## WORKING-CLASS ALTERNATIVE

The working class can turn this disgust to its own advantage only by forcefully posing itself as a political alternative to capitalist rot. The proletariat must step forward as the sole defender of democracy in the face of Congressional impotence.

What is necessary is an emergency Congress of Labor and the Oppressed to carry out the job that the bourgeois Congress is incapable of doing. This Congress must throw out Nixon and the political hacks who meekly follow where he leads. It can rally the masses from apathy to revolutionary militance by demonstrating that the working class can preserve the democratic rights which the capitalists are even now preparing to abandon.

The Congress of Labor will be the first step in the direction of a workers' government as the answer to the bourgeoisie's strong-man President and straw-man Congress.

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SPEAKER: BRUCE LANDAU TORCH EDITOR

Los Angeles

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1910 SOUTH VERMONT AVE.

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SPEAKER: SANDY YOUNG

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Dear Ed  
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# LETTERS

## TORCH FUND DRIVE

Dear Editor,  
I just read *Torch* #6, it is excellent!  
Enclosed is ten dollars for the *Torch*  
fund drive.

M.T.  
Toronto, Ontario

## POWER TO THE WORKERS

Dear Editor,  
Right across the ocean we have a  
full scale model of the advancing  
treachery which will soon manifest  
itself (more than ever) in the  
bureaucratic leaders of the workers  
of this country. A minority govern-  
ment! Labour Party! Robust lip  
service by the revolutionary leaders  
of Britain to the revolution, all of  
which only precedes more obscene  
oral servitude to the capitalist  
bourgeoisie.

Compromise and coalition went out  
in 1917. Peaceful capitulation of the  
ruling class to the proletarian  
movement has not in the past and will  
not now be realized.

Push the orally inclined "leaders"  
aside and down. Regroup and take  
(most firmly) the power to the  
workers where it will be utilized for  
our salvation not our further  
suppression.

With capitalism in drastic decline,  
class agitation/confrontation is inevi-  
table. But the outcome is not quite so  
predictable. Inept leadership in the  
movement will ensure our defeat.

But the ability of the workers  
themselves to understand the neces-  
sity of such a precise and stringent  
program (when offered it) which will  
lead us to victory may precede all  
other factors in importance. We must  
be equal to the task.

The reformist tendencies men-  
tioned in the letter by the comrade in  
England (letter to Editor, *The Torch*  
#6) of the English workers is sure to  
show up (in varying degrees) in this  
country.

And when the full potential of the  
R.S.L.'s program becomes clear to  
the U.S. ruling class, the battle will  
be joined on two fronts. One: against  
the age-old reflexes of the workers of  
compromise and reform; the other:

against the terrorism and suppres-  
sion of the *now ruling* class.  
"Patiently explain." It must be  
done.

International Socialism,  
Name withheld by request,  
Mt. Orab, Ohio

## FOR AN INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

To the Editor,

The recent developments of the  
independent truckers' strike in this  
country and the British miners' strike  
abroad have been to me signs of both  
great encouragement and admoni-  
tion.

On the one-hand, these events are  
only small indications of the immense  
power which lies, for the most part  
dormant, in the hands of the united  
working class. Through develop-  
ments like these, the class becomes  
more aware and conscious of its  
power, of its potential to fight back  
against the daily attacks leveled by  
the ruling classes.

However, these events also point  
out a great danger—the current lack  
of an international revolutionary  
leadership capable of leading the  
masses to victory. This lack of  
*revolutionary* leadership is instead  
filled by reformist traitors who,  
under all manner of names and  
claims, inevitably sell out the  
working class and lead them into  
defeat and further despair.

The current international situa-  
tion, therefore, underlines the crying  
need for a revolutionary leadership  
with a solid socialist program. Such  
would warn the masses ahead of time  
of the inevitable betrayals of the  
reformists and would show them the  
only way to victory against the  
onslaughts of decaying capitalism,  
through the Permanent Revolution.

It is my opinion that the R.S.L.  
shows the best hope of creating such  
an international socialist leadership,  
which is so badly needed *now*. All  
efforts should be rendered to further  
the task of rebuilding the Fourth  
International.

Yours in struggle,  
S.  
Milwaukee, Wisc.

# Where We Stand The Solzhenitsyn Case

The latest revelations regarding  
Alexander Solzhenitsyn have been an  
embarrassment to the fake Trotskyist  
Workers' League, which was drooling  
over the exiled Russian writer prior to  
the publication of the "Letter to the  
Rulers of the Soviet Union." The most  
recent issues of the Workers' League  
newspaper, the *Bulletin* abruptly  
dropped the story once the full  
character of Solzhenitsyn's reaction-  
ary social views became impossible to  
ignore.

As the "Letter" demonstrates, not  
only does Solzhenitsyn advocate a  
reactionary utopia (return to an  
agrarian economy) but he prefers a  
regime in which democracy would be  
totally absent.

Solzhenitsyn is a supporter of  
Western capitalism. However, he  
dislikes even the forms of democracy  
which still exist in the U.S., "in which

Marxist organization it claimed to be  
it would have revealed this. Instead,  
the *harshest* criticism of Solzhenitsyn  
the *Bulletin* could work itself up to  
was:

"We defend Solzhenitsyn despite  
his differences (!) with Marxism  
because he struggled against the  
bureaucracy in the only way he was  
able to."

The *Bulletin* apologizes for Solzhen-  
itsyn's "differences," claiming,

"His inability to understand the  
origins of Stalinism, that it was not a  
product of Leninism, is the inevitable  
result of the Soviet bureaucracy's  
conscious distortion of history and of  
the role of Leon Trotsky."

Poor Solzhenitsyn! He had no other  
choice.

The *Bulletin* conveniently forgets  
that even social-democratic dissidents  
like Roy Medvedev, who believe the  
bureaucracy will reform itself if the  
masses ask politely, are well enough  
aware that Stalinism is not Leninism.  
It forgets that Lenin's writings are  
available in Russia, that Solzhenitsyn  
might have read Lenin and found out  
what Leninism meant for himself. But  
this would be too much to expect. He  
was, after all, blinded by history.

But the *Bulletin* hit bottom in  
printing Tom Kemp's article on  
Solzhenitsyn in its February 12 issue.  
(Kemp is a member of the Workers'  
Revolutionary Party in Great Britain,  
with which the Workers' League is in  
political agreement.) Kemp referred to  
Solzhenitsyn as "following in the  
footsteps of Trotsky." No less!

Trotsky made a serious error in  
maintaining that Russia was a  
degenerated workers' state well after  
the state capitalist counter-revolution  
in the late 1930's. Despite this serious  
error he never gave up the call for the  
revolutionary overthrow of Stalinism.  
He firmly based this call on a  
proletarian program, and counter-  
posed this program to one of simply  
bourgeois democratic demands.

Today his imitators in the Workers'  
League can maintain the letter of his  
words only by gutting the revolution-  
ary content of his program. Because  
they refuse to recognize the bourgeois  
character of the Russian state their  
call for a "political revolution"  
against Stalinism is reduced to  
fawning over any dissident claiming  
to advocate "democracy" in Russia  
regardless of the class content which  
he gives to the demand.

Trotsky was driven into exile  
because he fought for the interna-  
tional revolution, and against the  
degeneration of the Russian workers'  
state. In his years of exile he laid the  
basis for the creation of the Fourth  
International.

Solzhenitsyn admires Western cap-  
italism. He began his years in exile  
with attacks on the "rabble" and  
support for Richard Nixon.

The Workers' League can't tell the  
difference.

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once every four years, the politicians  
nearly kill themselves over an  
election campaign, trying to gratify  
the masses." In the original version of  
his "Letter" he attacks the "Senate  
leaders" who "in their eagerness to  
play up to the rabble pre-empt every  
government proposal."

Solzhenitsyn's latest revelation  
only emphasizes what was already  
apparent in his earlier writings. In  
The Torch No. 6 we pointed out:

"Solzhenitsyn's writings have a  
contradictory character. On the one  
hand, they vividly document the  
horrors of life under Stalin, in  
particular the nightmare-world of the  
forced labor camps. Revelations like  
these are valuable to the proletariat's  
cause; they expose the face of the  
enemy.

"On the other hand, Solzhenitsyn's  
own political program - the answer  
which he gives to Stalin's atrocities -  
is a reactionary capitalist program  
itself. Solzhenitsyn's ideal alternative  
to Russian capitalism is U.S.  
capitalism."

If the Workers' League was the

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Never Again!**



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by Paul Benjamin

The British Labour Party's "victory" in the February general elections has only intensified the British political crisis. Despite the obvious failure of the Conservative government's economic and political policies, the Labour Party was unable to win a majority either at the polls or in Parliament. The Labour Party retained the grudging support of British workers. But its miserable performance has highlighted the electoral revolt of the British petty bourgeoisie. The support for the Liberal Party (nearly one out of five voters) reflects the petty bourgeoisie's disgust with the traditional Parliamentary parties and its search for a political alternative that can ensure its own survival.

#### FASCIST VOTE JUMPS

The failure of the Labour Party to provide this alternative is the consequence of its own class collaborationist policies. For 30 years the Labour Party has betrayed the needs of the working class in a search for respectability in the eyes of the middle class. It has succeeded only in driving away the potential allies of the British proletariat.

The turn to the Liberals is only the first consequence of this betrayal. The fascist National Front increased its vote over 800 per cent in the general elections, from some 10,000 in 1970 to over 84,000 in 1974. Should the petty bourgeoisie remain convinced that the proletariat, led by the Labour Party, is helpless in the face of the economic crisis, it will increasingly turn to strong-man rule and fascism in a desperate attempt to restore political "order" and economic security.

#### REFORMIST BETRAYAL

Previous articles in *The Torch* have demonstrated that the British economic crisis is only the first consequence of the crisis of capitalism in Europe as a whole. In the same manner the failure of the reformist Labour Party in Britain foreshadows the ruin of the European social democratic parties.

The collapse of the post-war stabilization of Europe, and the boom which resulted from that stabilization, will destroy the reformist programs of the social democracy as they have been worked out over the past 30 years.

Since World War II the European social democracy has defended an international program of support to U.S. imperialism as the supreme protector of the international bourgeois order. It has developed a domestic strategy based on technocratic reforms within the limits of bourgeois parliamentary democracy.

These two policies eventually merged in the form of support for a U.S. dominated European Economic Community, the Common Market. Through them the social democracy staked its claim as the best defenders of European capitalism.

But the social democracy remains tied to the proletariat through its ties with the trade unions and the socialist

## LABOR PARTY EXAMPLE

# REFORMIST PARTIES CRUMBLE



British miners battle police in 1972. British economic crisis will increase use of force against working class.

rhetoric of its own tradition. In attempting to win a parliamentary majority for its program the social democrats were hampered by the contradictions of their own history.

To escape them, the reformists increasingly turned to a "classless" rhetoric of "the national interest" and the "needs of society as a whole." Rather than attempting to win the petty bourgeoisie to a program of proletarian revolution, they tied the proletariat to the moods and ambitions of the petty bourgeoisie.

The British Labour Party failure is only the first consequence of this betrayal. The collapse of the post-war boom has ended the petty-bourgeoisie's illusions in reformist promises of progress, and consequently the social democracy's hope of retaining their support. The history of the post-war period had demonstrated that the social democracy is leading the proletariat down the same road to ruin travelled by the Italian and German Socialist Parties in the 1930's; the road to reformist capitulation and fascist counter-revolution.

#### U.S. LACKEYS

James Callaghan, the Labour Government's new Foreign Secretary,

devoted his first major speech on March 19 to defending Nixon's criticisms of Europe and proposing a policy of "fullest and most intimate" cooperation with U.S. imperialism. In doing so, he merely reaffirmed the historic policies of the British Labour Party and the European social democracy as a whole.

Leon Trotsky outlined the general direction of the European social democracy as early as 1924:

"Being in general an agency of the bourgeoisie, European Social Democracy is naturally and inevitably becoming an agency of the richest and mightiest bourgeoisie, that of America. Social Democracy is trying to paralyze the revolutionary energy of Europe's workers with the hypnosis of American capitalist power."

#### POST-WAR POLICY

This tendency became a stated policy after World War II. European capitalism had been wrecked after six years of imperialist war. The European social democracies welcomed the dominating position of the U.S. as the guarantee of capitalist stability in the post-war years.

In concrete terms this meant a willing acceptance of the Bretton Woods monetary agreements which

transformed the European proletariat into drones of U.S. financial policy. It meant leading European workers back into the factories at starvation wages to rebuild European capitalism as a hunting-ground for U.S. imperialism.

The social democracies supported U.S. domination of the European economies through the massive investments which were the heart of the Marshall Plan. With the outbreak of the Cold War the reformists shelved their pacifist rhetoric and loyally cooperated with the U.S. program for the rearmament of the European bourgeoisie.

This dependence on the U.S. resulted in the cynical betrayal of the domestic social transformations which the reformists claimed to uphold. The social democracies took upon themselves the task of modernizing and

rationalizing European capitalism to ensure its stability.

The British Labour Party led the way in carrying out this program. Emerging from the war with an overwhelming majority in Parliament, the post-war Labour government's program provides the clearest case study of social democratic policy.

The Labour government used its control of the state apparatus to implement its strategy of rebuilding Britain's obsolete industrial base. The government nationalized those industries which had "failed the nation"; in other words, those which the bourgeoisie itself could no longer operate profitably.

British workers and shopkeepers paid the generous compensation granted to the iron, steel and mining magnates, while the "expropriated" bourgeoisie were immediately transformed into the directors of the state enterprises.

#### CAPITALIST MANAGERS

By 1950 the Labour tops abandoned their attempts at "social transformation." Labour's election platform, "Keeping Left," stated that Labour was "less concerned with who owns a factory and more about who manages it and how..." Far from being

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Prime Minister Harold Wilson in action. Labour Party uses nationalist rhetoric to disguise ruling-class policy.

gravediggers of capitalism, Labour openly posed itself as its best manager.

Proclaiming the virtues of the "mixed economy," the new breed of labor technocrats, among them the present Prime Minister Harold Wilson, agreed that, "the more 'socialism' there is in the country, the more successful private enterprise will be."

## TECHNOCRATIC VISIONS

Behind this conception lay a profound contempt for the proletariat's capacity and potential to direct British politics and industry. As early as 1946 Labour leader Sir Stafford Cripps, a Labour "leftist" in the 1930's, openly stated, "I think it would be almost impossible to have worker-controlled industry in Britain, even if it were on the whole desirable."

Instead, the Labour manifesto for the 1964 elections trumpeted, "If the deadwood were cut out of Britain's boardrooms and replaced by the keen young executives, production engineers and scientists who are at present denied their legitimate prospects of promotion, our production and export problems would be much more manageable." The Labour managers abandoned even the rhetoric of socialism for a technocratic vision of capitalist prosperity.

## CHASING PETTY-BOURGEOISIE

The post-war boom of the 1950's only increased the strength of the right-wing technocrats within the social democracy. Throughout Europe the openly bourgeois parties - the Conservative Party in Britain, the Christian Democrats in Germany and Italy - held power over most of the decade. Under the impact of the boom the middle classes and more conser-

vative workers, who had accepted the need for state intervention after the war, lost interest in the "fundamental transformation of society."

The Labour Party responded to this conservatism by accommodating to it. Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Labour Party's right wing, stressed the necessity of reaching the "so-called marginal voter," the "ordinary decent people who do not probably think a great deal about politics." In its approach to the middle classes the Labour Party defined the petty bourgeoisie in terms of its 1950's complacency, as permanently wedded to bourgeois democracy, pacifism and moderate reform, and claimed these characteristics as its own.

## COMMON MARKET SCHEMES

To retain its base in the working class the reformists had to support minimal gains for the working class in the form of wage gains and social reforms. To return to power they had to demonstrate their moderation to the middle classes.

The success of this strategy hinged on the continuation of the European "economic miracle" which alone could produce the necessary tolerance for the reformists' modest social engineering schemes. It was for this reason that the social democracies became the most fervent supporters of the Common Market.

The U.S. wanted the Common Market to facilitate the entry of American capital into Europe. The social democracy supported it because the entry of U.S. capital would provide a necessary support for the fragile prosperity of the 50's. The vision of an economically integrated Europe, safely under the wing of U.S. capitalism, was the basis for the various schemes for "managed economies," structural reforms, and worker-management teams which

became the common program of the social democracies throughout Europe.

## ILLUSIONS SMASHED

The end of the post-war boom and the increasing stagnation of the European economies has smashed every aspect of the social democratic strategy. The dream of a "New Europe" has disintegrated in a welter of nationalist rivalries and inter-Atlantic tension.

The escalating class struggle has weakened its hold over the labor movement. At the same time, its painfully acquired reputation for moderation is costing it the support of an embittered and frustrated petty bourgeoisie.

The May, 1968 general strike in France, the 1969 upsurge in Italy, the massive strikes in Britain and the rebirth of militancy in Germany have demonstrated that the proletariat is moving to the left, out of the social democratic orbit, under the pressure of the international capitalist crisis. A growing number of workers are openly suspicious of the social democracy, correctly seeing them as the agents of capitalism in the working class.

## PETTY-BOURGEOIS REVOLT

The petty-bourgeoisie, victimized by soaring inflation and massive tax burdens, has also gone into revolt. The social and economic composition of the petty bourgeoisie is reflected in the variety of forms which this revolt has taken.

Student radicals have moved towards terrorist tactics or centrist organizations. Farmers and shopkeepers have struck as the ruling class tries to shift responsibility for inflation by playing one section of the petty bourgeoisie against another, and both against the proletariat.

Seemingly dead and buried parties have recovered a half-life because they form a convenient vehicle for protest, while a host of splinter parties have arisen in response to petty bourgeois frustration.

The Liberal Party revival in Britain owes its strength to the petty bourgeoisie. Its vote represents a tendency for the petty bourgeoisie to cohere as a base for an "all-class front" which could move either left or right; to a Popular Front or to a Bonapartist regime standing "above the classes."

## REFORMIST IMPOTENCE

The petty bourgeoisie is increasingly willing to smash out at its enemies. But who are its enemies? It cannot decide. Unable to save itself, it will follow any leadership which looks strong enough to guarantee its existence.

The petty bourgeoisie regards the social democratic parties as too tied to the unions to smash what it sees as the "irresponsibility" of the workers. It believes the social democracy is too tied to capitalism to overthrow it. In short, it regards the social democracy as impotent in the face of disaster.

As Trotsky pointed out, "It is false, thrice false, to affirm that the present petty bourgeoisie is not going to the

working class parties because it fears 'extreme measures.' Quite the contrary. The lower petty bourgeoisie, its great masses, only see in the working class parties parliamentary machines. They do not believe in their strength, nor in their capacity to struggle, nor in their readiness this time to conduct the struggle to the end."

## REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

So long as the petty-bourgeoisie identifies the working class with its present reformist leadership, it will reject the working class, because the reformists shrink from a revolutionary program for overthrowing capitalism, shrink from conducting the struggle to the end. It is for this reason that the proletariat will be unable to win over the petty bourgeoisie unless it is willing to stand up under its own banner, to throw out the reformists, to demonstrate that the working class will fight to the end for the creation of a workers' state and the socialist reconstruction of society.

Once convinced that the working class does in fact have a program for overthrowing capitalism and rebuilding the economy, and is willing to fight for it, the petty bourgeoisie will listen to the workers' offer of alliance. The proletariat must explain to its potential allies that only a workers' state can liberate the petty bourgeoisie.

They will explain that the workers' state will take over the banks which have a stranglehold on its business and cancel its debts. They will show how the nationalization of industry under workers' control will preserve the shopkeepers' business against cut throat competition. They will point out that the workers' state will extend easy credit to the petty bourgeoisie to preserve its business and livelihood.

## INTERNATIONALISM

At the same time the revolutionary leadership will wage a merciless campaign against the nationalist prejudice and imperialist pretension with which the ruling class and its social democratic allies have saturated the petty bourgeoisie. They will counter the petty bourgeoisie's correct suspicions of the Common Market by explaining how the Socialist United States of Europe can defend the European revolution against the imperialist ambitions which the Common Market was intended to satisfy.

In fighting for a socialist Europe the revolutionary leadership must unceasingly struggle for the international unity of the proletarian forces. They must demonstrate that only the international working class can overcome the nationalist rivalries which have made a mockery of European unity, and which block the development of the productive potential of European industry in the interests of the working class.

The struggle for proletarian unity is the struggle for the Trotskyist program for World Revolution, for the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. The reconstruction of the Fourth International is the road forward for the liberation of the oppressed masses of Europe.



New York hospital workers picket for Farah strikers. Workers' support was high across the country.



Farah workers held weekly rallies throughout the strike. The real struggle is just beginning.

# FARAH STRIKERS WIN ROUND ONE

by Sandy Young

In one of the most important strikes in recent decades, 3,000 strikers of Farah Mfg. Co.'s El Paso plant last month won union recognition for the company's nearly 9,000 employees. The Farah workers, 90 percent Chicano and 85 percent women, struck for 21 months to have the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) represent them. While not hiring back the strikers immediately as ordered by the NLRB, Farah will pay \$30 a week benefits for 10 weeks to all the strikers until it can reopen its closed plants.

The Farah victory was a breakthrough in the unionization of the South and Southwest, traditionally "cheap labor," anti-union bastions of American capitalism. The strike was also a victory for the organizing efforts of Chicano workers who, along with blacks, are among the poorest paid, most oppressed workers in the United States.

The question now is can the opportunities opened up by this promising victory be seized or will they be passed by because of the corruption and cynicism of the labor bureaucrats.

## HARD-EARNED VICTORY

The victory was not an easy one. Workers lived on \$30 a week strike benefits. In many cases where both husband and wife worked for Farah this meant supporting large families on only \$60 a week. Farah lost over \$8 million in profits and closed four of his plants.

The Amalgamated spent an estimated \$15 million on the strike, with another couple million kicked in from the AFL-CIO and other sources. Strikers faced continual harassment from company dogs, mass arrests and court injunctions while Farah remained intransigent despite NLRB rulings and an effective nationwide

consumer boycott.

The strike won the support of groups ranging from the National Council of Churches, the Democratic National Committee and the Minnesota Vikings to almost the entire organized labor movement. This support, combined with strong pressure from the El Paso business and political elite, finally forced Farah to surrender and make his compromises with the union.

## UNION STRATEGY

The Farah strike was key to the Southern organizing strategy the ACWA has been pushing hard since 1970. Farah is not only the largest manufacturer of men and boys' clothing in the U.S., but is El Paso's largest employer as well. Most ACWA-organized plants in the South have less than 500 workers; Farah has 9,000. There are several other pant manufacturers in El Paso that the union now plans to organize.

The ACWA has a long history of organizing drives, but like the rest of the labor movement did little in the 50's and 60's "prosperity" period. During that time, a large portion of the clothing industry moved to the South, particularly to the border states where unorganized "cheap labor" (largely black and Chicano) could be found and exploited. The Southern organizing strategy, developed to break this dynamic, has been slow but successful. At their 1972 convention ACWA leaders announced a 4,000 member increase in the South over the previous year.

## WHAT TO EXPECT

ACWA's organizing tactics provide a good idea of what Farah workers are likely to face now that the strike has been won. Sidney Hillman, founder of the ACWA, was famous for his organizing deals with the companies.

Hillman's tactic was to concentrate

on one employer. Then, if the drive succeeded the Amalgamated would agree to keep the work force in line and not raise wages too much. In return for which the employer would pressure other companies in the area to allow the union in.

Moreover, once contracts were signed the union would send in its own special teams of time-study men and efficiency experts to help management reorganize the operations in the interests of higher productivity.

The same is likely to happen in El Paso. Leonard Levy, staff coordinator, President Murray Finley and other ACWA spokesmen said almost nothing during the strike about the content of the contract they would negotiate for the workers.

In accepting a new 3-year contract with Hortex-Billy the Kid in El Paso, an already unionized concern, ACWA Vice-President Val Wertheimer stated that "... this (the contract, which called only for a 50 cent wage increase over 3 years) should prove to all El Paso that unions and companies can settle their differences in an atmosphere of mutual respect, providing work for El Pasoans and for companies operating on a profitable basis."

Farah workers will find that their struggle for a living wage, decent working conditions and human dignity has only begun. They will find themselves pitted against those very same trade union leaders who made such fine speeches to the strikers. The Finleys and Levys, in accepting the limits of capitalist profitability become the immediate barrier to the struggle.

## LABOR HACKS "LEFT FACE"

The Farah victory provides important lessons in what the labor bureaucracy and the liberals are doing in this period. Particularly now, when labor is under ever-increasing assault and the bureaucrats are now helping to tighten the noose, it is important to understand why the Farah workers received so much support from the union tops and the Democratic politicians.

Amalgamated's claim in June 1973 that "Never before in history have so

many unions and their members joined together to support a single strike effort" is not far off the mark. Virtually every major union gave active support to the strike, with the exception of the IBT. Some of the labor movement's slimiest types, well known renegades in their own unions, made personal appearances for the Farah strike: Emil Mazey of the UAW, Harry Van Arsdale of the New York Central Labor Council, Steelworkers' president I.W. Abel, etc.

The Farah strike offered these types a chance to put forward their "left face." It gave them a chance to prop up their sagging images with the ranks and provide a militant-sounding cover to the sell-outs they were preparing at home. AFL-CIO head, George Meany, who prides himself on never having walked a picket line in his life, was instrumental in garnering this kind of support from the AFL-CIO. At the same time he was raising money for the Farah strike, he was preparing to cut off support to the beleaguered Farmworkers.

The hypocrisy of a racist like Emil Mazey kissing Chicano children and talking about a "fight to the end" with "We need many more men like you" posters in the background is enough to turn the stomach of any class conscious autoworker. The Farah workers were correct to accept the help of these types, but no one should be fooled about their motivation.

## LIBERALS REGROUP

The strong support for the strike from Democratic Party hacks is even more instructive. The personal appearances of Ted Kennedy, Sargent Shriver, Gaylord Nelson and similar types corresponds directly to the liberal strategy in this period.

With the breakup of post-WWII economic stability in the 60's and the resurgence of working class militancy the Democratic Party's New Deal coalition of liberal capitalists, the unions, and minority movement hucksters began to disintegrate. This resulted in the Nixon victories of '68 and '72. Labor support for McGovern

## Farah Strikers

for example, was lukewarm at best, while in Texas, the La Raza Unida Party gained a sizeable vote from Chicanos who had previously voted 90-95 percent Democrat.

In the face of this chaos and the openings provided by the Watergate affair and related scandals, the Democratic Party is desperately scrambling to rebuild its liberal-labor coalition. The liberals realize that they have to do a lot more work to insure Meany's support next time, and to try to polish their "friends of labor" image with the union ranks.

### THE MOST OPPRESSED

The existence of a layer of super-exploited and oppressed workers is also a danger the liberals are afraid of. In the first place, the living and working conditions of these workers are a blight on the image of "progressive" America the liberals wish to project.

But most important, the liberals know that it is precisely in the ranks of the most oppressed that the most explosive potential lies. The liberals are angling to win the support of these oppressed workers and to maneuver their anger and militancy into respectable limits within capitalism.

In regard to the Farah strike, this strategy did not limit itself to public relations stunts in the form of personal appearances. The National Labor Relations Board, a liberal stronghold in Washington, is overcoming its notoriously passive tradition. It is starting to intervene in situations like the UMW and played an important role in the success of the strike.

### CAPITALIST LACKEYS

The ACWA leadership have always been willing lackeys of the liberal capitalists. Sidney Hillman, founder and head of the union for many years, was so important to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal strategy that Roosevelt's standard response to questions concerning labor was "Clear it with Sidney." In the 30's, the union was in the forefront of the CIO organizing drive, working overtime to keep this elemental upsurge in safe channels. Accepting the limits of capitalism, the ACWA leadership disorients and derails the workers' struggle at key points.

Today this can be seen quite concretely in the ACWA's reactionary pro-protectionist stance. This issue has been a central theme of the union's monthly newspaper, *Advance* over the last two years. The way the Amalgamated sees it, multinational corporations are exporting the jobs of US workers to Asia, Africa and Latin America where labor is cheap and taxes are low.

This, they say, creates unemployment and lowers the living standards of workers in the US. The answer, they tell us, is to slow down this process by passing the Burke-Hartke bill to limit imports, and by implementing other schemes to tax the profits of the multinationals and prevent the export of capital.

### PROTECTIONIST UTOPIA

These schemes are utterly utopian. One of the basic contradictions of

# BLACK POST OFFICE JOBS CUT

by Darryl Clark

Postal workers in Chicago face a deadly threat. As part of its nationwide reorganization scheme, the Postal Service plans to replace the downtown Main Post Office, where 23,000 workers make their living, with a new Bulk Mail Facility in inaccessible suburban Forest Park, which will hire only 5,000. Those laid off or driven out will be overwhelmingly black.

Since the 1930's the federal government has used the Postal Service to provide low-paying government jobs for the growing black city population, as a cheap form of "aid" to cut down unemployment and unrest. Now even these crumbs are being wiped out in the name of "progress" as the government eliminates "excess" expenses in the face of continuing economic decay.

When the same scheme came to New York, workers sent to a bulk mail facility in the New Jersey swamps fought back heroically in January with a four-day shutdown, in spite of the efforts of cops to keep the place operating. Isolated and misled, they ended by going down to defeat.

The leadership of the Chicago local



The Chicago Main Post Office. 18,000 will lose jobs when it closes.

capitalism is the conflict between the international division of labor and the existence of the nation state. The production of almost every commodity produced today involves the joint effort of workers throughout the world.

Yet the world remains divided into capitalist nations competing in a dog-eat-dog fashion for markets, raw materials, investment opportunities. The crisis of capitalism requires going beyond this distorted capitalist division of labor to a division of labor among fraternal workers' states united in an international socialist federation.

The protectionist answer means to retreat in a frantic search for non-existent self-sufficiency which can only lead to trade wars, monetary crises, depression and war. This program represents a classic tactic of imperialism: divide and rule. Instead of building an international alliance of the working class, based on mutual trust and solidarity, the labor pie-cards urge the US workers to abandon their brothers and sisters around the world and seek a deal with the US bourgeoisie, a deal that sells the workers' birthright for a few crumbs from the rotting imperialist table.

### INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

What is needed is a program of international solidarity, an active struggle to organize the unorganized, not only in the US, but around the

of the American Postal Workers' Union (APWU) threatens to repeat this wretched betrayal in Chicago.

The union's first response to the threat of Forest Park was—*nothing*. For many months, while some postal

workers tried to warn and mobilize their fellow workers in time to stop the whole scheme, the APWU did nothing.

But on March 2, the local  
Cont'd. p. 12

## Unmask Jackson!

DETROIT—In response to the massive layoffs in the auto industry, Jesse Jackson, President of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) spoke in Detroit on February 18th.

While members of the Revolutionary Socialist League distributed copies of *The Torch* to working people looking for answers and a way out of the growing social crisis, Jackson was busy peddling his program of reformist illusions. He proposed a Crime Commission to study the massive number of murders in Detroit. He urged a petition drive and a series of job-hearings to investigate the lay-offs.

But Jackson is too slick to propose saving humanity simply through committees and petition drives. He has his own pseudo-militant rhetoric. In his speech Jackson suggested a strategy of work-ins. Workers who have been laid off should remain on the job, refuse to leave and demand to be paid for their time.

Does Jackson expect his audience to believe that the ruling class will meekly cave in at the first sign of protest? Does he expect to rally the workers without providing a solution to the economic stagnation and social



disintegration which workers must confront?

The Revolutionary Socialist League has presented the only program that can resolve these questions in *The Torch*. We have called for a sliding scale of wages and hours—dividing the work among the workers with no cut in pay—to combat unemployment. We have urged the nationalization of industry under workers' control to make the bosses pay for the crisis they have created. We have called for a Labor Party with a revolutionary program and a workers' government to carry out that program.

Jackson cannot advocate this program because he is a liberal hustler, not a revolutionary. He is interested simply in stifling the revolutionary movement by tying the working class to reformist politics through the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, chaining the proletariat to treacherous union hacks like UAW's Leonard Woodcock.

The deepening capitalist crisis confronts black workers and youth with nothing but massive unemployment and degrading living conditions. Their increasing frustration and anger is a constant threat to capitalist rule. Jackson is trying to carve a national role for himself through PUSH by proving to the bourgeoisie that he can contain this threat.

Thus Jackson has bureaucratically transformed PUSH into a national organization, "born full-grown" to accomplish this task. He has provided it with the radical rhetoric it must have to win the acceptance of black workers. And he has come to Detroit to display himself to black auto workers, the single most powerful sector of the black proletariat.

Jackson is dangerous. He talks about ending oppression. He talks about uniting all workers, black and white. He uses the rhetoric of revolution to head off the emerging revolutionary leadership. Revolutionaries have the obligation to expose Jackson, to strip away his revolutionary posturing and expose him for the hustler he really is.

world. Instead of rotten protectionist measures we need common contract expiration dates, international strike coordination and the struggle to build an international revolutionary party.

The problem is capitalism: there is more than enough work to be done, to rebuild the cities, to develop the world's industrial potential, to purify the environment, to solve the problem of starvation and the other disgraces given us by capitalism. The labor fakers actively sabotage the struggle against capitalism. Their road leads to chauvinism, racism and defeat.

### ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED

The Farah victory is a victory for the Farah strikers and the entire working class. The bureaucrats and the liberal politicians, who risked nothing, will try to take the credit while they work hard to sell out everywhere. Meanwhile, the capitalist crisis deepens, unemployment mounts and prices skyrocket.

If the Farah victory is not to be washed away in the flood of economic collapse and fascism, it must be consolidated and extended. A massive organizing drive to unionize the millions of unorganized workers in the United States and throughout the world is a dire necessity. The fatcats who are now slapping their backs over "their" victory at Farah will never lead such a campaign. They are huge boulders in the middle of the road and they must be cast aside.

# WHY THE RUSSIAN RULING CLASS MUST BE OVERTHROWN

BY JACK GREGORY

The Russian economy is in dire straits. The boasts of Stalin and Khrushchev that the U.S.S.R. would rapidly outstrip the West's economic performance lie trampled beneath the hard facts of stagnation, capital and labor shortages, and low productivity.

The economic growth rate, once the pride of the state capitalist ruling class, fell precipitously to 1.5 per cent in 1972 after 15 years of steady decline. Over the past decade the Russian economy has been growing more slowly than those of most of the western capitalist states. Labor productivity, the key to expanding production, is only 40 per cent of the U.S. rate, and in the agricultural

class what it could not get from its backward machinery.

No less primitive was the looting of capital and raw materials from Eastern Europe in the aftermath of World War II. Between 1945 and 1956 the U.S.S.R. extracted a total of \$20 billion from its satellites.

By Stalin's death in 1953 these methods had reached their limits. The proletariat's living standards can only be ground down so far without forcing it right out of production. In order for the worker to carry out his job, minimal standards of food, education, and housing must be observed.

The same holds for working conditions—the piecework system is ill-suited for the more modern machinery introduced under Stalin's

tariat required the bourgeoisie to attempt to increase labor productivity through the introduction of more advanced technology. The idea was to make up what it could no longer extract from the workers through more efficient machinery.

The introduction of modern equipment on a broad scale required massive amounts of capital, and the bourgeoisie immediately found itself faced with shortages in this sphere. Consequently, the industrial growth rate began to slow, dropping from 13 per cent to 8 per cent in the period 1956-60 and 6 per cent in 1961-65, finally tumbling to a virtual standstill in 1971.

## THE FALLING RATE OF PROFIT

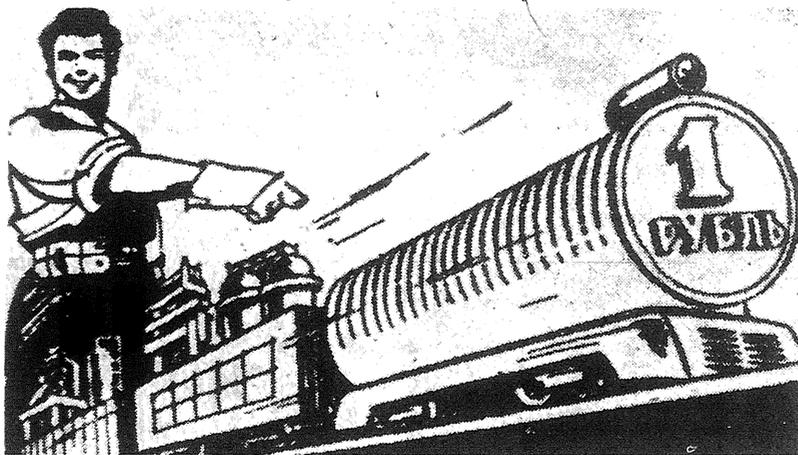
The capital shortages and plummeting growth rates are direct expressions of the basic contradiction of capitalist society: the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. To strengthen its position, both internationally and against the proletariat, the Russian capitalists (like the bourgeoisie everywhere) must accumulate capital as rapidly as possible in order to expand its productive forces.

To do so it constantly strains to maximize the share of production at its disposal, and to minimize the share accruing to the proletariat. The bourgeoisie channels its capital into more machines and other materials of production in its effort to strengthen the economy, thereby reducing the relative size of the outlay for labor.

Meanwhile the labor process is simplified, grinding the workers' role into the performance of the most degrading, mindless tasks. Since in the final analysis labor is the source of profit, the declining proportion of outlay for labor power results in a fall in the rate of profit.

The Russian bourgeoisie under Stalin, as we have seen, temporarily offset the tendency of the rate of profit to fall through wholesale plunder and by driving the working class down to the point where it could barely take part in production. When these primitive methods reached their limits, described earlier, and the bourgeoisie was forced to return slightly more to the proletariat in order to prevent breakdown of the economy, the growth rate immediately started falling.

The tendency of the rate of profit



Russian poster claims economic growth. Train front is labeled one ruble. All it means for workers is speed-up and declining living standards.

sector the figure is a staggering 11 per cent.

The stagnating economy poses a sharp threat to the U.S.S.R.'s ruling class, whose domestic strength and international stature rest on the nation's economic performance.

## EXPLOITATION AND PLUNDER

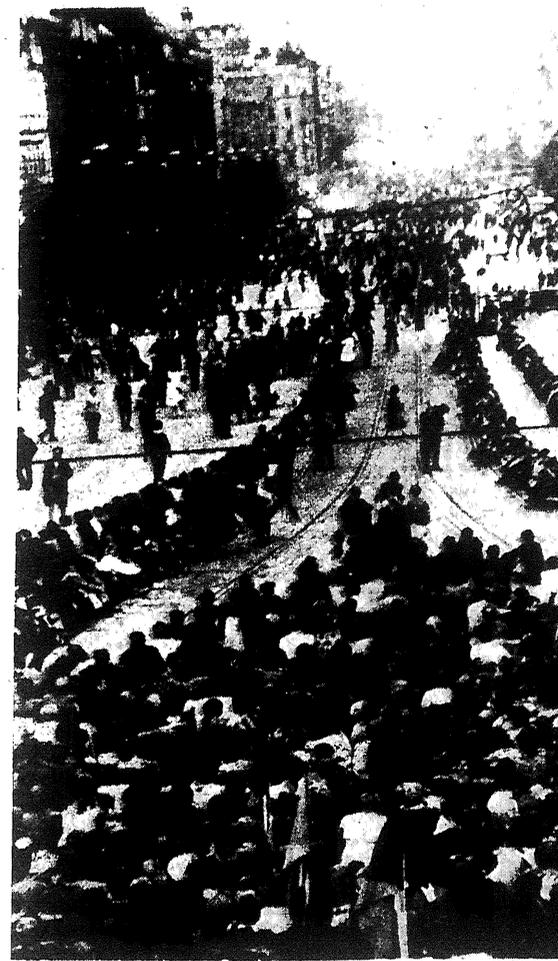
The high growth rates of yesterday were based largely on the savage attacks on the proletariat and the most wanton plunder of vassal states in capitalism's bloody history. Between 1928 and 1938 the average wage of Russian workers was cut in half, 10 million proletarians were herded into slave labor camps, and the piecework system was employed on a mass scale as the Stalinist bureaucracy forced from the working

industrialization program. Similarly, subject states can't be pillaged past a certain point without completely wrecking their economies and thereby destroying their economic usefulness to the mother country.

These factors caused Stalin's immediate successors, Malenkov and after him Khrushchev, to introduce economic reform measures designed to increase consumer goods production, modernize the agricultural sector, bring working conditions in line with the techniques demanded by the higher technological level, and partially resurrect the devastated Eastern European satellites' economies.

For example, piecework was cut back from a monstrous 77 per cent of the workforce in 1953 to a still astronomical 60 per cent in 1962, and living standards were raised somewhat.

Easing the attack on the prole-



Czechoslovakia, 1968: Czech workers refused to accept low living standards and feed Russian imperialism.

to fall can only be decisively broken by liberating the creative potential of the proletariat; by the proletariat taking hold of the state and production and producing for its own needs.

Capitalism holds this creative potential in chains. The proletariat denies to the owners of capital the enormous weight of its knowledge, experience and skills—its productive potential in general—because it knows these skills will be used against it; to simplify the labor process, eliminate jobs, and degrade the workers still further.

But in a workers' state, the proletariat will control the productive process instead of being controlled by it. The workers will be free to expand the productive forces, since it will be working not for the benefit of capital, but to reduce the necessary labor of society as a whole to a minimum.

Karl Marx explains that the source of wealth is the direct force of all individuals. In the revolution, the proletariat, the creative basis for development and freeing the force and freedom of the proletariat, the contradiction of accumulation. Otherwise, the bourgeoisie to maximize the force in production, must continue to come: THE FIGHT FOR PROFIT.

CHAIN THE WORKERS

But the Russian proletariat taking charge of production would eliminate

# RULING CLASS THROWN



Prague, 1968: Czech workers refused to accept low living standards in order to end imperialism.

only be decisively broken by the creative potential of the proletariat; by the proletariat taking charge of the state and producing for its own

the proletariat holds this creative potential in chains. The proletariat must take the weight of its knowledge, and skills—its productive power in general—because it is the proletariat that will be used to simplify the labor process, to divide up the jobs, and degrade the workers still further.

In a workers' state, the proletariat will control the production process instead of being controlled by it. The workers will be working not for the capitalist, but to reduce the labor of society as a whole unit.

Karl Marx explained that as labor is the source of value, "... real wealth is the developed productive force of all individuals." The socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates the necessary basis for developing this productive force and freeing the workforce from the contradictions of capitalist accumulation.

Otherwise, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, to maximize their respective shares in production, the class struggle, must continue with its inevitable outcome: THE FALLING RATE OF PROFIT.

## CHAINING THE WORKERS

But the Russian proletariat's taking charge of production in its own name would eliminate the basis of the

bourgeoisie's existence. Rather than calling on the force that could revolutionize production, the bureaucracy stands opposed to it through the army, the secret police, and the entire state apparatus. Rather than unlocking the fetters on the productive forces, the Russian bourgeoisie guards them vigilantly. Chained to the falling rate of profit, the Russian bourgeoisie must constantly return to the attack on the working class.

Capital shortages resulting from the low rate of accumulation have repeatedly forced the state capitalist class to shift funds away from production of consumer goods into heavy machinery.

Malenkov was ousted when, after promising the workers great increases in consumer goods, capital shortages forced this pattern upon him. Khrushchev was likewise trapped, as light industry and agriculture underfulfilled goals repeatedly.

Finally, Kosygin recently admitted that the current 5-year plan is a failure, and that agricultural and consumer-oriented production must once more be cut back in favor of heavy industry.

So the Russian bourgeoisie is caught in the horns of the contradictions of the capitalist system. To maintain production it must maintain minimal living standards for the working class, but to accumulate adequately it must constantly cut these living standards to the bone. The state capitalist class, its economic reforms in shambles, is again launching a brutal offensive against the proletariat.

The cutbacks in consumer production are just one aspect of the attack. Working conditions as well are being assailed; *Pravda* of February 8, 1970 blared that labor discipline must be intensified. Intolerable working conditions in the U.S.S.R. are reflected in a 20 per cent labor turnover rate, one of the highest in the industrial world.

## WORKERS' RESISTANCE

The stagnation-induced attacks on the conditions of the working class have brought forth massive response. When Khrushchev sharply hiked meat and dairy prices in 1962, sit-down strikes, demonstrations, and work stoppages broke out across the



Polish banners read "We are hungry." State capitalism cannot meet basic needs.

country.

In Novocherkassk (near Rostov) a workers' march on Communist Party headquarters touched off riots that spread across the region, causing the state to rush in several secret police divisions. The riots were suppressed in armed confrontations.

The December 1970 Polish uprisings were triggered by an increase in bread prices, and similarly the root cause of the August, 1968 Czech insurrection was scarce and shoddy consumer goods. The present intensification of the attack on the proletariat has been met with a wave of sit-down strikes and work stoppages directed against the bourgeoisie (see "Ukraine" article by Harry Parker, page 12 of this issue of *The Torch* for details).

## TURN TO THE WEST

All these examples underline the deep threat the current stagnation poses to the bureaucracy—protests over shortages and the general low living standards spread with lightning speed in the state capitalist countries. While turning on the proletariat, the current turbulence in the Russian proletariat and memories of Hungary '56, Czechoslovakia '68 and Poland '70 have made the bureaucrats seek other sources of capital. Today they are looking to the West.

Technology in Western Europe far surpasses that in the U.S.S.R.; the bureaucracy craves it as a means of increasing labor productivity. However the very backwardness of Russian production makes Russian goods uncompetitive in the West, and the bureaucracy has been forced to barter its reserves of raw materials in exchange for modern machinery.

Recent arrangements with Occidental Oil and other fuel monopolies to develop Siberian oil and natural gas reserves reflect the Russian bourgeoisie's inability to generate enough capital to develop these resources themselves, as well as its willingness to place the nation's wealth at the disposal of American

interests to strengthen its faltering hand.

Oil and gas are just the beginning. Broad hints are circulating that gold will be next. The U.S.S.R. is the world's second leading gold producer (behind South Africa) and the western states are desperately seeking gold to prop up their international monetary system.

The import of western technology will not break stagnation's stranglehold. The western bourgeoisie stand face to face with their own capital shortage crises (see "The Roots of the Capitalist Crisis" by Ron Taber, *The Torch* #6), and will scrape together investment funds only when they see the opportunity to rake in extraordinary profits.

Western investment is to the dictates of western, not Russian, needs and will be on a selective and rapacious basis. Just as the Russian bourgeoisie has shackled the productive reserves of the proletariat, so must it ravage the vast resources of the country to maintain its class rule.

## THE COMING CRISIS

The Russian bourgeoisie cannot escape the contradictions of the capitalist system. No matter where it turns, it is plagued by capital shortages, the product of the falling rate of profit. Its options are closed off.

Frontal attack on the Russian proletariat and plunder of the satellites, as the state capitalist class well knows, pose the threat of mass working class risings. Import of capital from the West means bartering away the country's labor, produce, and natural wealth without significantly breaking through the stagnation.

Thus, the bourgeoisie must more and more turn to increased brutalization of Russian workers and accelerated looting of its vassal states. The backdoor is set for the entrance of the revolutionary proletariat to solve the crisis by smashing the state capitalist class and laying hold of production in its own name, the name of revolutionary socialism.

JOINT FORUM HELD

# STRATEGY FOR THE UKRAINE

by Harry Parker

One of the hallmarks of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union has been the suppression of national rights and the official promotion of Great-Russian chauvinism. The largest, most economically important oppressed nation and therefore one of the worst victims of this policy is the Ukraine.

In order to maintain the state-capitalist class's power, the struggle for Ukrainian rights is being ruthlessly suppressed. It is estimated, for example, that half of the political prisoners in the Soviet Union are Ukrainian. In 1972, a roundup of dissenters totaled over 200; this latest wave of repression temporarily brought the opposition movement to a halt. To carry the movement forward, a correct political strategy is needed.

This problem provided the focus of a joint forum, held in Chicago, January 19, by the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. The Committee, largely second generation Ukrainian exiles, recently split from the pro-U.S. politics of the emigre organizations in the U.S. and Canada.

The Committee contains a wide spectrum of political views; some of its members are increasingly interested in Trotskyism. This latter tendency was represented by the Committee's speaker, Taras Lehkyj.

## CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY

Steve Miller, speaking for the League, emphasized that capitalism

bureaucrats changed their strategy. They whipped up aimless and confused alarm in a short outburst of ineffective activity that is leaving the workers more disoriented and demoralized than before.

When the Postal Service announced that 2,000 jobs would be trimmed—a small part of the losses Forest Park really represents—local President Swearingen and his cronies hurriedly called a meeting and exhorted workers to "defend your jobs." They did not make clear what 2,000 jobs they were talking about, or how they related to Forest Park, or what kind of plan they had to fight it.

But they *did* drag in Jesse Jackson and a few union bureaucrats from the "outs" of the APWU to make a militant noise and snipe at National APWU President Filbey, a prize sellout himself.

As a matter of form these fakers talked about how an attack anywhere in the country is an attack on all postal workers. But they had no plan to unite postal workers to fight back. They did not propose a political struggle that alone can unify the postal unions and defend the workers' jobs.

The government runs the Postal Service, and all public services, for the bosses' benefit. As the capitalist social system decays, public services deteriorate while the bosses look for



can no longer develop the productive forces. It has divided the world into competing imperialist interests on the one hand and colonized nations on the other. Its continued decay means the acceleration of imperialist authoritarian tendencies.

Self-determination of nations and other democratic rights are therefore incompatible with the continued existence of capitalism. The bourgeoisie can no longer achieve the democratic gains associated with its rise, gains which now can only be achieved by the proletarian revolution. Either today's democratic struggles will come under the leadership of the proletariat struggling for its liberation or they will inevitably meet with defeat.

new ways to meet their *own* needs, like the private mail service they are drumming up support for today. A declining capitalism cannot provide efficient public services despite "progress" at the workers' expense.

But Swearingen and his henchmen have no intention of fighting the capitalists or their government. What they did was put the blame on the workers. "You have to stand up for yourselves," they said. "We leaders can't fight your battles for you."

The result was predictable. Workers were more confused than ever, alarmed, but far from ready to follow such aimless leadership in a serious struggle. They turned out for the token picket line Swearingen called, but drifted off quickly when sent home after 20 minutes.

Now the "campaign" supposedly continues, but what Swearingen means by that is a mystery to the workers in his union. In fact it has dissipated.

When the jobs are lost, Swearingen and his slimy friends will say, "what do you expect, you didn't stand up for yourselves." When the next union election comes, he'll pose as the big militant, more ready than his members to fight the Postal Service. But he is responsible for the confusion and demoralization of Chicago postal workers today.

## LENINIST NATIONALITIES POLICY

Prior to the Russian Revolution, the Ukraine had been part of the Czarist empire, the "prison house of nations." There was no Ukrainian bourgeoisie capable of solving the national question. After the Revolution and the Civil War period, the Bolsheviks sponsored the policy of Ukrainization.

This policy fostered the Ukrainian language, culture and the rapid growth of a Ukrainian-speaking proletariat. Lehkyj correctly identified this policy as one of solution to the Ukrainian question.

The Leninist nationalities policy pursued by the first workers' state was premised on the right of nations to self-determination and was a cornerstone of Bolshevik politics. Finland, Latvia, and other nations were granted their independence on demand.

For the Ukraine, the period of Ukrainization stands out as the only time when its culture developed freely. In this, living proof was provided that the proletariat in power staunchly defends democratic rights.

## COUNTER-REVOLUTION

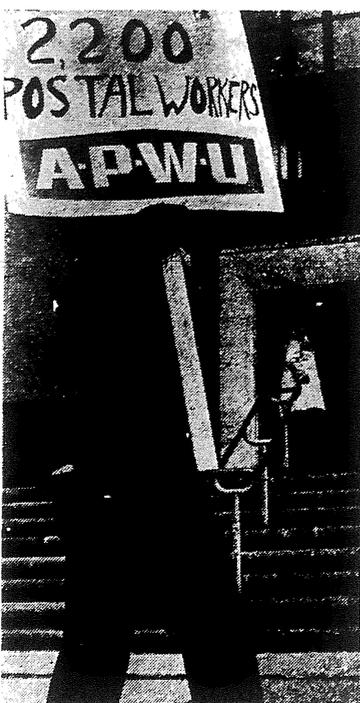
Although Lehkyj saw the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy and social inequality as the source of the national oppression that developed most fully in the 1930's, he did not develop this theme further. Miller, however, explained the source of this oppression in the Stalinist consolidation which represented a counter-revolution that destroyed the workers' state and established the system of state-capitalism.

Due fundamentally to the isolation of the revolution, the poverty and cultural backwardness of the country, the Soviet proletariat was unable to maintain power.

As the workers' state was destroyed, so was the voluntary federation that constituted the USSR. The bureaucracy consolidated itself as a

## Post Office

Cont'd. from p. 9



Actions to save post office jobs had no real leadership and died.

KEY  
 — Ukrainian ethnographic territory  
 - - - - - Western boundary of U.S.S.R.  
 - - - - - Boundary of Ukrainian S.S.R. as of June, 1941  
 Area marked M = Moldavian S.S.R.



## NATIONALITIES

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## EVOLUTION

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state-capitalist class and obliterated every vestige of national rights.

While the federation continued in name, it was now the disguise for Russian chauvinism and imperialism. With the development of the counter-revolution, the Ukraine came under the complete dominance of Great Russian chauvinists.

Stalin's measures were the direct reversal of Lenin's. Leading party members and intellectuals were purged, imprisoned and executed. Eventually, the entire Central Committee of the Ukrainian section of the All-Union Communist Party was liquidated along with all but two members of the Ukrainian government.

In developing a political strategy for the Ukraine, it is necessary to realize that the state in the Soviet Union is a capitalist state and must be smashed. This means that the Union is really a cover for Russian imperialism and must also be smashed.

What is needed is a truly voluntary Revolutionary Socialist Federation of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in counterposition to Russian imperialism and as the context of the struggle for Ukrainian freedom. This Federation would result from the victorious proletariat of different nations joining together for great political, economic and military strength. Such a Federation would be a step on the road to the withering away of the entire system of nation-states.

## DISMEMBERMENT ILLUSIONS

This strategy, as Miller pointed out, is counterposed to a strategy of "dismemberment." The proponents of the latter approach (there are some in the Committee) argue that since the Ukraine will need allies in its struggle against Russian imperialism, the other oppressed nations should be encouraged to break away, thus leaving the Russian state too weak to intervene.

Since this process is to occur within the context of capitalist property relations, the need for revolution to actually smash the Russian state and replace it with that of the workers is not so gracefully sidestepped.

The entirety of the "dismemberment" strategy is an illusion. In the epoch of imperialist decay, oppressed, semi-colonial nations cannot win genuine and complete national independence outside the struggle for the proletarian revolution. To do so would imply a perfect balance of power among the imperialist nations, clearly a mirage.

Given the relationship of forces in the real world, a "dismemberment" strategy could only be implemented by U.S. imperialism, thus negating its goal of Ukrainian independence.

## THE OPPOSITION MOVEMENT

Lehkyj gave an overview of the opposition movement that has developed in the Soviet Union since the late 1950's. It began as cultural

ferment around discussion groups concerned with poetry, literature, and art.

A more political orientation soon developed, centering around discussions of socialist democracy and Russification. (Russification refers to the range of policies that includes the partial dispersion of the Ukrainian population and efforts to increase the percentage of Great Russians in the Ukraine; manning the bureaucracy of the Ukrainian government with Great Russian chauvinists, reserving the better jobs for Great Russians, promoting the Russian language at the expense of Ukrainian, and the general suppression of Ukrainian culture and history.)

Today, as Lehkyj described, the policy of much of the opposition is based on liberal illusions. Exemplified by Vyacheslav Chornovil, these oppositionists urge the state and Party bureaucracies to abide by the text of Soviet law, a call the apparatus has no interest or intent of heeding. Lehkyj indicated that sections of the movement have begun to go beyond this, and that the period since 1971 has been one of increased internal discussion.

## WORKERS' RESISTANCE

Lehkyj saw the stagnation of the Russian economy and the crisis in Soviet ideology, which he correctly linked to the former, as the key to the present situation. He cited a number of events in recent years as evidence that the workers are experiencing a renewal of self-confidence.

In May of 1969, for example, workers from the Kiev Hydroelectric station demonstrated against poor housing conditions, declared they no longer believed in the local "authorities," elected their own housing committee and dispatched to Moscow a delegation whose fate is unknown. In June, 1972, "rioters" took to the streets of Dneprodzerzhinsk for two days and partially destroyed a KGB building, apparently in protest of the arrest of some youths who dared to argue with a militiaman; in September of 1972, strikes broke out in Dnepropetrovsk over living standards; in May, 1973, 30,000 auto workers in Kiev struck over a wage cut.

## FOR WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

Lehkyj argued for workers' democracy to overcome the stagnation of the Russian economy as opposed to "socialist" methods. He counterposed mass struggles by the working class to utopian appeals to the bureaucracy to abide by the "rule of law." He concluded by indicating that only a unified working class can carry out the national struggle, and posed the need for proletarian revolution throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

## CAPITALIST DECAY IN RUSSIA

Miller explained that world capitalism has entered a new period of

intensifying crisis. The creeping growth rates in the Soviet Union are the result of the falling rate of profit, the bane of all capitalist economies. The chronic housing shortage and agricultural crises reflect the same process.

As the rate of profit falls, an ever greater percentage of the national income must be reinvested merely to maintain growth rates. As a result, the rulers are forced to squeeze every last drop from the working class in order to make their system function. State capitalism, a system in decay, can afford no long-term reforms or improvements for the masses.

Increasingly workers will have to oppose the regime merely to protect their already inadequate living standards. The protest of the intellectuals, the struggles of the oppressed nations, and the strike actions of the workers will multiply, and the repression will mount.



A mass grave of 10,000 Ukrainian dissidents who were slaughtered during the 1936-37 Stalinist counter-revolution.

Proletarian revolution is the solution to these social and democratic struggles.

Citing the need for a discussion among the vanguard elements, Lehkyj made no mention of the need for a revolutionary party, the central strategic question facing the Russian opposition. Miller, in sharp contrast, emphasized the dire necessity of such a party. He counterposed revolutionary activity to the protest policies that have characterized the opposition movement to date.

The Bolsheviks in the pre-1917 period provide the best model for Soviet revolutionaries today, combining legal with illegal activity, building up an underground apparatus capable of emerging into the open and contesting for leadership during the brief periods when openings in the bureaucratic walls appear. The coherence of a vanguard layer in the working class united by a revolutionary program and tied to a party of professional revolutionaries is the task ahead.

The revolts in East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Poland in 1970-71 show that the proletariat in the state-capitalist countries is ready to struggle. These same events show

that without a revolutionary party these struggles will be defeated.

## FALSE PROGRAMS

The struggle for such a party is the cutting edge of the struggle against Russian state capitalism and its crimes. As the struggle deepens, opportunists and false leaders of all kinds will appear. The slogans of all those who fail to see that Russia is a class society, all those who fail to see that what is needed is a social revolution can only disarm the working class and hand it over bound and gagged to the Stalinist executioners.

Slogans such as "socialist democracy" are so vague they can be put to almost any use. The slogan of the Czechoslovakian "reform" bureaucrat Dubcek, "Socialism with a Human Face," a program of trying to reform the bureaucracy by enlightening it and appealing to its liberal elements, is one example. Chornovil's appeal to

the bureaucracy to obey the law is another.

Fighting for a revolutionary program means exposing the false programs and leaders. It means winning workers to the banner of international revolution. Without a party, a section of the reconstructed Fourth International, Party of World Revolution, these tasks cannot be accomplished.

## A CHOICE IS NECESSARY

Comrade Lehkyj and the tendency he represents are faced with a choice. They can choose the banner of Trotskyism, the struggle to build a revolutionary party, based on the Transitional Program and affiliated with the Fourth International, engaging in merciless political struggle to expose the reactionary and reformist oppositionists.

Or, they can fail to draw the lessons of their promising break with the pro-U.S. emigres and their subjective opposition to the reformist strategies of the Chornovils. The former leads to proletarian revolution and the liberation of the Ukraine. The latter leads to capitulation and defeat. The choice is theirs.

# INDIAN CAPITALISM NEARS COLLAPSE

by Chris Hudson

India's capitalist "democracy" is ripping apart at the seams. Less than three years after winning an overwhelming victory in the 1971 national elections, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her New Congress Party are on the defensive all across India. No one believes any more in the empty "socialist" rhetoric and promises of prosperity that gave Gandhi her victory.

Capitalism reform politics are showing themselves bankrupt. Intolerable conditions are forcing tens of millions of India's city poor into revolt. But this revolt has not yet taken definite shape or direction.

In March, Gandhi's New Congress Party barely survived the state assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh, the state containing one-seventh of India's 550 million people. Losing over 50 seats, Congress emerged with a bare majority in the 425-seat assembly.

This climaxed a series of political disasters for Congress. In the last year, four Congress state governments became so unpopular that Gandhi had to impose federal rule to keep her cronies in power. Earlier this year, Congress lost four local elections in Maharashtra State, including one in Bombay, India's largest industrial center.

## MOUNTING UNREST

These losses are the result of mounting unrest by India's exploited population. Last May, 20,000 police mutinied in Uttar Pradesh, supporting striking students. Armed federal police, sent to take over, killed more than 40 local police and students.

Last November, 5,000 Harijans ("untouchables", India's outcastes, who are mainly agricultural laborers) rallied in New Delhi to demand land rights. This January, Gandhi was booed by a crowd of 300,000 at a Congress rally in Maharashtra State, and cancelled her speech; another crowd in Uttar Pradesh chanted at the Prime Minister, "No speeches, give us rations!"

In January, food riots broke out in Gujarat state, after peasant leaders resisting forced collections of food were arrested. 60 trade unions called a general strike, which was followed by demonstrations, arson and looting. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "... the popular agitation against authority has assumed the proportions of a civil war." Altogether, more than 80 persons have been killed in Gujarat since January.

The same month, in Bombay, the trade unions called a 24-hour general strike against food prices and government corruption, forcing fac-

tories, shops, railways and markets to close. At Wani, 350 miles northeast of Bombay, six persons were killed when police fired on a mob trying to burn a government office. In Bombay, the strike was followed by communal rioting against Southern Indian merchants, led by the Shiv Sena, a fascist paramilitary organization with over 300,000 members. At least one merchant was killed in the rioting.

In February, the giant Tata steel works in Bihar, in Eastern India, were shut down by oil shortages and railway wildcats. 200,000 jute mill workers in Bengal went on strike. 200,000 textile workers went on strike in Bombay. Other work stoppages and lock-outs involved life insurance employees, airline employees, and interns and nurses in New Delhi—middle-class strata being ground into poverty. As we go to press, student demonstrations in Bihar are denouncing corruption and unemployment, and demanding vocational education programs.



Food riots in Ahmadabad took 4 lives. The poor take the brunt of sky-rocketing inflation in India.

Protests, rioting, police massacres are not new in a nation whose ruling party has failed to improve the life of the masses in 25 years. But the present situation is different, because of the intensity of unrest and the apparent loss of Gandhi's ability to govern.

One result is a loss of the Indian ruling class's confidence in its own hired servant, Gandhi. In February, the editor of the *Times of India* wrote that the "very survival of the system" was in question because of Gandhi's inability to inspire confidence and Congress' blatant corruption. "In a situation where prices

continue to rise and the queues for bread and butter lengthen," the *Times of India* warned, "reports of well-placed people growing fat on corrupt practices are a standing provocation to the people." The "problem of disciplining labor" was becoming "well-nigh impossible," wrote this spokesman for India's capitalists, and there was growing up a "dangerous chasm between the elite and the common people."

## ECONOMIC FAILURE

India is now facing the same mighty social forces—the forces of imperialism and capitalist decay—which have already destroyed most of the popular nationalist-capitalist regimes that emerged from the colonial national movements of the 1940's and 1950's. In country after country in Africa and Asia, these regimes, caught in the capitalist world market, have been replaced by military regimes or other dictatorships, which also have been unable to

primitive methods and the powerful grip of merchants and money-lenders. Production of food fell from 108 million metric tons in 1970-71 to 104 million in 1971-72, and to 96 million tons last year. Present estimates are that two million tons of food grains will have to be imported each year until at least 1978, at a cost of over \$2 billion a year.

The cost of food has risen 20 percent in the last year alone. The Gandhi regime's attempt to provide food at "fair prices" by "nationalizing" wholesale food trading was a fiasco and a good example of the paralysis of Gandhi's fake socialism.

The New Congress Party, its own political organization based on big farmers, merchants and capitalists, did not in fact nationalize anything. Instead of expropriating the food speculators, the government tried to compete with them. Unable to pay as much to the farmers as the merchants could, the government food shops took a double loss: the government put the squeeze on the farmers and lost their support, but the government shops still went short of food and the speculators kept the business.

Since 1971, India's *per capita* has fallen from \$91.50 a year to \$91.20. Two out of every five Indians, over 200 million in all, live on less than \$5 a month. Among some of the poorest, it is the custom to clean and eat food grain picked from the dung of animals.

Unemployment is officially said to be 18 million, but unofficially estimated at "at least" 45 million—and this counts mainly the cities. In rural areas, farm women are put to work during droughts building roads for pennies a day. "It may sound heartless, but the best roads are build during drought," one official says.

All efforts to improve the lot of the masses are now being cut back. The budget for birth control has been cut from \$104 million in 1972-73 to \$75 million for 1973-74, not because the government can feed the population, but to cut costs. To see what this means, it should be added that 21 million babies are born every year in India, and 8 million of these die.

## INDIAN CAPITALISM

These eight millions are victims of capitalism, not of some "natural" disaster. So are the 45 million unemployed, and the 220 million living on \$5 a month.

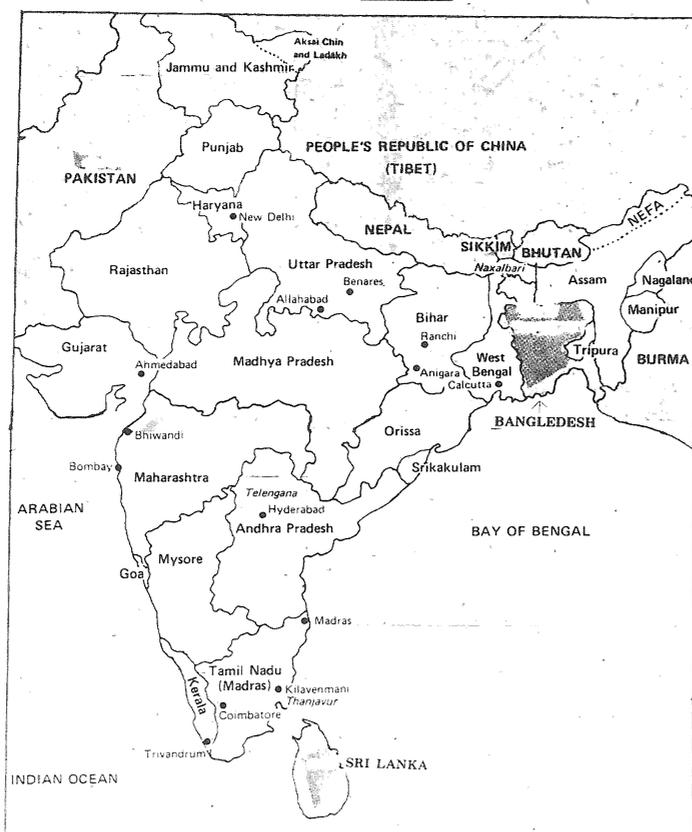
India achieved independence in 1947. The capitalist-dominated independence movement was able to gain this victory only because British colonialism had been weakened by World War II. But this independence was only a change of flags. Indian capitalism could not solve the funda-

## FOOD SHORTAGE

In the last four years two major droughts have ruined India's food production, already shackled by

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# "INDIA'S RELATIVELY STRONG CAPITALISM OFFERS ONLY A SHARPER EXAMPLE OF THE INABILITY OF ANY CAPITALISM TO DEVELOP THE BACKWARD COUNTRIES"



mental democratic tasks which gave rise to the freedom movement. Tied to the rural landlord-moneylender class, the capitalist government could not free the Indian peasantry from slavery to ancient methods and to usurers and landlords.

Unable to modernize the country, Indian capitalism cannot destroy precapitalist inequality. The caste system, abolished in law, still exists in fact, and the present-day class system has been built up on the already-existing scaffolding of the old caste system. Finally, there is no real freedom from the yoke of imperialism; Indian capitalism remains the prisoner of the world capitalist market and is less and less able to develop its own economy.

Capitalism in India cannot improve the life of the masses. For this reason the lifespan of bourgeois democracy in India will be measured in a few decades, rather than in centuries as in countries such as Britain and the United States.

## DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE

India's capitalist class is not one of the weakest in the ex-colonial world, but one of the strongest. Even in 1947, at the time of independence, 78 per cent of the money invested in the largest Indian banks was held by Indian-owned, rather than British-owned, banks. There were major Indian-owned metallurgical, mining, textile, transport, and other firms.

The next 20 years saw considerable industrial development. Whereas in the early 1950's 40 per cent of India's manufactured goods were imported, now only 10 percent are imported. Yet despite these real achievements, Indian capitalism is stagnating. National income, which grew slowly during the first two Five Year Plans

until 1964-65, fell in 1965-66, if inflation is taken into account.

## STATIST STRATEGY

This stagnation led to the 1969 split in the old Congress Party, which had led India since independence. The Right Wing in Congress was fully tied to big business and finance capital, and tended to impede the state planning measures favored by the "Left" Wing.

The "Left", led in the '60's by Indira Gandhi, favored state ownership to take up the slack caused by the failure of private capital to invest. Equally important, Gandhi saw the need for the rhetoric of socialism and equality to keep the masses under the thumb of the bourgeoisie. This was founded the New Congress Party.

Despite Gandhi's decisive electoral victories in 1971 and 1972, and despite the nationalization of major banks, coal, and other industries, stagnation continues. Coal production, which reached 80 million metric tons in 1970, fell to 74 million last year. Steel output, at 4.5 million metric tons, can supply only half of India's needs. It is not state capitalist ownership which can unleash India's productive resources, but the seizure of power by the working class and the liberation of the peasantry from the grip of landlords and usurers.

The fifth Five Year Plan, which is to go into effect on April 1, is basically eyewash. According to a senior planning official who resigned in protest in December, the plan is based on "only optimistic assumptions" concerning food production, fertilizer production, coal, steel and power. The plan does not take into account the 20 per cent rise in prices in 1973. Other critics of the plan refer

to "doctored" figures and "fanciful" assumptions.

This already precarious economic situation has been pushed toward disaster by the present world economic crisis, which is completing India's ruin. Like other victims of world imperialism, India is caught in a widening gap between the prices paid for its main exports, tea and jute, and the prices it must pay for imports. Foreign exchange is spread thin to import raw materials, fertilizers and food grains. Foreign "aid" is little help.

American "aid", especially food shipments during the last several years, was actually paid for by building up a giant fund of US-owned Indian currency in Indian banks. The United States has now "generously" agreed to cancel part of this debt and to settle for "only" \$1.5 billion, nearly twice the value of the original loans.

In this situation India has turned to trade agreements with Russia and other "Eastern bloc" countries. But the goods India is supposed to receive—newsprint, fertilizers and minerals—are being sold elsewhere by the "Eastern bloc." As a result, since 1970 India has sent more goods to the "Eastern bloc" than it has received. This is referred to by Indian economists as a "negative net aid transfer"—in other words, India, one of the poorest countries in the world, is giving economic aid to the USSR! This is simply economic imperialism through the mechanism of government-to-government "aid" agreements.

To complete the picture, the giant steel mills which the USSR, Britain, and West Germany have built in India may not be able to operate at capacity because of coal shortages. A mineral-rich country is strangling from mineral shortages.

## OIL CRISIS

On top of this, like a giant tidal wave, comes the world oil crisis. The new Five Year Plan is based on the price of \$4 to \$5 per barrel for imported oil, of which over 20 million tons per year will be needed. The world market price in February was \$16 to \$17 per barrel. With this rise, oil imports, which used to account for about 10 per cent of India's imported expenditures, are expected to use up 50 to 80 per cent of import expenditures this year.

Most of India's oil is used for industrial purposes and it is used in every area of production—fertilizers, transport, power, synthetics. India is faced with the choice of cutting oil imports and crippling its economy, cutting other industrial imports, or gaining some relief by building up another huge foreign debt.

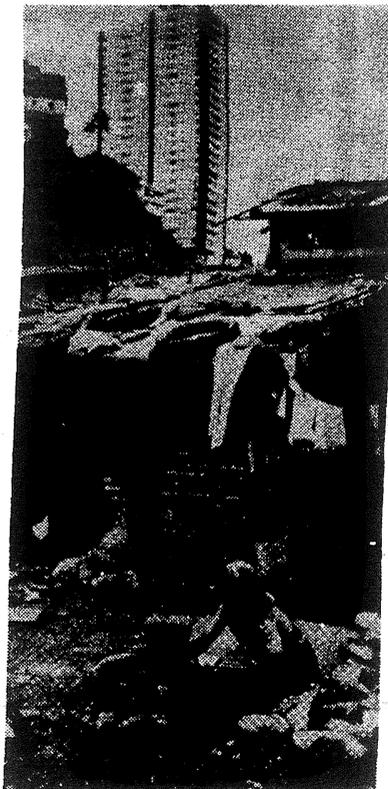
Indian capitalism, in sum, is heading for a gigantic crash. Economic depression may be matched by hunger—a report in March by an international panel warned that "if monsoon were to fail in 1974, there could be a famine of grave proportions." A "huge dose" of new taxation is predicted as the government attempts to bail itself out. In a situation which already approaches chaos, the approaching crisis poses the question of whether the bour-

geois democratic regime, which is already a thinly-veiled police state, can survive at all.

## INDIA'S FUTURE

India's relatively strong capitalism offers only a sharper example of the inability of *any* capitalism to develop the backward countries. In the years from Independence in 1947 to the mid-1960's, the general conditions of world capitalism provided the basis for some extremely limited capitalist development in India. Even then, Indian capitalism could not solve the land question, destroy the precapitalist oppression of the caste system, or get out from under the thumb of world imperialism.

Now the world capitalist economy is entering a period of cutthroat conflict, sharpened rivalry among imperialists and multiplied imperialist plunder. India will not escape. More and more, world imperialism will loot India with every transaction. Domestic production will stagnate. The last vestiges of the "democratic" reformism based on capitalist stability will be wiped out.



The new India: rooted in mass squalor.

There can be no solution to India's crisis within India alone. India's agony stems from the death agony of world capitalism and can only end with it. But India's powerful and combative working class offers an excellent prospect, if given revolutionary leadership, of making a socialist revolution which will shake the world. In the world crisis now unfolding, it is particularly true that a socialist revolution in one of the ex-colonial countries—especially giant India—would send revolutionary waves through all the plundered nations.

# S.F. Sears Strikers Stand Fast

by Jim Patrick

The strike of 300 members of Retail Clerks Local 1100 in San Francisco against Sears, Roebuck, and Co. is entering its sixth month, and no end is yet in sight. The strikers have defied court injunctions limiting pickets, endured months of living on \$25 a month, and are still holding fast.

The strike started over the refusal of Sears to meet the workers' demand for a health-care program. Of the 6,000 retail clerks who are members of Local 1100, only the 300 Sears workers are denied a health plan which meets Bay Area standards.

In the course of the strike, however, Sears has not only remained intransigent on the health care issue, but has also refused even minimal cost-of-living raises. Intent on squeezing even more out of its miserably paid workforce, Sears is trying to push through a brutal productivity scheme which would make it more difficult for floor sales workers to get commissions and which would give Sears complete control over the number of sales people on the floor.

Thus while the local leadership sought vainly for a "miracle tactic" to win the strike, Sears, the world's largest retailer, confidently escalated its demands so far that the very existence of the union is now at stake.

## UNION-BUSTING STRATEGY

This should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with Sears. Under the corporation's founder, Colonel Wood, Sears began its long, disgusting tradition as a scab employer. Sears relies on a largely female workforce, counting on "cheap," unorganized female labor, as well as the backward consciousness produced by the special oppression of women, to insure its iron-fist rule.

The company has been in the forefront of anti-labor legislation and policies for the past century, providing leadership for the union-busting of the entire retail goods industry in the U.S. and abroad.

## MASS PICKETS

The Sears strike has won widespread support from most of the labor movement in the San Francisco area and from various leftist and radical groups. The day after a strike-breaking injunction was issued against the Sears strikers, 300 militant unionists and their supporters formed a mass picket line at the Sears Geary Street store. Teamsters, carpenters, longshoremen, teachers, office workers, painters, and other supporters of Local 1100 defied the injunction and all but closed down the store.

However, Local 1100 President Walter Johnson has relied on mass labor protests alone—rallies, vigils, and sit-ins—to appeal to the "conscience" of Sears and the San Francisco business community, instead of using the combined strength of San Francisco labor to force the bosses to surrender. The result of this bankrupt strategy: after six months the workers are further from victory than when the strike began.

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## LABOR TOPS SELL OUT

While Johnson and his allies diverted the workers, the very ranks of the strikers were being ripped away. First the Teamsters in the Sears warehouses went back to work, hurting both the strike and the boycott. Then last month the machinists, too, made a separate deal with Sears, isolating the strike even further.

The Teamster and Machinist bureaucracies are willing to cooperate with Sears' divide-and-rule strategy against the strikers in order to salvage enough crumbs to pacify their own rank and file. These class collaborators cynically point to the super-exploitation of the unorganized (which they contribute to by their gross sell-outs and scab practices) to show their

# Auto Layoffs Hit Office Workers

by Al Johnson

DETROIT, MI.—As has been reported in *The Torch*, there are now at least 85,000 hourly workers laid off in the automobile industry in Michigan alone. General Motors Corporation, Ford and Chrysler have now thrown out more than 2000 white-collar workers. The increased white-collar unemployment has taken the form of both layoffs and "early retirement."

For years the auto bosses have played off white-collar against blue collar workers by granting white-collar workers the benefits similar to that UAW members have had to fight for every contract round. Faced with declining profit margins, the auto lords are now grasping for every available dollar. White collar workers are not only losing their free ride, they are losing their jobs.

GM has laid off 800 salaried workers and pushed back 1,800 to work for hourly wages. Two hundred and fifty others have been handed "early retirement." Chrysler

has laid off 650 white-collar workers since December 1. Company sources have said that the total will be 1,000 by March 31. At Ford there have been 600 white-collar layoffs and more will follow.

The pressure for early retirement is on at all plants, leading to much bitterness and resentment.

Faced by unemployment and the worst layoffs since 1970 when thousands of white-collar workers lost their jobs during a long UAW strike, the salaried employees are turning to the trade union movement.

In the early sixties, a newly appointed Chrysler chairman fired 7000 white-collar workers in the Detroit area. This may explain the fact that 10,000 Chrysler salaried employees are in the UAW today. But thousands of Ford and GM white-collar workers remain non-union.

UAW bureaucrats declare that these salaried employees are "more receptive than at any time in history" to the union organizers. Another UAW executive in Flint noted that salaried workers

union ranks how "hard" they are working for them.

The cause of the Sears workers has appealed to a variety of leftist groups. The sizable resources of the formerly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party has allowed it to play an active role in the strike and the United Labor-Community Sears Strike Coalition.

However, instead of committing its resources to a revolutionary program of defense and unity for the Sears strikers, the SWP advocates only that program and those tactics which the bureaucrats, now completely tied to the bosses and their state, are too afraid to raise any more, but which in no way challenge the bosses' right to run this society in their own interests.

Right now only the upsurge of San Francisco's public employees can give the Sears strikers hope. With both the AFT and SEIU on strike, and with Teamsters and Longshoremen respecting their picket lines, the Bay Area labor movement has been given a lift like nothing since the brief general strike which followed World War II.

"realize that they've got nobody to defend them."

While the UAW misleaders are quick to quack that no union can guarantee a worker that he won't be laid off, the white-collar workers' intuition is correct: an organized working class resistance is needed to counter the capitalist attack on the standard of living.

Although the UAW hacks cannot and will not provide revolutionary leadership, the unions must become a key weapon in the hands of the working class to fight unemployment. This can only be done by throwing the reformists out of the trade unions, and replacing them with a revolutionary leadership.

The illusion on the part of blue- or white-collar workers that their layoffs are "temporary," that they will soon get their jobs back, is a deadly mistake. While brief respites are not ruled out, both the immediate and the long-run overall trend is toward worsening economic conditions and an escalation of the class struggle.

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# MOVIES

## The Exorcist

by Linda Moore

*The Exorcist*, by William Peter Beatty, was a best seller for over a year. Now we have the movie, which has been number one on the *Variety* list of top-grossing films since the beginning of January and will probably make more money than any movie ever.

The huge popularity of *The Exorcist* is the most impressive example of the so-called "spiritual revival" which has replaced the liberal activism of the 1960's. The civil rights, anti-war, and student movements are dead. With no possibility of liberal reforms and no new political leadership, hundreds of thousands of petty-bourgeois youth, along with a sector of the working class, have turned to spiritualism. Astrology, devil worship, witchcraft and Christian revivalism offer a bold escape from a world where everything seems to be falling apart uncontrollably.

*The Exorcist* declares that the Catholic Church has power over the devils that today's witches and demon worshippers have turned to, that today's "new Christians" blame for the "mystery of evil." It says no matter how bad things are the Church can still save your soul. Beatty, who wrote the book, wrote the screen-play and produced the movie, sees his creation "quite frankly as an apostolic work."

### SOCIAL ROLE OF RELIGION

Revolutionary socialists understand the real role religion plays under capitalism. Frederick Engels explained that all religion "is nothing but the fantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life." He pointed out that at first these forces were natural forces but that later social forces "confront man as equally alien and at first equally inexplicable, dominating him with some apparent natural necessity as the forces of nature themselves."

Under capitalism these alienating social forces reach their full development. Workers produce the means of production which are then turned against them and dominate them as an alien force over which they have no control. The chaos and crisis built into capitalist production relations appear to be natural and unconquerable evils.

The bourgeoisie uses religion to disguise these relations, to explain and defend the bourgeois social order through the religious establishment's traditional authority and escapist ideology. The religious hierarchy becomes the implacable enemy of revolutionary Marxism and the



As liberal movements of the 1960's died, thousands of petty-bourgeois youths took up mystical barbarism.

working class.

### CATHOLIC CHURCH'S ROLE

Pope Leo XIII, known in the Church and in bourgeois history books as the "Workingman's Pope," wrote an encyclical in 1891 intended to be the Catholic Church's answer to the *Communist Manifesto*. In his encyclical Leo said that the class struggle Marx asserts is ridiculous and that capital and labor need each other. To prevent conflict between the classes, he said, "... the effectiveness of Christian institutions is marvelous and manifold."

Leo, like the liberal Catholics of the ecumenical movement of the 1960's, favored reforms. But when capitalism runs into trouble the Church never hesitates to employ its "effectiveness" to defeat the working class. Fearing working class revolution more than anything, Catholic bishops and priests acted as right hand men for the fascist regimes of Hitler, Franco, and Mussolini.

The ecumenical movement itself was a product of the liberal atmosphere of the 1960's. Pope John extended his hand impartially to Protestants, Jews and Stalinists in an effort to make the Church "relevant." Liberal activists like the Berrigan brothers took the limelight. But now—when the workers' standard of living is being driven down everywhere, when messing up draft offices and playing bongo drums at mass is meaningless—the Church dredges up its most barbaric superstitions to keep the masses in line.

### BACK TO BARBARISM

At Christmastime in 1972, Pope Paul VI gave an address entirely devoted to the existence of the devil in the modern world. He knows that if the devil goes the Catholic Church goes too. In January, 1973 his seven-theologian Special Commission wrote in a two-page spread in the official Vatican newspaper that Satan is so essential to Christian belief that if this "pillar" of faith is removed "then of a certainty other parts of the structure will collapse."

The liberal Catholics have fallen into line, and are busy explaining

what they call the deeper implications of *The Exorcist*. They debunk personal demonic possession but uphold the "mystery of evil."



Three alleged members of the Black Liberation Army facing frame-ups in New York. The ruling class uses the present political lull to pick off militants.

## Black Militants Framed

NEW YORK—The trials of alleged Black Liberation Army members are grinding to a conclusion. Last month supposed BLA member Clark Squire was found guilty in New Jersey's mostly-white Morris County of killing a state trooper during a chase on the New Jersey Turnpike. The trial of his co-defendant, Joanne Chesimard, has been postponed because of her pregnancy.

In New York, Henry S. Brown was accused of shooting two New York cops in early 1972. Gerald Lefcourt, his lawyer, told *The Torch* that the prosecution had a "weak, circumstantial case." In fact the prosecution had nothing but a crude frame-up.

The prosecution claimed that Brown had the cop's gun three weeks after the killing. It would have us believe that Brown, the "granite-hard, disciplined member of the secret, underground terrorist Black Liberation Army," is fool enough to carry around a dead cop's weapon three weeks after the killing!

Two "witnesses" backed up the prosecution's case. One, a convicted armed robber, identified Brown as the killer. He was supported by a certain

Father Andrew Greeley cites railroad accidents, famines, epidemics, the destruction of the environment, wars, racial and religious bigotry, kidnappings, sky-jacking and heroin addiction as proof of the "mystery of evil." For him, social evil is a series of unexplainable natural disasters, not the expression of the chaos of decaying capitalism.

Another Catholic liberal, Michael Novak, assures us that there is a devil and that evil is unconquerable because people love and protect their oppressors and "liberation is not actually high on the list of human desires."

### THE REAL EVIL

This kind of trash is intended only to reinforce the proletariat's present belief in its own powerlessness, its inability to control and mold its destiny. Revolutionary socialists locate the real source of the "mystery of evil" in the capitalist relations of production, and pose the socialist revolution as the means to overthrow capitalism and create the basis for genuine human freedom.

Miss Mackey, who also has a background of armed robbery as well as a decades-long heroin habit.

This railroad job got nowhere. On March 21 Henry S. Brown was acquitted of murder. Ten of the jurors shook hands with him after the trial.

The Brown case, however, will not mark the end of courtroom terrorism in New York. Five other men still await trial for allegedly killing two cops in 1971.

### RULING CLASS STRATEGY

The fact that the trials are taking place at all reflects the political lull which has followed the abortive black revolts of the 1960's. The ruling class is taking advantage of this lull, and the consequent decline in support for black militants, to pick off the surviving remnants of the 1960's black protest movement.

In doing so, the ruling class is taking every opportunity to isolate and discredit revolutionaries in the eyes of the working class. It hopes to deprive the workers of their natural leaders even as it prepares to turn its repressive apparatus against the proletariat.

## CHICAGO LIBERALS PROTEST

# Top Cop Named

by Paul Carson

CHICAGO—A flurry of protest activity greeted the choice of Assistant Police Chief James Rochford to replace Chief James Conlisk in February. The protesters, ranging from a black Democratic Congressman to the Communist Party, had one goal in common—to reform the Police Department.

Conlisk resigned last October after three major scandals. One involved the shakedown of 28 bars on Chicago's West Side. In the second, Commander Clarence Braasch and most of the Chicago Avenue Station conspired to shake down North Side nightclubs. Braasch was the highest-ranking Chicago police officer ever to be convicted of a serious crime.

The third scandal involved cops operating a hit squad for a heroin ring. One of the people they killed was a steel worker with the same name as the person they were supposed to get.

The protests against Rochford, which failed to prevent his appointment, were led by Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, a black Democrat who broke with Mayor Daley in 1972 over the issue of police brutality. Metcalfe's group, Concerned Citizens for Police Reform, demanded that Conlisk's successor come from outside the corruption-ridden Department; that a Civilian Board be set up to review cases of brutality; that psychological tests be given to all police recruits to weed out the "sadists"; and that the Police Board be expanded to include blacks and other minorities.

Jesse Jackson of PUSH went further. The "daring" Jackson urged the appointment of a black commander, George T. Sims, to fill Conlisk's shoes. Presumably, the police would be responsive to the needs of the black community under a black Commissioner. The Communist Party's proposal, advanced by Ishmael Flory, was for Community Control of police at the ward level and a "People's Commission" to pick a new police chief.

Metcalfe, Jackson and Flory all accept the bourgeoisie's claim that the police exist to "fight crime." They charge that the leaders are corrupt and there are too many brutes and racists wearing the uniform . . . but this can be reformed.

But the role of the police, as

Mayor Daley said after the 1968 Democratic Convention here, "is not to create disorder, it is to preserve disorder." This slip of the tongue contains a lot of truth. The police serve and protect the crime that the bourgeoisie commits every day—ripping off the working class and the black community. The law is a codification of capitalist property relations, and the bourgeoisie's "hit squad" exists to protect this property.

Police wrongdoing, including the connections with the bourgeoisie's underworld reflection—the Mafia—is an embarrassment to the bourgeoisie. So is the mushrooming of crime itself. They would prefer a "clean" Department and "safe streets." But violent crime against helpless individuals, large-scale organized crime, and police involvement with crime and brutality on the street are all inevitable results of decaying capitalism.

As reported in the Chicago Defender in January, one Chicago housing project complained about having tenants burglarized five times a day, and got no increase in police protection. As for brutality, even Mayor Daley admits, "It's a problem." The Afro-American Patrolmen's League investigates 1,000 cases of brutality a year.

Reform proposals like those of Metcalfe, Jackson and the Communist Party merely play into the hands of the bourgeoisie. So long as the new "clean" cops and Commissioners accept the mission of upholding bourgeois law, they will be an instrument of fraud and violence against the working class—and they will

quickly become just as corrupt as their predecessors.

*To end burglaries in housing projects—end slums! Build a party to lead the working class in taking power into its own hands!*

The revolutionary working class will not reform the bourgeois police and military forces, but smash them. The social basis for crime will disappear with full employment, the rebuilding of the cities, and the merciless smashing of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the barons of



To end police brutality: capitalist police force must be eliminated.

big crime.

Remnants of criminal activity will be dealt with by genuine rehabilitation of the criminals. Order will be kept through an armed popular militia which will exist to protect the working class.

This popular militia will obey the working class political power—whereas now, all

police "community relations" schemes merely sugar over the fact that the police serve the capitalist class. The armed power of the working class—and not the reformists' program of deodorizing the capitalist police—is the socialist answer both to the crime of capitalism and to the crimes it produces.

## Young Scabs on Farmworkers

by Jon Coleman

Coleman Young, Detroit's newly-elected black mayor, has begun maneuvering to pay back political debts to the bosses of Detroit.

The "opportunity" arose when César Chavez, leader of the United Farmworkers

organizing drive in the grape fields of California, asked Young to declare a grape boycott week or day in April, or for Young to walk in a picket line outside a supermarket chain which handles non-UFW grapes.

During the campaign last fall, Chavez delivered the

support of Detroit's Latino community to Young. But while Chavez was out telling Detroit workers that Young was a pro-labor politician, Young himself was having cocktails with the bosses of Detroit at \$100-per-ticket parties.

When Chavez comes now to ask support for the United Farmworkers organizing drive, Young could not afford even the cheap gesture which was all Chavez requested of him. Instead, he caved in under the pressure of the supermarket chains and the Teamsters' own union-busting drive against the Farm Workers.

After Chavez scared the owners of the giant California farm businesses with his initial successes in organizing farm workers, the bosses got Teamster leaders to sign "sweetheart" contracts with them to stall even the minimal advances won by the UFW.

Teamster organizer Chuck O'Brien said that if Young supported the grape boycott Detroit's garbage truck drivers "would get the blue flu and the trucks wouldn't move." He also reminded Young that the drivers' contract with the city is up for renegotiation.

One of Young's aides quickly responded that the Mayor ". . . has a sense of obligation to Chavez, but how deep is that obligation? Whenever you do something you should damn well consider the consequences."

With that Young gave in to the Teamster hacks' threat of an anti-union strike, leaving the farm workers to go it alone.

Young is already proving The Torch was right when it said Young's real platform was to "keep the lid on for the bosses of Detroit."



Detroit Mayor Young abandoned Farmworkers after election victory.

## California Axes 8-hour Day

LOS ANGELES, MARCH 15—The California Industrial Welfare Commission liquidated the legal 8-hour day for 5,000,000 workers yesterday. The new rule, which goes into effect in June, covers workers in the manufacturing, clerical, mechanical, transportation, mercantile, and other industries. It states that, for workers covered, overtime will be paid only after 10 hours work per day, or 40 hours a week.

The ruling effectively gives workers a nine per cent wage cut. It nullifies recent legislation that, in the wake of the Equal Right Amendment, had included some male workers

under the regulations formerly applied to women and minors. It gives the capitalists a green light in their drive to maximize profits at the expense of the working class.

Unorganized workers bear the full weight of this attack since union contracts with 8-hour day provisions are not affected. But organized workers may find that they will soon have to fight for rights their grandfathers won decades ago.

Sal Parata, editor of the Southern California Worker, organ of the AFL-CIO, told The Torch that the AFL-CIO was "not pleased" with the

regulation. He said the AFL-CIO had opposed the rule "in the formative stages" and expressed the pious wish that this attack "would have an effect on non-organized places," i.e., convince workers that they needed a union.

In other words, the union hacks can sit back and do nothing because the bosses will force their workers into their laps. This is the kind of logic the Communist Party used in Germany, arguing that the coming of fascism would force the workers to adopt socialism. Good luck, Sal.

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de la ACWA; declaró que "...ésto (el contrato que pedía un aumento salarial de sólo 50 centavos en tres años) debe demostrársele a todo El Paso que los sindicatos y las compañías pueden resolver sus diferencias en un atmósfera de respeto mutuo, dando trabajo a la población de El Paso y beneficios a las compañías."

Los obreros de Farah encontrarán que su lucha por un salario que les permita vivir, por condiciones de trabajo decentes, y por la dignidad humana, apenas ha comenzado. Se encontrarán luchando contra los mismos dirigentes sindicales que dieron tan finos discursos a los huelgistas. Los Finleys, los Levys, al aceptar los límites del beneficio capitalista, se convierten en la barrera inmediata para la lucha.

"Cara izquierda" de los dirigentes vendidos

La victoria en Farah contiene lecciones importantes de lo que la burocracia sindical y los liberales están haciendo en el periodo actual. Particularmente ahora que la clase obrera es el objeto de un ataque cada vez mayor y que los burócratas están ayudando a ponerle la sogá al cuello, es importante entender porqué los obreros de Farah recibieron el apoyo de los jefes sindicales y de los políticos demócratas.

La afirmación de la ACWA en junio de 1973 de que "Nunca antes en la historia se han unido tantos sindicatos y sus miembros para apoyar un sólo esfuerzo de huelga" no está muy alejada de la verdad. Casi todo sindicato de importancia dió apoyo activo a la huelga, con excepción del sindicato de camioneros (IBT). Algunos de los tipos más asquerosos en el movimiento sindical, bien conocidos como renegados por sus propios sindicatos, hicieron acto de presencia apoyando la huelga de Farah: Emil Mazey, del sindicato de obreros de la industria automotriz (UAW); Harry Van Arsdale, del Consejo Central Obrero de Nueva York; I.W. Abel, presidente del sindicato de obreros del acero (USW); etc.

La huelga contra Farah dió a estos tipos una oportunidad para mostrar una "cara izquierda". Les dió una oportunidad para inyectar nueva vida a sus imágenes podridas ante los ojos de sus filas y para dar cobertura de militancia a las capitulaciones que preparan en sus propias industrias. George Meany, jefe de la AFL-CIO, quien se precia de nunca haber estado en un piquete de huelga jamás en su vida, jugó un rol clave en obtener este tipo de apoyo de la AFL-CIO. Al mismo tiempo que reunía dinero para la huelga de Farah, se preparaba para cortar el apoyo a los trabajadores agrícolas (UFW) en el momento que éstos sufrían tremendos ataques.

La hipocresía de un racista como Emil Mazey al besar a los niños chicanos y al hablar de una "lucha hasta el fin" con carteles de "Hacen falta muchos más hombres como tú" en el trasfondo es bastante como para hacer vomitar a cualquier obrero de la industria automotriz que tenga conciencia de clase. Los obreros de



Los huelgistas de Farah ganaron amplio apoyo de obreros de todo el país.

Farah no se equivocaron al aceptar su ayuda, pero nadie debe dejarse engañar en cuanto a las motivaciones de estos tipos.

#### Regrupamiento liberal

El apoyo sólido a la huelga por parte de los peleles del Partido Demócrata es aun más aleccionador. La presencia de Ted Kennedy, Sargent Shriver, Gaylord Nelson, y tipos similares, corresponde directamente a la estrategia liberal en el periodo actual.

Cuando se deshizo la estabilidad económica de la pos-guerra a fines de los años 60 y resurgió la militancia de la clase obrera, comenzó a desmoronarse la coalición demócrata del Nuevo Trato formada por los capitalistas liberales, los sindicatos, y los engañadores de los movimientos minoritarios. Esto dió lugar a las victorias de Nixon en 1968 y 1972. El apoyo obrero a McGovern, por ejemplo, fue tibio en el mejor de los casos, mientras que en Texas, el Partido de La Raza Unida ganó buena parte del voto entre los chicanos que anteriormente habían votado 90-95 por ciento a favor de los demócratas.

Ante este caos y las aperturas que les presenta el asunto de Watergate y escandalos relacionados, el Partido Demócrata está apresurándose desesperadamente a reconstruir su coalición obrero-liberal. Los liberales reconocen que tienen que hacer mucho más para asegurar el apoyo de Meany y para tratar de dar brillo a su imagen de "amigos de los obreros" ante las filas de los sindicatos.

#### Los más oprimidos

La existencia de una capa de obreros oprimidos y super-explotados es tambien un peligro del que se dan cuenta los liberales. Para empezar, las condiciones de vida y de trabajo de estos obreros son una mancha en la imagen que los liberales tratan de proyectar de Estados Unidos como un país "progresista".

Pero más importante, los liberales saben que es precisamente en las filas de los más oprimidos que descansa el potencial más explosivo. Los liberales están jugando por ganarse el apoyo de

estos obreros oprimidos y por medio de maniobras hacer que su enojo y su militancia queden dentro de los límites respetables del capitalismo.

En el caso de la huelga de Farah, esta estrategia no se limitó a la publicidad por parte de personalidades famosas. La Junta Nacional de Relaciones Obreras, un baluarte liberal en Washington, está venciendo su tradición notoriamente pasiva. Está comenzando a intervenir en situaciones como la del sindicato de mineros (UMW) y jugó un rol importante en el triunfo de la huelga.

#### Lacayos del capitalismo

Los dirigentes de la ACWA siempre han sido los complacientes lacayos de los capitalistas liberales. Sidney Hillman, fundador y jefe del sindicato por muchos años, fue tan importante para la estrategia del Nuevo Trato bajo Franklin D. Roosevelt que la respuesta corriente de Roosevelt a cuestiones laborales era "Arregla el asunto con Sidney". En los años 30, el sindicato estuvo en la primera línea de la campaña organizativa del CIO, trabajando horas extras para asegurar que este levantamiento elemental no se desbordara. Al aceptar los límites del capitalismo, los dirigentes de la ACWA desorientan y desvían la lucha obrera en los momentos claves.

Hoy esto puede verse muy concretamente en la reaccionaria postura pro-proteccionismo de la ACWA. Esta cuestión ha sido un tema central en *Advance*, el periódico mensual del sindicato, desde hace dos años. Según la ACWA, las corporaciones multinacionales están exportando empleos de obreros norteamericanos a los países de Asia, Africa y América Latina, donde la mano de obra es barata y los impuestos son bajos.

Esto, dicen, crea desempleo y baja el nivel de vida de los obreros en EU. La solución, dicen, es frenar este proceso con la aprobación por el Congreso del acta Burke-Hartke para limitar las importaciones y con la implementación de otros proyectos para cobrar impuestos a los beneficios de las multi-nacionales y evitar las fugas de capital.

Estos proyectos son totalmente utópicos. Una de las contradicciones fundamentales del capitalismo es el conflicto entre la división internacional del trabajo y la existencia del estado-nación. La producción de casi todas las mercancías producidas hoy incorpora el esfuerzo común de obreros de todo el mundo.

Pero el mundo sigue dividido en naciones capitalistas que compiten en forma salvaje por mercados, materias primas, oportunidades de inversión. La crisis del capitalismo exige vencer esta distorsionada división capitalista

del trabajo y llegar a una división del trabajo entre estados obreros fraternales, unidos en una federación socialista internacional.

La respuesta proteccionista significa retroceder en una búsqueda frenética por una auto-suficiencia que no existe. Esto sólo puede llevar a guerras comerciales, crisis monetarias, depresiones, y a la guerra. Este programa representa una táctica clásica del imperialismo: dividir y gobernar. En vez de construir una alianza internacional de la clase obrera, fundada en la mútua confianza y solidaridad, los dirigentes vendidos instan a los obreros norteamericanos a que abandonen a sus hermanos y hermanas por todo el mundo y a buscar un arreglo con la burguesía de EU, un arreglo que vende hasta el derecho a unas cuantas migajas de la podrida mesa imperialista.

#### Por la solidaridad internacional

Lo que se necesita es un programa de solidaridad internacional, una lucha activa por organizar a los no-organizados, no sólo en EU sino en todo el mundo. En vez de las podridas medidas proteccionistas, necesitamos fechas comunes de expiración de contratos, coordinación internacional de huelgas, y la lucha por la construcción de un partido internacional revolucionario.

El problema es el capitalismo, pues el trabajo sobra: el reconstruir las ciudades, el desarrollar el potencial industrial del mundo, el purificar el ambiente, el resolver el problema del hambre y las otras desgracias que nos ha dado el capitalismo. Los dirigentes farsantes cometen sabotaje activo a la lucha contra el capitalismo. Este camino lleva al chauvinismo, al racismo, y a la derrota.

La victoria en Farah es una victoria de los huelgistas de Farah y de la clase obrera entera. Los burócratas y los políticos liberales, quienes no arriesgaron nada, tratarán de decir que la victoria es suya, al mismo tiempo que laboran en todas partes por vender a los obreros. Mientras tanto, la crisis capitalista se hace más profunda, crece el desempleo, y los precios suben rápidamente.

Para que la victoria de los obreros de Farah no sea borrada por el diluvio del colapso económico y el fascismo, tiene que consolidarse y extenderse. Una campaña masiva por sindicalizar a los millones de obreros no-organizados en Estados Unidos y en todo el mundo es una necesidad absoluta. Los jefes y los políticos que están ahora celebrando "su" victoria con Farah nunca encabezarán tal campaña. Son enormes piedras en el camino y tienen que ser arrojados a un lado.

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