

STACKS OVERSIZE

the TORCH 4

15¢

Newspaper of the
**Revolutionary
Socialist League**

Reconstruct the Fourth International!



Virginia demonstrators at a Gerald Ford rally. Ford fiddles while workers starve.

CLASS-WIDE RESPONSE NEEDED

THE AUTO CRISIS DEEPENS



Jobless auto workers at Detroit unemployment office. Make the bosses pay full salary to every unemployed worker for as long as layoffs continue.

By Bob Anderson and Jack Gregory

bureaucrats continue to have their way.

The depressed auto industry continues to pace the downhill slide of the U.S. economy. Auto is a cancer whose malignant effects are spreading to other sectors as the official unemployment rate for the entire national labor force has passed 7.1 per cent with no upper limit in sight.

MICHIGAN-OHIO DISASTER

Michigan is a disaster area. The state-wide unemployment rate is 11.2 per cent and heading upward as the 'Big Three' auto-makers and their parts suppliers continue slashing back production. Ohio is not far behind. Auto's crash is being followed by a sharp downturn in the state's key steel and rubber industries. If the situation continues, tire-making center Akron will be in as desperate straits as auto capital Detroit.

December's "temporary" layoffs of over 200,000 UAW members have turned into January's permanent unemployment. At the time of writing, 141,000 auto workers have been given notice of "indefinite" (read permanent) layoffs in January with another 76,000 "temporarily" laid off. The numbers will soar, as new layoffs are announced almost every day. The 141,000 figure does not include anticipated layoffs by Ford and Chrysler.

The UAW bureaucracy has systematically opposed every attempt to put up a class struggle resistance. This is nothing new. Their vigilance in strangling militancy has a long and revolting tradition. It is perhaps most clearly revealed in their betrayal of the workers at GM's Lordstown, Ohio plant.

UAW president Leonard Woodcock has estimated that one million workers in auto-related industries will be thrown out of work in the first three months of 1975. This is a modest estimate. The conditions in the Ohio-Michigan area spell the future for the entire U.S. working class if Woodcock and his fellow

Lordstown has been the most militant plant in the country for the past five years. The ranks time and again forced concessions from GM, only to be stabbed in the back by

Cont'd. p. 2

Layoffs Mount—Economy Crumbles

By Brent Davis

The leap in unemployment of the last few months is a bitter foretaste of what capitalism has in store for the working class. The "normal" conditions of the 50's and 60's are a thing of the past—massive, permanent unemployment is the new norm for capitalism. The horror of massive unemployment poses

far greater dangers to the proletariat than just the misery and humiliation of being jobless. Massive unemployment can cripple the fighting ability of the working class, dividing it and weakening it in its fight for survival against the bourgeoisie.

The size and rapidity and nature of the layoffs reveal the deep-rooted sickness in the

capitalist economy. From April, when unemployment stood at 5.0 per cent, to December when it soared to 7.1 per cent, over 1,800,000 workers joined the ranks of the jobless. Not only is unemployment growing; it is growing at an increasing rate. In the five months from April to August, unemployment in-

Cont'd. p. 7

INSIDE	
Southern Africa	14
Defend the IRA	6
RU on State Capitalism	9
Needed! Public Works	4

THE AUTO CRISIS DEEPENS

Cont'd. from p. 1

Woodcock. The current situation at Lordstown and the history of bureaucratic treachery which made it possible are lessons which must be learned by every class-conscious worker.

The auto barons of General Motors hit 5,500 at the Lordstown assembly plant with "temporary suspensions" from November 16 to December 1. A few days later GM extended these "temporary" layoffs to include December 13-January 2 and January 13-January 20. An additional 900 were thrown out in the streets by indefinite layoffs at the adjacent Fisher Body plant.

This stamping plant is the largest individual steel consumer in the area, and the cutbacks are now spreading through the massive Youngstown steel industry. US Steel announced 13,700 layoffs at its Youngstown plant, swelling the unemployment rate here to nearly ten per cent.

With profits in the auto industry down 58 per cent for the third quarter, the capitalists are now centering their blows on the autoworkers. Lordstown, the most modern plant in the country, is especially hard hit.

GM opened its "model" plant at Lordstown in 1968, the newest addition to the infamous General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). The Vega assembly plant is the most highly mechanized in the world, running subcompacts through at the incredible rate of 100 cars per hour. This is GM's experimental station for the most vicious speed-up in the auto industry. But all the "efficiency" in the world cannot sell Vegas, when the decrepit U.S. economy has plunged into its deepest recession since World War II.

Last winter's energy crisis led to a brief "boom" in the sale of small cars, even while the auto

industry as a whole was in a tailspin. GM added the Vega line to its Southgate plant in California, when Lordstown couldn't meet the increased demand. That brief "boom" has now become a total bust. GM has closed its Southgate plant through the entire month of January for "model changeover." Desperate to maintain their declining profits (down 94 per cent for the third quarter), GM must escalate even further its brutal attacks on the autoworkers.

In the face of such attacks, the Lordstown workers have stood in the first ranks of the proletariat's most militant fighters. Their fierce struggles against speed-up, decining real wages and piles of unsolved grievances made them a leading force in the working class upsurge of the late 1960's.

In 1972 the GMAD plants had reached the breaking point. Across the country the auto wage slaves led dozens of wildcats against the inhuman working conditions provided by the Gestapo-like GMAD management teams. The autoworkers demanded a showdown with GM: the Assembly Division had to be brought to its knees. Woodcock answered with his traitorous "Apache" strategy. Each GMAD plant was struck separately, allowing the auto bosses to transfer work to the operating plants while the militants "blew off steam."

St. Louis, Mansfield and other plants were out on long isolated strikes. Lordstown responded with a six-month strike, and the Norwood plant in southern Ohio was silenced for nearly 200 days: the longest strike in GM history. But, deliberately isolated by Woodcock, the local strikes were doomed.

Woodcock's showdown with GMAD was a debacle. Above all else he feared mobilizing the UAW ranks for a real fight with his friends at General Motors; such a fight would topple this spineless liberal. Woodcock designed the Apache strategy to demoralize the ranks of the UAW.

This is a tried and true tactic of the UAW bosses. Emil Mazey, UAW Secretary-Treasurer, summed it up in a nutshell a few years ago:

"I think strikes make ratification easier. Even though the worker may not think so, when he votes

on a contract in reaction to economic pressures I really believe that if the wife is really raising hell and the bills are piling up, he may be more apt to settle than otherwise."

THE '73 CONTRACT

After sapping the combativeness of the most militant locals through the Apache tactic, Woodcock was able to ram the rotten 1973 contract through without a major strike. This contract sell-out has placed the autoworkers in today's miserable position: it offered no guarantee against mass layoffs, its cost of living clause was completely inadequate in the face of galloping inflation, and despite all the pretenses it did not eliminate forced overtime and brutal speed-up.

The 1973 contract left the locals to fend for themselves on grievances. Again Lordstown led the response with the ranks staying out through July and August in bitter struggle, fighting to win the battle that Woodcock wouldn't wage. But General Motors wasn't about to settle any local grievances when it had just defeated the UAW nationally.

The pitiful contract spurred the auto bosses on to even fiercer attacks in the plants. Lordstown could not win at the local level what the UAW leadership had given away industry-wide.

This is the essential lesson of the Lordstown events. Local militancy is a vital factor, but left to itself it can and will be isolated and drained by the class collaborators who head up the trade unions today. The history of Lordstown reveals just how far Woodcock and his gang will go to smooth the path for the auto capitalists, and it demonstrates the need for local militants to fight consciously for a class struggle program that can mobilize the ranks nationally on an economic and political basis.

SUB

These lessons are being taught the hard way to auto workers throughout the country today. Woodcock in the past tried to justify his failure to fight for guarantees against layoffs by pointing to the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) as guaranteeing full income for unemployed workers.

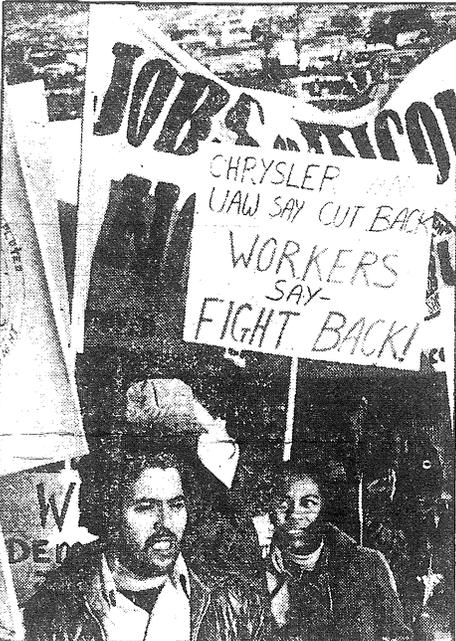
Woodcock heralded SUB as the major victory of the UAW, guaranteed to take the sting out of layoffs and "seasonal" unemployment. But SUB was not designed to cover the massive cutbacks which have hit the auto industry over the past 15



International crisis is bringing mass unemployment to every corner of capitalist world. Fiat workers [top] protest auto layoffs in Italy. Below, Birmingham, England trade unions demand more jobs.

months. SUB is supposed to provide up to 95 per cent of the regular take-home pay through any period of layoffs, but the thousands of young workers with less than a year of seniority don't receive a penny.

Nearly 25,000 GM workers have been drawing SUB since the energy-related cutbacks of last winter; the SUB funds have dried up quickly. Many of these autoworkers are eligible for only a few more



UAW ranks in Detroit mobilize against Big Three attack and Woodcock sell-out.

weeks of SUB and state unemployment will run out soon afterwards. For these UAW members welfare is all that is left, and President Ford has already declared that starvation-level welfare benefits will be cut even further.

The most optimistic estimates are that the SUB funds will run out in a matter of months. This is based only on the current level of layoffs, which is increasing daily. GM's SUB funds are currently at 19 per cent of maximum, and the maximum fund doesn't approach the amount needed to cover the depression conditions in the auto industry. If the UAW allows the SUB funds to run out, hundreds of

The ranks of the UAW must not allow the SUB fund to run out: every auto worker must be guaranteed full benefits for the duration of the layoffs, no matter how long, and every penny must come out of the pockets of the auto corporations.

But SUB is not the solution to the crisis of capitalism. Every worker should be guaranteed a decent job; instead, unemployment accelerates and those lucky enough to keep their jobs face increasingly brutal conditions. Every worker should be guaranteed earnings high enough to support his family in comfort; instead, real wages continue to fall in the face of inflation. What can be done to turn this situation around?

MOBILIZE

First, the strength of the union must be mobilized. Under reformist leadership, the UAW has forfeited its historic role as the powerhouse of organized labor, the role it played when the CIO was organized. Today, the union's strength is eroding as mass unemployment shrinks its numbers. At the same time, it faces an auto industry which is well-prepared to resist strike action.

The corporations have a back-log of inventories averaging 86 days, and so they could afford to sit through a months-long strike hoping to starve the union out. When the industry could ill afford a long strike, Woodcock used the treacherous Apache strategy to kill local militancy. Instead of winning a decisive national victory when the union was dealing from a position of strength, he allowed the industry to gain the upper hand that they hold today.

Despite the relative change in the relation of forces, the workers still have the potential power to smash the bosses' attack. What is required is careful preparation and coordination. Local militancy cannot be left to itself, as in the past. The struggle cannot be confined to the economic level—it must gear itself to a fight on the political level as well, in response to the anti-labor schemes of Democrats and Republicans alike.

EMERGENCY CONGRESSES

Militants must press for local and regional emergency congresses of the UAW as the first step towards deciding a strategy. At every union meeting the local bureaucrats must be put on the spot; the ranks must demand that they be given the opportunity to make decisions for themselves through these mass meetings. In addition, workers must demand that the union organize mass demonstrations to protest the layoffs and the failure to provide SUB benefits.

onslaught. The Revolutionary Socialist League would propose the following to the local and regional emergency congresses and to the factory committees:

The Revolutionary Program

First, make the bosses pay for full benefits to every unemployed worker.

Next, solve the unemployment crisis by demanding guaranteed jobs for all by dividing all work equally among all willing to work: a sliding scale of hours, to begin now with thirty hours work for forty hours pay.

As a further step to guarantee full employment, workers should demand a massive public works program, to be financed by taxing the corporations, which will rebuild the decaying cities and provide other needed services. Pay must be at full union rates.

To combat inflation's toll, workers need the guarantee that wages will increase at least as rapidly as inflation. Full cost of living escalator clauses; a sliding scale of wages.

The mass misery being inflicted by the auto giants proves decisively that workers cannot allow the capitalist class to determine their destiny. The auto industry must be taken out of the hands of GM, Ford and Chrysler and placed in the hands of the workers: nationalization of auto under workers' control.

The fight for this program cannot be confined to the factory, local or even regional level, where it can be once more isolated and crushed. The RSL sees the calling of these meetings as the first step towards the convening of an emergency national congress of the UAW, where the entire strength of the union could be mobilized. At the local and regional mass meetings we would fight for this call.

CONGRESS OF LABOR

And further, the struggle cannot be contained on the economic level, nor inside the trade unions alone. Advanced workers should demand that the unions convene a Congress of Labor and the Oppressed, a national mass meeting of democratically chosen representatives of all working people. On the agenda at the Congress would be the launching of an independent labor party to fight for the interests of the working class and against the capitalists' Democratic and Republican Parties. We would call for the labor party to adopt the program that we have proposed here, and that it conceive of itself as a revolutionary instrument fighting for a workers' government.

This is the program and the strategy proposed by the Revolutionary Socialist League. Immediately, the key struggle will be to establish factory committees and to convene the local and regional emergency congresses, to provide forums for deciding upon the strategy and tactics to be used. Every local action taken must be geared in this way, towards uniting workers against their enemy.

The strike is still an absolutely essential weapon in the hands of the workers; but to prevent it from being used by the bosses as a means for demoralizing the proletariat, strike actions must aim at drawing in the broadest mass of workers. To prevent Woodcock from once more using strikes to sap militancy, militants must demand that the UAW mobilize the fullest support from the entire labor movement for its actions. Advanced workers should propagandize today for regional and national work stoppages, leading to a general strike against the capitalist offensive.

In the course of struggle, a new leadership must be forged to overthrow the present reformist class collaborators. The Revolutionary Socialist League works to build such a leadership in the trade unions and the working class. The program and strategy proposed here provide the road forward for workers. At every step of the way, from the factory committees and local mass meetings onwards, increasing numbers of workers will become convinced of the need to fight with us to break the back of the capitalist machine and to join with us to build the revolutionary leadership needed to see the struggle through to victory.

UAW ranks must not let SUB run out: Full benefits for all auto workers as long as layoffs last, paid for by the corporations! But SUB can be no substitute for the revolutionary program outlined here.

thousands of its members will be totally dependent on state unemployment compensation, which provides barely 40 per cent of take-home pay. When this pittance runs out, they too will face the impossible prospect of trying to survive on welfare benefits.

DEPRESSION AHEAD

International capitalism is headed for a full-scale depression, and the bosses know that their survival is dependent on grinding the working class into the dirt. The UAW is under brutal attack, and the mighty union of the autoworkers has a special responsibility in building the working class offensive to smash the capitalists' assault.

The Woodcock leadership's response to the emergency in the UAW has been absolutely predictable. These well-heeled reformists have suggested that autoworkers give their recent 15-cents COL increase to the SUB fund! Thousands of UAW members are facing the welfare rolls, and Leonard's main concern is with taking some of the heat off of the poor capitalists.

At the same time, militant workers must see to it that the layoffs don't sap the union's strength. They should raise the demand of factory committees to unite employed and unemployed auto workers. One of the key tasks of the factory committees would be raising the call for immediate local and regional emergency congresses of the union.

But all the meetings in the world will do no good unless there is a clear line of defense, and from there a strategy of attack, presented. This means, in the first place, demanding a united response from the entire trade union movement. The deepening economic crisis has spread layoffs to steel, glass, rubber, plastics and a host of other industries. Militants must demand that the union leadership mobilize the entire organized labor movement to resist the attacks that are hitting all working people. But no faith can be put in the bureaucracy: at the same time, militants in the various industries must seek to make links between one another.

And all the links in the world will be of no avail unless there is a clear program in response to the

Editorial

Unemployment and Public Works

The massive and growing unemployment in the U.S., accelerated by the depression in the auto industry, has undermined President Ford's rosy picture of solving the economic crisis through a budget-balancing anti-inflation program. For months, Ford allowed the unemployment sore to fester while urging consumer restraint, tightening the money supply and generally taking measures which only deepened the recession.

Now Ford is hopping to the other foot, with the servile labor bureaucracy in tow. Proposals are spewing forth daily to stimulate the economy and reduce unemployment, each contradicting the next. One day Ford talks about a five per cent income tax surcharge; the next he shifts to discussing sweeping tax reductions. One day Ford is for balancing the federal budget to fight inflation; the next he is for accepting proposals to launch deficit spending programs to cope with the recession.

Neither Ford nor the Democrats can come to grips with the combined inflation and recession wracking the domestic economy. Every attempt of theirs to combat one only makes the other that much worse.

6.5 MILLION JOBLESS

But they must pretend to have a solution. December's 7.1 per cent unemployment rate translates in human terms to 6.5 million unemployed by official figures—figures which conceal "hidden" unemployment in the millions. And the 6.5 million out of work is the highest total since the end of the Great Depression in 1940.

The end is not in sight. Administration officials project at least 8 per cent unemployment this year—that is, over seven million jobless. Unofficially, the predictions go as high as 10 to 12 per cent, which would mean over ten million unemployed.

As politicians, Ford and the Democrats realize that they must do something to avert a mass response from the working class. Today, most workers are passive and conservative on the surface, trying to roll with the blows. But this will not last forever. The American bourgeoisie is not yet ready for an all-out test of strength with the proletariat, and must attempt to lull them into quiescence while the ruling class sharpens more powerful weapons.

Therefore, the capitalist parties must at least appear to be doing something about the spreading unemployment. This is where federally-financed public works programs, as put forward in Congress, come into the picture.

Ford and the Democrats have agreed on something called the Emergency Jobs Act, which is receiving a lot of play in the press as a crash public works program to fight unemployment. It is a complete fraud.

The bill provides for a maximum funding of \$5.5 billion, with the amount of money released depending upon the unemployment level. Despite today's soaring jobless figures, the plans are to provide only \$1 billion in the foreseeable future. And the most generous estimate is that the act would provide 375,000 new jobs—a drop in the bucket that would not even meet increased unemployment, let alone reduce the current jobless total.

MEANY

George Meany and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy castigate Ford in print for causing the economic crisis, yet their proposals are virtually identical with the administration's. Meany's program, printed in the December 14 AFL-CIO News, limits itself to requesting the release of a few billion dollars for public works. Meany emphasizes the need to channel most of this money into construction.

Construction is in severe crisis, but this is not the main reason why Meany focuses on this area. Meany's base is among the skilled building trades unions. The pittance that Meany wants released

cannot even scratch the general unemployment, but that is not his goal. Meany wants to provide crumbs to his base among white skilled workers, leaving the rest of the proletariat to fend for itself. Thus this criminal only deepens the divisions inside the working class when a unified class-wide response is so urgently needed.

Revolutionaries demand public works, but not these disgusting tokens. We call for a massive public works program to provide jobs for all willing to work, with the funds taken directly from corporate profits. We demand that these programs not be mere hole-filling, but aim at providing for the crying needs of the mass of the population.

ROTTING CITIES

The cities are in a state of advanced decay, left to rot throughout the post-war boom. Education, transportation, health care, housing and the polluted environment are disaster areas. And with the end of the boom, conditions are becoming even more desperate. Every major city in the U.S. is in the throes of the economic crisis, and public employees are being thrown out of work just when public services are needed the most.

It is to these kinds of needs that a public works program should be addressed. And this would mean a funding not of \$5.5 billion, but of well over \$50 billion. The figure may seem high, but more is siphoned into the "defense" sector every year. Instead of funds accumulating in the coffers of the giant monopolies, the labor of the working class must be turned to meeting its own needs.

We demand that public works be under trade union control and provide wages at union rates. Roosevelt's "New Deal" public works programs exploited labor at subsistence wages. More recently, welfare recipients have been forced to work at welfare rates and have been used to displace trade unionists. Workers cannot tolerate subsistence wages, nor allow the bourgeoisie to further split the proletariat through a scab-herding program. Pay at union rates!

All workers must demand full cost of living escalator clauses to cope with inflation. The Ford-Meany public works program would be financed through deficit spending. This means taxing the working class, since deficit spending accelerates inflation and thus cuts real wages. Make the bosses pay for the program and guarantee wage increases to match inflation!

JOBS FOR ALL

Finally, militants must demand public works in the context of demanding jobs for all. Public works must be part of a program to insure work for all willing to work by cutting the work-week at no loss of pay. A sliding scale of hours—begin now with 30 hours work for 40 hours pay!

This is the kind of public works program that will meet the needs of the working class, employed and unemployed. It is a program that will unite the different sectors of the class by providing decent conditions for all; that will provide work for all; that will guarantee protection against inflation's ravages; and that will rebuild the decrepit cities and end the misery of ghetto life.

Compare this with the Ford-Meany program. Their proposals will do hardly a thing about unemployment; will pay workers on government projects at subsistence wages; will be financed from the backs of the proletariat; will leave workers defenseless against inflation; and will leave the cities to decay still more. Their program is intended to lull and divide workers and to safeguard the interests of the capitalists.

The sham program of Ford and the treachery of the labor bureaucrats must be exposed and rejected by class conscious workers. Workers must counterpose to their public works proposals the program put forward here—the revolutionary solution, the only meaningful course for the working class.

League Forum

-Detroit

PERMANENT REVOLUTION: BLACK LIBERATION AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TRINITY METHODIST CHURCH

13100 WOODWARD AVE.

HIGHLAND PARK

SPEAKER: SY LANDY, PC MEMBER

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2 7:30 P.M.

LEAGUE DIRECTORY

NATIONAL OFFICE:

R.S.L.
13755 Woodward Ave., Room 200
Highland Park, Mich. 48203

CHICAGO

R.S.L.
160 North Halsted St.
Chicago, Illinois 60606

CLEVELAND:

R.S.L.
P.O. Box 5162
Cleveland, Ohio 44101

DETROIT:

R.S.L.
13755 Woodward Ave., Room 200
Highland Park, Mich. 48203

LOS ANGELES:

R.S.L.
1910 S. Vermont
Los Angeles, Calif. 90007

NEW YORK:

R.S.L.
41 Union Square W., Room 925
New York, N.Y. 10003

Subscribe to the TORCH TODAY!

12 issues, \$1.00
26 issues, \$3.00
supporting subscription, \$5.00

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ Send to:
The Torch, Room 200
13755 Woodward Avenue
ZIP _____ Highland Park, Mich. 48203

©1975 by the Revolutionary Socialist League Publishing Company

Editor: Jack Gregory
Managing Editor: Derek Hirst

Published monthly at 13755 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.
Subscriptions: (including Mexico and Canada) 26 issues for \$3.00; supporting, \$5.00; foreign-seamail, \$4.50; foreign airmail (unsealed), \$14.00
Domestic introductory subscriptions: 6 issues for \$5.00; 12 issues for \$1.00

PRINTED ENTIRELY BY UNION LABOR
Other labor donated

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of The Torch or of the RSL.

LETTERS

Send letters to: The Torch, 13755 Woodward Avenue, Room 200, Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Free Desmond Trotter!

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

Desmond Trotter, who was on a joint charge of murder with Roy Mason, has been convicted and sentenced to hang whilst Roy has been acquitted. A true freedom fighter who has been working zealously for change in Dominica and who is innocent faces the hangman's noose. The state, utilizing its corrupt CID police, a dishonest prosecutorial judge and a vicious rumor campaign, has succeeded, for the moment, in pushing through its framed-up case. Of course an appeal has been filed. Defense lawyer Maurice Bishop has recommended that a highly considered lawyer (Ford) of Barbados be approached to handle the appeal. Backing up the appeal lawyer will be a team consisting of Bishop, Brian Alleyne and Allan Alexander (Trinidad).

Due to the political mistake of not generating public support and failing to publicly place the case squarely in its political context, public outcry (except for the youths) has been weak. M.N.D. heeded the defense lawyers plea for no publicity prior to and during the case. At this point we can no longer be quiet. Besides organizing a number of local fund-raising drives there are plans to open public discussions.

We are appealing to you, supporters

and friends of M.N.D., to assist us in the weeks and months ahead. The Appeal Hearing is likely to take place in mid-December. The Appeal Fund to cover expenses like legal fees, transportation, lodging, etc., has been launched locally. The target is BWI \$10,000. (Appeal lawyer fee alone is estimated at \$5,000.) Whatever financial assistance you can provide will be much appreciated. Cheques or Bank Orders should be made out to "Defense Fund" No. Q 03: 767-1 and sent to: The Bank Manager, Barclays International, Queen Mary's Street Branch, Roseau, Dominica (Confidential). In addition cables or lettergrams from individuals and/or groups demanding Desmond Trotter's immediate release should be sent to: The Honourable Premier Patrick John, Gov't. Headquarters, Roseau, Dominica, with copies to Reuters Agency, Bridgetown, Barbados and to M.N.D. (address below.).

Free Desmond! FREE DESMOND NOW!

Yours in struggle,
Worton Lestrade
Ron Green
for the Movement for a New
Dominica (MND)
No. 6 Canal Lane
Goodwill, Dominica

UNITE AGAINST R.U. THUGGERY

Reprinted below is a letter from the RSL proposing a united front to establish the right of revolutionary organizations to sell and distribute literature at the Maoist "Long March" center in Los Angeles. The letter is addressed to the convenors of the Violence on the Left conferences which the RSL participated in last September (see Torch No. 15). Once again, the RSL stands as the only organization consistently combatting Stalinist thuggery as a necessary part of the struggle for political leadership in the working class.

It has long been known that the Long March, now chiefly inhabited by the Revolutionary Union, engages in systematic exclusion of "Trotskyists" from participating in Long March functions or distributing literature in front of the Long March. This policy reflects the Maoists' political cowardice in refusing to confront revolutionary Trotskyist ideas, attempting to keep its membership and periphery 'uncontaminated.'

This fear of losing supporters is manifested in an internal hysteria campaign against Trotskyism as a subject never to be broached except as an epithet, and externally in thug activities against all who constitute a

political threat. This policy was not created by the RU—it has its roots in Stalinism, which substitutes slander and terror for proletarian participation and consciousness. Stalinism cannot permit true revolutionary debate because this could lead to the overthrow of the bureaucratic, bourgeois props which maintain the Stalinist misleaders. The RU follows in this "glorious tradition."

The RU's current 'left turn' on the black, Russian and trade union questions has only increased the leadership's fear of political combat—the fear that their whitewash of Stalinism and the utter discrepancy between the RU's literary 'leftism' and their opportunistic practice will be exposed.

For example, the RU stands in mortal fear that its position on Russian state capitalism will be exposed for the apology for Stalin and his role in leading the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union that it actually is. In addition, the RU on paper stands for the revolutionary demands of blacks and other minorities, but in practice tells the oppressed to subordinate their struggle for equality by explaining that the main danger in the working class is not

white racism but black nationalism. This is simply another instance of the class-dividing strategies of all centrist and reformist groupings.

The fact that subjectively revolutionary elements are currently being attracted to the RU's false leftism makes it all the more important for revolutionaries to fight for our program against the RU's misleaders. The question of workers democracy is not an abstract question of politeness among left groups, but of the class struggle itself. It is only through this struggle that the working class can be convinced of revolutionary Marxism. The RU, by demonstrating its unwillingness to put its ideas to the test in the crucible of the class struggle reveals itself as an obstacle to workers' revolution. In seeking to quarantine the proletariat from revolutionary Marxist ideas, the RU proves itself a roadblock in the path to social revolution which must be politically defeated and destroyed. The RSL would fail in its revolutionary duty to the working class if we allowed such a situation as that at the Long March to continue.

The RSL will establish our right to sell and distribute literature at the
Cont'd. p. 16

Spartacists Defeated in NY Debate

Dear Comrades,

The SL-RSL debate on economic perspectives Oct. 26, which we attended as critical supporters of the Spartacist League, only deepened the question marks in our minds about the SL economic perspectives and methodology. As to the question of Marxist methodology, we stand with Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* which presumably puts us in conflict with the RSL as well as the SL. However, the cohesion of the RSL presentation in the New York debate (particularly when contrasted with the relative

formlessness of the Spartacist presentation) makes us wonder whether the RSL might not in the future reconcile what to us appears to be contradictory stands on the economic crisis and the question of Soviet defensism.

We are very much interested in raising our questions with RSL representatives, who presumably can also discuss the Spartacist League and the Workers League, the other groups we have been investigating.

Names withheld
Baltimore, Maryland

Surrealism

Comrade Editor:

Some readers may have wondered at the allusion in Torch No. 17 to "the burning question of surrealism" ("Workers Vanguard Embraces 'Truth'" by Chris Hudson). Whatever the author's intent, the sarcasm is unfortunate given that the RSL recognizes the extreme importance of culture in both the broad and narrow sense. The question of raising the cultural level of the revolutionary workers and of the masses in general is an issue about which no Trotskyist can afford to be ironical.

It is a weakness of the Left that surrealism specifically has not been more closely examined. It is a burning question and will remain so for some time. This weakness was reflected in Kevin Tracey, ideological leader of the "Truth" clique. Trotsky's interest in surrealism in its healthiest manifestation Tracey takes to be a sanctification of anyone claiming to be a revolution-

ary surrealist. There is little evidence that Tracey has examined the question beyond this point. The clique consciously distorts Trotsky's views on art and my views on surrealism and Franklin Rosemont, leader of an American surrealist grouping. To criticize Rosemont, in the clique's eyes, is to be Stalinist.

It may be true that the clique blew the question up—were forced to, since they believe that criticism of art necessarily implies banning or jailing artists. They did not blow the question up from any regard for cultural questions, but in order to protect a philistine laissez-faire pose towards art which lets them off the hook whenever an artist claims to be revolutionary. When F. Scott Fitzgerald mentioned himself as a "Marxian," the clique, to be consistent, would have found the evidence for the claim.

Freedom of artistic expression lays the groundwork for the future culture of socialism. The question of whether surrealism is in fact in opposition to bourgeois culture must for the time being remain a question of dispute. The idea that sharp criticism of Rosemont constitutes violation of artistic freedom leads to a quarantining of artists. Such a view, which Tracey holds, flows from a thorough skepticism regarding the real potential of artists to contribute to the political process of making the revolution. Writers for *The Torch* must avoid succumbing to such a view.

Comradely,
Derek Hirst

A Torch Pamphlet

CHILE: Never Again!

HOW THE REVOLUTION WAS BETRAYED

Available soon in its Second Edition, with a new introduction by Shelley Kramer.

Order from:
Haymarket Books 25¢
160 N. Halsted
Chicago, Illinois 60606

DEFEND THE IRA!

The British ruling class has opened a savage campaign of repression against the organized left in Britain and Ireland. Under the cover of the Labour Party government, a government which pretends to rule in the name of the working class, a racist and anti-communist hysteria has been fomented overnight.

The excuse given for these actions is the bombings of several Birmingham pubs on the evening of November 21. These bombings, which killed 19 innocent people and injured over 200 others, have been attributed to the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

The Provisionals have made a practice of taking credit for their actions. They have specifically denied responsibility for the Birmingham explosions. Evidence indicates that the explosions were the work of provocateurs.

In recent years, several paid agents of the British Special Branch have openly admitted committing a series of such crimes for the government while claiming that they were done by the IRA. It is reasonable to assume that the latest bombings were an example of the same ruling class tactics.

REPRESSION

There is further evidence. On the heels of the bombings, the Labour government rushed a "Prevention of Terrorism" Act through Parliament which gives it sweeping powers to attack every group in the organized

Kingdom and connected with Northern Irish affairs, or in promoting or encouraging it." A political organization may be banned for simply voicing sympathy for the IRA under the deliberately vague wording of the act. Membership in such organizations is a crime, and even to support these groups "financially or in other ways" is an offense. Irish people not resident in Britain for over 20 years can be summarily deported to Ireland. Any suspect can be arrested without warrant and detained for a period of time without charges or legal council. And these are just a few of the measures included in the legislation.

Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, who introduced the legislation, himself termed it "Draconian." Yet these measures had been held in readiness for 18 months. There should be little doubt that the British bourgeoisie rubbed its hands with glee at the news of the Birmingham bombings; the odds are that Birmingham was from start to finish a government set-up.

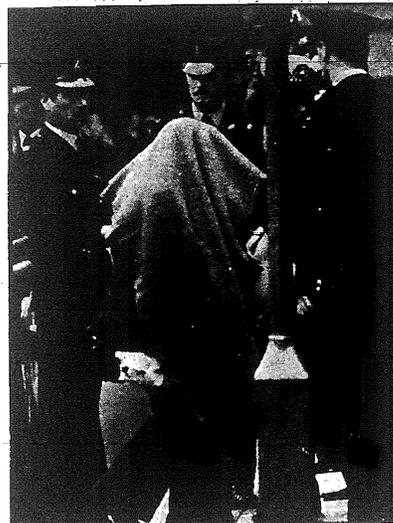
The "Prevention of Terrorism" Act, which gives the state free reign to attack the left, is the opening gun in an all-out offensive to divide and smash both the Irish revolutionary movement and the British working class. The British ruling class is

clament in order to increase the exploitation of labor.

So as soon as the emergency legislation was passed, the state began its round-up of the IRA—Officials as well as Provisionals. The police stepped up their harassment of the International Marxist Group, a centrist tendency labeled as "extreme left" by the British press. Police and military units are holding well-publicized maneuvers calculated to cow political opponents. Meanwhile, fascist and right-wing paramilitary groups continue to grow and are making inroads among the petty bourgeoisie and backward sections of the working class.

The Labour Party is playing as treacherous a role as it ever has in its long history of class treason. Its role in carrying out the bourgeois attack is the most blatant example of the entire method by which the Labour government has sacrificed the working class to the bourgeoisie since the day it took office.

Consequently, sectors of the proletariat have become increasingly disil-



"Suspected IRA member" being arrested. Repressive legislation gives British ruling class free reign to imprison all opponents and smash workers' organizations.

the IRA and the Irish revolution in the back.

DEFEND THE IRA!

Marxists give unswerving defense to the IRA against the ruling class attacks. We are sharply critical of individual terrorist actions; terrorism is self-defeating because it fails to organize a class conscious proletarian movement. Instead, it tells the proletariat to rely on saviours rather than struggling in its own name. But when we criticize the politics and tactics of the IRA we do so in a way that makes no concessions to the oppressors.

Our criticism is designed to help forge a movement that will carry the Irish revolution forward by struggling for revolutionary strategy, tactics and leadership. But we call for the unions and the workers to defend the IRA from both the political and the physical attacks of capitalism.

The IRA is a petty-bourgeois group which does not and cannot understand that success for the Irish struggle requires proletarian revolution. Its tactical mistakes flow from its class position. For example, the IRA's quasi-acceptance of partition of Northern Ireland capitulates to British imperialism and divides the Irish struggle. Terrorist tactics similarly divide the struggle and serve as an excuse for bourgeois repression.

But for as long as the IRA fights British imperialism, even though in a bad fashion, we will defend the IRA against the bourgeoisie and urge that revolutionaries support it militarily. No matter whose hand touched off the Birmingham disaster, the real villain is British capitalism, which has divided, exploited and oppressed the Irish people for centuries and caused many to resort to individual acts of terrorism out of rage and frustration.

British imperialism is the assassin in Birmingham. The reformist and centrist judas goats who cover for this deed and help the bourgeoisie deepen their terrorist campaign against the Irish and British workers are accomplices in crime. They must be forced to answer to the working class.

Revolutionaries must stand firmly at the side of the IRA. DEFEND THE IRA!

British imperialism is the assassin in Birmingham. The bombings are a ruse to smash working class movements.



British troops in Northern Ireland. Martial law has crossed Irish Sea, as capitalists open vicious attack against Irish liberation movement and British working class.

left. Although it was garbed as an immediate response to Birmingham, a leading bourgeois publication, The Observer, has revealed that the act was drawn up 18 months before the bombings. It has been held in the wings by the ruling class, who needed a pretense for creating the mass hysteria required to gain public acceptance for these measures.

The new laws ban the IRA. It empowers the Home Secretary to proscribe "any organization that appears to him to be concerned in terrorism occurring in the United

conscious that an alliance between these two forces could spell doom for capitalism. It is using the current hysteria to enable its bourgeois minions in Ireland, north and south, to crack down on the Irish left. In Britain it uses the same incidents to begin the repression not only of the IRA but of the British working class movement.

The British rulers cannot wait much longer. As the international economy slides downward, the chronic crisis of British capitalism becomes extremely acute. The only solution for the British bourgeoisie is to smash the working

lusioned with the Labour leadership and have turned to the left wing of the party, the Left Labour reformists. They will find that these fakery are no better.

This so-called "left" leadership has capitulated down the line on the Irish question. Left Labour representatives in Parliament voted unanimously for the repressive legislation.

In the past few years thousands of workers have become disillusioned with the reformism of mainstream Labour and Left Labour and have been attracted to the so-called "extreme left" groups. The largest of these, the centrist International Socialism (IS) has compiled a treacherous record in the aftermath of Birmingham.

IS claims to defend the Irish revolution. But their deeds in the crucible of the class struggle reveals their words to be nothing but lies.

IS's newspaper, Socialist Worker, ran a blazing slogan-headline shortly after the bombings: "All socialists must condemn these senseless killings. STOP THE BOMBINGS!" Incessantly repeated by IS, this slogan is precisely the line of the bourgeoisie and its labor-fakers. Instead of focusing on defense of the IRA, IS caters to the right-wing hysteria in hopes of pleasing backward sectors of workers. IS thus stabs

LAYOFFS MOUNT

Cont'd. from p. 1

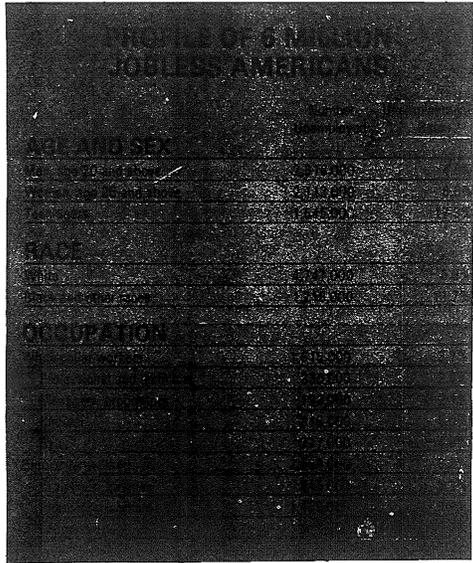
creased 0.4 per cent. From September to November, it shot up 1.1 per cent, with November alone accounting for 0.5 per cent. December's figures, led by the enormous layoffs in auto, will be worse yet.

These government statistics hide much of the truth. They do not include the many workers who have given up looking for work, or the housewives who have never even tried to break into the shrinking job market. The million full-time workers who are on short-weeks do not appear in these statistics, nor do the part-time workers seeking full-time jobs. The extensive loss of over-time, bringing the average work week to a record low of 37.3 hours, further impoverishing the working class, does not appear in the unemployment rate.

THE END OF THE POST-WAR BOOM

The growth in unemployment is not a passing occurrence. While there may be economic upswings that nibble at the unemployment rate, the long-term direction of the capitalist economy is leading towards an unemployment rate well beyond the seven or eight per cent now predicted by bourgeois economists. The end of the post-war boom will mean a period of horrifying social and economic crisis unless the proletariat intervenes to overthrow capitalism.

Automobile production and the construction field paced the post-war boom in the United States. The auto industry expanded until approximately one out of every six jobs in the economy was directly or indirectly dependent upon it. The construction and



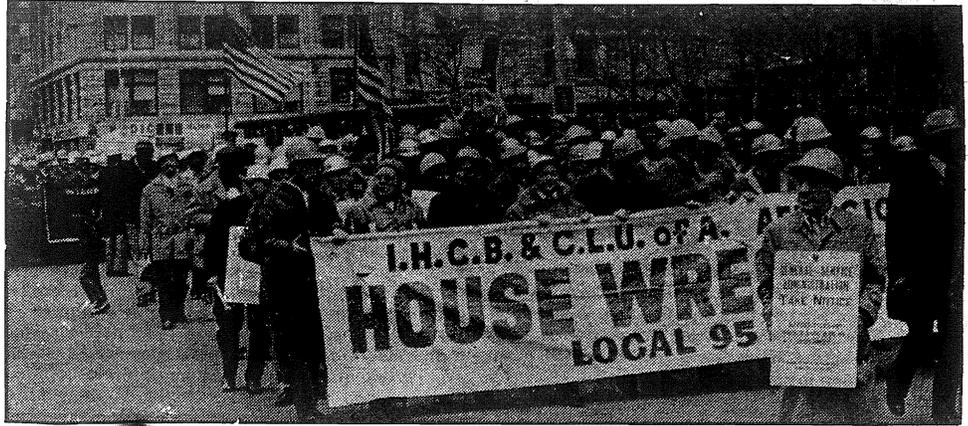
building materials industry, and particularly residential housing construction, burgeoned until it accounted for 12 per cent of the U.S. Gross National Product. Both these industries were gorged by the tremendous growth of consumer credit.

As the U.S. was hit by intensified inflation, the costs of automobiles increased while the workers were increasingly less able to afford the cars produced. The energy crisis which has led to the near doubling of the price of gasoline and the soaring interest rates on auto loans put additional nails in the coffin. Auto sales in 1974 were 35 per cent below 1973 and are still deteriorating.

Profits followed sales: GM recorded a drop of 94 per cent in the third quarter. With unsold cars piling up, all the auto companies have drastically cut their work force. All told the layoffs in December passed the 200,000 mark. Rubber and glass, industries dependent on the auto industry, are feeling the shock waves. Steel, which suffered layoffs as a result of the coal strike, will not be far behind.

The slump in housing construction is worse.

Building permits issued in 1974 were only 42 per cent of the 1973 figure. Single family homes suffered most, with new starts falling six per cent from September to October alone. Total housing construction has fallen from a 1972 high of 2.4 million units to 1.1 million in 1974. Failures among construction firms ran 25 per cent ahead of 1973. For construction workers, this meant 15 per cent



Construction workers march against mass unemployment and non-union employment. American flags illustrate conservatism and chauvinism nurtured by sell-out tactics of labor bureaucracy.

unemployment in December. In some areas the rate is 45 per cent or more. Over 250,000 construction jobs have been eliminated since February.

The depression-like conditions in housing stem from the same factors that have crippled auto. Housing is especially dependent on credit. The general shortage of loan capital sent interest rates soaring. Capital flowed away from the Savings and Loans institutions, the principal source of mortgages, to investments that paid a higher return. Mortgages became increasingly difficult to secure and extremely costly. Land speculation sent the price of land (the largest single factor in the increased cost of buying a home) through the ceiling. Combined with falling real wages and the growing unemployment, this placed privately-owned homes out of the reach of increasing numbers of workers.

The decline in these and related industries was partially offset over the last two years by a spurt in demand for capital goods. In the face of shortages, general deterioration of plant and equipment and increased competition internationally, corporations stepped up their orders for machine tools and other capital goods. In the last few months the resultant boom in the capital goods sector has begun to collapse. Orders for plant and equipment fell by 8.2 per cent from September to October. Machine tool orders dropped 32 per cent from the second to the third quarter of 1974.

IMPERIALISM

The U.S. helped itself out of the 1969-70 recession through naked imperialist power plays that strengthened the U.S. trade position at the expense of other nations. This led to an increase in U.S. exports which in turn helped to offset the economic crisis for a time. Today, nearly all Western capitalist nations are in slumps, making a repeat of the 1971-72-73 "solution" virtually impossible.

One extremely important aspect of the layoffs is their uneven nature. Despite the ballyhoo about the great progress made in the conditions of black people, in October blacks suffered from an official unemployment rate of 10.9 per cent. Even more than the official statistics for average unemployment, this figure hides the real extent of joblessness among black workers.

Women continue to suffer substantially greater unemployment than men. The worst hit are young workers. 16.9 per cent of workers from 16-19 years of age were jobless in October. Among young black,

workers, unemployment was at the catastrophic level of 34.5 per cent, far above the general unemployment rate during the worst years of the depression. Young veterans suffer from a jobless rate of 11.7 per cent. The uneven impact of the economic crisis is a powerful lever in the hands of the bourgeoisie's strategy of divide and rule.

THE AMERICAN DREAM

The American dream of ever-greater numbers of families owning their own home and car has vanished. Many workers still have the illusion that this is not true, that in a year or two things will

return to "normal." This illusion is extremely dangerous. It encourages a conservative response among workers, who tell themselves that there is no need to struggle, since things will improve before too long.

Increasingly, this reasoning is giving way to another form of conservatism. As workers realize that the current crisis cannot be wished away, many decide that there is no way to fight back, that conditions are so bad that each individual must fend for himself. They hope that if they don't kick up a fuss that they will be able to get a better deal for themselves as individuals.

Conservatism is often the first reaction of the bulk of the working class to massive layoffs. The

Cont'd. next page

Permanent Revolution: BLACK LIBERATION AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

This pamphlet contains the resolution on black liberation passed by the RSL's founding convention in 1973, and two supplementary resolutions. The RSL is the only organization which correctly understands this question—the most crucial democratic question facing American revolutionaries.

Order from: Haymarket Books, 160 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Illinois 60606

A Torch Pamphlet

35¢

Cont'd. from p. 7

sharp rise in unemployment has made the wave of strikes which began in April and declined sharply in September, one of its first victims. The conservatism is reflected on the job as well. The number of grievances filed by working UAW members has declined sharply since the layoffs picked up. Many locals, from the rubber workers to the building trades, are accepting "voluntary" wage freezes in a vain attempt to prevent layoffs.

The conservatism flows in part from the nature of the proletariat, oppressed by capitalism. The worker in capitalist society exists for one reason: to sell his labor-power to the capitalist in return for a wage. When it cannot employ, bourgeois society has no use for the worker. He is treated as a parasite, a loafer. The proletariat feels this insult and humiliation deeply, as deeply as the physical misery of impoverishment.

Separated from the process of production, the unemployed can lose their sense of being part of the working class. The despair of permanent unemployment breeds a desperation to get a job or an income through any means. Unemployed workers may then fall victim to the bourgeois ploy, fighting to take jobs away from employed workers.

THE BUREAUCRATS

But the real responsibility for conservatism and demoralization rests on the sloping shoulders of the labor bureaucracy. These fakers have consistently sold out workers' struggles; they present no strategy to lead the workers forward today, to demonstrate that the workers do indeed have the strength to beat back the bosses' offensive if they act in a unified manner. In this way the bureaucracy serves capitalism by dividing and demoralizing the

working class. Indeed, many workers correctly see that the old, trade union methods of struggle are no longer effective. They are hanging back, looking for new ways to advance.

The workers are angry. They have mass organizations. With a leadership to point the way, they would be willing to engage in the most courageous struggles. But the labor leadership continues to thwart to the workers' struggles.

Class conscious workers must resist the growing attacks of unemployment, inflation and the eroding economic situation. They must counterpose a class struggle program to solve the crisis to the bourgeois program of attack and to the class collaborationist strategy of the bureaucracy. The program presented in *The Torch* is the workers' solution to the crisis. It is central to the task of constructing a revolutionary leadership to throw out the labor hacks and to mobilize the united strength of the working class.

Steelworkers: Fight The Coming Depression

A STRATEGY FOR REVOLUTION

This bulletin was issued in Chicago by the Steelworkers Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist League. It presents the programmatic basis for mobilizing a class-wide response to the massive layoffs, now spreading to steel.

Steelworkers got a taste of the future last month. 14,000 of us were laid off at US Steel's South and Gary Works alone, and many others were put on a short week. The layoffs surprised workers in departments that hadn't laid off in 30 years. And on top of that came the news that the company wasn't paying us SUB benefits.

The layoffs didn't last very long. But the end of the miners' strike doesn't mean we won't face layoffs again. The capitalist economy is headed for a depression. Massive numbers of auto, construction and electrical appliance workers have already been laid off. The steel industry will begin to collapse with the rest of the economy. And the layoffs that follow will not be just two weeks—they will be permanent.

WHY THE CRISIS?

The capitalist system once spurred tremendous growth in mankind's wealth. But since 1900 it has hindered that growth.

The root of the crisis is the falling rate of profit: the bosses can't generate the capital to totally overhaul the productive forces as they did in the early days of capitalism. So the productive forces rot—as evidenced by the 50-year-old machines in any steel mill. And the workers are faced with shortages, inflation and layoffs.

The bosses try to maintain their rule despite capitalism's decay. This requires ever more ruthless methods. They attack each other in world wars in order to destroy competing capitals and steal markets and resources from each other. It was only after World War II that capitalism achieved even a temporary stability.

They also attack the working class' living standards in a desperate search for profits. We have suffered layoffs, speed-up, inflation, wage freezes and higher taxes in the last few years as the bosses try to squeeze all they can from us.

The crisis is now worsening daily. It will threaten the very survival of the working class. The danger of World War III is most obvious in the scramble of the major imperialist powers for control over the Middle East's oil. In the U.S., larger sections of the working class will be driven to starvation, as is happening in other parts of the world. And, like the German bosses in the last depression, the American capitalists will resort to fascism if it is needed to enforce their program.

The worst part of the attack is that the power of the working class is not being mobilized to fight it. The leaders of all the major unions (hacks like Meany, Woodcock and Abel) are class-

have been lost since 1965). And Abel has taken away our only defense against these attacks, the right to strike.

Class-collaborationists will always hold back the struggle. By tying the workers to the decaying capitalist system, they stand in the way of the only solution to capitalism's crisis—its revolutionary overthrow by the working class.

Today, most workers understand that they are under attack, but see no way to fight back. A growing number of workers understand the need for revolution but have no strategy to make one. The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) and its newspaper, *The Torch*, is providing that strategy.

The task today is to build a leadership, by cohering revolutionary-minded workers around a revolutionary program. With such a program, revolutionaries can reach the rest of the working class, and can strengthen and unify it. The militancy of rank and file workers can be unleashed, the class-collaborationist hacks driven out and the unions used as a weapon in the struggle for Socialism.

RSL'S PROGRAM

Our program consists of revolutionary solutions—measures the workers in power would carry out—posed in the form that can be fought for today. It enables us to fight alongside workers who don't believe a revolution is needed, so we can prove this to them in struggle. It is a program to defend the class and at the same time win workers to the revolutionary banner.

To unify the working class, we call for a Congress of Labor and the Oppressed. The Congress would be an emergency meeting to map out a strategy to fight the bosses' attacks. It would be attended by elected delegates from unions, revolutionary organizations and black and Latin community groups. At the Congress, we would propose a sliding scale of hours and wages to make the bosses pay for unemployment and inflation. Cut the workweek and divide up the

work until all are employed. Provide full cost of living escalators for all workers and pensioners. We know the capitalists can't afford these measures—they can hardly afford to produce when our wages are frozen. Our response is to nationalize industry under workers' control.

The capitalists will fight this program tooth and nail, using all the means of repression at their disposal. The RSL calls for workers' defense guards to defend the picket lines against police violence, and to fight fascist attacks against workers and blacks and Latins.

We call for the Congress of Labor to build a Labor Party armed with a revolutionary program to lead the working class' struggle. The fight must be carried through to socialist revolution—the seizure of the government and the productive forces by the working class.

IS IT REALISTIC?

To some people, the above program will sound unrealistic. But the only thing "unrealistic" about it is that workers today don't have the leadership to carry it through. A revolutionary leadership will win workers to an understanding of the need for this program, while building the strength and unity of the working class. And as the crisis deepens, the need for revolution in order for our class to simply survive will be more easily demonstrated.

Those who say that the liberals will help us are engaging in wishful thinking. Those who believe President Ford's predictions that the economy will pick up are fooling themselves. Those who say we can carry the struggle part way, without meeting a savage resistance, do not understand the depths of the crisis. And those who call themselves revolutionaries, but want to limit the struggle today to reforms, are leading the working class down the road to disaster. It was Salvador Allende's reformist strategy that led to the bloody right-wing coup in Chile.

The only realistic solution is to build a leadership around the only program that can win—a revolutionary program. In the coming months, *Revolutionary Steelworker* will show how this can be done in the steel industry.



U.S. Steel's R. Heath Larry [right] congratulates Steelworkers president I.W. Abel for unstinting service in the cause of capitalism.

collaborationist. They want to salvage capitalism, so they cooperate with the capitalist class. When the bosses attack us, they help the bosses. When the workers try to fight back, these hacks sabotage the workers' efforts.

I.W. Abel is one of the leading class collaborationists. He sat on Nixon's Pay Board, signed a productivity agreement in 1971 that resulted in a 25 per cent increase in on-the-job injuries, and has allowed the steel industry to lay off at will (81,000 production jobs

HOW THE R.U. RESTORES CAPITALISM

Part Two: IMPERIALISM AND CHAUVINISM UNDER STALIN

BY WALTER DAHL AND JACK GREGORY

The RU's whitewash of Stalin's role in restoring capitalism in Russia, exposed in the first part of this series, is equalled by its treatment of Russia's "internationalist" policies in the Stalin period. As we shall see, this period was stained with the most virulent Great Russian chauvinism imaginable. Its hallmark was the betrayal of the proletarian revolution in the West and in Asia. It culminated in the restoration of capitalist imperialism. Yet the RU, desperately in need of tracing its heritage to Stalin, transforms these crimes against the international working class into the most courageous revolutionary deeds.

"No imperialist power likes to come out and admit what its true nature is The Soviet Union also has a mask it tries to hide behind. The social-imperialists have hired scores of 'theoreticians,' well versed in distorting the writings of Marx and Lenin, to try to portray Soviet imperialism as 'socialism' and Soviet foreign policy as 'proletarian internationalism.'"

This is the RU speaking. It is a perfect self-description. The RU here refers to Stalin's successors only, pretending that Russia's international relations were a model of proletarian internationalism until 1956. For the pre-1956 period, the RU itself plays the part of the "theoreticians" distorting Marx and Lenin to serve counter-revolutionary ends.

DOUBLE-DEALING

This double-dealing is necessary to justify the RU's support for Chinese state-capitalism. As we shall see in part three of this series, Chinese foreign policy is in the tradition of Stalin's betrayals. Mao and his domestic supporters must attempt to make a distinction between the "revolutionary" Stalin, whom they support, and the present-day Soviet leadership, whom they oppose. So in order to reconcile Chinese opposition to Soviet imperialism with the Stalinist source of that imperialism, Maoism must dress Stalin in internationalist garb.

To cut through the veneer with which the RU has coated Stalin, it is necessary to trace the roots of Soviet national-chauvinism and imperialism. As explained in the first part of this series, the workers state is the transition from capitalism to socialism. In its early stages, the workers state must necessarily be plagued with, and indeed must attempt to utilize, a mass of remnants from capitalism. Indeed, in its early stages, the mode of production in the workers state resembles capitalism more than socialism.

Nowhere was this more true than in the Soviet

workers state. The Russian proletariat came to power before the Western working class; indeed, the failure of the revolutions in the West left the Russian Revolution isolated. But the Russian proletariat, as Lenin warned time and again, was culturally backward—it lacked the technical skills, the experience and the maturity to rule unaided. Further, Russia desperately needed resources, financial and physical, from the more advanced nations to combat scarcity and move forward in the construction of socialism.

Over and over, Lenin stressed that the revolution could not succeed in isolation. In the absence of

proletarian revolution abroad, the Russian workers state would fall to counter-revolution. That is why Lenin insisted that the most consistent internationalism was necessary. Tactical retreats for fleeting periods might be necessary, but there could be no long-term subordination of the international revolution.

The Soviet workers state, then, was a holding action, the advance guard holding an outpost while waiting for aid and relief. While the isolation lasted, though, the Bolsheviks were forced to rely upon administrative, technical and cultural resources from classes other than the proletariat—to utilize



Lenin's unswerving internationalism was dismembered by Stalin. Stalin's Great Russian chauvinism and destruction of Comintern blazed the trail for capitalist counter-revolution and Soviet imperialism.

The revolutionary heritage of the Comintern under Lenin—unconditional independence of the proletariat, the united front, rejection of the two-stage theory— were all repudiated by Stalin. National interests wholly replaced those of international revolution.

capitalist-made tools. Because the Russian working class lacked many of these skills, the Bolsheviks relied heavily upon elements from the old Tsarist apparatus to run the state. Indeed, in "Better Fewer But Better" Lenin explained that the old Tsarist state apparatus was never really smashed, but remained with changes at the top.

Similarly, the old prejudices and chauvinism inside the Russian proletariat, ingrained through centuries of Tsarism, could not be eradicated without elevating the level of the masses and breaking down all the divisions inside the class in a systematic manner. But in the conditions of extreme scarcity imposed by the failure of the revolution to spread and compounded by the devastation of the civil war, the old struggle for survival re-inforced these divisions and deepened the attitudes of nationalism and bourgeois individualism.

The longer the isolation continued, the more damaging the effects of these sources of bourgeois ideology—in the state apparatus and in the proletariat itself. As we demonstrated in the first part of this series, elements inside the Bolshevik Party came to themselves express the bourgeois birthmarks left by capitalism.

STALIN

The party apparatus, organized by Stalin, in particular became interwoven with the technocratic state apparatus. Stalin came to express the viewpoint of the apparatus. Instead of consistent internationalism, Stalin subordinated the international proletariat to the needs of the Russian state as narrowly conceived by the apparatus. This was codified in Stalin's theory of "Socialism in One Country." Outside of Russia, as we shall see, this meant the degeneration and ultimately the destruction of the Communist International. Internally, it meant the championing of the most callous Great Russian chauvinism against the other national minorities. And, following the restoration of capitalism, it meant the dominance of outright imperialism with all its brutalities.

The betrayal of the international revolution, the encouragement of Great Russian chauvinism and the ultimate emergence of Soviet imperialism internationally are all different sides of the same question. Without the most unrelenting internationalism, without the international revolution, bourgeois ideology could not be defeated. Without turning internally to combating Great Russian prejudices, which grew as the workers state weakened in isolation, it became still further infested with bourgeois ideology and weakened still further, as Stalin promulgated Great Russian chauvinism. In the long run, the combination of the external and internal factors, going unchecked and indeed organized by the Stalinist apparatus, meant the defeat of the proletariat and the re-emergence of capitalism and imperialism.

Stalin's capitulation to bourgeois ideology emerged in its sharpest form in his barbarous attitude towards the non-Russian nationalities. In 1922, Stalin displayed Great Russian chauvinism of such magnitude that Lenin decided that drastic measures were necessary.

CHAUVINISM

An incident had occurred in the Soviet republic of Georgia, where a delegation of Russian communists, under Stalin's charge as Commissar of Nationalities, had bullied and physically attacked a delegation of Georgian Communists who refused to capitulate completely to Stalin and Ordzhonikidze on the national question. Lenin was completely disgusted by this incident. He attributed it to the weakness of the Soviet proletariat, citing the cultural backwardness of the proletariat as the source of such chauvinism. Until the material and cultural level of the proletariat was raised, the chauvinist ideology ingrained over generations would remain. It would find expression in the state apparatus and the party.

Though on his sickbed, Lenin acted. Commenting on the incident, he wrote that it was necessary

to defend the non-Russians from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great Russian chauvinist, in substance a rascal and a tyrant, such as the typical

Russian bureaucrat is. There is no doubt that the infinitesimal percentage of Soviet and sovietized workers will drown in that tide of chauvinist Great Russian riffraff like a fly in milk.

... I think that Stalin's haste and his infatuation with pure administration, together with his spite against the notorious 'nationalist socialism,' played a fatal role here. In politics spite generally plays the basest of roles.

Lenin went so far as to consider expelling Ordzhonikidze from the Bolshevik Party and removing Stalin from his post as General Secretary.

BEND THE STICK

Lenin urged that Stalin's policy not only be modified, but completely reversed. Because of the long history of Great Russian chauvinism, Lenin saw that it was necessary to bend the stick in the opposite direction and to establish an inequality in favor of the oppressed nationalities. Formal equality, Lenin realized, would maintain the old oppressive relationship.

That is why internationalism on the part of oppressors or "great" nations, as they are called (though they are great only in their violence, only great as bullies), must consist not only in the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which it obtains in actual practice. Anybody who does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude to the national question; he is still essentially petty bourgeois in his point of view and is, therefore, sure to descend to the bourgeois point of view.

But Lenin died and Stalin defeated the Trotskyist opposition that stood on the Leninist policy towards national minorities. In its place, Stalin continued the barbarous course begun in Georgia.

The RU claims that in the Stalin period "under socialism, great strides were made toward eliminating all national inequality—though some mistakes in national policy were made." Well, what were these "mistakes?" The RU doesn't take the trouble to mention one—not surprising, since Stalin's entire national policy was one of oppression.

The worst crime was the dissolution of several national republics and the deportation of their entire populations. In 1939, the Korean population on the Manchurian border was transferred to central Asia in anticipation of war with Japan—as if the Koreans, ruled by Japanese imperialism for decades, would have flocked to Japan's support. In 1941, the Volga German Republic, one of the first established after the 1917 revolution, was dissolved; its population was transferred to Asia. During World War II several national republics were abolished, including the Crimean Tatar Republic, and their populations were "resettled" in Siberia. These population shifts, supposedly because of war crimes, victimized over a million people.

These deportations were accompanied by the Russification of non-Russian languages, favoritism to speakers of Russian and other oppressive measures.

The RU agrees that the Russification measures are criminal, but blames them on Stalin's successors. As for the deportations, they say that the removal of the Crimean Tatars was done "Because a number of Tatars from the feudal ruling class had conspired with the advancing Nazi army... we are in no position to determine whether such a drastic action was justified at the time..."

The RU has the obligation of explaining how revolutionaries ever can justify the oppression of a whole people by accusations against a few of their rulers. (And what, by the way, was a "feudal ruling class" doing in the "socialist" Soviet Union?) The RU's habit of apologizing for imperialist crimes on the grounds that Stalin made mistakes and the RU lacks information is sickening. People who lack both readily available information and the most elementary socialist principles would be wise not to parade as revolutionary leaders of the working class.

How can the RU possibly attempt to classify Great Russian chauvinist national policy as an invention of Stalin's successors? It's not easy to do, even by distorting the facts. The RU must even distort Stalin's own writings.

KAZAKHSTAN

Seeking to make its case, the RU quotes two passages on the history of Kazakhstan. One, written in the Soviet Union in 1943, states:

The conversion of Kazakhstan into a colony signified the end of the independent existence of the Kazakh people and their inclusion in the system of military-feudal exploitation, which was created by the domination of Tsarism for all the exploited peoples of the Tsarist "prison of peoples."

The second, written in 1957, reads in part:

The annexation of Kazakhstan into Russia... had a progressive significance for the historic destiny of the Kazakh people... The most important result of the annexation was the drawing together of the Russian and Kazakh peoples in a common struggle against Tsarism....

This juxtaposition is supposed to prove that Russian chauvinism developed only in 1957, after Stalin could no longer be held responsible. But a similar passage appeared in 1952, before Stalin's death:

China:



Kuomintang thugs murdering Communists on streets of Shanghai. Stalin's "two-stage" Menshevism led Chinese proletariat to the slaughter. RU still applies this wretched bourgeois theory.

The annexation of Kazakhstan by Russia... was of profoundly progressive significance.... It created conditions for the mighty impact of Russian economy and culture in Kazakhstan. The Kazakh people made their historic choice wisely and correctly. [Literaturnaya Gazeta, 1952]

Thus, even the RU's most "in-depth research" and citations from Russian sources proves to be a fraud. Nothing can cover up the national chauvinism that Stalin catered to, and indulged himself in to the highest degree. At the close of World War II, Stalin spoke as follows to the Commanders of the Red Army in the Kremlin:

I would like to propose that we drink to the health of the Soviet people, and primarily of the Russian people. I drink primarily to the health of the Russian people because it is the most outstanding of all the nations that constitute the Soviet Union.

There can be no doubt of Stalin's Great Russian chauvinism. There can be no doubt that this was the

basis of his national policy. Only the most bald-faced liars, the most revolting fakers, can attempt to deny this. Such are the leaders of the RU.

The Great Russian chauvinism within the borders of the U.S.S.R. was only one component of Stalin's ethnocentric policy. Hand in hand with it went the betrayal of the international working class. As we have already noted, both were products of the isolation and degeneration of the revolution.

As we mentioned in the first part of this series, the RU omits any reference to Stalin's thoroughly anti-Leninist policy of "Socialism in One Country." Under this slogan, Stalin subordinated the struggle of the international proletariat to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, just as he trampled upon the rights of the national minorities.

COMINTERN? WHAT COMINTERN?

The proof of this is to be found in the history of the Communist International. But—and this should come as no surprise—the 150-plus page *Red Papers 7* does not deal even once with the Comintern, the world party of socialist revolution. The RU expunges it from history in their words, just as Stalin destroyed it in practice.

Lenin had emphasized repeatedly that an internationalist outlook and strategy was vital for the survival of the Soviet state. "Both prior to October and during the October Revolution," he said in 1919, "we always said that we regard ourselves and can only regard ourselves as one of the contingents of the international proletarian army. . . . We always said that the victory of the socialist revolution, therefore, can only be regarded as final when it becomes the victory of the proletariat in at least several advanced countries."

The Communist International was founded in 1919 to organize for the international revolution. It was the world revolutionary party, organized internationally on a democratic centralist basis. In its early years, Lenin, Trotsky and the other Bolshevik representatives worked with thousands of devoted revolutionaries to patiently explain the lessons of the Bolshevik experience and the betrayal of Marxist principles by the Social-Democrats of the Second International, who were by then the most ardent defenders of the world bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

EPOCH OF DECAY

At the heart of the Comintern's perspectives was the analysis that capitalism had entered into the epoch of its decay. Not only were its progressive tasks completed, but from this point forward the bourgeoisie could only survive by dividing and re-dividing the world through destroying productive forces through inter-imperialist war. Rather than raising the underdeveloped countries to the level of the advanced, imperialism would inexorably widen the gulf between the two sectors.

While economic growth was possible, it would occur largely at the expense of the underdeveloped countries and at the cost of the system's future ability to grow. Consequently, capitalism was now a completely reactionary social system whose downhill slide was well under way. If it was not overthrown by the proletariat, it would resort to the most brutal barbarities imaginable—Bonapartism, fascism, ever-more destructive world wars and, in the end, the destruction of civilization.

The Comintern's strategy and tactics flowed from this understanding. First and most important, Lenin and Trotsky tirelessly repeated, the proletarian vanguard must maintain its complete independence. Even in the underdeveloped countries, the task of revolutionaries was no longer to pose the necessity of a bourgeois-democratic stage, but to insist that the democratic tasks could only be carried out through the socialist revolution. In the epoch of imperialist decay, a lasting break with imperialism led by the national bourgeoisie was precluded. Therefore, while revolutionaries could support national liberation struggles against imperialism as opening the way for the proletarian revolution, alliances with other parties could be made on an episodic, tactical basis.

In the advanced countries, similarly, communists could give absolutely no political support to the

bourgeoisie. It was unprincipled to enter into bourgeois "coalition" governments, to enter into standing alliances with non-proletarian parties, and generally to subordinate the independence of the proletariat and its vanguard to any other force.

Instead, the Comintern counterposed the united front as the central tactic to win the mass of workers. Because of the split in the workers' movement between the revolutionaries (the Comintern) and the reformists (the Second International), it was crucial for communists to demonstrate that they were the most consistent champions of unity seeking to mobilize the full strength of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The united front tactic aimed at uniting the workers' organizations in joint struggle over specific needs, and at exposing the vacillation of the reformist leaders.

The Comintern insisted that any tactical agreement formed with the reformists, any united front, must give them freedom to put forward the revolutionary program required to carry the struggle through to victory, and the freedom to counterpose this to the bourgeois program of the reformists. In other words, the revolutionaries must retain complete independence, avoiding any long-term alliances that would tie their hands.

This revolutionary heritage of the Comintern—the unconditional independence of the proletariat, the opposition to the "two-stage" theory, the united front tactic, etc.—were repudiated one by one by Stalin. The same forces that led to the degeneration of the revolution internally led to a degeneration of the Comintern. The isolation of the revolution, the defeat of uprisings in the West in the early years of the workers state, the cultural backwardness of the Russian proletariat and the consequent mushrooming of the bureaucratic apparatus, all led to a growing mood of conservatism.

The interests of the Soviet Union were placed above the interests of the international revolution, as Stalin and Bukharin argued that revolution in the west was off the agenda for an extended period, and that the workers state could only survive by turning inward on itself. This was the basis of Stalin's theory of "Socialism in One Country," discussed in the previous article, which went hand in hand with the subordination of the needs of the international proletariat.

The outstanding Comintern betrayal of the 1920's was the Chinese Revolution. The fledgling Chinese Communist Party was the first Marxist organization in China, created after and inspired by the October Revolution. The CCP grew extremely rapidly in its initial stages, and its potential seemed limitless.

But under the guidance of the degenerating Comintern, the CCP was told to cement an alliance with the Kuomintang of Sun Yat-Sen and Chiang Kai-Shek. And not simply a tactical alliance. The Communist Party was told to dissolve itself into the Kuomintang, to yield its independence, the independence of the proletarian vanguard. Thus Lenin's first principle was thrown to the winds. But this was not all.

Stalin resurrected the "two-stage" theory: on the agenda was the bourgeois-democratic revolution, to be politically supported by the Comintern. The Kuomintang, which Stalin falsely labeled as a workers' and peasants' party, would lead this struggle. Later, the Communists would lead a transition to socialism in the bourgeois state. Thus, the old Menshevik stage theory was dusted off and brought forward to justify the Stalinist policy of class collaboration. Since capitalism cannot carry out progressive tasks in this epoch, the "two-stage" theory meant that the Comintern actively sought to restrain the proletariat and to channel it into a reactionary bourgeois alternative.

Stalin, seeking international allies for the Soviet state, thus abandoned the lessons of the first five years of the Comintern. The renunciation of proletarian independence, the long-term "strategic" alliance in place of the united front tactic, the "two-stage" theory all reflected the "realistic" approach that proletarian revolution was not in the cards, that the national bourgeoisie was the place to go shopping for stable allies. Stalin enshrined this class treason in a telegram from the Soviet Communist Party's Presidium to the Kuomintang

in 1926, which read:

To our party has fallen the proud and historic role of leading the first victorious proletarian revolution in the world . . . We are convinced that the Kuomintang will succeed in playing the same role in Asia.

SHANGHAI COUP

The proletariat of China paid for Stalin's treason with its own blood. After the Chinese Communists had built the Kuomintang, after Russian advisers had trained Chiang's troops, Chiang turned against his Communist allies in the infamous Shanghai massacre of 1927. The Chinese Communists were caught completely off guard as Chiang butchered thousands of workers. In fact, on the eve of Chiang's coup the Shanghai workers had risen in a general strike, and were told to call it off by the CCP. The "two-stage" theory's active restraint of the proletariat and its bloody consequences were underlined in practice. The Kuomintang revealed itself to be not the Chinese Bolsheviks, but the executioners of the Chinese proletariat.

Stalin's class collaboration did not succeed in winning a stable ally, but only in building the anti-communist menace Chiang. Indeed, during the 1930's Chiang was all too willing to subordinate his conflict with the Japanese invaders to the continual struggle against the Communists. Stalin's betrayal of the Chinese proletariat had even betrayed his own narrow nationalist goals.

These lessons should be learned by all revolutionaries today. The RU rejects them. Not only does it continue Stalin-worship, not only does it indulge in the lengthy white-wash called *Red Papers 7*, but it continues the Stalinist-Menshevik "two-stage" notion, replete with the need for the proletariat to subordinate the socialist struggle in the underdeveloped nations to the struggle for national liberation. In doing so, the RU is merely parroting the Chinese line. Just as Stalin's orchestration of the "two-stage" theory resulted in tragedy for the Chinese working class, so Mao's political support for Sukarno led to a blood-bath in Indonesia, where the disarmed Communist Party and its supporters were slaughtered in numbers approximating one million.

SOCIAL-FASCISM

Following Shanghai, in 1928, Comintern policy changed again, to the ultra-left Third Period during which every force outside of the Stalinists were denounced as fascist. Even the Social-Democratic parties became "social-fascists," thus telling the communist workers of the West that fascism was no more of a menace than reformism.

Once more, Stalin repudiated the united front tactic, although this time from the opposite side. Now, even tactical blocs with reformist organizations were impermissible—this was the so-called "united front only from below." The strategy was universally applied—in the trade unions, for example, the CPs were told to abandon the old institutions and form dual unions.

The Third Period strategy split the working class in the face of the fascist threat. The united front of the Comintern had been posed to place the Comintern as the most consistent fighters for unity and to expose the betrayal of the reformists. But the new Stalinist line enabled the Social Democrats to convince their ranks that it was the Communists who were the splitters.

The failure to pose the united front tactic consistently was directly responsible for Hitler's triumph in Germany. By failing to expose the Social-Democratic leadership in struggle, Stalin's policy abandoned the majority of the German proletariat to reformism. By failing to pose the need for joint defensive actions against the fascists, the German Communist Party immobilized the best organized working class in the world. The German workers suffered more than a decade of mass murder, torture and general terror thanks to Stalin.

In 1926, Trotsky had campaigned forcefully against both the Comintern's opportunism of the mid-20's and the Third Period line. His writings on the German situation, calling for the German Communists to employ the united front tactic, remain a living testimonial to the potential for socialist revolution that were present as well as the treacherous role played by the CP.

When the German Communist Party, and then the International as a whole, refused to reassess the German disaster, Trotsky recognized that the once-revolutionary Comintern was finished. Not even the destruction of its most powerful section outside the Soviet Union could jar it back towards the revolutionary road. The necessity of a new, Fourth, International was proclaimed by the Trotskyists. The Comintern, under Stalin's leadership, had decisively demonstrated that it was capable only of selling out the international revolution, of betraying the workers in oceans of blood. The Comintern was no longer a revolutionary organization. It was necessary to begin anew.

POPULAR FRONT

As if in direct fulfillment of Trotsky's analysis, the Comintern switched its line once more, this time into direct alliance with the bourgeoisie. In the 20's, the policy had been one of support to the imperialist

Germany:



Mass meeting of German Social Democrats in 1933. Stalin's theory of "social-fascism," by rejecting Leninist united front tactic, abandoned millions of Social Democratic workers to reformist leaders and paralyzed mighty German proletariat in face of Nazis.

bourgeoisie's lieutenants. In the Third Period, the policy was to permit no alliance at all—every conceivable proletarian ally was tainted with fascism. At no time, under Stalin, had the Communist International mastered or even attempted to carry out the early Comintern program of the working class united front—to win the proletarian masses from their bourgeois and reformist leaders. But in 1934, Stalin inaugurated the Popular Front period, during which the Communist Parties allied themselves directly with the bourgeoisie. Again, narrow national considerations—this time the hope for support against Hitler from imperialist France—dictated the opportunist line.

The Popular Front strategy assumed that only bourgeois democracy could prevent fascism from spreading. But Stalin "forgot" that bourgeois democracy was a mask for bourgeois imperialism, and that bourgeois democrats would prefer dealings with the fascists than make concessions to militant and revolutionary workers. The Comintern sold out to the Western bourgeoisies in the vain hope of building a lasting alliance against Hitler.

So instead of learning the need to return to the principles of Leninism from the German holocaust, Stalin simply returned to explicit Menshevism. Where the German CP had failed to struggle for joint actions with the reformist organizations, the post-1934 Comintern found no tendency too unsavory to make permanent alliances with. In France, this meant entering into a coalition with Leon Blum's Socialist party. In the United States, the CP supported Roosevelt from 1936 to 1939 and again during World War II.

The lessons of Lenin's Comintern were irretrievably lost. The Popular Front strategy, by subordinating the needs of the proletariat to those of the "peace-loving" bourgeoisie, has resulted in debacle after debacle—the 1973 Chilean military coup being the most recent. But perhaps the most tragic of all was the sell-out of the Spanish Revolution in the 1930's.

By 1936, when Franco's fascist rising began in Morocco, the Spanish proletariat had already demonstrated its heroism countless times. The Spanish working class was ready to make the socialist revolution. The only element absent was revolutionary leadership.

The Spanish CP, following the Comintern line, insisted that the socialist revolution was not on the agenda. Spain required first the bourgeois revolution—which was good news for the Spanish bourgeoisie. Therefore, the CP entered into coalition governments in this bourgeois state. Back to the wretched "two-stage" theory.

In the face of the fascist threat, the Barcelona proletariat seized the factories and threw up dual

proletarian revolution in favor of liberal capitalism. As the counter-revolution in Russia neared its culmination, Stalin was abandoning any vestigial ambivalence about proletarian internationalism. Spain was the overt act that demonstrated the consciously capitalist strategy and nature of the Russian ruling group.

Although every crime of "modern revisionism"—the RU's term for the Soviet Union and its bloc allies—was originated by Stalin's Soviet Union in the 1930's, none of this history appears in the RU's survey. The Soviet sell-out to Western imperialism in the mid-30's was the model for the sell-out to the Communist Parties today. The RU is capable of writing that "the British and French imperialists, along with their rapidly developing U.S. allies, set the stage for a second conflict," the Second World War—without bothering to mention what the Soviet Union's policy was at the time: support the imperialist "peace" policies that laid the basis for the war.

WORLD WAR II

And when the Western imperialists wouldn't go far enough in their alliance with Stalin, he turned to the other imperialist camp, Hitler's. The Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 is another damning historical episode that the RU confines to the memory hole.

The pretense of a revolutionary International that had been maintained during the Popular Front period became a burden during the new World War. As a gesture of solidarity with his Western imperialist allies, Stalin finally dissolved the moribund Comintern in 1943. Having defeated the Russian proletariat and standing at the head of a new capitalist ruling class, Stalin had no need for a world party. The internationalist perspective of Lenin and Trotsky was now fully transformed into outright imperialism.

The unfettered rule of capital requires imperialism, in Russia no less than in the West. The betrayal of proletarian revolution as Stalin consolidated power set the stage for the naked exploitation and oppression of the workers of the world by Russian state-capitalism.

Since World War II, Soviet imperialism has been second only to the U.S. It has expanded militarily in order to expand its capital, like other imperialist powers. Driven by the laws of capitalism, Russia carved out its "sphere of interest" in alliance with the other Powers under the banner of "peaceful coexistence." Russia's grip on the Eastern European sphere was consolidated during the Cold War period of imperialist rivalry with the U.S.; and throughout the post-war period Soviet imperialism strangled revolutions both in the "Soviet bloc" and in the colonies and semi-colonies of the West. All this history is ignored by the RU, who begin their discussion of Soviet imperialism in 1956—as if no basis had been laid for it in the past.

How then can the RU deal with Soviet imperialism today? In a chapter headed "Soviet Social-Imperialism around the World," they provide some detailed information about the Soviet economic exploitation of India and the Arab countries of the Middle East. But when it comes to Eastern Europe, the RU's sources of information seem to have dried up. They are reduced to vague attacks on Stalin's successors and subordinates, such as, "While it is not completely clear what happened, it appears the Voznesensky to some extent distorted Comecon (the Eastern European Council of Economic Aid) in the direction of encouraging Soviet dominance."

The RU's method is simply to insist that socialism flourished while their idol Stalin was alive. It is an outright sham for the RU to conclude, as they do: "We in the RU have not yet completed our research on the question of East Europe and we do not as yet fully understand the particularities of capitalist restoration in these countries. Nor are we yet aware of all the mechanisms by which the Soviet Union dominates the region."

Fortunately for the RU, we are able to be of some assistance. Any understanding of Soviet imperialism in Europe must include the aftermath of World War II, when the Russians emerged as one of the three victorious powers. Upon the defeat of the Nazi armies, the Russians set up governments in several Eastern European countries. Not socialist govern-

power institutions. But the workers could not find support, let alone leadership, from the CP. For weeks, the French CP, which disseminated Comintern propaganda in Spain, denied in its press that there was a dual power situation in Barcelona. The Spanish CP continued to insist, in the face of the revolutionary struggle, that the proletarian revolution was not the order of the day.

Nor did the Comintern fret that the overwhelming bulk of the Spanish bourgeoisie stood with Franco. Nevertheless, Spain needed a bourgeois revolution, and if the bourgeoisie didn't know it, Stalin knew best. From 1936 on, Comintern agents flooded into Spain to contain—more importantly than the fascists—the Trotskyists and left anarchist elements who refused to subordinate themselves politically to the bourgeois Republicans. Thousands of dedicated revolutionaries were murdered by Stalin's agents, thousands more were herded into Russian prisons, for the crime of fighting for the independence of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie and for the proletarian revolution.

When the Spanish Revolution was crushed, the blame lay with the Stalinist strategy which shackled the proletariat and prevented the only alternative to Franco, socialist revolution, from taking root. The Comintern played the role of Kerensky. By seeking to contain the revolution at the bourgeois stage, it necessarily played the role of the liberal bourgeoisie. When the Spanish bourgeoisie, in the face of the heroic workers, went over en masse to the fascist alternative, there was no revolutionary leadership to lead the socialist response.

In Spain, Stalinism actively sought to crush the

ments, but regimes that maintained capitalism and even included fascists and their wartime collaborators. The state institutions of repression—the armies and the police—were generally kept intact.

In those countries, such as Bulgaria, where the armed workers had arrested the fascists and set up workers' committees under a red flag, the Russian and European Communist Party leaders demanded an end to such "anarchy" and a restoration of bourgeois order.

The initial form of Soviet economic imperialism was war reparations. Treaty obligations for \$200 million from Finland and for \$300 million each from Hungary and Rumania (1938 dollars) were extracted by the Russians. But this does not compare to the looting of Germany. According to a secret protocol to the 1945 Yalta Agreement with the United States and Great Britain, the Soviet Union claimed \$10 billion in German reparations, after demanding twice as much and being "restrained" by its allies. These claims were collected by the Russians from their East German colony—by dismantling factories and machinery and confiscating current production.

The actual total reparations figure is not known, but it is estimated to be almost equal to the amount looted by the Nazis from all the countries occupied by German imperialism during World War II, and it far exceeded the three and a half billion dollars paid as reparations by defeated Germany to the Western imperialists after World War I. The Communist International had denounced the Versailles Treaty which had imposed reparations on Germany after World War I. Stalin, after World War II, was following a different historical tradition. It is no wonder that the Stalinist RU "overlooks" the Communist International.

A second form of Soviet imperialism was trade agreements set up with the satellite countries. Russian products were sold at high prices, and products of the satellites at low prices. Polish coal, for example, was bought by the Russians at \$2 a ton when the going world market price was \$12. Bulgarian tobacco was bought by the Soviet Union at a quarter of the world market price and then resold to Western Europe at full value, with the profits going to Russia. This is the classical imperialist method of exploitation through unequal exchange.

A third imperialist technique is also in the capitalist tradition. Direct Soviet control of major industries was set up by means of 50 per cent ownership of mixed companies. In Rumania, for example, the Sov-RomPetrol company was formed to exploit the Rumanian oil fields and refineries. When Rumania passed a law nationalizing industry in 1948, these mixed companies were the major exception to that law. The Soviet Union became, in effect, the only official capitalist shareholder in the country. Stalin was not above using the tried-and-true methods of shareholding capital, as long as no one was allowed to compete with him.

Similar relations were established with China—which also go unmentioned by the RU, despite their attachment to the Chinese government today and their complaint of Soviet imperialism against China. Under the secret Yalta agreements, again, Russia regained the Tsarist conquests that had been lost to Japan in the war of 1904-05, including the possession of the Chinese ports of Dairen (Luta) and the naval base at Port Arthur

(Lushun) as well as control and half-interest in the Manchurian railroads. Russia looted Manchurian industries as well. These new conquests, nominally at the expense of Japan, were in fact taken from the Soviet Union's "ally," China.

After the Chinese Communist Party came to power in 1949, a series of Soviet-Chinese agreements were signed that readjusted Soviet interests in China. Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria was restored by 1952, but the agreements also established a province of China adjacent to the Soviet border. Full Chinese ownership was not established until 1954. As in Eastern Europe, trade relations to Russia's clear advantage were also set up.

All these spheres of interests that gave Russia the green light to exploit Manchuria and Eastern Europe were parceled out at the Yalta Conference. Here Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin agreed to organize the post-war world to their mutual satisfaction, and attempted to mute their imperialist rivalries. The "great power hegemonism" of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. that is so bitterly attacked by the Stalinist-Maoists of today is modeled after the post-war alliance. The published papers of the Yalta Conference are revealing of the imperialist mentality, which Stalin fully shared with his co-leaders. Churchill in his memoirs reports the following anecdote:

The moment was apt for business, so I said, "Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Rumania and Bulgaria. We have interests, missions and agents there. Don't let us get at cross-purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have 90 per cent predominance in Rumania, for us to have 90 per cent of the say in Greece, and go 50-50 about Yugoslavia?" While this was being translated I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper:

Rumania: Russia 90%, the others 10%
Greece: Great Britain (in accord with the U.S.A.) 90%, Russia 10%
Yugoslavia: 50-50%
Hungary: 50-50%
Bulgaria: Russia 75%, the others 25%

I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set down . . .

After this there was a long silence. The pencilled paper lay in the center of the table. At length I said, "Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed we

"Marshal Stalin said that he was prepared in concert with the U.S. and Great Britain to protect the rights of small powers, but that he would never agree to have any action of the great powers submitted to the judgment of the small powers." Of course, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed. Stalin added in explanation that agreements among the Big Three would be useless, "if their decisions could be overturned by the votes of such countries as Honduras and Puerto Rico."

Stalin was true to his word. The Communist Parties, during and after the war, far from "consistently supporting" national liberation struggles as the RU lies, rather consistently betrayed them. The French Communist Party and Ho Chi Minh's Vietnamese communists both supported the return of French imperialism to Indo-China after Japan's surrender, following Stalin's deal with his imperialist friends. The French premier observed in 1947, "In the Indo-China question, we have always noted to this day the correct attitude of the Soviet government," as the French CP cabinet ministers loyally voted for war credits for the French army in Indo-China.

The RU not only denies that Soviet imperialism existed under Stalin, but they also defend it while denying its existence. When the workers of East Germany (in 1953) and Hungary and Poland (in 1956) rose up against their imperialist rulers, they were repressed by the Russian army. The RU takes a firm stand on all these working class uprisings—in favor of their suppression. This, despite their own analysis that capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev in 1956, presumably by the time of the Hungarian Revolution which took place in the fall, since the RU considers Khrushchev's chief crime to have been his "vicious attack" on Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in February. Yet even though the "bourgeois Headquarters" had already seized power, the RU chooses to support its crushing of the Hungarian workers revolt.

The Maoists' supposedly Marxist theory of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is a sham. No Maoist, not even Mao, believed in the late 1950's that Russia was capitalist. Now that their theory has been revised, their analysis of the Hungarian revolution ought to be reconsidered. Nothing of the sort! Their loyalty is to Stalin and imperialism, not to Marx and the proletariat.

The RU's position on Hungary clearly demonstrates their anti-proletarian nature. When the working class rises against bourgeois oppressors, where does the RU stand? With the Russian bourgeoisie—and by 1956, we repeat, they considered the Russian ruling group to be the bourgeoisie. The RU position, as we have pointed out before, is merely a cover for capitalist counter-revolution.

Stalin's Great Russian chauvinism, Stalin's liquidation of the Comintern and Stalin's imperialism have no place in Red Papers 7. The RU's purpose, once more, is to whitewash Stalin and to apologize for the leader of state-capitalist restoration in the U.S.S.R.

The RU, by supporting Mao, cannot condemn Stalin. How could the RU trace the degeneration of the Comintern when Maoism has never made a serious effort to establish a world party. These self-proclaimed internationalists consciously seek to maintain national divisions by never once mentioning the need to begin now to build a democratic centralist international.

In its support of Mao, the RU must stand on the same imperialist policies, the same Popular Front Menshevism, and the same brutality towards national minorities that characterized Stalin. The Chinese invasion of Tibet, their disastrous Popular Front strategy in Indonesia, their support of Pakistani imperialism in Bangla Desh, are all testimonials to this. Like Stalin, the RU can only lead the proletariat into bloodbath after bloodbath.

In short, Red Papers 7 is a put-up job from start to finish. The real nature of the counter-revolution, the roots of imperialism and chauvinism, the repudiation of Leninism have no place here. It is the work of a grouping fronting for counter-revolution, a group with a bourgeois program and strategy. In the next part of this series we will expose the home base of this counter-revolutionary approach, Chinese state-capitalism.

Spain:



People's Army en route to fight Franco. Stalinism forced heroic Spanish workers to keep struggle within capitalist limits, leading to another tragic defeat.

had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an offhand manner? Let us burn the paper." "No, you keep it," said Stalin. Nor was this all. The Yalta papers report that

WORKERS' MOVEMENT GATHERS STRENGTH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

by Eric Olsen

The collapse of Portugal's African empire will have major repercussions throughout the world. In Portugal, the return of hundreds of thousands of battle-trained and bitter soldiers already adds a tremendous thrust to the gathering upheaval of the Portuguese workers and peasants against the military regime and the fraud of the Popular Front coalition. At the same time, the return of tens of thousands of impoverished white settlers fleeing the colonies will greatly foster the development of a fascist movement in Portugal.

The collapse of the Portuguese empire will also speed up the dynamic toward proletarian revolution in South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia and the entire region of southern Africa. The Portuguese colonies were a major bulwark to white supremacist rule in South Africa and Rhodesia. The nationalist regimes in Angola and Mozambique which will replace them have close ties to the national liberation movements in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia and will provide valuable assistance to them.

The ruling class of the white supremacist states is well aware of this. Already the South African government has announced a 60 per cent increase in the military budget for next year. It is replacing police units in the northeast with regular army units, and has indicated that all South African policemen will henceforth be required to serve a one-year tour of duty with the Rhodesian security forces.

THE ANC

The national liberation movements in South Africa and Rhodesia are much weaker than their counterparts in the Portuguese colonies. The African National Congress (ANC), the dominant liberation movement in South Africa, has for the last few years used its guerrilla forces exclusively in Rhodesia, fighting alongside units of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU—Zimbabwe is the African name for Rhodesia).

Even in Zimbabwe the level of armed struggle has been relatively low. Before the recent maneuvers for an agreement between the liberation forces and the Smith regime, the fighting consisted for the most part of terrorist campaigns against outlying white farms and settlements.

The strategy of the ANC for years has been "from the periphery to the center." Arguing that the strength of the South African repressive apparatus prevented serious struggle within the cities of South Africa, the ANC has pursued a course of supporting guerrilla struggles in the North, particularly in Zimbabwe. This policy reflects the non-proletarian character of the ANC. The ANC, which seeks to unite all "progressive forces" in South Africa behind a program for the "democratic national revolution," fails to understand the central importance of the proletariat for the South African liberation struggle.

The ANC, which is heavily influenced by the South African Communist Party, has adopted the Stalinist strategy of the "two-stage revolution"—first, the national democratic revolution, uniting all "progressive forces" around guerrilla warfare based in the southern African hinterland; then, at some far distant time, the proletarian revolution, about which not much is ever said. The practical impact of this strategy is to relegate the class struggle to the background. This is so despite the ANC's courageous work in organizing the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the underground trade-union federation of black workers. (7)

South Africa, black trade unions are not recognized by the state, the employers or the official white trade-union federation, and strikes by black workers are illegal.) Thus, the huge strike wave of 1972-73 caught the ANC entirely by surprise.

South Africa is the only African country which is an industrial nation. The bulk of its population dwells in urban areas, and its wealth is based on the super-exploitation of a massive and oppressed black proletariat. The black proletariat of South Africa has always been characterized by tremendous heroism in its bitter struggles against the repression of the white-supremacist bourgeois government. Until recently, however, this savage repression had successfully crushed all upheavals on the part of black workers.

The brutality of South Africa's ruling class is incredible. More than half of the world's annual executions are carried out in South Africa. Between July, 1963, and June, 1965, almost 200 blacks were executed by the South African government, many of those for "political crimes." Strikes by black workers are regularly met with machine-gun fire.

After the massacre at Sharpsville in 1960, where 69 blacks were machine-gunned by South African police at a peaceful demonstration, the black proletariat of South Africa entered a period of relative quiescence. It was during this period that the ANC developed its strategy of relying on guerrilla warfare in the hinterland. This period came to an end in the last quarter of 1972.

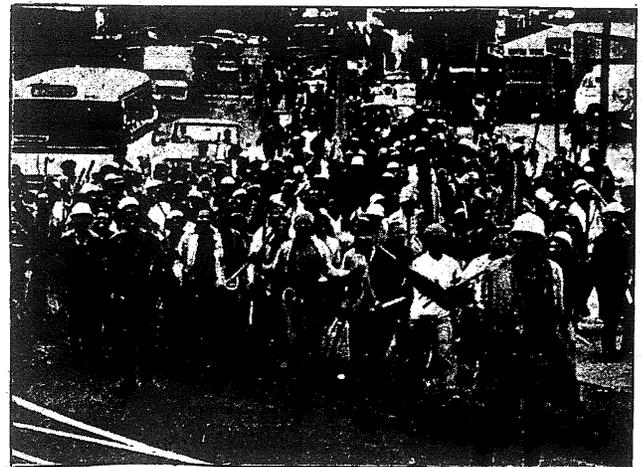
A spontaneous strike wave developing in October grew rapidly and reached its peak in April, 1973. During this period, over 250,000 black workers went out on strikes. In Durban, capital of Natal province, conditions approached those of a general strike. Particularly hard hit were the manufacturing, textile and transportation industries. Only in mining and agriculture was there relative quiet. The scale of the upheaval was so great that even South Africa's massive repressive apparatus was powerless to stop it. For the first time in over half a century, strikes by black workers were successful in gaining wage increases—ranging from 5 to 50 per cent.

The strike wave was triggered by a number of issues, all of them occurring against the general background of South Africa's fascist methods of dealing with its majority black population. While an increasing number of blacks have been able to obtain skilled and semi-skilled jobs in recent years (in 1960, only 16 per cent of all black workers held skilled or semi-skilled jobs; in 1970 the figure was 32 per cent—an increase of 100 per cent in ten years), this upward shift was not matched by an significant wage increases. The wage gap between white and black workers has actually widened in recent years. (In 1966, the ratio of white to black wages was 17:1 in mining and 5:1 in manufacturing. In 1971, it was 20:1 in mining and 6:1 in manufacturing.) This was coupled to high inflation and unemployment, particularly for blacks.

Between 1963 and 1972, the cost of living for blacks went up 74 per cent, and this rate has increased sharply in the last two years. The unemployment rate among blacks is perhaps as high as 25 per cent, and this is in a country where

blacks are denied unemployment insurance. The black proletariat of South Africa exists in conditions of grinding poverty. By the end of 1972, at least two thirds of the black labor force was earning less than the minimum wage, which was already pitifully inadequate. At the same time, white South African workers' position as a labor aristocracy supported by black labor has gained them a high standard of living, although inflation has begun to take its toll even on them.

In addition to these economic issues, there were a number of political factors at work. In recent years, SACTU has had considerable success in organizing black workers in spite of the harassment, imprisonment and in some cases murder of its organizers. In addition, the growth of the ANC underground, while it is not based on a proletarian



African strikers in mass march during 1972-73 strike wave. Liberation movements in Portuguese colonies have boosted combativity of South African proletariat.

program and while its main efforts are directed at building the guerrilla struggle in Zimbabwe, has inevitably had an important impact in raising the general political consciousness of South Africa's black proletariat.

Finally, the increasing success of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies has raised the morale and combativity of South Africa's black workers as well. The great interaction between South African blacks and African workers from all over the southern third of the African continent has resulted in a high level of mutual awareness of the struggles of the oppressed black population throughout southern Africa. In fact, the great strike wave of 1972-73 was directly precipitated by the example of the mass strike of mine workers in Namibia in mid-1972.

The fact that the strike wave was centered in the manufacturing, textile and transportation industries is due to the greater stability of the proletariat in these sectors. It is in these areas that SACTU has had its greatest success in organizing trade unions. Agricultural workers, while a major sector of the South African proletariat, suffer from the disadvantages of dispersal common to rural proletariats the world over.

The miners, while the most oppressed and potentially the most revolutionary sector of the South African proletariat, suffer from extremely repressive conditions as well as job instability. The bulk of black workers in South Africa's mines come from the surrounding southern African countries—particularly Mozambique, Malawi and Angola, but

also
are
mon
thei
worl
"mi
"con
surr
whit
C
are
of s
worl
thei
The
in th
blac



agric
servic
In
provi
sourc
preve
in the
polyg
period
produ
very e
organ
also p
rates
One
South
black
a resu
Africa
of rese
white
Africa
skilled
with b
This

also from Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. They are only permitted to work in the mines for six months to a year, after which they must return to their homelands. During the period of time they work in South Africa, they are forced to live in "miners' compounds" next to the mine fields. These "compounds" are actually concentration camps surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by armed white guards.

Conditions for native South African black miners are effectively the same. With the partial exception of skilled and semi-skilled workers, most of these workers are also forced to return periodically to their "homelands," the so-called "Bantustans." These "Bantustans" are black reservations located in the most infertile regions of South Africa, where black workers are supposed to live in their "natural

working-class struggle, particularly in the mines. The strike at Anglo-American Corporation's Western Deep Levels gold mine in September, 1973 was initiated and organized by 200 black, semi-skilled drillers. Although that strike was brutally crushed (the police machine-gunned 11 workers), the upheaval is clearly deepening its roots in the miners. Another major strike broke out among miners in June of 1974 which was also met by gunfire in which at least six black miners were killed.

Although the strike wave of 1972-73 has receded, it is clear that the black proletariat of South Africa is once more going into motion. Whatever the tempo of the class struggle in the immediate period, there can be no question that the current upsurge will not pass away. The developing

hope to succeed in the epoch of decline of international capitalism.

Already, the nationalist leaders have indicated that they will safeguard Portugal's "legitimate interests." The Portuguese agreement with FRELIMO in Mozambique is said to be a "diplomatic iceberg" (Manchester Guardian)—with most of the detailed arrangements to safeguard Portuguese commercial interests and financial domination remaining secret. In Angola, where the divisions among the liberation forces give Portugal more leverage and where Portugal is openly backing the most "pro-Western" of the rival organizations (that of Holden Roberto), the guarantees of Portuguese and other imperialist interests will be even firmer.

But this is not all. The cornerstone of the independence agreements is the question of South Africa. The Vorster government in South Africa openly prefers "strong" African governments over "weak" white governments to its north—if the African governments will protect imperialist property and refrain from hostile activity against South Africa. On their side, the nationalist bourgeois regimes cannot survive without capital and "aid" from the imperialists, including South Africa. The price they must pay is to curb anti-South Africa activities. While they cannot openly repudiate the South African resistance forces (and while South Africa for its part will introduce cosmetic improvements in the apartheid system), the nationalist rulers can and will pressure the South African resistance toward accommodation with Vorster, just as Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania pressured the Zimbabwe leaders toward accommodation with Smith.

"TWO-STAGE" THEORY

The "two-stage" theory of the guerrillas in Portugal's colonies led logically to the establishment of an African power with the imperialist power—in Portugal and South Africa—left intact. In other words, it was possible to win a major democratic demand (national self-determination) on a capitalist basis. But in South Africa the central democratic demand, for the end of the racist regime, is inseparable from the overthrow of the present ruling class which depends on that regime.

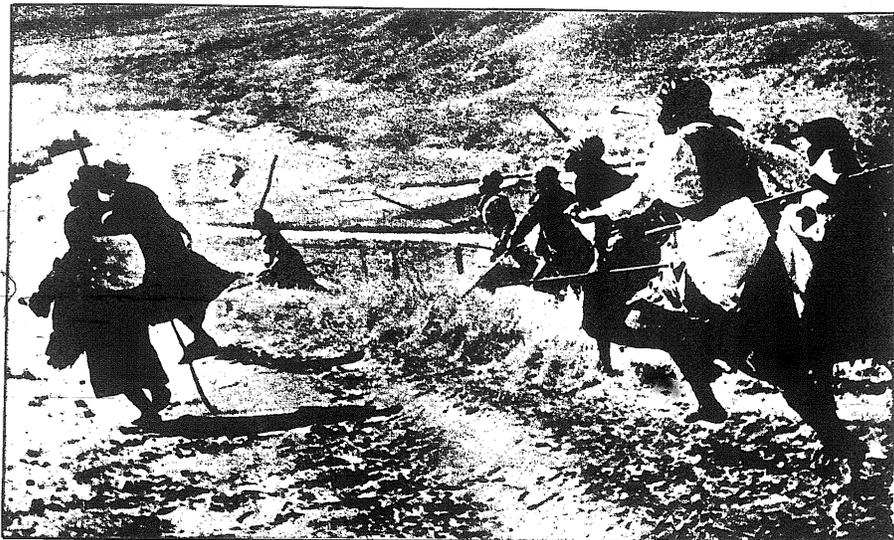
To overthrow Vorster would shake South African and world capitalism to their foundations. This is desired neither by the new nationalist rulers in ex-Portuguese Africa—who depend on capitalist aid—nor by the Chinese and Russian state-capitalist regimes, who desperately wish to stabilize world capitalism and defend it as it totters. Hence the logic of the two-stage theory in South Africa leads to capitulation to the apartheid regime. Bourgeois nationalism and Stalinism cannot carry out the "national democratic revolution" which they themselves desire.

The only real solution to the agony of the southern African people is a proletarian revolution throughout southern Africa which will link up with proletarian revolutions elsewhere in the world. Only such an international working class revolution can achieve any real success. This is the strategy of the permanent revolution. Any attempt to solve the problems of southern Africa on a purely nationalist and "classless" basis can only end in failure.

Perhaps nowhere in the world is the strategy of the permanent revolution more immediately and obviously applicable than in southern Africa. While it is true that South Africa is the only industrialized country in Africa, the entire population of southern Africa is heavily proletarianized. For example, the single most important export of Mozambique under colonial rule was black labor for the mines of South Africa. More than 100,000 Mozambicans work in South African mines. Malawi—although an independent "black" country under the rule of the notorious Dr. Hastings Banda, who has long maintained cozy relations with the white supremacist governments of South Africa and Rhodesia—is an impoverished nation most of whose male population spend at least part of their lives in the mines of South Africa. A large percentage of the middle-level cadres for the Angolan liberation movement are ex-miners.

The countries of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are, for all practical purposes, recruiting

Cont'd. next page



Above: South African women take up staves against racist laws. The revolutionary organization in southern Africa will have its heart in the mines but will gather forces in the impoverished countryside. Left: Rebel forces march in southern Africa.



struggle of South Africa's proletariat is part and parcel of the general development of proletarian struggle the world over, which is being precipitated by the crisis of the international capitalist system. Given this world-wide situation and the extreme oppression and suffering of the black masses, it is certain that southern Africa will be a major focus for the international class struggle before this decade is out.

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

It is at this point imperative that a revolutionary leadership be constructed in southern Africa, as part of the process of reconstructing the Fourth International. Without such a leadership, the massive class battles in the future will inevitably end in major defeats for the proletariat and the masses of southern Africa.

The key to the strategy for the southern African revolution is the Trotskyist strategy of the permanent revolution. Any other strategy, such as that of the African liberation movements and the South African Communist Party, which relegates the proletarian revolution to the distant future and instead places on the order of the day the winning of the "national democratic revolution," must end in disaster.

In the Portuguese colonies, the liberation movements are now assuming office. While revolutionary communists support the victory of these movements against Portuguese colonialism, we must foster no illusions as to their real character. They are bourgeois movements and, because of this, must compromise with imperialism.

The nationalists' ideology is statist, with or without "socialist" phrases. They will base themselves, to one degree or another, on state monopolization of the major means of production in order to most efficiently exploit the proletariat and the peasantry. But their efforts to overcome the poverty and misery of the African peoples through nationalist and state-capitalist measures cannot

agricultural state" in between their periods of service in the mines.

In practice, these are simply huge labor pools providing the South African ruling class with a source of cheap labor and with a mechanism for preventing the consolidation of a stable work force in the mines. The slave-labor camp conditions, the polyglot mixture of national and tribal groups, the periodic and unstable employment—all these have produced a work force which, while occasionally very explosive, has traditionally been very hard to organize on any stable basis. Needless to say, it has also produced the highest fatality and accident rates of any mining industry in the world.

One of the most important recent changes in South Africa has been the increasing importance of black workers in the semi-skilled industries. This is a result of a serious manpower shortage in South Africa's economy. The traditional apartheid policy of reserving skilled and most semi-skilled jobs for white workers is breaking down because of South African capitalism's increasing demand for a more skilled work force, a demand which it can only fill with black workers.

This has given tremendous impetus to the black

Cont'd. from p. 15

compounds for South African employers. Nor is this restricted to South Africa—the miners who work in the Copperbelt in Katanga province of Zaire and in northern Zambia are also largely migrant workers from all over southern Africa.

Under the impact of imperialism, the entire southern third of the African continent has seen the transformation of the African peasantry into a largely semi-proletarian class. The same men who spend half of the year trying to eke out a living in

the impoverished rural regions of Mozambique and Malawi and Angola, spend the other half sweating out their lives and blood to enrich the mine owners of South Africa and the Copperbelt. The national, ethnic, tribal and religious boundaries dividing southern Africans are being eroded away by South African and imperialist capital.



Chief Albert Luthuli, leader of African National Congress.

Under these conditions, to attempt to organize the struggle of southern Africans by compartmentalizing it into neat "revolutionary stages" and national boundaries is absurd. The proletarian revolution is on the order of the day throughout all of southern Africa.

STRATEGY

It is impossible from this distance to assess the specific tactics required of revolutionary proletarians in southern Africa. Nevertheless, a few general strategic points can be made. First, and most important, is the necessity to construct a southern African section of the Fourth International. Such a party should not be confined within one or another national boundary but should attempt to establish itself as a single force throughout southern Africa,

under the slogan "For a Socialist Federation of Southern Africa." Only under such a slogan and with such a unified organization will it prove possible to organize and co-ordinate the struggle on the necessary scale.

To give just one practical example, it is clear that the heart of the southern African proletarian movement will be the miners. At the same time, it is extremely difficult to organize miners in the mining compounds. Yet these same miners return yearly to the various countries of their origins, where the opportunities for propaganda, agitation and organization are much greater. Conversely, the struggles of the peasants and rural proletarians of Malawi, Mozambique and Angola can be better organized and led by a party which also has deep roots in the South African mines.

In addition to the slogan "For a Socialist Federation of Southern Africa," the Trotskyist party in southern Africa must also call for the convocation of a Congress of Southern Africa to establish such a Federation. Going along with that should be the call for workers' councils to fight for this program and to ensure the hegemony of the proletariat over the general struggles of the oppressed masses.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

This is the core of the program upon which the southern African section of the Fourth International must be built. In addition, Trotskyists in southern Africa must have a clear and correct position on the national liberation movements. While we support the struggles of these movements against imperialism and racial oppression, we cannot permit any illusions concerning their character. These movements, however radical they may appear at present, however much they may capture the sentiments and aspirations of the southern African workers and masses, are fundamentally bourgeois in character. Their program is a program for the bourgeois national democratic revolution. At some point they are certain to betray the proletariat and to turn on the proletarian revolutionary socialist forces.

Thus, while it is permissible—and indeed necessary—to work within these movements, to participate in the armed struggle of the masses, it is essential that the independence of the proletarian program be maintained at all times. In particular, it is necessary to sharply and uncompromisingly criticize the national liberation movements for their national parochialism and their refusal to recognize

the centrality of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution to the liberation struggles of the southern African people.

Finally, it is essential that Trotskyists maintain an intransigent attitude on the race question. The white section of the South African proletariat is heavily infected with racist ideology. The white South African trade-union movement has a history of racism and class collaborationism unparalleled in the world. Accommodation toward these attitudes has been the Achilles heel of all South African communist movements in history.

WHITE WORKERS

Obviously, Marxist-Leninists are anti-racist and will oppose any ideologies which confuse racial privilege with class line. White workers, however misguided, are not the real enemy of the black proletariat and black masses of southern Africa.

But it is not enough to simply proclaim that the class line transcends the racial division in the abstract. We welcome all white workers who are willing to shed their racist prejudices and join wholeheartedly in the class struggle of the southern African proletariat. But it must be clearly established that the dominant role in the proletarian revolution in southern Africa will be of necessity be played by the black proletariat. White workers who cannot accept this have no place in the revolutionary proletarian movement. Only upon the basis of this uncompromised and uncompromising position on the race question can a genuine proletarian party be built in southern Africa, one which will have sunk the deepest roots in the most oppressed and most revolutionary sectors of the southern African proletariat.

Obviously such a party cannot be built overnight. Years of hard struggle face the Trotskyist revolutionaries who seek to construct such a Leninist leadership for the proletariat of southern Africa. All the more reason why the task should be started now.

Nowhere in the world is there a proletariat which has so clearly and consistently demonstrated its courage, tenacity and class instinct as the proletariat of southern Africa. All that it needs is a revolutionary leadership to match it. The forging of a genuine Trotskyist party in southern Africa is of key importance not simply for the proletariat and masses of southern Africa, but for the entire world. Such a party could play a leading role in the struggle to reconstruct the Fourth International, the World Party of Proletarian Revolution.

Unite Against R.U. Thuggery

Cont'd. from p. 5

Long March. We will not be intimidated by the Maoists' threats. We will try to build the broadest possible united front to this end.

This is not an isolated incident. The RU and other hooligans cannot be allowed to intimidate the workers movement. Every serious individual and tendency has an obligation to stand with us on this issue—to expose and fight the counterrevolutionary tactics of the RU. The case of the Long March constitutes a test of all left organizations' actual commitment to workers' democracy. Stand alongside us in this fight or be exposed to the working class as social pacifists and capitulators to Stalinism.

R.S.L.
1910 S. Vermont Ave.
L.A., CA. 90007

December 16, 1974

Dear Comrades,

As members of the Violence on the Left conferences, we are bringing to your attention the exclusionary policy

of the Long March, as one requiring the immediate action of the continuations committee.

Two members of the Revolutionary Socialist League attempted to sell our newspaper, *The Torch*, at a November 23 forum sponsored by the Revolutionary Union entitled "The Other Superpower." Our members, who were standing on the sidewalk in front of the Long March, were informed by a Long March contingent of eight to ten persons that "You have to leave. The Long March doesn't let Trots sell here." Our members objected, but were told, "We're not going to talk. Fight or leave." Our members left.

This incident is an example of precisely what the Violence on the Left Conference is committed to fight, i.e. "internecine violence on the left. . ." The RSL attempted to sell our paper, attempted to exercise "the unconditional right of all segments of the left to sell or distribute literature freely on the sidewalk, in the streets and other public places without restriction."

The Violence on the Left conference passed at its second meeting a motion stating in part, "We must all stand ready to defend any organization or

individual in the left against legal prosecution in the capitalist courts or against physical assaults in the streets," along with the "unconditional right to sell" quoted above. The time has come to implement that commitment. There is no more clear-cut issue than the right of any group to distribute its literature in front of the Long March.

We propose the convening of the Violence on the Left Conference to take up this issue. We submit the following proposal for that meeting: 1) That the Violence on the Left conference publicly commit itself to establishing the right of all groups to sell or distribute literature in front of the Long March. 2) That the conference write a leaflet to this effect to be distributed at the Long March. 3) That a contingent from all supporting groups be sent to the Long March to distribute this leaflet and defend all groups wishing to distribute literature bi-weekly until the right to distribute literature unimpeded has been established. We will consider other proposals submitted to that meeting.

We hope the Violence on the Left conference will fulfill its responsibility

in this matter. It is in the interest of the working class that the exclusionary policy of the Long March be stopped. The commitment to workers' democracy on paper means nothing without the willingness to implement that commitment.

This situation underlines the need for a permanent United Front for Defense, as we originally fought for at the Violence on the Left conferences. Only with such a Front can the left counteract the "leave or fight" ultimatums which will be raised increasingly by the Stalinists, right-wing and agents of the state. The need for a permanent United Front for Defense notwithstanding, the immediate situation at the Long March raises an issue on which all organizations committed to workers' democracy can and must unite. If the Violence on the Left continuations committee will not engage in this defense, we will pursue other avenues for building a United Front to establish our right, and the right of all other organizations to sell literature at the Long March.

We urge the Convenors to call an immediate meeting to deal with this situation. We await your prompt response.

With comradely greetings,
David Wolf
for the L.A. RSL

Empeora La Crisis En Auto

De la p. 20
estrategia "apache". Cada fábrica bajo control de la GMAD fue parada por separado, permitiéndoles a los patrones automovilísticos llevar el trabajo a otra fábrica cuando una estaba en huelga para dejar que los militantes "echaran vapor".

Las fábricas en St. Louis, en Mansfield, y en otras partes estuvieron en largos paros aislados. Lordstown respondió con una huelga de seis meses y la fábrica de Norwood en el sur de Ohio fue parada por casi 200 días, convirtiéndose en la hulega más larga en la historia de la GM. Pero estando aisladas a propósito por Woodcock, las huelgas locales estuvieron condenadas al fracaso.

La confrontación entre Woodcock y la GMAD fue una debacle. Más que cualquier otra cosa, Woodcock temió movilizar a las filas del UAW para una verdadera batalla contra sus amigos en la General Motors; tal batalla acabaría con este cobarde liberal. Woodcock diseñó la estrategia apache para desmoralizar a las filas del UAW.

Esta es una táctica probada y efectiva que usan los jefes del UAW. Emil Mazey, el secretario-tesorero del UAW, la resumió en pocas palabras hace unos años: "Yo pienso que las huelgas facilitan la ratificación de los contratos. Aunque el obrero tal vez no lo crea, cuando vota por un contrato en reacción a las presiones económicas yo realmente creo que si la esposa está

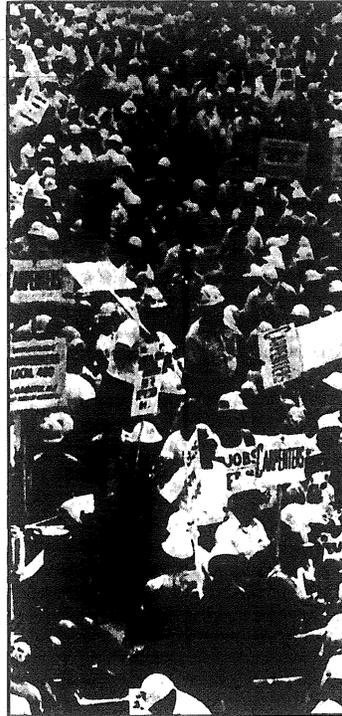
realmente haciendo un escándalo y las cuentas se están amontonando, es más probable que acepte el contrato".

EL CONTRATO DE 1973

Después de haber agotado la combatividad de las secciones más militantes del sindicato por medio de la táctica apache, Woodcock pudo forzar la aceptación del podrido contrato de 1973 sin que hubiera una huelga de importancia. El haber sido vendidos en este contrato ha colocado a los obreros de auto en la miserable posición en que hoy se encuentran. El contrato no les ofrece garantías contra los despidos masivos; la cláusula para el costo de la vida es completamente inadecuada ante la inflación rampante; y a pesar de todas sus pretensiones el contrato no eliminó las horas extras forzadas ni el "speed-up" brutal.

El contrato de 1973 dejó a las secciones del sindicato a defenderse a sí mismas en cuanto a las quejas. Una vez más Lordstown encabezó la respuesta de las filas, llevando a la huelga durante julio y agosto en una amarga lucha, peleando la batalla que Woodcock se rehusaba a emprender. Pero la General Motors no estaba como para arreglar las quejas de una sección cuando acababa de derrotar al UAW nacionalmente.

El contrato desdenable hizo que los patrones de auto lanzaran ataques aun



Los obreros de la construcción, afectados duramente por el desempleo manifiestan su enojo.

más feroces contra los obreros en sus fábricas. Lordstown no podía lograr a nivel local lo que el liderato del UAW había cedido a los patrones por toda la industria.

Esta es la lección central de los

sucesos de Lordstown. La militancia local es un factor de vital importancia, pero por sí sola puede ser aislada y drenada de sus fuerzas por los colaboracionistas de clase que encabezan hoy los sindicatos. La historia de Lordstown revela a qué grado llegarán Woodcock y su pandilla para facilitarles las cosas a los capitalistas de auto, y demuestra la necesidad de que los militantes locales luchan conscientemente por un programa clasista que pueda movilizar nacionalmente a las filas en bases económicas y políticas.

LOS S.U.B.

Actualmente estas lecciones les están siendo enseñadas en la manera más difícil a los obreros de auto por todo el país. Antes Woodcock trataba de justificar su fracaso en la lucha por las garantías contra los despidos diciendo que los beneficios suplementarios de desempleo (SUB) eran una garantía de ingreso completo para los obreros despedidos.

Woodcock ha pregonado que los SUB son una victoria de importancia para el UAW y que garantizarán una suavización de los efectos de los despidos y del desempleo "temporal". Pero los SUB no fueron diseñados para cubrir los despidos masivos que han afectado a la industria de autos en los últimos 15 meses. Se supone que los SUB proporcionan hasta el 95 por ciento del salario neto regular a lo largo de un periodo de desempleo, pero los miles de obreros jóvenes con menos de un año de antigüedad no reciben ni un centavo.

Casi 25,000 obreros de la GM han estado recibiendo los SUB desde que fueron despedidos a causa de las reducciones en la producción relacionadas con la crisis de energéticos el invierno pasado, y los fondos de los SUB se han acabado rápidamente. Muchos de estos obreros automovilísticos podrán recibir por sólo unas cuantas semanas más los SUB, y los dineros estatales para el desempleo también se acabarán pronto. A estos miembros del UAW lo único que les queda es el seguro social, y el presidente Ford ya ha declarado que los beneficios del seguro social que ya están a niveles de subsistencia serán cortados aun más.

Signe en la pág. siguiente

CORRECTIONS

At a Revolutionary Socialist League forum held in Detroit last month, an RSL supporter accused supporters of the Spartacist League in the UAW of bringing the state into the union against trade union opponents by calling upon the National Labor Relations Board to intervene in an internal dispute. The RSL acknowledges that the comrade's charge was incorrect. From what we have been able to determine, there is no evidence to support this assertion.

In Torch No. 17, the article "War Threatens Mid-East" contained the formulation, "The threat of Nasserism in its ability to waken the revolutionary sentiments of the Arab people is responsible for the partial and tenuous unity of the Arab states against Israel..." The sentence should read: "Nasserism plays upon the revolutionary sentiments of the Arab people and the masses' hostility to Israeli imperialism to achieve a tenuous and fleeting unity against Israel on a bourgeois basis."

Robertson Of SL Pleads: Is There A Marxist In The House?

Well... as best as I can figure out—at least until Cde. Seymour gets back from Europe—the best bourgeois economists say we're headed for a deep trade crisis. I'm going by that. Beyond that I'm just keeping my fingers crossed.

Sound like Gerald Ford waiting for his chief economic adviser to return from abroad? Never fear. The speaker is none other than James Robertson, National Chairman of the Spartacist League, addressing the Spartacus Youth League Regional Conference in New York on December 20.

It's comforting to know that Cde. Robertson is keeping his fingers crossed. Undoubtedly, Robertson has heard from his bourgeois mentors that Lenin seized power in 1917 with a rabbit's foot worn around his neck.

In debate after debate across the country, the Revolutionary Socialist League has demonstrated the theoretical bankruptcy of the Spartacist League. We have shown that the SL's supposed Marxism is nothing more than bourgeois ideology dressed in revolutionary attire—the classic characteristic of centrism (see, for example, Torch No.'s 16 and 17). Now Robertson himself openly affirms the validity of our charges. The National Chairman of the Spartacist League, reduced to crossed fingers, must rely on the bourgeoisie to explain objective conditions. Marxist

theory, the guide to the revolutionary action of the proletariat, clearly has no place in the Spartacist League.

LEARN FROM THE CAPITALISTS

When the RSL repeatedly pointed to the deep-seated crisis of capitalism, rooted in production, leading to a downhill slide to depression, the SL sneered. But when the bourgeoisie whines that a "trade crisis" is coming, Robertson snaps to attention.

Robertson raises the spectre of Joseph Seymour as a last link between the SL and Marxism. Perhaps the return of Seymour will free Robertson from reliance on the bourgeoisie. Who's kidding whom?

Joseph Seymour is the originator of much of the bourgeois economic theory of the SL. His geographical distance has absolutely nothing to do with the current "confusion" of the Spartacist League. His return will leave the house as empty as it is today.

EMPIRICISM PERSONIFIED

Seymour systematizes the empiricism of the SL. First, he analyzed, there was a post-war boom, the longest in the history of capitalism. Then, he admonished us, there never was a boom at all. Capitalism, you see, had demonstrated its cyclical

nature since 1945 by periodic recessions.

But if the recessions are all that remains from the violent boom-bust cycle, then the proletariat need fear nothing more than temporary hardship from the current economic downturn. If, on the other hand, we have entered into a long-term slide to depression (the Marxist analysis of the RSL) then the proletariat must be warned now of the bitter life-and-death struggles ahead. The Spartacists' failure to warn the workers of what a capitalist future holds in store in the period we have entered flows from Seymour's reformist analysis.

Robertson, obviously, has been shaken by objective conditions. Suddenly, he realizes that capitalism will not roll merrily along for millenia—because the bourgeoisie now says so. His finger-crossing was just one of the many references in a demoralized, cynical speech which virtually admitted that he was scared to death of the events crashing over him.

Robertson attacked the Revolutionary Socialist League for an "excess of revolutionary zeal." We plead guilty as charged. Unlike the SL, we have a Marxist understanding of the nature of the period and of the tasks at hand. We will not panic as the pre-revolutionary period unfolds. We will rise to the challenge.