

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

Portugal Swings Right

Uprising Crushed Revolutionary Party Must Be Built

The Azevedo government's defeat of the isolated rebellion staged by radical soldiers on November 25-26 was a serious reversal for the Portuguese workers. The tide of the class struggle, previously rising steadily in favor of the proletariat, has shifted sharply to the right in the wake of the revolt's suppression.

Despite this defeat, the bourgeoisie still does not feel confident enough to wage an all-out offensive. Instead, it is consolidating its gains. It is taking advantage of the situation to tighten its hold over the country, to tighten discipline in the army and to roll back gains won by the workers over the past two months. Leftist officers and government officials are being removed from their posts and the regime is tightening its hold over the mass media.

Four senior leftist officers were purged from command: General Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho, head of the Lisbon Military Region and commander of the COPCON security forces; General Carlos Fabiao, Army Chief of Staff; Admiral Rosa Coutinho; Admiral Filgueiras Soares. 200 other officers are reportedly in detention.

Azevedo also dismissed 30 senior government officials, including cabinet chief Commander Rui Montez. All radio and television stations (with the exception of the Catholic Church's Radio Renascença) were nationalized and right-wing press censors were installed.

These moves were carried out under a state of emergency—demonstrations were banned, radio and press suspended in Lisbon, the headquarters of the Movement of the Socialist Left (MES) and the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP) searched. Collective contract negotiations were suspended until the end of December, which will reverse victories recently won by textile, baking, metal

and civil construction workers.

The right shift halted a period in which the workers and soldiers made rapid strides in political awareness and moved with growing combativity. Advanced sections demonstrated awareness of the need to coordinate the actions and demands of the urban workers with the soldiers and agricultural laborers.

These struggles were both broader in numbers and on a higher level than any others since Caetano's overthrow on April 25, 1974. The workers not only made social demands in the interests of the masses as a whole, but directed them squarely at the state. They understood that sweeping demands and class solidarity were necessary to advance against the economic crisis and against the intransigent Azevedo regime.

For example, on October 4 a general assembly of workers' commissions from the CUF firm demanded "concrete measures for the solution of the grave problem of fertilizer (shortages) with which the agricultural workers are confronted." The CUF workers also called for the fertilizer to be consigned on credit with the national bank discounting 30 percent of the loans. This was followed by a meeting of 800 delegates of agricultural workers and metalworkers of the South on October 12.

On October 6, several thousand workers from the estabelecimentos fabris (arms factories) demonstrated in Lisbon. Linking their interests to the soldiers', they demanded "The reconversion and restructuring of the factories, the abolition of the Rules of Military Discipline, workers control, wage increases, improved social conditions."

Through October and most of November, different sectors of the working class poured into Lisbon to demonstrate in mass numbers against the Sixth Government's harsh auster-



Paratroops guarding the Republica newspaper building last May. Then right-wingers, paratroops have since moved sharply left. They led abortive November 25 rebellion.

ity program—textile workers, agricultural workers, bakers, metalworkers. The confrontation was brought to a head in mid-November by the determination of the civil construction workers, who dramatically demonstrated the movement's power and consciousness.

Azevedo and his labor minister, Tomas Rosa, were determined to hold the line on construction—this was the key plank in their austerity program. Thousands of construction workers gathered in front of Sao Bento Palace, the government's headquarters, demanding an immediate 40 percent wage increase. They besieged Azevedo and 200 members of the Constituent Assembly for 36 hours.

At one point during the siege, Azevedo appeared on his balcony and shouted "Go take a shit" at the thousands of workers below. They immediately took up the chant and hurled it back at the Premier.

The workers threw up roadblocks,

set up workers' defense guards and controlled traffic. They seized a helicopter with food intended for the government. This was the first time that Portuguese workers had employed these tactics to press for their own demands against the government (previously they had only been utilized in September, 1974 and March, 1975 to mobilize in defense of the government against Spínola's reactionary putsch attempts). This reflected the workers' new level of consciousness.

Workers and soldiers throughout Portugal grasped the significance of the confrontation between the construction workers and the government. Thousands actively supported the siege of Sao Bento Palace.

In the face of the workers' determination, Azevedo capitulated at 5 A.M. on November 14. Two days later, over 100,000 workers demonstrated in Lisbon, celebrating the

Continued on page 14

INSIDE Detroit Workers Under Attack, p.4
 China's Foreign Policy, p.8

Franco's Death Deepens Class Struggle in Spain

The clandestine Workers' Commissions of Barcelona, Spain, staged a 24-hour general strike throughout Catalonia on December 11 to demand an end to wage limitations, a general political amnesty and democratic freedoms. The strike, held on the anniversary of anti-Franco mass strikes last year, was the first mass action against King Juan Carlos.

Since Juan Carlos was crowned at the end of November, he has maneuvered to gain time. His farcical amnesty decree provoked a protest march led by the illegal Spanish Communist Party (PCE). Only two or three hundred of more than 2,000 political prisoners will be released, not including any terrorists or others really dangerous to the regime. Juan Carlos's "amnesty" (and his reappointment of Franco's prime minister Arias) is designed to create the impression of improvement without any real change.

The Spanish bourgeoisie faces an impossible dilemma. Nearly the entire bourgeoisie recognizes the need to liberalize the regime. But the old fascist ruling clique still has all the power in its hands. The bourgeoisie is afraid to move against it and thereby call the masses into action. The masses are waiting to see how things develop. Even the most limited openings toward liberalization will tend to snowball.

In its last years, the Franco dictatorship increasingly became a fetter on Spanish capitalism. Just before Franco's illness, The Economist, organ of the conservative British bourgeoisie, expressed the view of the European capitalist class when it called Spain "a car being driven by a little old man whose eyes are fixed on the rear-vision mirror. . . . If somebody will act—preferably the driver, General Franco himself—there is still time to avoid a crash."

ECONOMY SHAKING

The Spanish economy is shaking. Inflation was 18 percent in 1974 and is over 30 percent this year. Industrial production stagnated throughout 1974 and 1975. Unemployment rose 75 percent from January 1974 to January 1975, and the trend continued in 1975. Economic strikes involved an increasing percentage of the work force.

The political shakiness of the dictatorship struck at the capitalists' profits. Hundreds of thousands of workers joined in the political general strikes of December 1974, June 1975 and, most recently, September 29-30, 1975. These strikes, protesting the execution of anti-fascist and Basque revolutionaries, involved over 300,000 workers in the Basque provinces alone. The political brushfires caused a general loss of confidence by Spanish and European capitalists. In the last several months, over \$300 million in capital has fled from the Basque province of Vizcaya.

The Spanish bourgeoisie's long-term solution to its shaky condition has been entry into the European Common Market. But this is no magic solution, and in the short term it even involves losses, since it would mean loss of tariff protection for relatively backward Spanish agriculture and some sectors of industry. To absorb this, the bourgeoisie must hold the line against increases in the masses'



Franco, fascist butcher of the Spanish working class, standing next to his designated successor, Juan Carlos. Franco's death means grave problems for Spanish bourgeoisie.

living standards and even drive them down.

But in order to enter the Common Market it's necessary to do a bourgeois-democratic face-lift on the fascist regime. In addition, the existing fascist regime is less and less able to manage the economy and hold the proletariat in check. The Spanish and European bourgeoisies therefore run up against the dilemma that Spanish capitalism needs both liberalization and a strong state machine to keep the proletariat in check. It cannot today have both at the same time.

POPULAR FRONT

If Juan Carlos refuses to move toward liberalization, the bourgeoisie will be forced—against its own wishes—to turn to the opposition. The main opposition forces are the PCE and Socialist Workers Party of Spain (PSOE), i.e., Social Democrats. The PSOE is maneuvering for a standard parliamentary bourgeois democracy on the Western European Social-Democratic model, the PCE for a popular front. Both "models" aim at keeping the proletariat's passion for justice and the fall of tyranny within the bounds of capitalism. But because the bourgeoisie itself will not take the steps to establish a bourgeois-democratic state, the PCE and PSOE must put pressure on the regime to accomplish their purposes.

Until recently, the main opposition forces were grouped in the "Democratic Junta" (Junta Democrática). The Junta is an extremely right-wing version of the popular front. Its "Manifesto of National Reconciliation" calls for a "convergence of all citizens, without social danger and without challenging either the unity of Spain or private property." (The "unity of Spain" means the suppression of the national rights of Basques and other national minorities.)

Santiago Carillo, head of the PCE, elaborates: "We are not adventurists who will systematically wave the flag of social unrest." The Junta's program does not include demands for dissolving the Franco courts and

police, for purging the army, punishing the fascist thugs and murderers, or for the right of self-determination for Spain's minorities—even though all these demands have been raised by the mass anti-Franco movement over the last two years.

PCE vs. PSOE

Despite the right-wing character of this program, the link-up of the PCE and PSOE in the Junta was unstable. Their disagreements began with the PCE backing Don Juan, Juan Carlos's father and pretender to the throne, as . . . the Communist candidate for King (! ! !). The PSOE accepted Juan Carlos. It was ready to act as a "loyal opposition" in a Juan Carlos regime; the PCE wished to position itself to the left, independent of the regime though within the framework of capitalism and even of the monarchy.

Later, the two parties became the chief forces of rival pro-capitalist popular fronts. In opposition to the Democratic Junta, which also has the support of some of the Maoist currents in Spain, the PSOE has set up the "Democratic Convergence" (Convergencia Democrática), which backs Juan Carlos, is backed by other Maoists, and is busily seeking the backing of U.S. imperialism and possibly Chou En-lai (who sent a wreath to the funeral of that staunch opponent of Soviet social-imperialism, Francisco Franco).

The different lines of the PSOE and PCE reflect their histories, social base and ideologies. The PSOE is the survivor of the Spanish Socialist Party of the 1930s which, after betraying the Spanish Revolution, was virtually wiped out by Franco. Like its counterpart in Portugal, it is basically a middle-class and professional leadership without a strong organization or cadre. It aims at an electoral base among conservative workers, petty-bourgeois and middle-class elements, and conservative peasants in the small-farming areas of the north.

The PCE, even under Franco, was able to preserve and then rebuild a clandestine organization and a strong

mass base in the Workers' Commissions and among sections of poorer peasants and agricultural laborers in the south. In order to base itself on the aspirations and illusions of these layers, it must be able to swing to the left. Today it has already positioned itself a hairline to the left of the PSOE and, in the future, if a mass struggle develops it will swing further in order to capture and mislead it.

U.S. IMPERIALISM

The split between Stalinism and Social Democracy is more developed than in a comparable period in Portugal, because the Spanish Revolution is more developed today than was Portugal's before the first battles were fought. The role of U.S. imperialism is also more developed. The U.S. and Western European bourgeoisies are already giving full backing to the PSOE—in contrast to the Spanish bourgeoisie, which is still hesitant about legalizing either the PSOE or the PCE. A steady stream of Western European Social-Democratic leaders arrive in Spain to visit their still-illegal "comrades." Where they go, CIA money is sure to follow.

It is thus wrong to consider the PCE and PSOE simply twins in betrayal, as many centrists do. They are both betrayers. But the PSOE will betray more directly, the PCE more subtly—by swinging to the left along with the mass movement even as it strives to hold this movement to a conservative line.

NO DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM

The PCE's perspectives are based on the idea of a "democratic revolution" in Spain. The pre-revolutionary situation unfolding today will at first involve the most militant and revolutionary struggle for democratic aims, but it cannot stop there. European capitalism as a whole is far too decayed to satisfy the masses' needs, and Spanish capitalism cannot jump the gap separating it from the rest of Europe without policing the masses. Just as the bourgeoisie cannot call the masses into action without risking its own overthrow, so the masses, who are already moving into action, must overthrow the bourgeoisie or see their own gains lost.

This means that the struggle for the most far-reaching democratic demands—the end of the dictatorship, full political rights, land to the tillers, the right to self-determination, the end of the monarchy and a revolutionary constituent assembly—must involve the arming of the masses, agitation in the armed forces and among the peasants, and the creation of soviets, and must be joined to a struggle for workers' control and a workers and peasants government.

The present preparatory period must be used to build the first cadres of a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Spain. These cadres must avoid the mistakes—the capitulations to the Popular Front, the inability to orient themselves in the split between Stalinists and Social Democrats—made by the Maoist and pseudo-Trotskyist centrist forces both in Portugal and today in Spain. Future issues of the Torch will discuss these in detail.



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ELECTIONS

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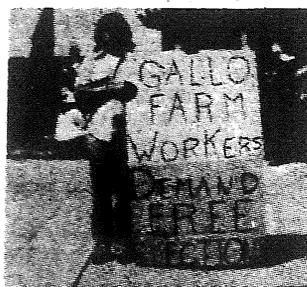
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Struggle in Fields Continues

FARMWORKERS BEAT TEAMSTERS AT POLLS

The Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) has been in operation for over three months in California. During this period nearly 50,000 farmworkers voted for the first time in union representation elections. The embattled United Farmworkers Union (UFW) won 56 percent of the total vote while the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), working hand in hand with the growers, received 38 percent.

This is a slight victory for the UFW, but the results are in no way decisive. Organized farmworkers remain divided between the UFW and Teamsters, while the vast majority are still unorganized. The war in the fields continues as the combined forces of the growers, the police and the Teamster bureaucrats have stepped up their assault on farmworkers and the UFW. The ALRB (which was hailed as a great victory for farmworkers by Chavez and Meany) sits idly by while the growers' attacks become more vicious.

ELECTION RESULTS

The UFW won contracts from 150 growers covering approximately 15,000 California farmworkers. Slightly more than 10,000 farmworkers are now represented by the Teamsters, compared to the IBT's 1973 claim of 50,000 farmworkers under contract. The UFW won the election at the major lettuce ranch—Interharvest—but lost to the Teamsters at the second largest, Bud Antle. The Teamsters also won a bogus election at the important Gallo vineyards, a victory challenged by the UFW.

The Teamsters and growers used every anti-labor method at their disposal—from armed vigilantes to the wholesale firing of militants—in an attempt to frighten farmworkers away from voting for the UFW. The ALRB's refusal to act against the blatant violations of the farm labor law at Gallo, Bud Antle and elsewhere led to the UFW defeats. But workers at 36 ranches previously covered by the Teamsters switched to the UFW. There have been no changes in the opposite direction (from UFW to Teamster).

TEAMSTER-GROWER ATTACKS ON THE RISE

The growers would have preferred clear-cut Teamster victories in the ALRB elections. The Teamster bureaucracy, led by traitor Frank Fitzsimmons, is the most reliable in the eyes of the growers and the ruling class as a whole. Fitzsimmons stands firm in his support of President Ford, just as he did with Ford's predecessor, Richard Nixon.

From 1970 through 1973 the growers called in the Teamsters to sign sweetheart contracts to beat back the UFW organizing drives. In nearly every case the Teamsters signed long contracts (up to five years) with a slight first-year wage increase and nothing after that. "As well, the Teamsters have been actively organizing the bosses' police departments throughout California and have allied themselves with the cops against the UFW. In the months preceding the current elections, a number of growers

signed up with the Teamsters and gave some sizeable wage increases, hoping to ensure Teamster victories over the UFW.

These grower-Teamster maneuvers have been accompanied by open attacks on militant farmworkers. In the area around Stockton, California, a right-wing vigilante organization



UFW leader Chavez substitutes reliance on capitalist politicians for forging labor unity.

known as Posse Comitatus has offered to do the growers' bidding. This gang claims 10,000 members throughout the Southwest and traces its origins to the notorious Minutemen. The growers openly finance these scum to lead armed attacks on UFW organizers and union militants throughout the area.

On September 3 and 4 these racist labor-haters assaulted UFW supporters in Fresno and Stockton while sheriffs' deputies stood by and watched. At ranches in the San Joaquin Valley, foremen armed with shotguns repeatedly threatened UFW supporters. According to newspaper reports the foremen said, "If Chavez wins, there will be a few dead Arabs here." The police obviously have done nothing and the ALRB has done nothing, but farmworkers are standing their ground. At a Stockton ranch owned by Posse Comitatus member Ernest Perry, the UFW won the election 95 to 0. And at the Elmco ranch in the San Joaquin Valley, where the foremen had threatened murder, the UFW won easily.

INS DEPORTS WORKERS

Throughout California the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has done the growers' dirty work by deporting undocumented farmworkers who are sympathetic to the UFW. Teamster officials have constantly fingered militant Mexican workers to INS agents. Only two years ago Cesar Chavez himself was fingering undocumented workers and went so far as to institute a UFW border patrol to aid the INS. Under incredible pressure from the ranks Chavez was forced to drop this line and today Mexican workers help to form the backbone of UFW support.

The Gallo election provides a clear example of the methods used by the growers and Teamsters. Gallo was the

scene of a militant UFW strike in 1973. In the face of vicious grower attacks on the picket lines, Chavez called off the strike in the fields in order to build his consumer boycott. Chavez gave Gallo the opportunity to sign with the Teamsters, and the IBT contract has been in effect for the past two years. The Teamsters won the recent Gallo election 223 to 131. Gallo hired dozens of new "workers" (read scabs and ringers) two weeks before the election to ensure a UFW defeat. These results don't include the 123 striking UFW members battling Gallo since 1973, but they do include the security guards and office personnel who just happen to be firm Teamster supporters. The Teamster bureaucrats, of course, are quite happy to have the growers' hired guns in their union.

Just in case anyone has any doubts about the nature of the sweetheart contracts the Teamsters signed with the growers, the example of the Caratan ranch in Delano should dispel them. The IBT made a deal at Caratan in 1973, and the workers at the ranch have been saddled with a sellout Teamster contract since then. When the elections approached the Teamsters could not even get the 20 signatures required to get on the ballot. The UFW won the election without opposition.

The UFW election victories represent an important gain but are only a bare beginning in the drive to organize the hundreds of thousands of farmworkers in this country and Mexico. As we have seen, the war in the fields is not only continuing but is actually getting hotter. The UFW has filed 137 separate charges of election violations and not one has been acted on by the ALRB. Governor Brown, the current darling of the ruling class, and his ALRB will never organize farmworkers—despite Chavez's claim to the contrary.

The UFW election victories will be meaningless unless they are backed up by solid organization in the fields and successful strike action when contracts are negotiated at harvest time in the fall. The farmworkers must

rely on their own unity and determination and the support of the rest of the working class to gain victory.

STRATEGY FOR VICTORY

The key to a winning strategy is organizing farmworkers where they are most powerful: in the fields. This means taking the bulk of the UFW's slender resources that have been spread out in the consumer boycotts back to the fields to actually organize the union. Once the base in the fields is consolidated and once the union begins to function, then the consumer boycott has limited use as a secondary weapon. But Chavez puts the consumer boycott on a pedestal and bases his entire strategy on it. This is a no-win strategy.

Since farm labor is migratory in nature and since a whole army of potential scabs is to be found in the millions of unorganized workers on both sides of the border, labor solidarity is crucial to any successful organizing effort. To make the strike in the fields effective, Teamsters and Longshoremen must refuse to handle scab cargo.

This requires a serious orientation to rank-and-filers in both of these unions. Chavez has consistently refused to do this. Moreover, he has consistently opposed the efforts of rank-and-file farmworkers and boycott organizers to build links to rank-and-file Teamsters. In 1974, New York City boycott workers organized on-the-spot joint action with rank-and-file Teamsters picketing Daitch-Shopwell stores. Dolores Huerta and Richard Chavez, UFW leaders in charge of the New York boycott, ignored these rank-and-file initiatives and opposed efforts to extend such action.

Joint labor action will mean that come harvest time farmworkers will be in a much stronger position. With a combination of well-organized strikes in the fields and a labor boycott of scab goods, the growers' products will rot together with their profits.

Continued on page 15



UFW rally in Southwest in 1972. Militant farmworkers reject the pacifism of Chavez.

Racists and Politicians

Phony Leftists Betray Livernois 5

The campaign to free the Livernois Five, the young Detroit blacks fighting a frame-up on a phony murder rap, is quickly becoming a rallying point in the response to the wave of racist attacks on Detroit's working class. The Livernois Five Defense Committee, initiated by the Revolutionary Socialist League, has actively fought to mobilize the broadest support to halt this legal lynching of the five young black men charged with the murder of Marion Pyszko. Recent issues of the *Torch* have reported on the Defense Committee's efforts to build support in the trade unions, high schools, universities and in the black community.

The initial efforts of the Committee resulted in a hung jury in the state's first attempt to ram through a conviction. The prosecution, which lacked a shred of evidence to back up its trumped-up charges, denied requests by the defense for time to prepare the case, attempted to coerce witnesses into testifying and finally resorted to staging armed attacks on the homes of two witnesses in an attempt to sway the jury (which had not been sequestered) into believing



Detroit youths took to the streets last July in anger over racist murder of Obie Wynn. State retaliated with blatant frame-up.

the defendants were part of a pack of gun-crazy murderers. Despite all this, the state was unable to obtain a conviction. A new trial is slated to begin January 21.

DEFENSE EFFORT BUILDS

The Livernois Five Defense Committee is continuing to gain support in the trade unions and in the black community. Despite the initial victory in preventing the state from achieving success in its railroad frame-up, the work of the Committee has been severely hampered by the failure of much of the left to join the struggle to win freedom for the Livernois Five.

With few exceptions, organizations of self-proclaimed revolutionaries have stood aloof from the work of the Defense Committee. These actions have weakened the defense of the most oppressed section of the working class, the black proletariat. In the face of the bourgeoisie's mounting offensive against the working class (an offensive aimed most sharply at black workers), the refusal to lend active support to build a united response to these attacks is nothing short of criminal.

As one of its first steps, the Livernois Five Defense Committee issued a call to all left organizations to join in building the defense. On October 26, a meeting was held to publicly launch a campaign and set up the work of the Defense Committee. Several speakers, including one of the five defendants and a spokesman for the Revolutionary Socialist League, described the state's frame-up attempt as well as the threat a conviction posed to all black workers who dared to struggle against racial oppression. Limited support to the Defense Committee was offered at the meeting by the Socialist Workers Party, Spark, the Student Coalition Against Racism and the International Workers Party. Recently, the Communist Labor Party has announced it will join the defense. Every other left organization in Detroit either failed to respond to the Committee's call or directly refused to join the defense.

Revolutionary leadership of the working class in its struggles is not a matter of words and posturing. It is first and foremost a question of practice. Faced with a concrete test, virtually every left organization has capitulated to the lies and illusions fostered by the bosses to keep the working class divided. The positions taken by these organizations provide valuable lessons as to what the working class can expect from them in the future.

There was no greater capitulation to the bourgeoisie than that of the Spartacist League (SL). As we reported last month, the reaction of most SLers was, "Those black kids are guilty. I read it in the newspapers."

No amount of paper posturing can cover the SL's racism and its open capitulation to its own petty-bourgeois outlook. A leading member of the Detroit SL was told by the mother of one of the defendants that the causes of the July Livernois street confrontations lay in the high unemployment rate, police brutality and the murder of a black youth. The SLer explained that true as that might be, a man was dead and "there's such a thing as due process." The woman's charge that the SLer sounded like a lawyer hit the nail on the head.

The courts, along with the police, exist to ensure the maintenance of bourgeois rule. Any black who has had even a minor brush with the forces of "law and order" understands the nature of the "justice" dispensed by these agents of the bourgeoisie. That the SL attempts to explain away its craven capitulation to the racist hysteria whipped up by the bourgeois-

ie with the lie that blacks can expect "due process" and a "fair trial" in the bosses' courts is evidence enough that they're counterfeit revolutionaries.

RCP TURNS BACK ON LIVERNOIS FIVE

While the SL's role was undoubtedly the most disgusting, they were not alone in refusing to help build the defense campaign. Immediately following the July Livernois events, Motor City Fight Back (supported by the October League, Congress of Afrikan People and Revolutionary Workers Congress), the Revolutionary Union (now the Revolutionary Communist Party) and the Progressive Labor Party attempted to tap the militancy displayed during the street confrontations by demanding that Andrew Chinarian, the murderer of a black youth, be tried for first degree murder. Yet not one of these organizations addressed the attempt to victimize the innocent youths charged with Pyszko's death—victims of the Detroit bourgeoisie's cry for "black blood"—to pay for the death of a white. Not one has agreed to join the Livernois Five Defense Committee. Quite the contrary, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) parroted the newspapers' characterization of the killing as a "brutal senseless murder" without the slightest mention that five black youths were being framed! This is merely a continuation of the RCP's open capitulation to the racism prevalent among white workers. The RCP's failure to champion the defense of black students in Boston, because it would interfere with their orientation to racist forces, has the same character as their refusal to join the Livernois Five defense.

The refusal of all these organizations to take even minimal steps to join in the defense against a glaring aspect of the racist brutalization of black youths is a renunciation not only of their claims to be revolutionaries but even of their elementary duties as working class militants to unite in the face of bourgeois attack. Members of all these organizations who conceive of themselves as genuine revolutionaries must demand an accounting from their leaderships.

The Revolutionary Socialist League

Fight Racist Terror!

On the morning of November 8, a cross was burned on the lawn and a brick thrown through the window of the home of the Coney family on Detroit's Northeast side. This incident was part of a continuing campaign of racist terror and violence directed against black families living in this predominately white area.

Eight months prior to this outrage, a mob of 200 gathered outside the Coney home screaming "niggers get out" and other racist obscenities. The cops refused to protect the black family, although the 15th precinct headquarters is only a few blocks away. And—no surprise to anyone who knows the nature of the police—several off-duty cops from the neighborhood actually were part of the racist mob.

In July, two black families from the next block, the Johnsons and Kennedys, became targets. Their children and other black youths were chased by whites in cars and by gangs of



Detroit Mayor Coleman Young: Black face is no barrier to calling for "black blood" when masses threaten bosses' stability. Workers must break with capitalist parties.

and the Livernois Five Defense Committee appeal again for the aid and joint struggle necessary to defend the interests of the working class. We call on supporters of the above organizations, and all supporters of the struggle to free the Livernois Five—whether in trade unions, community organizations or on the left—to take up this call. Lined up against the Defense Committee is the entire Detroit bourgeoisie—its courts, police and press. Only the most determined and united struggle can bring victory. The Revolutionary Socialist League will continue to champion that cause in order to ensure that the trial beginning January 21 results in freedom for the Livernois Five.

**FREE THE LIVERNOIS FIVE!
STOP THE RACIST FRAME-UPS!
FREE ALL POLITICAL
PRISONERS!**

young whites armed with baseball bats. These attacks were topped off by the September 10 shooting of 15-year-old Marvin Johnson by the ringleader of the racist punks, Scott Kriese.

RACIST ON THE LOOSE

Kriese was convicted of felonious assault for this shooting. But pending sentencing in mid-November, the court turned him back out on the street to carry out more thuggery.

Racist attacks on the families resumed. The families received threats to blow up their houses. Rabbits kept by the Coneys were slaughtered. The rear window of a car was blown out by a shotgun blast. On November 4, the first cross burning occurred at the Johnsons'.

Although the families had previously contacted the office of Detroit's black mayor Coleman Young, the *Detroit Free Press* and the *Detroit News*, no reports of the incidents were

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Attack Detroit Workers

published and no help was received from these quarters. It took Joe Madison of the NAACP to publicize the two cross burnings. Madison brought a contingent from the Interested Vets for Sociological and Economic Progress to defend against further attacks.

But Madison turned out to be all talk. When the television cameras left, so did Madison. Only one vet remained that night to help defend the families.

DEFENSE GUARD ORGANIZED

No thanks to Madison, a real defense has been built. Supporters of Motor City Fight Back, the October League (OL), the Livernois Five Defense Committee and the Revolutionary Socialist League have joined forces with the families to organize a defense guard.

Now that a serious defense exists, the cops and Mayor Young have appeared on the scene. Young condemned "vigilantism on both sides," cynically equating the defense of the families with racist violence against blacks. As in the attempted legal lynching of the Livernois Five, this Uncle Tom once more proved his friendship to Detroit's moneyed interests and the white racist "activists."

The police are now providing "protection." This protection has meant constant surveillance and harassment of the families and the others involved in the defense. Meanwhile, those known to be responsible for the attacks drive freely up and down the streets.

The attacks on the Northeast side are not isolated incidents. Three crosses have been burned elsewhere in

the Detroit area. In Livonia (a Detroit suburb) the Nazis canvass door-to-door. Young and the cops are only accomplices. Organizing and leading these attacks are the racist and fascist vermin spawned by a rotting capitalism unable to provide a decent living to all. They are scum who prey on the frustrations of petty bourgeois, working class and lumpen whites who see no way out of the capitalist crisis.

Today these incidents are relatively small. But as the economic crisis deepens they will escalate. To stop them from growing, isolated armed defense is not enough. At the most minimal level, a citywide united front of all groups and individuals willing to fight such attacks must be built. Such a united front can take on the defense of other victims of capitalist oppression—victims like the Livernois Five, like the three Ford workers recently fired for political activity (including well-known Communist, Labor Party supporter General Baker).

BUILD UNITED DEFENSE!

Without united defense activity, forces are too easily divided and scattered. For example, on November 15 a Livernois Five Defense Committee rally and an East side demonstration against the racist attacks were held at the same time in different parts of town, cutting the potential size of each in half. A united front would have called these rallies on separate dates, and used each rally to publicize the other.

Some supporters of Motor City Fight Back and the OL expressed their desire to build such a fight. The OL leadership, however, has already let its sectarianism wreck the first

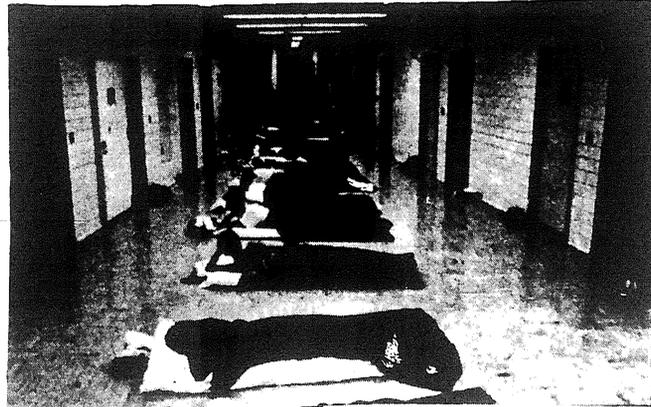
proposed meeting to discuss building such a united front. This type of behavior only aids the enemy.

The Revolutionary Socialist League is actively working to build and coordinate united front defense activity. The RSL's work in the Livernois Five Defense Committee and its defense of the black families on

Detroit's East side provide the basis for a united response by the left to the wave of racist attacks in Detroit. We call upon the OL ranks to demand that their leadership abandon its splitting course and join the struggle to smash the right-wing thugs.

**SMASH THE FASCISTS!
POWER TO THE WORKERS!**

Governor Slashes Michigan Budget



Overcrowded juvenile home in Detroit. Lack of facilities means sleeping on the floor. Bosses seek to slash budget, cutting social services further—but what's left to cut?

The depression conditions in metropolitan Detroit, where the unemployment rate is over 20 percent, now cast their shadow over the whole state economy of Michigan. Governor Milliken has discovered a \$300 million deficit in the state budget which, according to the state Constitution, must be made up by the end of the fiscal year in June 1976.

Milliken is reluctant to make up this deficit through income tax hikes that would anger workers and farmers, especially with an election year coming up. Instead, he proposes to slash \$60.3 million from social service funds. These cuts include \$27 million from Medicaid for those over 21, \$10.7 million from aid to dependent children (ADC) and \$18.3 million from welfare assistance. The welfare cuts alone will take \$15 to \$20 a month from over 200,000 families depending on ADC grants to feed and clothe their children.

In addition, while the state and the city of Detroit toss away millions on forced busing, the city will lose \$6 million in education funds. Education cuts in the state overall will total \$55 million, including \$47.5 million in aid for grade schools and high schools.

The capitalists in Michigan, as elsewhere, debate whether it is safer to open their attack by smashing at employed workers, or to force the unemployed and their families into semi-starvation. All workers, employed and unemployed, will suffer in the end.

It's no accident that Milliken chose the annual conference of District 29 of the United Steelworkers union to stress his opposition to increased income taxes and his desire to "increase the spendable income of those who are working." He hopes to use the workers' desire to defend their living standards against inflation to buy them off. By promising to hold

the line on taxes he wants to win acceptance for his attacks on the unemployed and welfare families.

Militants among the oppressed section of the population realize that they have no margin of safety for survival. They are looking for ways to fight, as demonstrations held at the state capital in Lansing prove.

Various welfare rights groups and civil rights organizations are trying to place themselves at the head of this movement to keep it safely within the bounds of peaceful protest. The most important of these is the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Claude Young, president of the Detroit SCLC, announced on November 7 that the SCLC planned to create a tent city in Lansing if the welfare cuts went through.

Nothing will be gained by welfare families enduring the miseries of a Michigan winter—in tents, no less—for the moral uplifting of state lawmakers and the greater glory of the SCLC. This publicity ploy by the SCLC shows the political bankruptcy of the reformist black leaderships of the 1960s.

The crisis in Detroit and Michigan as a whole is not a new one. In Detroit, for example, the number of jobs has plunged from 875,000 in 1953 to 537,000 in 1970. In every year since 1960, more houses have been torn down in Detroit than have been built. More than three-fourths of the city's houses are over 30 years old.

Detroit lost over 200,000 residents between 1970 and 1975. In the same period the number of Detroit residents living below the federal poverty line jumped from 11 percent to 25 percent of the population.

The crisis in Michigan is the culmination of 20 years of slow rot. It will not be solved by prayer meetings, piecemeal reforms or so-called "austerity" programs at the workers' expense.

Coleman Young: Black face calling for "black blood" threaten bosses' stability. Deal with capitalist parties.

Livernois Five Defense Committee appeal again for the aid of the working class. We demand an end to the above and all supporters of the above to free the Livernois Five in trade unions, organizations or on the job. Lined up this call. Lined up the Livernois Five Defense Committee is the bourgeoisie—its courts, its press. Only the most united struggle can win. The Revolutionary Socialist League will continue to lead the cause in order to bring about the trial beginning with freedom for the

LIVERNOIS FIVE!
RACIST FRAME-UPS!
ALL POLITICAL
PRISONERS!

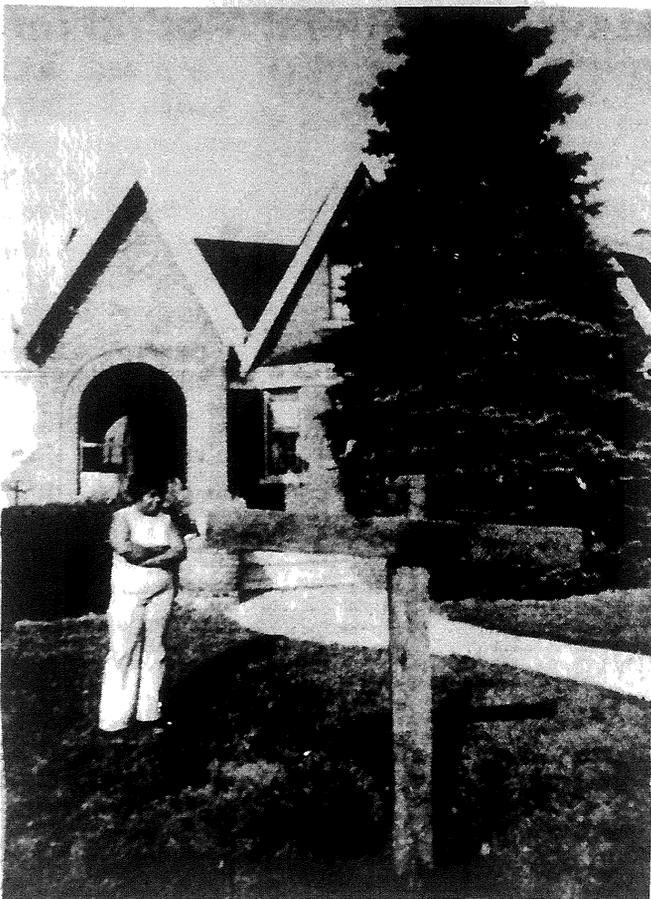
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armed with baseball bats were topped off by a shooting of 15-year-old Hanson by the ringleader banks. Scott Kneasy.

ON THE LOOSE

convicted of felonious shooting. But pending mid-November, the him back out on the out more thuggery. attacks on the families received threats air houses. Rabbits kept were slaughtered. The a car was blown out by st. On November 4, the burning occurred at the

the families had predicted the office of De-mayor Coleman Young. ee Press and the Detroit parts of the incidents were



Cross burned on lawn of Ruby Coney's home. The racist scum responsible are spawned by a decaying capitalism. RSL has helped organize nightly defense guards at the Coney house.



Sekou Lumpen Speaks Out

TORCH Interviews IFA Leader

Last month Torch interviewers talked with Sekou Lumpen, a former inmate of Alabama's infamous Atmore Prison Farm and a leader of the Alabama prisoners' organization Inmates for Action (IFA). Excerpts from the interview follow.

Torch: Could you tell us how the Inmates For Action began?

Sekou Lumpen: The Inmates For Action is a revolutionary organization behind the bars in the Alabama prison system. It was formed in 1971 and the issues that brought about the formation of the IFA were the wretched, inhumane conditions that prisoners in Alabama's prison system are forced to live in, and the racist and brutal treatment from prison officials and the guards. Some of the conditions I found when I got to Atmore Prison Farm—where the IFA originated—is that you had ceilings caving in, the building was dilapidated, all the windows were torn out, inmates had to sleep in shower stalls, and in the aisles because of overcrowded conditions, and with one another. We were forced to work from sun-up to sundown on the farm picking cotton, cutting sugar cane, picking cucumbers—multimillion-dollar crops. We were paid only 25 cents a week. It was a situation where you either worked or you were beaten or locked up in the dog-house cell. We began to organize for a work stoppage, in October, around the latter part of 1972.

Torch: Tell us what your personal story was.

Sekou: The reason I was in prison was because of my political activity. But the crime, the survival act that I was convicted for, I actually did it. I did it because I was unable to get a job, because I had been involved with the Black Panther Party, and I was harassed by the policemen, to the point where I couldn't get any type of gainful employment. And I was given probation. And after my probation officer found out that I had been involved in these type of activities, he told me that he would get my probation revoked, and in the latter part of 1972 he did that.

Torch: You were on probation for your crime, and it was revoked only because of your political activities?

Sekou: Right. Now, let me make a distinction. We define those things which people call crimes as survival acts; they are caused by the economic conditions in the society which cause a necessity for people to have to do these things because they can't get jobs, because they're poor, hungry and this type of thing.

Torch: Would you say that what you call "survival acts" are the major reason that people are going to prison right now?

Sekou: Right, because the majority of people in prison are there for economic offenses. From statistics, penologists say that 75 percent of the people in prisons are there for economic-related offenses.

Now in October 1972, when I got to Atmore, they were organizing for the work stoppage. Where there was a multimillion-dollar cane crop in the field—you organized this work stoppage and let the crop rot in the field, until they got their grievances implemented. And the first day of the strike, out of 1,600 people at the farm, only four were working, and those

were four trustees, two black and two white. The next day, no one was at work. Eventually the Prison Commissioner came to the prison to negotiate, and myself and Mafundi (co-founder of the IFA—Torch) along with four other members of the IFA were chosen.

And the negotiations consisted of the Commissioner going down the list of our grievances saying, "When the State appropriates the money, we'd do this, we ain't going to do this, we ain't going to do that," that type of thing. So we stopped them, and told them that if this was what the negotiations were going to be about, we could just quit this right there. So we started discussing the grievances, and he answered, were we going to stop the strike? And we told him that we can only go back to the people in the population and let them know what was happening, and it was up to them to decide. And when we were supposedly leaving his office and going back to the prison population we were instead taken to a transfer room, and transferred to another prison and locked up in solitary confinement. And at this time was when we began to structure and really organize in earnest the IFA. We formulated a program, and we began to have nightly meetings, to deal with educating the prisoners to try to mobilize people and politicize them, so that they can become revolutionaries also.



"From sun-up to sundown we picked multimillion-dollar crops—for 25 cents a week."

Torch: How did the Atmore-Holman Brothers cases arise?

Sekou: These arose when the officials drew up a death list, a list of IFA members and leaders and people that were struggling against this type of situation, that they had singled out to be killed. So in January of 1974, IFA leader Jessie James Clanzly was reported to be killed, although he survived. When the news reached the IFA members in the segregation unit at Atmore Prison Farm, they took two guards hostage and asked to see people from the Warden's Office, from the Governor's office, to see the Commissioner. So the guards begged the warden and pleaded with him to just bring the people down, that they didn't want to die.

And the warden told them, "They don't run this prison, you don't run this prison, I run this prison, and I ain't going to bring nobody here." So he left them and came back with state troopers and prison guards, and they took the segregation unit, and after they regained control of the unit, they made all the inmates in that area strip naked, while they beat them, made

them get on their hands and knees, while they continued beating them, and put their noses up one another's behinds, and crawl around on all fours, and bark like dogs while they were being beaten. And after they did this, they went out to the population, where the people hadn't even participated in the protest, and made everybody in the population strip naked and run around with their hands in the air and bark like dogs, asking them were they members of IFA, were they revolutionaries, and if anyone said that they were, they would be killed or brutally beaten.

So while all this was going on, George Chagina Dobbins, the IFA chairman at Atmore Prison Farm, was taken away from the prison in an ambulance under the pretense that he was being taken to the hospital for treatment. And when he left there, on the stretcher, he was talking to the IFA members and telling them to be strong. And he didn't have any wounds on his face. So, en route to the hospital, he was killed in the ambulance from nine stab wounds of the face, which were done by an axe or a hatchet. To cover this up, the officials indicted all the people in the segregation unit. And later on, as in Attica, with selective prosecution all the charges were dropped against everybody but the nine IFA members who were in that unit. And these were the Atmore Brothers. Five received light sentences, one received a total of



"Yukeena was taken from his cell, handcuffed and naked, and beaten to death."

on two other IFA leaders were killed.

Torch: How do you sum up your view of the prison system?

Sekou: We feel that prisons are a failure and they are a farce and a sham. Because they aren't geared to rehabilitating anyone, they are geared toward punishing people, and breaking people, and warehousing people. When you get out of prison, and go try to get a job, you get to that question on the form, have you ever been convicted of a felony, if you lie and say "no," well, they are going to check on you and find out that you lied and you're going to lose the job, and forget it. And if you say "yes," and tell the truth, you're not going to get that job. And then there is a question of whether or not the real criminals are in prison, or not, because people like Nixon, Rockefeller, Agnew, the plumbers, Watergate people, these are the criminals, the people who are responsible for the murders of millions of people. And these are the people that when they do get sentenced, they only get light sentences.

Torch: You defined the IFA as a revolutionary organization. What is the IFA's view—or your view—of the revolutionary process that is needed in society?

Sekou: Well, as far as labels go, I don't like to deal with labels. But I consider myself as a scientific socialist. Only the overthrow of capitalism and the implementation of socialism as a transitional stage would be able to get rid of the conditions which cause the need for people to have to commit the violence. I see the working class as being the most revolutionary—the most potentially revolutionary class, a class that is in a position to bring about the overthrow of capitalism, because if the workers didn't go to work then you would have everything coming to a halt, you wouldn't have anything functioning. And in relation to that, we know that 90 percent of black people are members of the working class.

Torch: But right now, although many workers are aware of the need for revolutionary change, by and large the struggles have been kept within the framework of limited demands. How do you explain this?

Sekou: I think if we consider what we are dealing with, we are dealing with a system that is the most scientifically advanced, in being able to use differences that exist to divide the working class, that you have this scientific fascism, which we are struggling against, that's been successful in dividing people in regard to sex, where you have sexism existing,

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in regards to race, where you have racism which is one of the major tools, and a system which just plays on any difference that exists to keep people from being able to unite.

Torch: We don't consider the system now to be fascism. We would define fascism as the total abolition of rights for all sections of the working class.

Sekou: I would say that you had this country being founded on fascism—the extermination of the native Americans and the forced enslavement of black people, so I say that relative to the black people, we've been victims of fascism, scientific fascism. We're being programmed to think that we do have a certain amount of freedoms that we can exercise, but if you relate to what the party was doing—self-defense—you'd be wiped out, like the Panther Party was during the '60s.

Torch: Two points that I think it's important to make, though, are that even when capitalism is at its most "democratic," they still railroad people to jail, have people murdered, and so forth. The second point is that there are actual fascist movements



"The CP just abandoned Ruchell Magee... an example of where their politics is at."

beginning to develop inside the United States, and this is a growing threat.

Sekou: This is why I say that this is relative. When you look at the entire thing in its totality, the society, you see that now we don't have fascism, but selectively you do have fascism, at least this is what I call it. But in terms of dealing with the total type of fascism, with regard to the way you defined it, it is not existing in relation to that definition.

Torch: Has there been any organizing going on in women's prisons in Alabama, and has the IFA had any relation to that?

Sekou: That's been one of the shortcomings of the prisoners' support movement. At the present time we are just now beginning to make contact with the only women's prison in Alabama, Tutwiler, and sending the program there and communicating with the sisters, to try to build up the type of movement in there that is built in the men's prisons. Women are paid the same 25 cents a week and they are forced to do the same slave labor. They are forced to wash clothes, they are let out as maids to work in different public officials' houses. And the U.S. Civil Rights Commission found eight pregnancies a year, at least eight births a year occurred within the prisons—and that doesn't count the victims of rapes that don't report this. Now they are not allowed conjugal visits in Alabama, and you have male guards at the women's prisons, so we definitely know that there are quite a few Joanne Littles in the women's prisons in Alabama.

Torch: What's been the response to the Joanne Little trial throughout the prisons, as far as you know?

Sekou: The response has been overwhelming as far as enthusiasm and making the people strong. It's been the same type of encouragement that was generated during the Angela Davis trial, when she was freed, where at that time, the brothers had said if

she was convicted, that they was going to tear the whole prison down. And it was only after Angela Davis became more or less petty-bourgeois and identified with the Communist Party, that people started criticizing her very harshly and still do, because we have written letters to her trying to get support from her, and she is from Alabama, and we haven't gotten any support, or even any public statements on the Brothers' behalf. And they've abandoned Ruchell Magee. Ruchell Magee has been writing Mafundi, asking him to come to visit him and do something for him, and the way that Angela Davis and the Communist Party just abandoned Ruchell Magee is an example of where their politics is at.

Torch: Do you feel that with a militant prison reform movement, you're going to be able to win many of these demands in the middle of a capitalist society that is heading downhill?

Sekou: That's why our program in its totality is revolutionary. We are struggling to turn the prisons into revolutionary training centers. Whereas when people are sent there, they're



going to be radicalized, and when they leave there, they are going to come back out here and struggle and bring about the revolutionary changes in society.

Torch: Which revolutionary writers would you say have been the most studied in the prisons?

Sekou: We've studied all of the revolutionary writers—Marx, Lenin, Mao, George Jackson, Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Cabral—all the revolutionary material we can get our hands on we've studied, because we know that all of this is the written experiences of these people and there's lessons to be learned from all revolutionary movements.

Torch: What about books by Trotsky; you know we're Trotskyists.

Sekou: We have brothers who consider themselves Trotskyists, but I myself haven't done enough study to really understand what a Trotskyist is. Or a Trotskyite is. But we don't judge people by labels, we use the criteria of practice, the actions and deeds, and determine whether or not if their actions are revolutionary, if they are for oppressed people, that's the way we determine whether or not we can deal with them as a friend.

Torch: Do you believe in the creation of a revolutionary party, and on what principles?

Sekou: Yes, I believe in—I can't speak for everyone because there is different tendencies—the creation of a revolutionary party, a Communist party. Because of the practical conditions that exist at this time, I don't see where it could be brought about at this present time, but I do see that conditions exist with different coalitions and that all of the different parties and different revolutionary formations that you have now need to be linked up into a united front, so there can at least be some coordination in the day-to-day type of struggles, and in the day-to-day type of organizations. I believe that the conditions exist for this right now.

PSC Fights Imperialism

The Portuguese working class is engaged in an ever-more bitter struggle with the ruling Armed Forces Movement and the forces of counter-revolution. It is imperative for the international working class movement to rally support for the struggling Portuguese masses. Nowhere is this support more vital than in the U.S., the main prop behind the Portuguese reaction. To take up this fight against U.S. imperialism's attempt to crush the Portuguese workers and the Angolan liberation struggle, the Revolutionary Socialist League has organized Portuguese Solidarity Committees (PSCs) in several cities across the country. These Committees have been working actively since early October to combat the mounds of bourgeois propaganda dished out to cover for massive aid and CIA intervention on behalf of the Portuguese counter-revolution. The PSCs have also fought to demonstrate the vital importance of the events in Portugal and Angola to workers in this country.

The PSC has held two demonstrations in New York City and one in Chicago in support of the Portuguese workers and the Angolan national liberation movement. The PSC mobilized 70 people for a demonstration at Times Square on October 14 to express solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Portuguese working class. A second demonstration was held on November 11, the date of Portugal's withdrawal from Angola. The demonstrators called for a military victory for the MPLA as necessary to fight for full independence for Angola. A third rally in Chicago on November 15 carried forward the task of placing the struggle against U.S. imperialism in Portugal and Angola before the U.S. working class. These actions mark the first steps of the Portugal Solidarity Committee's campaign to build a united front of workers and working class organizations to aid the Portuguese and Angolan workers and oppressed masses.

In giving any support to the United States ruling class's onslaught against the working masses of other countries, U.S. workers cut their own throats. Victory for the U.S.-backed counter-revolutions in either Portugal or Angola will simply make these countries vast sources of cheap labor and raw materials for U.S. corporations. Another Chilean-type triumph for imperialism would also increase the power the U.S. ruling class can bring to bear against the struggles of workers in this country.

A victory for the masses of Portuguese and Angolan workers would be a devastating blow to the U.S. ruling class, and would strengthen the revolutionary struggle of the working class throughout the world. With the capitalists disoriented from an international defeat, U.S. workers would have an opportunity to turn the balance of forces in this country to their advantage and recover for themselves what has been lost to the capitalists in the setbacks of past years.

The Portugal Solidarity Committee is a united front organization sponsored by the Revolutionary Socialist League, the International Workers Party, the Trotskyist Organizing Committee and the Postal Action Committee. Although these organiza-

tions have sharp differences among themselves over many of the key questions facing the revolutionary movements of Portugal and Angola, this has not prevented them from uniting in the PSC for joint action and work to defend these movements from the threat of counter-revolution.

In contrast to the principled internationalism exemplified by the Portugal Solidarity Committee stands the wretched sectarianism of the Spartacist League. In spite of repeated invitations extended by the PSC to join the united front, the SL placed its own fear of united front work before the task of building solidarity with the struggles in Portugal and Angola. While the SL did not send the representative it had pledged to the first PSC meeting in New York City, it did mobilize a tiny contingent for the October demonstration. By the time of the planning meeting for the second demonstration, however, the SL backed away, claiming first that the PSC's "Victory to the MPLA" slogan was unacceptable, and later that "organizational priorities" prevented further participation by the SL at that moment. The day after the planning meeting (October 23), an issue of Workers Vanguard appeared attacking the PSC as a "motley propaganda bloc whose slogans... simply avoid the crucial questions before the Portuguese masses." This was the final explanation offered for the SL's failure to mobilize for the November 11 demonstration in support of Angolan independence.

The actual reason for the SL's refusal to join the united front is found in its vacillating and opportunist attitude to the MPLA. The SL withdrew all support to the PSC's activity at the same time that the PSC was preparing its Angolan demonstration. The SL, at this time, was in the process of switching its position on the MPLA. Under the pressure of the PSC's call for a military victory for the MPLA—necessary to secure Angolan independence from U.S. imperialism—the SL went from a position of no military support to any of the groups in the Angolan civil war, to suddenly discovering that a defeat for the MPLA would bring to power in Angola a neo-colonialist regime subordinate to the U.S. This change of line could not be safely executed with the SL rank and file in contact with the RSL and the PSC. The new position appeared in an article in Workers Vanguard dated November 11, the same day the PSC conducted its Angolan demonstration, underlining the thoroughly sectarian character of the SL's nonparticipation. The closer the SL is drawn to the PSC's slogans, the farther it must isolate its members from the PSC.

The PSC is carrying the struggle against U.S. interventions into the trade unions. The trade union resolution of the PSC has been fought for in one chapter of DC 37, and the Committee has planned to place it on the floor of several other local union meetings.

We call on all militants to join the Portugal Solidarity Committee and build its effort to bring the weight of the working class to bear against U.S. imperialism's attacks on the Portuguese and Angolan masses.

China's Foreign Policy: A Reactionary Line

PART ONE

by Jack Gregory

"Today it is the country which most zealously preaches peace that is the most dangerous source of war," said China's Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping to his guest. "Rhetoric about 'detente' cannot cover up the stark reality of the growing danger of war."

His guest, Gerald Ford, understood that Teng was referring to the Soviet Union: "In the international field we have a mutual interest in seeing that the world is not dominated by military force or pressure—what in our joint statements we have called hegemonism." But the political leader of western imperialism cautioned his Chinese counterpart that "The world confronts us all with dangers but it also offers opportunities." Therefore, the U.S. would continue to pursue detente, "balancing strength, vigilance and firmness" with the search for "new opportunities for peace without illusions."

A WREATH FOR FRANCO

A week before Ford and Henry Kissinger arrived in Peking, the Chinese sent a delegation to Spain headed by Hsu Hsiang-chien, deputy chairman of the National People's Congress. Hsu bore a wreath from Premier Chou En-lai to mourn the death of the fascist butcher of the Spanish proletariat, Francisco Franco.

Two days after Chou's touching gesture, Lai Ya-li took the floor of the United Nations' General Assembly to present China's views on the struggle in Angola. Lai warned: "The Soviet Union has gone so far as to identify one organization as revolutionary and censure the other two as reactionary in a deliberate attempt to sow discord and create divisions. Furthermore, it has sent large quantities of arms, even including such heavy arms as the Angolan people have never obtained during their fight against Portuguese rule, to support one of the Angolan organizations and thus provoked the civil war in Angola."

Lai's attack was aimed at Russia's support for the MPLA against the two CIA operations, the FNLA and UNITA. It came while South African troops and arms poured into Angola to join the efforts to smash the MPLA. And, despite Lai's talk of wanting "unity," China has been sending arms and advisers to the FNLA for months in its "united front" with U.S. imperialism and South African racism.

Two months earlier, on September 11, "People's China" commemorated the second anniversary of butcher Pinochet's slaughter of Chilean workers by sending a trade delegation to Chile. Among other things, the Chinese reportedly discussed selling arms to the brutal military dictatorship.

Five years ago, the followers of "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought" would have bridled at a hint that the President and Secretary of State of U.S. imperialism could arrive in Peking except at the head of an armed column, let alone that the Chinese would mourn Franco, or support Pinochet and phony CIA-backed "national liberation movements" like the FNLA. Back then, China denounced every mention of "peaceful coexistence" coming out of Moscow as renegades' betrayal. Its major policy statement, "Leninism or Social-Imperialism," (People's Daily, April 22, 1970) stated: "Whatever compromises may be reached between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are mere temporary agreements between gangsters."

Who are the gangsters today? Who vies with Russia for the favor of the U.S. bourgeoisie? Who orients to the most reactionary regimes in the world? Who demands a strengthening of U.S. imperialism and a more right-wing international line from Washington? The Chinese ruling class.

As we shall see, the Chinese orientation to Ford, Franco, Pinochet and the FNLA is part of a broader, thoroughly reactionary foreign policy that

supports the most reactionary forces in every sector of the world: Pakistan's Ali Bhutto, the hangman of the Bengalis, on the Indian subcontinent; the Shah of Iran in the Mideast; Franco and NATO in Europe; the U.S. and Pinochet in the Western Hemisphere.

In the past, thousands of subjective revolutionaries in the U.S., and tens of thousands more around the world, were disoriented and misled by China's apparent intransigent opposition to Russia's nakedly imperialist foreign policy, to Russia's deals with the U.S. and calls for peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism. They were attracted by China's apparent opposition to Russia's counter-revolutionary policies and by China's calls for uncompromising struggle by the masses throughout the world. Since then, many of these revolutionaries have been dragged steadily to the right because of their allegiance to China, to the point where today they support a Chinese foreign policy far to the right of the Russian line.

Many followers of Mao can still provide valuable cadre to the revolutionary movement. But if they are to do so, they must come to grips with Maoism itself, understand its reactionary nature and how it attacks the world's masses.

The sharp right swing in Chinese foreign policy was clearly announced by Nixon and Kissinger's visit to Peking in 1972. Chou En-lai pronounced the "normalization" of U.S.-Chinese relations on the basis of five principles: mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations; mutual non-aggression; non-interference in internal affairs; mutual equality; and peaceful coexistence.

The U.S. received two major benefits from Nixon's trip. First, by de-thawing relations with China, U.S. imperialism gained leverage against Russia; if the Russians became too stubborn in the arms negotiations, trade discussions or anything else, the U.S. could threaten to ally more tightly with China. At the same time, the U.S. maintained leverage against China through its deals with the Russians. The Americans now had two avenues open, while the Chinese and the Russians each had only the U.S. to work with.

The second major benefit was the opening of China to U.S. capitalism and a further opening of the door to western imperialism as a whole. Following Nixon's visit, trade and currency relations between the U.S. and China were expanded. The Chinese began purchasing heavily from the U.S. and increased their trade with West Germany, Britain, France and Japan. Untapped Chinese oil has brought streams of American and Japanese potential investors to China.

CHINA LOOKS FOR "AID"

The Chinese ruling class wanted the deal to break out of the isolation China had been confined to since its split with Russia in the early 1960s. A decade of isolation taught the Chinese state-capitalists that they could not make major economic advances on their own. Their first attempt, the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s, resulted in total economic chaos—China was wracked by severe famine and unemployment in the early 1960s. From then on, the Chinese economy went into periodic disruption as the military sector (consuming by far the greatest proportion of national production of any major country), the party ideologists and the technocrats fought each other over China's development strategy. This struggle was one of the prime causes of the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution.

The Chinese rulers needed machinery, technology and capital to modernize agriculture, develop oil and other resources and expand industry. This expansion was necessary to consolidate their rule and prevent mass explosions (for example, during the Cultural Revolution, a mass movement in Hunan province, Sh'en Wu-lien, demanded the overthrow of Chinese capitalism and the establishment of workers' rule). The Chinese capitalists had to get the needed capital from abroad, and there were two options open.

The first was to try to patch up relations with

Russia. But Mao had broken with Moscow over the exploitative nature of Russian "aid" and the Russians' intentions of dominating the state-capitalist countries. The Chinese knew that Moscow would demand stiff concessions as a penalty for Mao's years of splitting the "socialist" camp.

MAO TURNS TO NIXON

Instead, Mao and his lieutenants turned to Nixon and western imperialism. This, of course, had its price, since U.S. imperialism exploits every less developed economy and subjugates them politically no less vigorously than Russia dominates its "allies." Mao thought he could angle a better deal with the U.S. than he could with the Russians.

The Chinese have tried to get this better deal by attempting to convince the U.S. (and the Western European) bourgeoisie that China could be a better prop of western imperialism than Russia. That's the basis of their support for NATO and the Common Market and their opposition to detente. That's also the major reason why they ally with the most reactionary forces the world over.

At this point, however, because of trade concessions they have wrested from Russia and because the temporary alliance with Russian imperialism allows the two dominant powers to more effectively exploit their respective spheres, the U.S. ruling class as a whole wants detente with Russia.

The detente is an imperialist alliance, and, although it can only last temporarily before the declining world economy brings inter-imperialist rivalry out in the open, at this point it benefits U.S. imperialism. Therefore, no amount of warnings from Teng and Chou about Russian belligerence will convince Ford and Kissinger to break the detente so long as it benefits them. (Meanwhile, they prepare behind the scenes for direct confrontation with Russian imperialism.)

That leaves the Chinese in a poor bargaining position. Though there are great opportunities for U.S. investment in China, they are dwarfed by the possibilities of trade with Russia. And alliance with China cannot provide the U.S. with the short-term stability that the imperialist concert against the working masses with Russia does.

China must find a way to convince the U.S. to break the detente with Russia in favor of a deal with China. To do this, it must demonstrate to the U.S. bourgeoisie that it has something to offer that the Russians don't. China is trying to do this by showing its reliability in containing and suppressing the revolutionary struggle around the world.

To try to break the detente and find immediate allies, China unites with the overt reactionaries, the ones who feel most threatened by the detente and the ones most in need of economic and military support and a political left cover for their bloody campaigns against the masses.

Therefore, the Chinese support and even participate in the most ruthless massacres of revolutionary fighters—trying to prove their reliability to U.S. imperialism and cement their alliance with the reactionaries.

NATO AND THE SHAH

They go to Franco and Pinochet, to the Shah and Ali Bhutto, to the NATO generals. They go to the right-wing sectors who today want U.S. imperialism to take the offensive against Russia, and to those who take the most repressive actions against the Moscow-oriented Communist Parties because the worker base of the CPs threatens them. They go to the fascists and the militarists.

Chinese support is on call for any regime faced with an upsurge from the working masses. In Portugal, the Mao-endorsed Communist Party Marxist-Leninist supported the Socialist Party's reactionary mobilization against the proletariat—because the CP was one of the SP's targets. In Angola, the Chinese arm and advise the FNLA, whose goal is to crush the workers of Luanda. In Iran, China officially abandoned its support of the



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Mao, "revolutionary internationalist." His friends? (Clockwise): Sudan's Nimeiry—terrorized working class; Chile's Pinochet—arms talks with Mao underway; Filipino dictator Marcos; Pakistan's Bhutto—massacred Bengalis; Iran's royal family—Shah represses Iranian left, including Maoists. [Opposite page, top]: Ford, Nixon—trail-blazers to China.

rebels in the province of Dhofar in 1973, and since 1971 has been supporting the Shah despite the fact that he has been terrorizing radical oppositionists including Iran's Maoists.

In the Sudan, the reactionary Nimeiry regime defeated a rebellion in which the pro-Moscow Communist Party was involved. Nimeiry terrorized the working class and massacred leftist leaders. Supporting him was \$80 million in Chinese aid (more than Nimeiry got from the U.S. and Great Britain combined).

MAO MURDERS MAOISTS

In Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) four years ago, the Bandaranaike government unleashed a ruthless campaign to suppress a militant rising of the JVP (People's Liberation Front). More than 10,000 were arrested and 8,000 were executed. Although the JVP looked to Mao for leadership and inspiration, China immediately lined up with Bandaranaike. A \$25-million interest-free loan accompanied a personal message from Chou En-lai:

Following Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching, the Chinese people have all along opposed ultra "left" and right opportunism in their protracted revolutionary struggles. We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who styled themselves Guevarists and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control.

We will not detail Chinese support for the murder of thousands of Bengalis (including many Maoists) by Yahya Khan and Ali Bhutto. Nor will we go into the appeals to NATO and the proclamation of a "Second World" consisting of Western European imperialism (according to Peking, "Europe will overcome its internal conflicts, lessen its dependence on the superpowers, increase its efforts for its own security, and extend and develop its cooperation with the third world"). The point should already be clear. Absolutely nothing is too anti-working class for the Chinese state-capitalists

to support.

The real question is how Mao's followers throughout the world are able to justify these policies. The Revolutionary Union (now the Revolutionary Communist Party) gave a typical apology in Red Papers 7:

China has come to certain agreements...with the Shah of Iran, whose main characteristic is a tyrant brutally oppressing the Iranian people and a puppet of U.S. imperialism. China's policy toward Iran is entirely correct and takes advantage of the Shah's contradiction with social-imperialism and even his contradiction with U.S. imperialism (although the main aspect...is not one of opposing U.S. imperialism). This correct policy of China in no way means that the Iranian people should not wage revolutionary struggle aimed at overthrowing the reactionary regime of the Shah, or that revolutionaries throughout the world should not support that just struggle.

Very well. We are supposed to believe that China, shrewdly acting out of self-interest (and, therefore, supposedly the interests of the world proletariat) supports the Shah while giving unwavering support to the revolutionary struggle in Iran. Then why did Peking withdraw its support to the Dhofar rebels? Why did it aid regimes in Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Sudan that liquidated their revolutionary opponents? Why is there not even a word of protest about the Shah's vicious repression against Iranian revolutionaries? The Revolutionary Union (RU) can make all the calls it likes for the Iranian people (and the Sudanis, and the people of Sri Lanka) to wage revolutionary struggle, but Mao provides political and economic support to their hangmen and even sends the guns for the reactionaries' armies. And while "revolutionaries throughout the world should support (these) just struggles," the RU exempts China (which it calls the "leader of the world revolutionary movement") from this elementary proletarian duty.

The real point is that Peking supports the Shah because he is an enemy of "social-imperialism" (Russia) and can use Mao's support as a left cover

for his brutal tyranny. (As far as the Shah's "contradiction with U.S. imperialism," even the RU knows that's nonsense—two lines earlier they admitted that he's a U.S. puppet.)

No matter how the RU squirms, their case reduces itself to the following: China is surrounded by enemies and must look for allies wherever it can get them. China's national interests come before the international revolutionary struggle. If Chinese money and arms are used to butcher the masses in Angola, the Sudan, Sri Lanka, Bangla Desh and Chile, if China's political support helps prop up Franco and the Shah, that's just too bad for the masses. They must endure increased misery for the narrow national interests of China's ruling class.

What will happen if Mao applies this line to the U.S., if he supports vicious repression against the American left, including the Maoists, to try to convince the U.S. bourgeoisie to ally with China instead of Russia? What will the RU say then? Will it take Chinese support for the massacre of American workers to convince the RU to stop supporting Mao's crimes?

The RU clearly has a problem. But the problem is not theirs alone. All of Mao's supporters, in the U.S. and elsewhere, are in the same bind. All of their arguments finally come down to the same thing: China's national interests come before all else, including the struggle of the masses—and that has to mean it comes before the struggle of the U.S. masses no less than the Iranians.

Not surprisingly, China's "national interests" is also the Chinese justification for their reactionary policy.

It has nothing in common with Leninism. It is completely reactionary. Five years ago, before their right foreign policy veer, the Chinese used to attack the Russians for basing their international line on purely Russian interests: "The theory that 'our interests are involved' is a typical argument used by the imperialists for their global policy of aggression" (People's Daily, April 22, 1970).

China's 1970 attacks on Russia's foreign policy were possible because the Chinese did not then have the opportunity to pursue the same kind of line themselves. Now they do. Although that means actively participating in the massacre of revolutionaries and the crushing of the working class in country after country, they leap at the opportunity.

GUARDIAN CHOKES ON ANGOLA

Mao's American supporters are having difficulty swallowing his latest moves. For example, the widely-read Maoist weekly, the Guardian, ran a lead article and an editorial in its December 10 issue denouncing South African intervention in Angola, denouncing the FNLA and UNITA, and calling for support for the MPLA. The Guardian even called for a meeting to organize support for the MPLA. But directly opposite the editorial its "Voices of Revolution" column ran Lai Ya-li's UN speech attacking Russia for supporting the MPLA.

The Guardian has run head-long into the contradictions of China's reactionary line. It is hesitant to swallow more of this rubbish. But more than empirical reactions over this or that particular atrocity is required. U.S. Maoists must examine China's foreign policy as a whole and understand its anti-Leninist, state-capitalist roots. If this is not done, they will either cynically follow Mao no matter how he attacks the workers of the world, or else veer back to support for state-capitalist Russia (where the Guardian may be headed).

The capitalist foreign policies of both Russia and China are the lines of capitalist states. They both place "national interests" before the world revolution, basing themselves on Stalin's theory of "building socialism in one country," a theory completely at odds with Marx and Lenin. They both try to excuse themselves by pointing to Lenin's international agreements. But Lenin always placed the world revolution and the need for a world revolutionary party, the Comintern, first and aimed his foreign policy at buying precious months for the Soviet state until the overthrow of capitalism internationally. He never did carry out (nor could he have) the reactionary line pursued by Stalin (who liquidated the Comintern, and smashed the German, Chinese and Spanish revolutions) or Mao (who never even attempted to build an international party and is smashing revolutions to this day).

The second part of this series, which will appear in next month's Torch, will show what real proletarian internationalism is. It will demonstrate the reactionary nature of the "national interests," socialism in one country line and show how it is completely counterposed to Leninist internationalism. Finally, it will put forward the international perspective necessary to address the crucial task of building the world revolutionary party.

Reinstate Matlovich!

Technical Sergeant Leonard Matlovich, discharged from the U.S. Air Force for homosexuality, is fighting for his reinstatement. The Torch supports Sgt. Matlovich in his struggle, which can have a far-reaching impact for the freedom of gay people throughout society and the struggle for democratic rights generally.

Leonard Matlovich challenged gay oppression in the military last March, when he handed his superior officer a letter stating that he was a homosexual. The Air Force quickly moved to discharge him. The first step was a hearing last September before a three-man panel at Langley Air Force Base in Virginia. The hearing was based on a double standard. The assumption was that homosexuals are sick, immoral or undesirable—Matlovich had to prove that he was different from most homosexuals in the Armed Forces (the regulation reads that homosexuals shall be discharged unless "unusual circumstances exist").

"UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCES"

The defense tried to prove "unusual circumstances" based on Matlovich's record: 12 years in the Air Force, a Bronze Star and Purple Heart. But the heart of the case is not Matlovich's record, or any "unusual circumstances." Homosexuals in the military must have the right to be homosexuals. Period. No Bronze Stars, no Purple Hearts, no 12 years with an unblemished record must be required. This is also Matlovich's view. He intends to take his case to the courts in order to strike down the repressive regulations that prevent the thousands of gay soldiers, sailors and Air Force men and women with "ordinary" records from coming out.

Colonel James Applegate, the prosecutor at the hearing, also viewed Matlovich's record as irrelevant. He, too, viewed the question as simply the right of sexual expression for homo-

sexuals—a right Applegate denies.

MATLOVICH APPEALS

The three-man panel went along with Applegate's prejudices and recommended that Matlovich be discharged. The first round of court battles will take place in U.S. District Court, Washington, D.C., in early January. Matlovich expects Judge Gerhardt Gesell to rule in his favor. If this happens the Air Force will almost certainly appeal, and as a result the case has a good chance of reaching the Supreme Court.

Some may argue that Matlovich should not be supported because he is fighting to be reinstated in the armed forces of the world's leading imperialist power. But Matlovich's possible illusions in U.S. imperialism are not the issue. The issue is the struggle for the democratic rights of the working class and all oppressed people in capitalist society, a system which the U.S. armed forces are pledged to maintain. A victory in any area of this fight is a victory for all.

What is really obscene about this whole affair is the claim by the Air Force to stand for moral "uprightness," motherhood and apple pie; this from an organization which along with the other Armed "Services" commits the cruelest atrocities the world over (such as the napalming of Vietnamese babies). The Air Force is fighting to preserve its usefulness as an arm of U.S. imperialism. Matlovich's struggle, whatever he may think of the Air Force, is objectively a struggle for the rights of the oppressed throughout the world and a blow against U.S. imperialism.

REINSTATE MATLOVICH!

SMASH ALL ANTI-GAY REPRESSION!

(To send a contribution or letter of support to Sgt. Matlovich, write Sgt. Leonard Matlovich, Box 4086, Alexandria, Virginia 22303.)



Above: Technical Sergeant Leonard Matlovich has been discharged from the U.S. Air Force for homosexuality. Matlovich's struggle for reinstatement must be supported. Air Force considers sexual preference disqualification for "defense of democracy," but Matlovich is objectively fighting for the democratic rights of the working class and all oppressed people. Right: struggle against anti-homosexual regulations in U.S. government employment.



RSL Expels Landy

On November 29, Sy Landy was expelled from the Revolutionary Socialist League. Landy violently opposed the professionalization of the RSL and charged that this represented the League's bureaucratization. He described the organization's increased intervention in and leadership of the struggles of the proletariat as a drastic turn to the right. He made these charges of bureaucratism and opportunism because the cohering of an organization of professional revolutionaries left no place for a house intellectual congenitally afraid of systematic thinking, systematic work and incapable of performing the most minimal task. Landy wanted a talk shop where he could freely spout any idea that wandered into his head without the responsibility for clarifying it and fighting for it in a political manner. He wanted a discussion club in which the emphasis is not on leading the proletariat in action, testing political lines in actual practice, but in discussing the most trivial or absurd mental constructs into the ground. Most of all, he wanted anything but a professional Bolshevik cadre organization that makes demands on individuals—especially on the leadership—to carry their load and to act in a disciplined and responsible fashion.

When Landy saw the professionalization of the organization, he realized that there would be no place in it for him. But it was only after it was proposed to remove him from the RSL Political Committee (PC) this past summer that he openly expressed his fears to the organization. Landy's removal from the PC was proposed in a resolution written in August. This resolution proposed to further the professionalization of the organization and to correct past errors of a sectarian and abstentionist character in the League's practice. Landy charged the League with politically degenerating yet, in three months of discussion, he failed to put forward a perspective counterposed to that put forward by the PC majority. Moreover, while he charged the PC majority with being a clique, he proposed that these same "utterly corrupt" individuals plus himself constitute the leadership of the organization.

As a political cover for his fight against Bolshevism, Landy attacked the organization for maintaining the Trotskyist position on the labor party and proposed changing the position the RSL has maintained, with minor variations, since its foundation. Landy's bankruptcy was

exposed in his charge that maintaining the labor party slogan was "proof" of the League's political degeneration. Meanwhile Landy, in typically frivolous fashion, put forward his new position in a few hastily written and internally contradictory paragraphs.

At root, Landy never really broke from his 20 years of Shachtmanism. In the Shachtmanite Independent Socialist League and its successor, the International Socialists (IS), Landy stood in the right wing. He was a thorough-going opportunist and a leading proponent of such petty-bourgeois projects as the Peace and Freedom Party. When Landy claimed to repudiate Shachtmanism and joined with us in a fight against the IS majority, we thought he might overcome his past. As it turned out, Landy sought to use our revulsion with the IS's abject tailism and economist workerism to construct an abstractionist and abstentionist organization where he could formally stand on Trotskyism and atone for his decades of Shachtmanism while still not moving an inch closer to the actual struggles of the working class.

The specific incidents which led to Landy's expulsion were just the

culmination of a history of undisciplined, unprincipled, careerist and downright dishonest functioning, functioning which led to his removal from post after post—National Secretary, National Chairman, International Secretary, liaison to the Detroit branch, member of the Political Committee—and finally from the League itself.

It was a mistake to believe that Landy could ever really change. His pathologic fear of the working class and of serious Bolshevik politics was too ingrained for us to alter.

While Landy undoubtedly made theoretical and programmatic contributions to the League, he has proven incapable of becoming a Bolshevik. Instead, he chose to systematize the League's past abstentionist errors and to obstruct, through unprincipled functioning, the organization's efforts to increase its involvement in the struggles of the working class.

Although Landy managed to temporarily impede the struggle to build a disciplined Bolshevik organization, he could not stop it. With our face turned to our revolutionary tasks, we return Sy Landy to his natural habitat—the swamp.

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Bosses Plan New Cuts in NYC

Gerald Ford's decision to grant a \$2.3 billion federal loan to New York City has not ended the attacks on New York's working class. The loan was extended in return for further severe inroads on workers' living standards. Two weeks after the loan was granted, New York State Governor Hugh Carey was again warning of default and implementing even more drastic cutbacks.

Ford justified the reversal of his previous opposition to aiding New York by saying, "New York has bailed itself out," and, "If we had shown any give, I think they wouldn't have made the hard decisions they have made." Actually, Ford was knocked off his anti-loan position by the opposition of most of the ruling class. As we have previously stated, the bourgeoisie as a whole never intended to let New York default. But Ford is right to boast that New York (meaning New York workers) have gotten it in the neck in exchange for the loan. Here are the main "concessions" made to get federal aid:

The municipal union bureaucrats, who have capitulated down the line, agreed to throw \$2.5 billion from the unions' pension funds into city "securities," and another \$1.15 billion into city bonds and notes. This endangers the pensions of hundreds of thousands of workers.

New York City taxes, already the highest in the nation, were increased \$200 million—including a 25 percent increase in the city income tax.

Forty-six city construction projects were halted. This came on top of a previous freeze on new construction and means worse conditions in the already overcrowded schools and housing projects.

The City University will end its open admissions program and restrict admissions.

It didn't take long for the workers to learn that these cuts, coming on top of the sharp attacks of the past year, were not the end. Carey started playing the default scare shell game a few days later. On December 9 (the same day Ford signed the bill to aid New York), the governor declared, "We are on the edge of the abyss," and demanded a \$597 million cut in state spending and tax increases of \$555 million.

CAREY BRINGS BACK "DEFAULT"

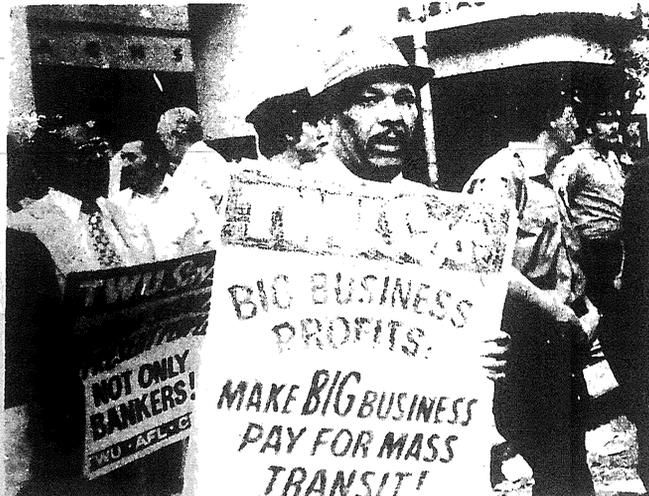
Carey, deciding that families scraping the bottom of the barrel were too well off, proposed cutting welfare by \$140 million. He called for chopping \$110 million from education and \$92 million in state aid to New York's financially strapped cities, a one-year wage freeze for all state employees and the halting of all state construction projects less than 20 percent completed. Carey is asking for over \$1 billion from state workers' pension funds.

Nor is this the end. While Carey was delivering his soak-the-workers message to the state legislature, Felix G. Rohatyn warned that New York City must start to eliminate its \$3.3 billion debt by cutting over \$700 million from the city budget over the next three years. Rohatyn should know. He is chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big MAC), the committee of Wall Street financiers and corporate heads set up months ago to make sure the city

government hit the workers hard enough.

Rohatyn is promising more for the city's workers and unemployed. More cuts, more layoffs, worse and worse living standards. Tens of thousands of laid-off workers have to move out of their homes and have no job prospects. Welfare recipients cut off from aid face starvation. City workers' wages are frozen in the teeth of inflation. Rotting garbage lines the city's streets and stands in huge mountains in the sprawling ghettos. Fires rage out of control in the slums because of the shutdown of fire stations.

"The pain is just beginning," said Rohatyn. Pain for whom? Not for fat cats like Rohatyn and his cronies on



NY transit workers rally in late July. Their message is clear: Make the Bosses Pay!

Victory to the Capitol Strikers!

An injunction has just been slapped on 240 strikers at the Capitol Packaging plant in Melrose Park, Illinois. The strikers have been out since early August. Despite the court-imposed limit of four pickets per gate there is still strong determination to fight Alberto-Culver, owner of the Capitol plant.

The strikers, members of OCAW Local 7-507, are demanding 25 cents an hour and six months back pay for time they worked without a contract. They also want improved health insurance and a one-year contract.

Alberto-Culver is a multimillion dollar national company, a formidable foe for 240 strikers. The strike is being hurt by the farming out of production to the Chase plant in Chicago, and the rerouting of shipments from Alberto-Culver's big non-union plant in Atlanta, Ga.

The viciousness of Alberto-Culver and the steps it is prepared to take to defeat the strike were revealed on September 7 when a scab truck crossing the picket line killed Dave Watson, the Local vice president. The police found the truck driver guilty—not of murder, but of failing to yield to a pedestrian... a 25-dollar fine! These company-state crimes against the strikers have only increased the militancy and determination of the strikers.

Police harassment and brutality

Big MAC. Not for the capitalists, and not for Ford or Carey.

The municipal union bureaucrats, in forking over the pension money, merely continued their policy of sacrificing the working class in the name of saving the city. They previously had agreed to 40,000 layoffs, deterioration of working conditions and a wage freeze. They let the city repeatedly break union contracts.

The ranks must not allow the bureaucrats to continue these abject sell-outs. A few more capitulations and the unions will be hollow shells stripped of the gains won by decades of struggle. And while the sharpest attacks are occurring in New York, public employee unions and vital services in cities throughout the country are already being hit. If the attack is not rolled back in New York, the entire trade union movement will be weakened and workers everywhere will be hit just as hard as the New York workers.

The task before the entire working class is to stop the capitalist attacks. The ranks of every local of every New York union must demand: No Lay-

offs! Restore All Cut Services And Jobs! Smash The Wage Freeze! Cancel The Debt And Make The Bosses Pay!

FOR A CITY-WIDE GENERAL STRIKE

The ranks must demand that the unions call a city-wide conference of workers and unemployed to plan for a city-wide general strike against the cuts and layoffs. By building for a city-wide strike through mass rallies organized by the unions, the trade union movement could mobilize the strength necessary to win.

Workers throughout the country must support the New York workers' struggle. The ranks must demand that the national unions pledge their full backing, including the willingness to lead the workers out in a national protest strike in the event of attempts to break the New York strike.

At the same time, all workers must demand an end to the cutbacks of jobs and services through a massive national public works program, at union pay and under union control, to provide fresh jobs for millions of workers. Such a public works program, aimed at rebuilding the blighted cities, could also greatly expand essential public services.

This program cannot and will not be carried out by either the Democrats or the Republicans. Mayor Abe Beame and the New York Democrats have time and again demonstrated that they are nothing but cringing lackeys of the banks and corporations, and the same is true of the entire Democratic Party. Defense of workers' interests requires that the working class immediately establish its own political party, a labor party based on the trade unions, to organize workers in defense of the unions and against the attacks on urban unions, workers and unemployed.

FOR A CITY-WIDE GENERAL STRIKE!
NO CUTS! NO LAYOFFS!
CANCEL THE DEBT!
FOR A LABOR PARTY!

On December 7, a meeting of over 60 strikers, trade union representatives, and supporters of left organizations established this united front committee. The committee is spreading information about the strike throughout the city in order to get more labor support on the picket lines as well as donations to the strike fund. The committee is also discussing tactics for spreading the strike, including informational pickets at all Alberto-Culver plants and subsidiaries.

The Maoist RCP and OL showed their political stripes by booing the RSL speaker when he attacked the union president for being afraid to hurt the profits of Alberto-Culver and for refusing to take steps to spread the strike. Apparently, the spokesmen for these centrist organizations had no criticisms of this cowardly bureaucrat.

The RSL urges the RCP and the OL to contribute their resources to the work of the Strike Support Committee. The strength that can be built through unity between the strikers and the Strike Support Committee is key to winning the Capitol Packaging strike. Sectarianism will only hurt the strike and give the advantage to the capitalists. This would be a costly and indefensible betrayal. The capitalist offensive must be beaten back. Even small victories can show the way.

UNITE TO DEFEND THE CAPITOL STRIKERS!

EDITORIALS

IS: Political Cowards Run for Cover

In the last few months, the International Socialists (IS) has sponsored meetings in several North American cities designed to pass off its centrist line on Portugal, and that of the Portuguese PRP (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat), as revolutionary. Although the IS did its best to exclude revolutionary ideas from these forums, it did not succeed.

IS National Chairperson Joel Geier dished out a good deal of revolutionary rhetoric, combining rhapsodic descriptions of Portuguese workers "in the saddle" with class-collaborationist support for the programs of the military rulers who actually hold state power and are maneuvering to isolate and defeat the Portuguese workers. In the meeting that opened the tour, the hall was festooned with posters proclaiming "MFA—Sentinel of the People," "People—MFA: the Revolution on the March," and "The People are with the MFA."

Both the PRP and IS promulgate the fraud that the MFA's "workers' councils" under military control "leave the ground of parliamentary democracy for the ground of workers' democracy," as Geier claimed. His devotion to fake workers' democracy in Portugal was mirrored by his handling of the meetings in the US and Canada. In New York, speakers from the floor were prohibited from making political statements and were restricted to brief questions. Even this proved too hot for the IS and PRP to handle (one Revolutionary Socialist League sympathizer demanded to know why the IS supported the MFA), so the format was changed to written questions only. The purpose of this was to rule out any challenge to the PRP's treacherous petty-bourgeois strategy in Portugal (see the lead article in this issue and the centerfold of the October 15 Torch), and to the IS's cynical cheerleading from afar.

In Chicago, a supporter of the RSL took the floor after the speeches to object to the procedure and moved that members of the audience be allowed to speak. He pointed out that he had fought for the right to speak at union meetings and that discussions of strategy for the Portuguese revolution should be held democratically. Another RSL supporter charged that the IS ran its meetings in this bureaucratic fashion in order to hide

its counter-revolutionary politics.

This was too much for Geier, who seized the microphone and yelled, "Get out! We don't want you disrupting our meetings!" Geier then called on his goons to eject the RSL supporters from the hall. One of his men jumped one of the League supporters, provoking a fight in which the goon got bloodied.

Subsequently, the IS decided not to

let RSL supporters into their forums in Detroit and Toronto, on the grounds that the RSL was out to deliberately provoke fights. This claim is absurd. In the first place, when two RSLers attend an IS meeting with an audience of 100 or more, it is not physical but political confrontation that the IS fears. In the second place, the IS goons assaulted League supporters for exposing the politics behind the IS's bureaucratic tactics. In Toronto Geier went so far as to claim that the RSL were "police agents" because the Chicago affair had raised the danger of police coming to a meeting where a foreign revolutionary was speaking. But the only ones who would have called the police were the IS. It is clear that Geier chose to escalate his cheap and irresponsible charges out of political cowardice, his inability to defend the traitorous politics of his group and the PRP.

This account of the Chicago affair is based on reports not only from RSL supporters but also from others who were present. (Supporters of the Spartacist League announced that they would not remain while people were denied the right to speak and walked out of the meeting when the RSL was attacked. In Toronto they also left the hall when the RSL was excluded.)

The IS claim that the RSL is responsible for the physical attacks and its public charges of police agency are abominable lies. We demand their immediate retraction. The Revolutionary Socialist League will continue to attend all public meetings and forums which offer an opportunity to bring revolutionary ideas to the working class movement. We will not permit the IS to bureaucratically exclude these ideas from the public meetings they sponsor.

International Socialists

14131 woodward
highland park, michigan 48203
(313) 869-3137

TO: Central Committee, Revolutionary Socialist League
FROM: Executive Committee, International Socialists
RE: Disruption of Meetings
DATE: October 20, 1975

Members of the RSL were involved in the disruption of a Workers' Power Forum in Chicago on August 22, 1975. Events surrounding the incident and subsequent statements by individual RSL members indicate that the disruption was prepared and was sanctioned by policies of the RSL.

Our policy is the full defense of workers' democracy. This includes the right of any workers' group to hold its own meetings using whatever format and rules it wishes without disruption. If the RSL disagrees with the way the IS runs its meetings, you are free to leave the IS meetings, write about it in your paper, or hold your own meetings with whatever rules you like. But the RSL has no right to demand that our meetings be run as the RSL would like, or in any way disrupt our meetings.

We have no interest in maintaining a state of conflict between the IS and the RSL. But until such time that the RSL leadership assures us that their organization is committed to abiding by the norms of workers' democracy, we are unable to permit RSL members to attend IS meetings or forums.

Joel Geier

Letter from IS National Chairperson Joel Geier charging RSL with disruption of forum.

Hands Off New York Pension Funds

New York's public employee union bureaucrats have collaborated with the capitalists' savage union-busting attacks at every turn. Their most recent capitulation has been their complicity in the \$2.5 billion raid on the five city union pension funds to purchase Big Mac bonds. All the last-minute fanfare around the city and state legislatures which passed "special" laws protecting the trustees of these funds and providing emergency plans to "secure" the \$2.5 billion was simply a diversion from the serious attack being waged on the pension funds.

Already city workers can see the results of this raid. The first sale of the \$155 million in securities from the pension funds yielded a 13 percent loss. Because the pension fund investments are being sold quickly to make the money available for Big Mac bonds, they will all be sold for less than they're worth.

If the city defaults, we can be damn sure that pension fund payments to retired workers will not come before payments to the banks and corporations. The bourgeoisie is out for

blood and it doesn't matter that retired workers won't be able to eat without their pensions.

A state participant in the talks leading up to the last-minute agreement gave the bosses' strategy away. He said that the possibility of a court actually ordering the city to repay the pension funds was so remote that the revenue from the new income tax increase could be given to the union leaders as a "cosmetic" but essentially meaningless victory. Gotbaum has done it again! Without even a show of a fight he has allowed the banks to rip off 36 percent of the city union pension funds. As one politician said, "Look, we all know Victor Gotbaum has been the linchpin in the whole plan. It couldn't have happened without him."

The pension funds were in bad shape to begin with. The total assets of the five city union pension funds amount to only \$7 billion. Based on recent estimates, two of the pension funds will run out by 1977. The pension funds have been underfunded. Payments are based on actuarial tables which use estimates from 1908

when life expectancy was 16 years less than today. It's clear that increased

pension fund payments will be necessary to maintain the funds. The city does not intend to pay for this. In fact, the city has recently shifted 50 percent of the pension payments onto

city workers in preparation for the increased demand. This increase along with the wage freeze, the end of open admissions and the sales tax hike that goes directly to the banks are all part of the bourgeoisie's strategy to make the workers pay for the capitalist crisis.

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LETTERS

Send letters to: TORCH, P.O. Box 562, Times Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10036

Prisoner Denounces System's Brutality

Dear Sir,

I am an inmate here on Death Row with 16 other inmates that have been sentenced to die in the Gas Chamber. I just read the write up you had in your paper about the Atmore Holman Brothers and that penitentiary, and tears come from my eyes. It hurts to see anyone treated like that and have them things did to them. That picture you had in the paper about Brother George Chagina Dobbins. It makes you think and ask yourself many questions. And I can realize how his family and friends must feel. Why must people be treated like that after

they have been sent to a penitentiary? But I know your answer is something like ours. It's so many questions you have to answer. And you still can't give a real answer. But if all the poor people don't get together and change these mishaps many people will be sent to these penitentiaries and never return. One of the main reasons that this will never stop is because when the judge, D.A. and jury send you to this place, they're doing their job. But really it's not. Because after they sentence you they don't care. But I feel God will judge them for their mistakes concerning these matters also.

A man has a very hard job here. And that is to keep from hating Society. But most time you can't help from hating Society. Because these people in these penitentiaries won't give you a fairer chance. As you know it's worse enough just being in one of these places. But when you have been sentenced to die it hurt more. The treatment we are getting here while we're here at the Mississippi State Penitentiary—we don't have shoes and your tooth brush is cut to about two and one-half inches. Our visitors have to stand out in open weather all year around. Or if we don't have a visitor it hurts like hell or to see your family and children standing out there in the hot sun or cold weather. We are all doing all in our power to be treated like humans. We have to show blood before we can see a doctor.

The Mississippi Prisoners Defense Committee is doing all they know how

to help, and I must say, they are some beautiful people. We are asking you from our heart, will you get in touch with them, and let them give you copies of the things that we are going through. I don't know if you can give us any help, but it would be a blessing to know you do care. I hope to hear from you myself, and I would like to receive your paper. God be with you all. Thank you.

A Prisoner
Parchman, Mississippi

Editor's note: We urge our readers to send messages of support and requests for further information to: Mississippi Prisoners Defense

*Committee
233 N. Farish St.
Jackson, Miss. 39201
[We offer a free subscription to the Torch to any prisoner who requests one.]*

IS Opportunism Exposed in TDC

Dear Torch,

I'm writing to give an update on the wretched opportunist functioning of the International Socialists (IS) in the Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). Last month, you printed my letter detailing IS's struggle against a shorter work week with no loss in pay. I explained how the IS bureaucratically fought to prevent TDC from raising the need for 32 hours' work for 40 hours' pay and used its majority on the TDC steering committee to water down and sabotage resolutions passed by the organization's ranks.

There's a lot more your readers should know about the IS's conservative, bureaucratic functioning. I learned first hand that the IS doesn't confine this crap to TDC.

I attended an IS public forum on Portugal in Chicago on September 22—the one you wrote about in the October 15 issue of the Torch. When the IS announced that there would be no discussion or questions from the floor, I challenged their procedure and demanded that the floor be opened up for discussion so that we could better learn the nature of the Portuguese situation, the policies of the various organizations and discuss the strategy necessary to win the Portuguese revolution.

When members of the Revolutionary Socialist League spoke in support of my motion, the IS sent a goon to shut us up. He slugged a friend of mine who was trying to pull him away from us. Several more goons joined in, but the RSL and I successfully defended ourselves against the attack. Despite IS head Joel Geier's order from the podium, they couldn't exclude us.

The IS used this incident as an excuse to try to force me out of TDC. Immediately after the forum IS members who weren't even on the TDC steering committee confiscated literature and petitions in my possession. TDC headquarters stopped sending me information. IS apparently has a policy of excluding anyone determined to fight for a different point of view from their own.

Another member of the TDC steering committee threatened to resign if I wasn't reinstated with access to all materials. After two months of stalling, I was finally sent notice of a national planning meeting in Cleveland on November 22.

Although they only gave me three days' notice, I managed to write up a program and strategy for TDC. I brought two rank-and-file leaders of UPSurge to the conference (UPSurge

is an IS-supported group at United Parcel). These two black workers are leading the UPS work in Chicago, but the IS never let them know about the conference even though the TDC had a special UPSurge meeting at the Cleveland conference.

The whole TDC meeting was a pep talk about "how much TV coverage we've gotten," etc. The IS wanted no discussion of the program and strategy needed for Teamsters to fight back.

I couldn't get recognized by the IS chair until the third session. When I finally got the floor, I called for TDC to begin to form rank-and-file committees to prepare for a national Teamsters strike. I proposed the following program:

*No layoffs! 32 for 40 to fight unemployment!

*Parity wage increases with the Master Freight Agreement as a minimum standard for all IBT contracts to build unity between the truckers and the 2,000,000 other, worse off, IBT members.

*Working class solidarity. Support for all strikes of our class brothers and sisters. An immediate end to all union-busting attacks on the United Farm Workers—pay reparations to the UFW.

*Demand that the IBT take the lead in fighting for an independent party of the working class, a labor party, to fight the government's union-busting attacks and to fight for jobs for all through a massive public works program and 32 for 40.

My speech and program were well received by the 65 rank-and-file leaders present. A series of ISers followed me, saying, "We agree! We agree! But we can't put these things in our program because the bureaucrats would get mad at us and vamp on us. We can't call for a strike because the ranks might not like the idea. We have to wait until we're sure Fitz will sell us out." Then they closed the discussion to move on to "important" things. They bureaucratically refused to take a vote on my motions.

The IS's politics and their organizational methods are the same. Both are downright dishonest. They're for a national strike, but they won't tell it to the ranks. They urge a "no" vote on the contract. But if the ranks listen to them and vote the contract down, there's going to be a strike. And if we don't start right now to build the rank-and-file committees to prepare for the strike, if we don't call for wage parity to break the power of the bureaucracy that rests on the division between the truckers and the rest of the union, and if we don't fight for more jobs through 32 for 40, that strike will be smashed.

The IS is terrified of the bureaucrats and terrified of the ranks. Their two-bit operation will fall apart at the seams. I just hope they don't manage to mislead too many workers first.

Jim B.
Chicago

NATIONAL TOUR

State Capitalism and the Fight for Socialism

SPEAKER: Ron Taber, RSL National Secretary

Boston

Friday, January 9—
Church of the Covenant
67 Newbury Street
7:30 P.M.

Detroit

Sunday, January 11
Trinity Methodist
13100 Woodward Ave.
(at Buena Vista)
Highland Park
7:00 P.M.

St. Louis

Saturday, January 17
St. Stephens
14th and Park
3:00 P.M.

Chicago

Sunday, January 18
160 North Halsted
3:00 P.M.

New York

Saturday, January 31
Washington Sq. Methodist
135 West 4th St.
7:30 P.M.

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out to the Torch



Nov. 16: workers and soldiers celebrate humiliation of Azevedo by construction workers.

Portugal...

Continued from page 1

victory with the largest demonstration since Caetano's fall. This anti-government demonstration dwarfed a pro-Azevedo demonstration held a week earlier by the Socialist and Popular Democratic parties. The Portuguese workers appeared on the verge of smashing the entire austerity program and toppling Azevedo—until the events of November 25.

UPSURGE IN MILITARY

The workers' struggle took place side by side, and, at times, in coordination with upheaval in the ranks of the armed forces. Radicalization of the troops had opened a gulf between commanding officers and the ranks. Military discipline completely broke down in many units, especially in those prominent in supporting the proletariat.

The regime's first major confrontation with the army ranks came on October 3 when the Instruction Center for Military Vehicle Drivers (CICAP) was ordered dissolved. Although commandos occupied the barracks, a united struggle by CICAP and the Artillery Regiment of Serra do Pilar (RASAP) forced army chief of staff Fabio to promise to reopen CICAP and consider removing rightist General Pires Veloso from command of the northern military district.

At the same time, the army command tried to form a new disciplinary force, the Military Intervention Group (AMI). When the regiments originally proposed for AMI refused to participate, volunteers were recruited at pay of over 5,000 escudos a month—20 times the average soldier's pay! Simultaneously, the reliable National Guard and Public Service Police were strengthened and given expanded powers.

Despite the high pay, the AMI experiment failed. After paratroops from Tancos and AMI squads were sent to destroy the tower of Radio Renascença (then held by left-wingers), the Tancos paratroops repudiated their role, elected a new commander, placed themselves "at the service of the revolution" and called for the dissolution of the AMI. AMI soldiers quit the disciplinary

unit. Azevedo was forced to rely on Carvalho's COPCON troops.

UPSURGE CRESTS

The discipline crisis became most apparent during the construction workers' siege. Soldier support for the workers was so overwhelming that Carvalho refused to send troops to disperse the demonstrators.

During this entire period, the workers' and soldiers' movements were on an upward crest and had the government on the extreme defensive. Yet, scarcely a week after the construction workers' victory and the huge November 16 demonstration, the ruling class had turned the tables. The responsibility for this rests almost entirely with the workers' misleaderships—the adventurist line of the PRP and MES, the betrayal of the CP and the out-and-out opposition of the SP.

The PRP and the MES had considerable influence in radicalized sectors of the army and among militant workers, especially in the Setnave shipyards. Both groups, working together in the Revolutionary United Front (FUR), took the line that the bourgeoisie was so weak that it could only be saved by a fascist coup. They argued that the same weakness of the ruling class would make a left-wing putsch relatively easy.

PRP leader Isabel do Carmo elaborated this line on November 10: "At this moment, there is no solution except armed insurrection...The bourgeoisie unleashes a civil war every time it wants to defend its interests. Fortunately, the forces of the right possess no army in Portugal. To get one, they must resort to mercenaries based in Spain or to the armies of the United States or NATO."

PRP: PETTY-BOURGEOIS POSTURERS

This is nothing but petty-bourgeois posturing, irresponsibly urging the workers to take an irresponsible course. The PRP (and the MES) pretends that a handful of workers and soldiers can go off on their own and smash the bourgeoisie behind the backs of the masses. Every word of do

Carmo's statement eggs on soldiers and workers with ultra-left illusions to take a suicidal course.

(The International Socialists, fraternal group of the PRP in the U.S., tries to excuse the PRP in the December 5 issue of their newspaper, *Workers Power*. They claim the November 25 rebellion was entirely a "Communist Party adventure" and that the PRP had no responsibility: "The PRP is for armed workers' insurrection—socialist revolution. But it does not support trying to take power with a military coup." No amount of IS subterfuge can cover over do Carmo's statement, which was only typical of the adventurist line pursued by the PRP for months.)

The bourgeoisie does not "unleash a civil war every time it wants to defend its interests"—if it did, it would be in a permanent state of civil war or fascism, since it always defends its interests. It will resort to civil war only when it has no other solutions... and as November 25-26 showed, other solutions were at hand.

Do Carmo both overestimated the preparedness of the left and underestimated the resources of the ruling class. The ruling class did not have to go to Spain or NATO for an army—it still had several loyal divisions, especially if the left misplayed its hand. It also had support from backward sectors of the working class who followed the SP and found only vacillating opposition from the CP—which it could count on neutralizing at the proper moment.

Moreover, the workers were not yet ready for armed insurrection. The class-collaborationist CP and SP still commanded the most support. Despite the existence of hundreds of local workers', soldiers' and tenants' councils, sufficient centralization into regional councils that could coordinate struggle was lacking. Finally, there was no revolutionary party commanding mass support and capable of drawing the masses behind it.

To make matters worse, the PRP and the MES did not even attempt to win over the mass of workers who looked to the CP and the SP. The MES declared that the CP "has been dragged in the wake of the revolutionary left" and that the CP would continue to align with the FUR indefinitely. Therefore, the MES counted on support from the CP in their putsch and felt it unnecessary to win over the CP's ranks—grave mistakes which cost them severely on

November 25.

The MES line on the SP was even worse. They adopted Stalin's position that the reformist SP was identical to fascism ("Social-Fascism"). The MES argued that "we cannot separate our slogan 'Death to the ELP (the fascist Portuguese Liberation Army) and those who support it' from the slogan 'Down with Social Democracy.'" This promise of death to hundreds of thousands of social-democratic workers drew a line of blood between the MES and these workers, guaranteeing isolation. It is the same third period line which split the German working class and paved the road for Hitler's rise to power.

The Portuguese bourgeoisie saw a golden opportunity to defend its interests without resorting to civil war. It took advantage of these groups' suicidal line to provoke the November 25 uprising, which it easily put down and used to strengthen its position against the entire workers' and soldiers' movement.

BOURGEOISIE ACTS

Immediately following the November 16 mass anti-government demonstration, Vasco Lourenco was nominated to replace Carvalho as head of the Lisbon Military Region to restore discipline. At the same time, Mario Soares led the government "out on strike," refusing to carry out any tasks until order was restored. Soares and the Popular Democrats (PPD) warned of an imminent CP-led coup.

These acts were calculated to provoke a military adventure by soldiers misled by PRP and MES agitation. Along these lines, Vasco Lourenco warned that he would purge military radicals when he took office. Military officials warned of strict media censorship.

On the night of November 24-25, Carvalho was officially replaced by Lourenco. That same night, farmers in the North, led by reactionaries, cut the major roads to Lisbon. The Tancos paratroops then led the uprising, taking four airbases while soldiers from the Practical School of Military Administration (EPAM) took over the national television station.

As it turned out, the ruling class did have reliable troops after all. Right-wing Colonel Jaime Neves moved in with several hundred of his Amadora commandos, supported by troops and armor from the Practical Cavalry

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School (EPC). The paratroops were marched out of the bases. The only thing resembling a fight occurred when Neves went after the Military Police (RPM) and the Lisbon light artillery regiment (RALIS), both of which were radical centers. RPM and RALIS were disbanded following November 26.

CP'S TREACHERY

The treachery of Alvaro Cunhal's Communist Party is somewhat subtle. The CP, with a mass following in the workers' commissions of the Lisbon region, played an active role in building support for the construction workers' demonstration and organized the November 16 mass rally. But the CP used its leadership to limit the upsurge and to try to gain more power within the Azevedo government. For example, on November 15, following the construction workers' humiliation of Azevedo, the CP called for "reinforcement of the left in the political and military structure." At the November 16 rally, the CP led chants of "Vasco! Vasco! Vasco!" calling for the return of ex-Premier Vasco Gonçalves, who had worked hand-in-hand with Cunhal's party to impose a harsh austerity program and repression last spring.

The CP saved Azevedo's neck. It did not use the tremendous opportunities following the construction victory to build a class-wide campaign to break the austerity program. It failed to demand across-the-board wage increases matching the 40 percent increase in construction. It did not demand the ouster of the Azevedo regime. It did not follow November 16 with a general strike against the austerity program, the government and the attempt to impose military discipline. Finally, it did not unify the workers', soldiers' and tenants' commissions into centralized workers' councils capable of providing a basis for coordinating the struggle while simultaneously beginning to act as direct forms of workers' rule.

The workers' councils could have appealed to the Socialist Party ranks by organizing a campaign to break the austerity program—many social-democratic workers were becoming disillusioned in the Soares' leadership's opposition to the demands of the metalworkers and civil construction workers. The councils could have demanded nationalization of key sectors of industry and appealed to the small farmers in the North by calling for the immediate granting of discounted loans for modern machinery and fertilizer. Unified workers' councils that counterposed their program to the regime's would immediately have provided a strong nucleus for workers' rule, and their strength would have grown through the appeal of a revolutionary program.

Further, the coordination of these institutions would have provided could have averted the November 25-26 defeat. Neves' right-wing troops were no better armed than the paratroops and RALIS, but because of lack of communication the left-wing troops were cut off from one another and easily defeated.

Even in the absence of centralized workers' councils, the CP could have prevented the defeat. Instead, it sat on its hands during the uprising. On November 25 it issued a communique stating: "The left forces committed a grave error by overestimating their own strength and attempting this desperate act...The attempt of the forces of the right to take advantage of a favorable situation to impose such hegemony would be dangerous."

The fact that the left forces engaged in an adventurist action does not excuse the CP. The CP played both sides of the fence prior to the uprising—it encouraged adventurism

and promised support instead of arguing against the adventure. Once the rebellion got started, it stabbed its own supporters in the paratroops in the back. The CP could have organized its thousands of armed supporters and called out tens of thousands of workers in a general strike to demand that the state of emergency be lifted and that Neves' troops be withdrawn. Its own apparatus could have been a nerve center to communicate between the paratroops and RALIS and to integrate these with workers' support. These acts could have forced Azevedo to back off. Because the CP did not do this, momentum has swung in favor of the right.

Contrast the CP's treachery with the Bolsheviks' role in July, 1917. At that time, armed workers and soldiers prematurely took to the streets in Petrograd. The Bolsheviks tried to convince the workers not to go out but when they went out anyway Lenin's party took leadership to try to prevent a complete rout.

Despite the rotten roles played by the workers' misleaderships, the decisive battles have not yet been fought. The bourgeoisie is still hiding behind "socialist" rhetoric and is only ready to move extremely cautiously. The bourgeoisie cannot wage a drastic repression campaign because the workers remain too strong. While the National Guard and the Public Service Police have taken charge of

discipline, there are still many left-wing military units that did not participate in the uprising.

The ruling class still cannot dispense with the support of the SP—it still needs a "socialist" cover to take on the workers. The SP is anxious to retain its influence in government and its hold on its worker base, and therefore is trying to prevent the shift to the right from going too far.

Therefore, during the uprising, the SP toned down its previous shrill calls for discipline and austerity and counseled moderation. On November 27, Ernesto Melo Antunes, a high-ranking military officer close to the SP, declared in a televised speech that "The participation of the CP in the building of socialism is indispensable."

Melo Antunes was the organizer of the "group of nine" officers who initiated the vicious anti-CP campaign last summer that led to Gonçalves' fall. Antunes' new line reflects the SP leadership's fears that the right turn may threaten them. They are keeping their options with the CP open to balance this threat.

In particular, the SP was upset by the belligerence of Sa Carneiro, newly appointed leader of the Popular Democrats (party of the bourgeoisie). For two weeks following November 25 Carneiro bragged that his party would destroy the SP because of the latter's failure to warn sufficiently against a coup attempt.

So far, the SP has succeeded in playing off the CP and the Popular Democrats. On December 7, Cunhal told a rally of 20,000 CP supporters that his party would remain in the government. On the same day, 400 delegates voted to reverse Carneiro's line and agree to serve in a government with the CP.

The bourgeoisie cannot yet do without the SP. The SP cannot do without the CP. Rapid motion to the right appears to be at least temporarily checked.

This gives the workers and soldiers some time to organize. But there is no time to lose. Carneiro's threats against the SP are a break from nearly a year of tight cooperation between the SP and the PPD. It means that the ruling class is preparing to step out from behind the SP's "democratic socialist" rhetoric to reverse all gains made by the workers since April 25. The present SP-CP-PPD regime will also give the capitalists time to prepare—the measures taken after November 26 were the initial preparations.

LEARN FROM NOVEMBER 25

Portuguese revolutionaries must learn from the recent defeat. More than ever, with the ruling class beginning to separate from the SP, it is necessary to make a united front with the social-democratic workers against the austerity program and the suspension of democratic rights. The SP's worker base is especially strong in the North, where the left is weakest. It is also crucial to appeal to the small farmers in the North. The centralized workers' councils must be formed.

Most important of all, a revolutionary party must be constructed. There are still great opportunities to do this. The application of a revolutionary strategy, the kind that should have been applied in the upsurge prior to November 25, can win over large numbers in a short period of time. By building an organization that can explain the responsibility borne by the SP, CP and centrist misleaderships for the November 25 defeat, show the revolutionary strategy and tactics that should have been applied during the workers' upsurge, and apply these to the present situation, in this way the revolutionary party can be built and the revolutionary workers and soldiers can regain the offensive.

UFW...

Continued from page 3

Chavez tails after Meany, Woodcock and others of their ilk. In the face of escalating grower violence, Chavez responds by rededicating himself and the union to pacifism. But farmworkers are not dedicated to pacifism! They are dedicated to building a union.

Texas farmworkers have recently begun to fight back against scab-police attacks. They are defending their picket lines. Chavez has disavowed these actions, broken with the UFW organizer in Texas and threatened to cut back the entire organizing drive.

This kind of treason cannot be tolerated. Farmworkers must defend their picket lines—without that they effectively have no union. This means building armed workers defense guards to defend the picket lines, the organizers and every aspect of union activity under attack. A revolutionary leadership in the UFW would take this fight to the entire trade union movement, calling on a united working class to defend farmworkers and smash the vigilante violence.

A victorious union drive among farmworkers requires international organization. Farmworkers in Mexico and the U.S. must have a common union with common strike dates. The UFW must champion an open immigration policy with full union rights on both sides of the border. Chavez, Woodcock, Meany and the rest spread the poison of national chauvinism and protectionism, attempting to divide the working class along national lines. Revolutionary Marxists understand the international character of the capitalist assault and the absolute necessity of uniting and organizing the working class internationally to beat back this assault.

The ruling class is currently stepping up its attacks on both organized and unorganized workers. The bosses are determined to divide our class between organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, black and white, etc. The recent attacks on city workers and their unions in New York City are the clearest example of this strategy.

The working class must counter with its own strategy for uniting our class and making the bosses pay for their own crisis. This requires that our class take up the political struggle against the rulers through the fight to build a labor party. The construction of an independent party of the working class would mean a complete break with the bosses' parties: the Republicans and Democrats. One of the first items on the agenda of the labor party would be the launching of a massive campaign to organize the unorganized. In this way the gains made by the working class in the 1930s can be preserved and extended and the UFW can play a key role in a united, politically conscious workers' movement.

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PURGER: Col. Jaime Neves [top] led suppression of November 25 uprising. PURGED: Adm. Rosa Coutinho [center] and Gen. Otelo de Carvalho [bottom].