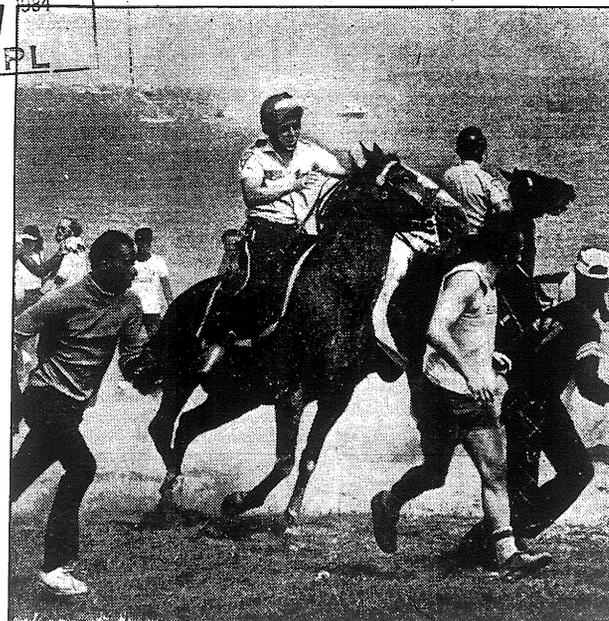


Reconstruct the Fourth International!

Vol. 2, No. 9

September 15 - October 14, 1975

Busing: Racist Fraud**DEFEND THE
BLACK
STUDENTS!**

Cops breaking up demonstration demanding right of blacks to use Boston's busing.

Boston schools opened on Monday, September 8 under the shadow of racial confrontation. Although there was little violence on opening day, the preceding night South Boston whites engaged in prolonged stone throwing.

Meanwhile, in Louisville, Kentucky, 1,000 National Guardsmen together with local and state police were mobilized against confrontations coupled with a boycott of schools. Thirty school buses have been damaged in Louisville, and several people have been injured.

Not only the National Guard and police have been

mobilized in Boston, but regular troops have been put on standby alert. 100 U.S. marshals and 50 FBI agents are being used. The federal and police show of force is supposedly to protect black students, but it didn't take long to find its real purpose. Of 80 arrests in Boston on September 8, 74 were of members of the Committee Against Racism and supporters of the Progressive Labor Party who were attempting to enter South Boston. Federal troops will not be used to defend blacks, but to single out and repress black and working class mili-

tants. Only an organized defense of black students by the working class—with the trade unions and black groups taking the lead—can be counted on.

The bourgeoisie has succeeded in creating a completely polarized racial situation in Boston, and is following suit in Louisville. Charlestown, one of the white working class communities targeted for forced busing, is the site of daily demonstrations by right-wing white groups. Whites in East Boston threatened to blow up the mile-long tunnel connecting the area with Boston proper if

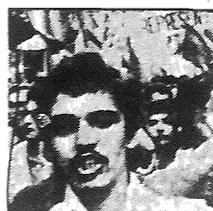
**Detroit
Busing
Axed**
**see story
on page 15**

busing was extended—which it wasn't. Klan and fascist

activity is growing in South Boston, the original area where forced busing was tried out.

To see how forced busing created this situation, and why the proletariat must oppose forced busing, let's examine the situation in Boston. This year's court-ordered Phase 2 busing plan expands last year's Phase 1, which led to lynch-mob actions against blacks and worsened the decay of the school system. An examination of the busing plans and statements by the bourgeois representatives who

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**For Portugal
Solidarity
Committees**
see page 4

**Behind the
Hoffa Case**
see page 3



**SL: Apologists for
Stalinism** **see page 7**

**MILLER, BOSSES ATTACK
UMW WILDCAT**

The month-long wildcat coal miners' strike, centered in West Virginia and involving 80,000 of the United Mine Workers' (UMW) 125,000 members is being crushed by the combined force of the state, the coal companies and the UMW misleadership. Although miners in Logan County (where the strike started) are still out, most of the other strikers have returned to the pits. Court injunctions, a 1.2 million dollar fine, complete betrayal by the UMW tops and a

red-baiting campaign designed to break the miners' militancy through charges that they were "duped" by communists finally produced a back-to-work move that began on Monday, September 9. The strike ended without a victory, a setback for the UMW and the entire U.S. working class.

Logan County miners walked out on August 11 over the firing of Local 1302 President Roger Thompson. Thompson had threatened to shut down all mines in Logan

County if a closed-down mine wasn't reopened.

The strike quickly broadened into a major class battle as miners fought the intervention of the courts and pushed to win back the right to strike over local grievances which UMW head Arnold Miller gave away in the 1974 contract. Miller's substitute grievance schemes proved to be a complete farce, and miners' understanding of Miller's treacherous reliance on state intervention grew

Cont'd. p. 12

New York: The Default Threat

As the due dates for hundreds of millions of dollars of New York City's debt draw near, a well-orchestrated campaign is under way to raise the spectre of a city default. Daily, the press echoes the cries of the banks, corporations and bourgeois politicians that default is imminent and a city disaster is just around the corner. Beneath this trumped-up hysteria lie the real fears and concerns of the capitalist class.

The central problem facing the capitalist class, nationally as well as in New York, is how to convince workers to sacrifice their jobs and living standards in the interests of increasing the profits of the capitalists. The program of the ruling class—rising prices, massive layoffs of city workers and continued high unemployment in the private sector, crippling cutbacks in social services—is an absolute necessity if the profitability of U.S. capitalism is to be restored.

The working class is far from enthusiastic about this program. While workers are not sure about what needs to be done and are hesitant to engage the bourgeoisie in a pitched battle at this time, they have also made it clear that they will not allow their living standards to be crushed without a fight. The task facing the ruling class is to convince the working class that if they refuse to sacrifice now they will be faced with catastrophe later.

Default is the spectre of catastrophe the ruling class has chosen to raise. And to avoid default there must be more layoffs, cuts in wages and further slashes in social service budgets. Or so the ruling class would like us to believe.

In order to put more meat on this ploy a fight between the city and the federal government has been staged. For weeks workers have been treated to a stirring drama of a life and death struggle between a city desperately in need of cash and a hard-hearted federal government which would

rather let the entire house of cards collapse before it would fork over a dime.

The federal government has no intention of standing by while the country's entire credit structure takes a beating under the impact of a New York City default. It bailed out the bankrupt Penn Central. Will it let the nation's largest city, the financial capital of the world, collapse? The collapse of New York City would send shock waves throughout the economy, strangle the already tenuous economic recovery and pose the danger of throwing the country back into the pit of recession. If the default is imminent, the federal government will step in. If the city has actually defaulted, Washington will intervene quickly to minimize the impact and make sure the city's creditors get paid; once more, the main victim would be tens of thousands of laid-off city workers.

Despite appearances, the city and the federal government are not working at cross-purposes. The federal government is merely helping the city to hold a club over the heads of the workers while at the same time pressing its demands that the city step up its attacks on the working class. As long as the federal government appears adamant in its refusal to bail out the city, the city can appear to have "no choice" but to cut the budget, lay off thousands of workers and cut back social services still further.

This entire cynical maneuver must be burst apart. The workers of New York City will get no more help from the city politicians or the federal government than they will from the man-in-the-moon. The only road forward is united class struggle. A working class united and determined to defend the jobs and living conditions of all its members can beat back the capitalist assault, sweep the bourgeois hypocrites out of the way and reconstruct New York City and the entire country in the interests of all workers and oppressed people.

UFT Strike

In New York City the United Federation of Teachers has struck the nation's largest school system. The schools have been hit hard by budget cuts which have eliminated nearly one-third of all staff positions (teachers, school aides, paraprofessionals, etc.) and have drastically increased class size from 30-35 pupils to this year's projected 45-60. The strike is a potential rallying point for the struggle of the entire New York City working class against the capitalist attacks. The strike concretely raises the need for working class unity.

A strike waged over the demand that not a single dollar be cut from the education budget, not a single school worker be fired, could spearhead the struggle of the entire working class against cuts and layoffs. The New York City proletariat—particularly blacks, Latins and other oppressed groups who are hit hardest by the budget cuts—could be united around a strike against cutbacks and layoffs. On the eve of the strike, community meetings were held in school districts throughout the city to pledge support to the striking teachers, paraprofessionals and secretaries. In a number of districts parents joined picket lines on the first day of the strike to shut down the schools.

New York's deteriorating schools are rapidly resembling prisons and jungles rather than places where working class children can get an education. Demands for reduced class size, more teachers and other school workers and expanded facilities are in the vital interest of all New York City workers. Moreover, by extending the demands of the strike to include a demand for the restoration of all public employee jobs and all budget cuts, the UFT could take the lead in proposing a citywide public employee strike in defense of the entire New York City proletariat. A citywide strike would turn the tables around for city workers who have been demoralized by initial defeats in their struggle to defend their standards of living.

A citywide strike would enable New York City workers to take the offensive by demanding jobs for all and expanded services through a program of public works funded by taxing the banks and corporations. Such demands would provide a clear basis to unite public employee unions with all

unorganized and unemployed workers in a powerful strike in defense of workers' vital needs. This unity is essential if workers in New York—and in cities across the country—are not to suffer still more crushing defeats. Such unity would provide the basis to break through the wage freeze-layoffs-cutbacks program of the ruling class and place the burden for the economic crisis where it belongs—on the banks and corporations.

This is the potential of the UFT strike. But under its present leadership there is little possibility of realizing it. Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, has indicated in advance that he has no intention of leading a strike that can unite all New York City workers. Shanker has already announced that he accepts layoffs and education cutbacks: "We all have to sacrifice!" He is striking only to insure that "his workers" don't get a worse deal than anyone else. Rather than raising the banner of unity he is playing directly into the hands of the bourgeoisie's divide-and-conquer strategy. "We accept your problems, but please attack someone else," is Shanker's line. This is a program for division and defeat for teachers and paraprofessionals just as much as for any other section of the working class.

Shanker is caught between his plans to sell out to the needs of a capitalist system he supports and the militancy of school workers who have no intention of accepting defeat without a fight. He plans a strike which can provide the illusion that he "tried." Like the leaders of all other public employee unions, Shanker's program is a program for defeat.

Unity must be built. The starting point is rallying UFT members around an alternative program to that of the Shanker leadership. Revolutionaries must intervene in the strike raising a program and strategy that can turn the strike into a united working class struggle. Local strike committees demanding restorations of all cuts and calling for spreading the strike to other unions must be built. Large numbers of school workers, as well as parents, could be won to this strategy. The Revolutionary Socialist League calls on all militants and revolutionaries to join in making this fight. Unity is the road to victory—revolutionaries must take the lead in paving the way.

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Behind the Hoffa Case

James R. Hoffa, former president of the Teamsters Union, disappeared on July 30. Hoffa was apparently kidnapped from the parking lot of a suburban Detroit restaurant. Over 70 witnesses have testified before a federal grand jury investigating the case, and almost all of them agree that Hoffa is dead and that his body probably will never be found. Although the FBI claims to have no clues, several names have been mentioned as possible suspects: Anthony Giacalone, boss of the Detroit mob; Tony Provenzano, an ex-Teamster official and a bitter enemy of Hoffa's; and Charles ("Chuckie") O'Brien, Hoffa's foster son.

Hoffa became president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), this country's largest and richest union, in 1957. He built the union to its present size of over 2.5 million members through a combination of strongarm tactics, sweetheart deals and on occasion militant trade unionism. For drivers and dockers, the most powerful workers in the transportation industry, Hoffa delivered the goods. He made them one of the best paid sections in the workforce. Although this section rests on hundreds of thousands of other dues-paying Teamster members who barely get minimum wage and work in sweatshop conditions, large sectors of the Teamster rank and file still consider Hoffa the greatest leader in the trade union movement.

Hoffa was a corrupt bureaucrat who sold out the bulk of Teamsters, stifled rank and file opposition and worked closely with the mob. But as opposed to his successor, Frank Fitzsimmons, Hoffa repeatedly demonstrated the willingness to lead militant action and hostility to government intervention in union affairs. In contrast to Fitzsimmons, Hoffa did not let the mob run his show, but tried to subordinate them to his own authority. A glance at Hoffa's past compared with Fitzsimmons' present will show why the government, the bosses and organized crime all wanted Hoffa silenced.

In 1957 the U.S. Senate's McClellan Committee opened an investigation of the Teamsters. Bobby Kennedy, the lawyer and boy-wonder liberal who



Former Teamster head James Hoffa after his release from federal prison. Threat of Hoffa's return to union power endangered alliance

between right-wing bureaucrats and bourgeoisie, led to Hoffa's disappearance and possible murder.

handed the investigation as legal counsel to the committee was determined to make a name for himself and break the IBT's power by putting Hoffa behind bars. Kennedy and the liberals were also out to increase the government's hold over the entire trade union movement, starting with the Teamsters both because they were the largest and most powerful union and because Hoffa and then-Teamster President Dave Beck's connections with the mob made them an easy target to attack.

We condemn the ties of labor bureaucrats to organized crime. But we are absolutely opposed to relying on the state to "clean up" the unions. The AFL-CIO expelled the IBT as a result of the McClellan hearings, thus weakening the entire trade union movement. The scandal created was used as an excuse to pass the Landrum-Griffin Act, which widened the government's ability to regulate the labor movement. AFL-CIO leaders like Walter Reuther and George Meany, as well as much of the left, played into the hands of the government's attempt to clamp a tighter hold on the unions.

Despite our opposition to Hoffa and what he stood for, we stand with Hoffa in so far as he fought against the McClellan Committee and government harassment. The result of the supposed "anti-crime" investigations was not only to strengthen the state's hands; the

there remained widespread support for Hoffa against the chief toad in the labor movement, Fitzsimmons. As one Detroit Teamster put it, "Hoffa was a crook, but the bosses were scared to death of him." Fitzsimmons' rise to power seriously weakened the trade unions as it cemented the deal between the union bureaucrats and the state against the Teamster ranks. If Hoffa had returned to power, this trade union-ruling class alliance would have been greatly weakened and at least partially broken. Hoffa could have led "left" bureaucrats into opposition against the government, and such a move might well have opened the floodgates for massive working class resistance to the bosses' attacks. Hoffa was capable of taking any political line which seemed to serve his immediate interests. In his most recent interviews, Hoffa talked about class war, the unity of black, brown and white workers, the 32 hour week and the threat of revolution. He was putting together his left face in order to dump Fitzsimmons. Most importantly, Hoffa was an "uncontrollable element" who refused to play by the rules of the game.

The ruling class and the mob and the labor hacks were united in their opposition to the Hoffa threat: these are the forces responsible for his death. In the most immediate sense the local mobsters and bureaucrats may have taken the initiative in Hoffa's murder. Local 299 in Detroit, Hoffa's home local, has been in the midst of a virtual civil war between the Hoffa and Fitzsimmons forces. Cars and boats have been blown up, local organizers and officials have been beaten and Hoffa was making a bid for power. But in the broader sense, the ruling class and its allies had made it clear that they wouldn't rest easy until Hoffa had been gotten under control.

Although Hoffa would not bow down to the ruling class and stood opposed to the state intervening in the trade unions, he was still a corrupt bureaucrat. While we would have defending him against the state in 1957, against the prison term and against the conditional pardon he received on his release, the working class needs neither Hoffa, nor Fitzsimmons, nor the rest of their stripe. The working class requires a revolutionary leadership which is prepared to mobilize the full power of our class in the life and death struggle for socialist revolution.

The need for such a leadership is nowhere more apparent than in the IBT. The Master Freight Agreement runs out in the spring, and Fitzsimmons will do everything in his power to shove another rotten contract down the Teamsters' throats. He will attempt to sabotage any strike effort; this is one reason that Hoffa's opposition was so dangerous. The Teamsters have the power to stop the economy dead in its tracks and to take a leading role in mobilizing the entire working class against the bosses' offensive.

The state understands this and may try to use the Hoffa case as a cover for once again "investigating" the Teamsters Union. Such investigations serve the bosses' interests and will be used to try to whip up public hysteria against the Teamsters and all trade unions. Workers must say no to any attempt at state intervention in the trade unions, and our class must be prepared to come to the defense of the IBT if such attacks occur.

Fitzsimmons and his gangster friends must be driven from the ranks of the workers' movement. Hoffa was murdered because he represented a threat to their power and prestige; they were deathly afraid of his independence. Fitzsimmons deserves the kind of response that only a mobilized working class organized by revolutionary leadership can provide.

between right-wing bureaucrats and bourgeoisie, led to Hoffa's disappearance and possible murder.

"anti-crime" attack on Hoffa actually increased the mob's power in the IBT, as we shall see.

In 1967, after 10 years of government harassment, Hoffa entered Federal prison to serve a 13-year term for jury tampering. While Hoffa was in jail, he named Frank Fitzsimmons, a trusted vice-president, to take over the post of president. Hoffa planned on taking back the job at the first opportunity, but Fitzsimmons soon developed other ideas. "Fitz" immediately became Richard Nixon's best agent in the workers' movement. Fitzsimmons led the fight for wage-price controls, which were a frontal assault on workers' living standards. He stepped up the sweetheart contracts in agriculture and formed an alliance with the growers in their attacks on farmworkers and the UFW. By the time he called on labor to support Nixon in the 1972 elections, Fitzsimmons had come to be the leader of the extreme right wing of the labor bureaucracy. He and Nixon had arrived at a deal on Hoffa's release from prison, which banned the ex-president from holding union office until 1980. In 1971 when he was finally freed, Hoffa quickly went into opposition, and since then he has had his old friend, Fitzsimmons, on the run.

While president of the IBT, Hoffa had broken the power of the local "baronies" by establishing a national contract in freight and by centralizing the massive union in his own bureaucratic fashion. Fitzsimmons reversed this, giving power back to the local areas and the international vice-presidents. This decentralization allowed the mob a free rein in many cities, and Hoffa's return would have meant serious trouble for these parasites.

Hoffa began rebuilding his power base in the union, preparing to take on Fitzsimmons and company. He went on a series of national tours, speaking on prison reform, the state of the trade union movement and other topics; in nearly every city, he used his stop to rally his old supporters.

Among the rank and file Teamsters



Current Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons with Hoffa, his one-time leader. Both used gangsters to control union; Fitzsimmons today allows mob free rein and warred against Hoffa forces.

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Portugal: Rightist Strength Grows

Vasco Goncalves has fallen from power in Portugal. Goncalves, who had been backed by the Communist Party, resigned as Premier on September 6 under heavy pressure from right-wing officers in the Portuguese air force and army. Goncalves has also been removed from the 23-member High Council of the Revolution, the leading body in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), together with several other CP allies.

Goncalves' ouster marks a new phase in the Portuguese events. Previously, the CP and Goncalves had attempted to use their leading positions in the state apparatus, the trade unions and the military to consolidate power. Claiming that they were "building socialism," the CP-Goncalves alliance demanded increased productivity from the working class, broke strikes, repressed and arrested other left tendencies, imposed harsh press censorship and generally trampled on democratic rights. As we analyzed last month, this divided the working class, alienated the peasantry and shoved the Portuguese masses into the arms of the Socialist Party and its demagogic call for democracy.

Now that the CP's attempt to impose its own rule on a state capitalist basis has failed, the Portuguese Stalinists have made a complete reversal. They are calling for unity with the SP, the group that fronts for the counter-revolution. Ditching Goncalves, CP general secretary Alvaro Cunhal declared on September 5, "The Communists are eager to unite with the forces which are interested in having the revolution continue. The Portuguese Communist Party considers that the Socialist Party should take part in the search for a solution in the situation which has now been created."

CP LINE FLIPS

The CP has reverted back to the classical Popular Front line. Unlike

yesterday, when the CP tried to eliminate democratic rights in the supposed interests of "building socialism," today they pretend to be interested only in "consistent democracy." Last month, they called the SP counter-revolutionary and wanted them out of the ruling coalition government. This month, the SP is "interested in having the revolution continue" and the CP begs the SP to let it back into the coalition with the bourgeois military.

The reformist SP is first and foremost interested in maintaining imperialist-dominated capitalism in Portugal. The blessings it receives from Gerald Ford and the European bourgeoisie are not mistaken; Mario Soares' party has a long history of collaboration with the Western powers. Today, they work hand in hand with the Popular Democrats, the official party of Portugal's capitalist class, and wink at the vicious right-wing assaults on the headquarters of the CP and other left-wing tendencies organized by the Church and roving right-wing vigilantes—in fact, Soares points to these as proof of the SP's popular support.

Today, the counter-revolution is still too weak to nakedly come forward in its own name. It hides behind the SP. No doubt the SP sincerely wants a liberal democracy, but imperialism and the native bourgeoisie have other ideas. Portuguese capitalism cannot solve its massive economic crisis without imposing "order" in the factories by ending the workers' struggle. This requires crushing the tens of thousands of advanced workers who will not abandon their fight. Today, the bourgeoisie promises democracy; tomorrow, it will turn to the fascist reaction.

The CP's Popular Front line plays into the hands of the reaction. On the one side, they continue to foster illusions in the bourgeois military, the MFA. On the other, they prostrate themselves before imperialism's demo-

cratic face, the SP. What they do not and cannot do is to organize and lead the Portuguese working class in the struggle for workers' rule, the only way in which the reaction can be permanently defeated.

UNITED MILITARY DEFENSE

Revolutionary socialists give no form of political support to capitalism, and therefore give none to any coalition with the bourgeoisie. But the right-wing campaign against the CP is aimed at defeating the Portuguese working class. Other groups' headquarters have already been attacked. More basically, the CP's self-imposed isolation gave imperialism the excuse to pour its forces into the opening. Because the counter-revolutionary offensive is the immediate threat to Portuguese workers, we call for united military defense, including the defense of the CP, against the counter-revolution.

The MRPP, a Maoist group with an international reputation for militancy, is playing a criminal role. The MRPP ran jointly with the SP to defeat the CP in three trade unions. The MRPP recently stoned CP headquarters in Lisbon. Instead of defense against the right, the MRPP has actually joined in the anti-communist campaign.

The ouster of Goncalves is not the final statement of the reaction. It may be possible to maintain a "moderate" military dictatorship by the MFA, sanctioned by the participation of the SP and CP, for a period of time. Its duration cannot be predicted in advance. What can be said is that in matter of months at most the bourgeoisie will turn to more brutal measures. The new government is already imposing strict press censorship—although these are the same officers who protested against the CP-Goncalves censorship. Ernesto Melo Antunes, MFA "theoretician," SP ally and leader of the "moderate" officers who forced Goncalves out,

calls in words for socialism while carefully explaining that the key task is ending "anarchy and populism which inevitably lead to the catastrophic dissolution of the state"—in other words, ending the workers' struggle. This will require a confrontation with advanced workers and an overtly repressive regime.

The advanced workers must be organized against this threat. Instead they are being held back, especially by centrist groups like the PRP-BR (supported by the International Socialists) and the Maoist UDP. The PRP-BR and the UDP both uncritically tail General Otelo Carvalho, Portugal's security chief. Carvalho's COPCON troops are responsible for preserving order in Portugal—they have broken up strikes and arrested militants. Carvalho's political statement, the "COPCON Document," calls for a "transition to socialism" in which the bourgeois military, the MFA, maintains complete control. Not only does the PRP support this perspective, it openly claims credit for feeding Carvalho the ideas behind his proposal. The PRP in this way tells the working class that on the agenda is not workers' revolution, but rule by military officer saviors.

Many advanced Portuguese workers look to the PRP today because of its record of industrial militancy and its prior armed struggle against Salazar and Caetano. But the PRP will not provide the revolutionary leadership that is necessary; it will only tie more advanced workers back to the bourgeois military.

The right wing has gained strength. The ouster of Goncalves is important because of what it represents for the working class. It means that imperialism, the Church and the bourgeoisie now have a regime they can work better with. Their work is not done, however—today's relative stability is only a temporary lull. Portuguese revolutionaries must take no responsi-

Cont'd. p. 15

For Portugal Solidarity Committees

The Revolutionary Socialist League calls for a campaign to demonstrate solidarity of U.S. workers with the Portuguese proletariat and the Angolan national liberation movement against the counter-revolutionary offensive of imperialism and its Portuguese allies. We call upon all left organizations to join us in organizing united front demonstrations to mobilize against the imperialist offensive.

Imperialist activity has been stepped up in recent weeks as the counter-revolution gains strength in Portugal. Like the Catholic Church, the Portuguese bourgeoisie and the "moderate" officers, imperialism lines up behind the Socialist Party's demagogic call for democracy. Says Gerald Ford: "I think it's very tragic that because of the CIA investigation and all the limitations placed on us in the area of covert operations, we aren't able to participate with the other European countries" who are "helping their Social Democratic friends in Portugal." Ford recognizes that the SP fronts for the counter-revolution, and wants to send the CIA into this opening.

Despite Ford's complaints, the CIA is already active in Portugal. Philip Agee has exposed the presence of nine CIA agents organizing the reaction along the lines previously applied in

Brazil, Uruguay and Chile (see last month's Torch). Ford wants to send more agents and more material aid to the counter-revolution.

The U.S. bourgeoisie has other foils besides the CIA. The multinational corporations have been closing down their operations in Portugal and withdrawing funds, trying to make the economic crisis worse and deepen anti-working class hysteria. ITT, the U.S.-based multinational that plotted against Allende in Chile, has just shut off all funding to its Portuguese operations. Even the New York Times has drawn the parallel to Chile.

Veiled and not-so-veiled threats are coming from U.S.-government spokesmen. Henry Kissinger recently warned that "We will oppose and speak out against the efforts of a minority that appears to be subverting the revolution for its own purposes." Kissinger in reality is the harshest foe of the revolution who is in league with the counter-revolutionary minority. NATO fleets make regular shows of force off the Portuguese coast. The Common Market has conditioned economic aid to Portugal on the creation of a more stable situation in the factories—i.e., defeating the militant workers.

Imperialism is also pouring into Angola and using the Angolan

situation to further undermine the strength of the Portuguese proletariat. The 300,000 refugees being air-lifted back to Portugal are the base for right-wing reaction. Time magazine reports that the standard farewell for refugees leaving Angola is "Don't kill all the Communists—be sure to leave one for me!" The Portuguese government's call for imperialist help in air-lifting the refugees both helps import the counter-revolution to Portugal and gives imperialism further excuses to intervene in both Portugal and Angola. The U.S., which already works through the FNLA in Angola, is eager to expand its influence there, but it also wants to make maximum use of the events to build the counter-revolution in Portugal. Therefore, the U.S. State Department made its aid in the airlift contingent upon its demand that "there be a government in Lisbon that Washington feels it can work with."

The MFA regime in Portugal has rescinded its promise to give Angola full independence on November 11. Portuguese troops now pretend to play a "neutral" role but actually aim at preventing the MPLA, the guerrilla force that most fights for a break with imperialist domination, from gaining control (see "Hands Off Angola!" in this issue).

Through a resolute campaign, the workers' movement in this country can play a vital role in mobilizing U.S. workers to oppose the imperialist attacks in Portugal and Angola. Demonstrations and resolutions in the trade unions opposing the imperialist role and consistent exposure of the imperialists' activities in Portugal and Angola can weaken the ability of the U.S. to intervene and thus be of aid to the revolutionary struggle.

To organize such a campaign, we call for the creation of united front Portugal Solidarity Committees. The RSL will be actively building these united front committees in the coming weeks. The following slogans are the key issues which we believe the committees must fight around. We are prepared to discuss the slogans and all other specifics with any tendencies committed to waging a resolute struggle against the Portuguese counter-revolution.

**Smash the Counter-Revolution!
CIA-NATO Out of Portugal and Angola!
No U.S. or NATO Intervention!
No Aid to the Counter-Revolution!
Independence for Angola! Portugal Out—Withdraw All Portuguese Troops!
Victory to the MPLA!**

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MPLA!

Hands Off Angola! Victory to the MPLA!

Since June, a full-scale though undeclared civil war has raged in Angola. Rival nationalist groups are struggling to gain control of the Portuguese colony before November 11, the scheduled date of independence.

Though the reports from Angola and Portugal itself are confused and unreliable, the main outlines are clear. The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the strongest of the rival groups, holds the central part of the country, including the capital, Luanda, the southern port of Lobito and other major cities. In addition it controls Cabinda, the Angolan enclave north of Zaire's short Atlantic coastline. The FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) holds northern and northeastern Angola, and UNITA, weakest of the rivals, which is presently in alliance with the FNLA, holds southern and southeastern Angola.

South African troops and mercenaries are operating against the MPLA in the South, in effect as allies of UNITA; Zairean troops are reliably reported to be operating with the FNLA. Angola is "Balkanized," according to a Portuguese official in the country. Banks in the north and south no longer accept orders from the central bank in Luanda, local regions trade on their own with neighboring countries. The stage is nearly set for a decisive battle, with FNLA and UNITA attacking the MPLA forces from two sides. (At the end of August, a truce between the MPLA and UNITA was announced. Whether this will last is unknown.)

Under the hypocritical cover of humanitarianism, the weak Portuguese imperialists are now warning that they may have to ask the UN or Western European countries for troops to help "maintain order." Any such intervention would represent a grave danger to Angola's independence. Under cover of "neutrality," UN or European troops would maneuver on the side of the "Western-oriented" Angolan factions, FNLA and UNITA. A campaign must be launched now, as part of the fight against U.S.-NATO intervention in Portugal, to stop any Western or UN intervention in Angola under a bogus flag of humanitarianism.

Imperialist intervention, however, is not just a future danger in Angola. The civil war itself is the product of the maneuvers of imperialism, as well as of the differences among the nationalist groups. The scheduling of independence for Angola results from the fact that Portuguese imperialism itself is too weak to hold onto its African possessions by force. But imperialism in general has no intention of giving up its claims in the former Portuguese colonies. These claims center in Angola.

At stake for imperialism in Angola is one of the few real economic empires in Africa. Iron ore, diamonds, coal, coffee and 80,000 slave laborers a year for South Africa's mines are all exported profitably. Oil, discovered before World War II but not produced until the 1960's, gushes at the rate of 150,000 barrels a day from Gulf Oil's Cabinda wells alone, not counting other oil fields now being developed off Angola's southern shores.

With the weakening of Portuguese imperialism, the other imperialists have moved to safeguard their claims, or to establish claims where they had none before. The most powerful imperialist power in central Africa, the United States, together with Britain, has no direct presence in Angola—but the FNLA is closely tied to Zaire, a client state of the U.S. Next behind the United States stands a new axis of South Africa and Zambia, struggling to protect the flow of Angolan labor to South Africa and Zambia's rail lines to the Atlantic. Finally, Russian imperialism is relying on its political ties to the MPLA to gain economic entry into Angola.

These are the forces standing behind the bloody battles fought by the nationalist forces since June. The various imperialists have been able to exploit and intensify the rivalries already existing among the nationalists as a result of tribal and social differences.

An analysis of these rivalries and the imperialists' maneuvers will show that the MPLA's victory in the present struggle must be supported.

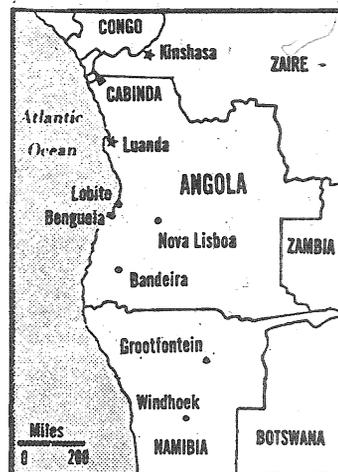
MPLA

The oldest of the three rivals, the MPLA, was formed in 1956. Its origins were in nationalist and African-cultural agitation among educated

1961, which was followed by a general uprising beginning March 15, 1961. Though this too was suppressed, the future FNLA (the name was actually not adopted until several years later) was never completely forced out of its rural base. But for several years it too was mainly an exile movement.

In exile, the politics of the liberation forces became intertwined with those of imperialism. With the overthrow of Lumumba in the ex-Belgian Congo (now Zaire) in 1960, the United States struggled for several years to become the dominant imperialist power in central Africa. The U.S. finally succeeded when its favored general, Mobutu Sese Soko, assumed sole power in the Congo in 1966. Mobutu, the brother-in-law of the FNLA's head Holden Roberto, is today the FNLA's chief backer and ally.

In collusion with Roberto, the pro-U.S. governments in the Congo forced the pro-Soviet MPLA out of the Congo in 1963 and prevented MPLA troops from entering Angola. The FNLA's military activity declined in the middle and late '60's; in the meantime the MPLA opened a front in Cabinda and, in 1966, managed to cross FNLA-held territory to open military fronts in northeastern and eastern Angola. In 1968 the Organization of African Unity, which previously had recognized Roberto's or-



—despite its bourgeois-nationalist program and its practice of discouraging and sabotaging strikes.

The FNLA, rapidly taking over its former strongholds in northern and northeastern Angola, was backed directly by Zaire, and indirectly by the "moderate" Portuguese officers, i.e., those close to the Portuguese Socialist Party and forces to its right. The Portuguese SP and the European Social Democrats who back it are also backing the FNLA; so is the United States, since Angola under the FNLA would be tied to the U.S.'s Zairean client-state. Finally, for some time China has been supplying the FNLA with arms and training—preferring to see Angola controlled by the Zairean puppets of U.S. imperialism rather than a regime friendly to the USSR. This reflects China's recent pro-NATO, pro-U.S. turn in foreign policy. In mid-August, FNLA sources were claiming to have acquired French-built Mirage jet fighters and Chinese pilots



Rival Angolan nationalist leaders Agostinho Neto of the MPLA, January meeting in Kenya. Three-party agreement broke down and civil war now rages in Angola.

sons of the petty bourgeoisie in the early 1950's. From the beginning it had ties to the clandestine Portuguese Communist Party. In the late 1950's, the MPLA gained a base in Angola's urban working class and slum population, mainly in Luanda. However, an attempted uprising in February, 1961 led to the massacre of more than 3,000 Africans by Portuguese police and vigilantes, and for several years the MPLA was unable to operate in Angola.

The FNLA has a different social and tribal base. From the beginning it has been a peasant-based guerrilla force, based in and dominated by the Kongo tribe in northern and northeastern Angola and southwestern Zaire. Its first successes occurred after an agricultural laborers' strike in Malange, north of Luanda, in February,

1961, which was followed by a general struggle, transferred its recognition to the MPLA. Increasingly supplied with Soviet arms, the MPLA became the major anti-Portuguese military force by the early 1970's. It presents a program of nationalist and democratic demands (equality of women, renovation of African culture) and despite a cloak of Marxist rhetoric, is essentially a bourgeois-nationalist force.

NEW STAGE

A new stage opened in Angola with the overthrow of Caetano in Portugal in 1974, and especially with the short-lived agreement of January 1975 which set up a three-party transitional government in Angola. The MPLA reappeared in Luanda, where it emerged as the dominant force among the African workers and slum-dwellers

to fly them.

The third nationalist grouping, UNITA, which is capable only of playing a balancing role between the other two, originated in a split from the FNLA in 1965. It accurately accused the FNLA of corruption and tribalism; but today UNITA is fighting alongside the FNLA. It is backed by Zambia, which is reaching out for its own slice of the Angolan riches. Given Zambia's "détente" with the bloody Vorster regime in South

Africa, South Africa's discreet intervention in support of UNITA is completely logical. Since South Africa and Zambia represent locally the interests of U.S. and Western European imperialism they have no fundamental conflict with the FNLA, and UNITA logically allies with the FNLA

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Resolution of the RSL Political Committee on the NCLC/USLP

• 1. Revolutionaries must take action against the campaign of the NCLC-USLP (National Caucus of Labor Committees—U.S. Labor Party) announced in the May 8 issue of its paper *New Solidarity* to "eradicate—the FBI-controlled Maoist counter-gangs" called "Operation Counter-punch." The NCLC-USLP is attacking not only the Maoist organizations themselves, but the entire working class and its revolutionary wing.

Attempts to silence working class militants through redbaiting, fingering and physical intimidation have always been a central tactic of the ruling class and its agents. Redbaiting is used to prevent the working class from freely selecting its leadership in struggle, silencing those who challenge capitalist class rule and shielding "loyal" bureaucrats from left criticism and exposure. These tactics are particularly insidious when adopted by a group which calls itself revolutionary.

• 2. The various Maoist organizations such as the Revolutionary Union (RU), Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the October League (OL), which are chief targets of "Counterpunch," represent centrist misleaderships within the workers' movement. Their politics must be defeated, the organizations exposed as political obstacles to the revolution, the sincere elements won to the revolutionary party. But the political combat required to carry out this task has nothing to do with the tactics of the NCLC-USLP. Its anti-working class, right-wing assault calls for the physical liquidation, arrest, firing, etc., of all Maoists and "proto-Maoists" (into which category the NCLC-USLP has lumped the RSL for its active opposition to this lunacy). To put an end to the NCLC-USLP campaign, we must explain the political character of the NCLC-USLP and its current campaign to the working class, and map out a strategy to defeat it.

• 3. The NCLC-USLP underwent a tremendous political degeneration in the last 5 years, caused in part by the clinical insanity of its leader, LaRouche-Marcus. The period of transition included a frantic attempt to substitute the lumpenproletariat for the working class (NUWRO)—a period which also featured "Operation Mop-Up," an attempt to physically annihilate the Communist Party.

The NCLC-USLP, always a technocratic wing of the petty bourgeoisie, today explicitly sees itself, not the working class, as what is necessary to save the world from catastrophe. In fact, it is for a variety of state capitalism under its leadership. This is reflected in its call for expanded reproduction on a capitalist basis, its notion of "planning" and the extension of U.S.-Soviet trade on the one hand, and its attacks on the working class for decreasing capitalist productivity through measures such as 30 for 40 on the other. (Workers who make such demands are now labeled "shirkers in the NCLC-USLP literature, as they are in the capitalist press.)

For the NCLC-USLP, the working class is simply a battering ram which must be tricked or enticed into motion. The NCLC-USLP today consists of largely freaked-out liberals, lumpen elements and a heavy dosage of police agents. Its internal organization is completely undemocratic, with a nightmarish "security apparatus" to keep its membership in line.

• 4. The current fingering and red-baiting activities of the NCLC-USLP

must be actively and aggressively fought. There is no question of "free speech" here—no group or individual has a "right" to finger worker militants to the state or the bosses.

NCLC-USLP's "Counterpunch" has several component parts:

(a). Leafletting campaigns designed to give out names, addresses, pictures, etc., of alleged "Maoists" and inciting right-wing hysteria against them. Such leaflets are replete with lies and slanders about FBI connections, dope-dealing, and kidnapping. They hysterically warn "your wives and daughters will not be safe with these sub-humans running loose." These leaflets directly appeal to reactionary sentiment, with headlines such as "Send him back to Russia where he belongs" (if this appears surprising for the glorifiers of Russian state capitalism, one can find the left cover at the end of the leaflet—"where they know what to do with Nazi agents"). The USLP leaflets instruct their readers to call the cops to have "Maoists" arrested, expel them from the unions and, as openly as they can legally get away with, to physically assault the "Maoist" in question ("pay him a visit," etc.). The phony left cover of these leaflets, charging the Maoists with misleading the working class (which indeed they do), in no way

been waiting whipped out their badges and arrested PLP members. This is nothing less than a direct set-up, for which the USLP is responsible. There have been numerous allegations of USLP-police collaboration in the left press. While these have yet to be substantiated, they are not unlikely. USLP members have publicly stated that they will "work with anyone, even fascists, in suppressing the Maoists."

• 5. RSL supporters and readers of *The Torch* must actively work to stop the NCLC-USLP's anti-working class campaign. The actions of the Revolutionary Steelworker's Committee in Chicago USW Local 65—leading a fight within the union to condemn the red-baiting and fingering actions of the USLP and forming a defense guard to protect union members from attack is a model. We must explain and expose the politics and direction of the USLP to the working class, fight for its condemnation by the labor movement and pursue an aggressive united front policy to left organizations, militant caucuses and independent workers against the USLP attacks. We stress that "Counterpunch" opens the door to repression of the left by the state, fascists and trade union bureaucracy as the crisis of capitalism deepens and the working

time, the NCLC-USLP is also engaged in independent electoral action and opposition to Kresge's Department Store, both with a fundamentally left character. The NCLC has the potential to become a right-wing or fascist group, but this will require further degeneration into a consistently anti-working class, nationalist, racist tendency.

• 7. We therefore defend the NCLC-USLP from repression at the hands of the state. Despite the presence of cops in the NCLC-USLP (something common to other left organizations although to lesser degrees) cops do not control the organization. The NCLC can be and may still become an initial target for the state in a general attack on the left. Failure to defend the NCLC against the state will open the way for the same repressive tactics to be turned against other groups. (A good example of this is the CP's failure to defend the SWP leaders and participants in the 1934 Minneapolis general strike against government prosecution under the Smith Act in 1941. In fact, the CP clamored for prosecution of the "Trotskyites." A few years later, when the same Smith Act was applied against the CP, the Stalinists suddenly discovered that they were in principle opposed to the Act. Of course, the SWP in 1941 was a revolutionary organization, quite different from the NCLC, but the need to oppose state repression of the left in general remains valid.)

We also defend the NCLC-USLP from attacks by the trade union bureaucrats—except where the bureaucrats are actually defending the trade unions from union-busting or other anti-working class actions by the NCLC-USLP. The labor bureaucrats usually attack the NCLC by red-baiting, and use the excuses readily provided by NCLC-USLP to attack all left groups. Trade union hacks who hide behind red clauses and act as ruling class agents are not likely to attack the USLP because it fingers communists.

The CP or one of the Maoist organizations has the potential to try to turn a campaign against the NCLC-USLP into an "anti-Trotskyite" witch-hunt; this dynamic has occurred many times before. While we defend them against NCLC fingering, we must be on our guard for this tactic.

We are not for the suppression of the NCLC-USLP in general. We defend their right to distribute their general political literature, to carry out and participate in demonstrations, campaigns, etc. But this right does not include inciting attacks against the left, as does "Operation Counterpunch."

• 9. Because of our active campaign against USLP red-baiting, the RSL will itself become a target for USLP fanatics. A recent issue of *New Solidarity* devoted an article to lies and slanders about the RSL as "agents of the National Security Council," stating the "proof" for this as the fact that we defended trade unionists from USLP explosion motions.

We will not be intimidated by USLP "campaigns"—such lunatic charges and threats can only further discredit the USLP in the eyes of class-conscious workers. Defense of the working class from attacks from any source is an important component of the struggle to build an international revolutionary party to lead the working class to socialism.

THESE ARE THE ONES!



COUNTERGANG:
REVOLUTIONARY
UNION (RU)

PROFILE: The proto-
type of the con
"roncho". Along



PICTURE
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AVAILABLE

COUNTERGANG: RU

PROFILE: Introverted,
guilt-ridden neurotic.
Reportedly a karate
expert, but according
to insiders, a "cream-



COUNTERGANG:
PROGRESSIVE
LABOR PARTY (PL)

PROFILE: PL honcho
for Detroit. Respon-
sible for carrying out

Portion of redbaiting leaflet handed out by NCLC in Detroit to finger militants to bosses.

dilutes the real content of this garbage. The USLP must be prevented from distributing such literature.

(b). Active thuggery led by the NCLC-USLP including beating people up; holding demonstrations in front of people's houses to get them evicted, fired, arrested, or physically assaulted; and similar tactics. Included in this category are the USLP's direct attempts to expel "Maoists" from the trade unions, as in Chicago last Month (see *The Torch* Aug. 15 issue). United front defense must be established to prevent these assaults.

(c). Collaboration (either directly or through inside agents) with the police. An example of this type of action is the USLP attack on the PLP in June. The USLP showed up to provoke a fight with PLP newspaper salesmen. The moment a fight started, a myriad of plainclothesmen who had obviously

class moves towards a revolutionary solution.

• 6. Despite its various right-wing, anti-working class and racist policies and its Nazi tactics, the USLP is not (yet) a fascist or proto-fascist organization. At this point, it is a petty-bourgeois organization outside the workers' movement but still barely within the left. Most of the NCLC-USLP press still concentrates on its general politics (glorification of the CP's internationally, anti-Rockefeller, anti-banks) which, wrong though they are, still retain a left character.

Much of the organization's activity also remains within the pale of the left. The NCLC-USLP is not overtly national chauvinist, one of the hallmarks of fascism. It is, however, strongly racist; for example, it calls the Chinese peasantry "sub-human." While fingering and setting up alleged Maoists consumes a good bit of its

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SL: APOLOGIST FOR STALINISM

PART TWO

The Spartacist League has discovered that "exceptional historical circumstances" allowed a petty-bourgeois social force, namely Stalinist-led peasant-based armies, to create workers states throughout Southeast Asia. According to the SL, these are not "healthy" workers states; no, they are "deformed," meaning that the working class does not control them—but they are workers states.

The Spartacists' "theory" of how this occurred is not really a theory at all, but empiricism—and poor empiricism at that. Far from predicting the course of events in Southeast Asia, the SL's "theory" led them to predict Stalinist capitulation until the last possible moment. Then, when the Stalinists took power, the SL merely slapped a "proletarian" label on the nationalized property, proclaimed the result a "deformed workers state," and invoked "exceptional circumstances" to explain how they were taken by surprise.

In doing so, they have turned Marxism upside down. Marxism teaches that only the proletariat can create its own class state and thereby lay the basis for further human advancement. This is the core of Marxism. The SL has turned this core inside out to "explain" in retrospect how the petty bourgeoisie was supposedly able to create workers' class rule.

Ironically, this petty-bourgeois conception also makes the SL's supposed anti-Stalinism . . . petty-bourgeois. For the SL, anti-Stalinism can no longer be based on the class character of Stalinism, for they say that this petty-bourgeois force has created a proletarian dictatorship! The SL's objections to Stalinism, therefore, can only reflect petty-bourgeois moralism. Let us see how.

"CRITICAL" APOLOGISTS

The SL is not an overt apologist for the Stalinists. They are "critical." "The international Spartacist tendency has been unique in recognizing that capitalist rule has been overthrown in Vietnam and Cambodia while refusing to hide the crimes of Ho Chi Minh and his successors (such as the murder of several thousand Trotskyists following World War II)" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 72). Although the SL thinks that this unique position embodies the essence of their Marxism in contrast to the other Pabloist groups, this posture merely exposes them as bleeding-heart liberals. They agree that the Stalinists have overthrown capitalism. Yet they puff themselves up and denounce Ernest Mandel, the leader of the European majority of the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International, for "labelling the Vietnamese Stalinists 'revolutionaries' and hailing 'the first victorious permanent revolution' since the victory of the Cuban revolution" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 71).

This is too much. Mandel is at least somewhat consistent. He believes that capitalism has been overthrown in South Vietnam and Cambodia, sees this event as a verification of the Permanent Revolution and calls the Stalinists who led this revolution revolutionaries. Small matter that he undermines the basis for the continued independent existence of his political tendency in doing so. The SL would prefer to throw all of Marxism out the window in order to be able to refuse to call the



Russian workers and soldiers during the 1917 Revolution, believe that petty-bourgeois forces can destroy capitalism without the conscious, revolutionary activity of the proletariat.

Stalinists "revolutionaries" and see in the creation of "deformed workers states" a victory of the Permanent Revolution.

This is sheer hypocrisy and reduces itself to petty-bourgeois horror at the Stalinists' methods. The SL believes that the transformations in Southeast Asia occurred under "exceptional historical circumstances." Yet, these "exceptional circumstances" have occurred more frequently than the circumstances that have enabled the proletariat itself to overthrow capitalism. The proletariat has only done it once, in Russia in 1917, but the petty-bourgeois Stalinists have accomplished it many times, e.g., Eastern Europe, China, Korea, Cuba, etc. Thus the "exceptional circumstances" (the way the Stalinists do it) occur more frequently than the "normal circumstances" (the way the SL says it would do it) and it certainly appears to be easier the Stalinist way than the SL way. So, if the SL were really interested in progress and the overthrow of capitalism, why do they begrudge the Stalinists their methods?

THE STATE AND PETTY-BOURGEOIS MORALISM

The SL does not like the way the Stalinists overthrow capitalism. Too bloody and the SL could do it better. The SL is merely a noisy but fundamentally loyal opposition to the Stalinists, supporting the state-capitalist transformations but critical of the Stalinists' methods. They would rather stand on the sidelines and weep than dirty their hands. Their petty-bourgeois moralism is of a piece with their petty-bourgeois theory.

The petty-bourgeois theory and moralism of the

Spartacist League is also reflected in its view of the state. The Marxist analysis of the state is central to the revolutionary arsenal. Failure to understand the nature of the state means a failure to understand the nature of capitalist society (indeed, of all class societies) and the road to the proletarian revolution.

The state is an instrument of class rule. As long as classes remain, the state remains. When classes disappear, the state will have withered away. These are merely two sides of the same process. At the same time, as Lenin showed, the modern state, as an institution, is bourgeois. It is part and parcel of capitalist society and it will wither away as the remnants of capitalism wither away. In other words, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state apparatus is bourgeois. It is a bourgeois tool which the working class fashions in its interests and wields as a weapon in the struggle for its emancipation. In *State and Revolution*, Lenin discusses the traces of capitalism that remain in the first stage of communism. In this discussion, he writes: "It follows that under communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state—without the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, *State and Revolution*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1970, pp. 117-118).

If the modern state per se is a bourgeois institution, the crucial question is who controls the state, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The capitalist state, under normal conditions, is tied by a thousand threads, as Lenin put it, to the bourgeoisie. It is tied to the stock exchange, includes a large bureaucracy which can be bribed by the capitalists, is dependent on the capitalists to finance its operations, and is itself staffed by

The SL makes their elitist liberalism a cornerstone of party-building and revolutionary practice. In saying that a force other than the proletariat led by a revolutionary party can create workers states, the SL discards the most fundamental precepts of Marxism.

leading representatives of the bourgeoisie. But all these conditions need not apply. Because the bourgeoisie owns the means of production (the factories, the banks, transportation and communications facilities) directly, it need not always have its direct representatives occupying the governmental posts. As long as the individuals sitting in the government are not prepared to lead the workers in establishing soviets, constructing a workers' militia, nationalizing industry and the banks, i.e., in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, they must run the country along capitalist lines. It is for this reason that as long as a country has a capitalist economy, the state remains the state of the capitalists whether it is a democracy, a monarchy or a fascist dictatorship.

THE WORKERS STATE

The workers state is different. The means of production can only be owned collectively by the workers as a class. And the workers can only be organized to rule society collectively if they overthrow the capitalist state and set up their own. The working class can only own and control the means of production through the workers' state. In this sense, it is not possible, as it is for the capitalists, for the workers to rule economically but not politically, as the SL contends. If the workers do not rule politically, they do not rule economically. If they do not control the state, the state is not their state, it is not a workers state.

There can be no such thing as a workers state where the workers are not the ruling class.

To Marx, the decisive question was who controls the state. To the SL, the decisive question is "what class interests the state power serves" (W.V. No. 72). In other words, the SL supports the anti-Marxist notion that somebody else, some non-proletarian class can run the state in the interests of the proletariat. Moreover, as we have seen, the SL believes that such a non-proletarian class can run the state in the interests of the proletariat. Moreover, as we have seen, the SL believes that such a non-proletarian class can do this against the conscious desires of the proletariat.

SL TURNS LENIN TO HASH

In a rather pathetic attempt to prove its case, the SL tries to quote Lenin. It only proves itself to be illiterate or a group of liars. We quote from a Young Spartacus polemic against the Revolutionary Union: "As long as the Russian state continues to rest upon and defend the proletarian property forms, the Soviet Union in its class character remains a workers state. Lenin," they continue, "clearly posed the question, as follows:

In what does the rule of the class express itself now? The rule of the proletariat is expressed in the fact that landlord and capitalist property has been abolished. The victorious proletariat abolished property and destroyed it utterly, and in this consists the rule of the class. First of all the question of property. When the question of property was decided in practice, the rule of the class was assured. . . . When classes displaced one another, they altered property relations.

Pełoe Sobranie Sochiennii (Collected Works) 4th ed., Vol. 30, pp. 426-27 (our translation)."

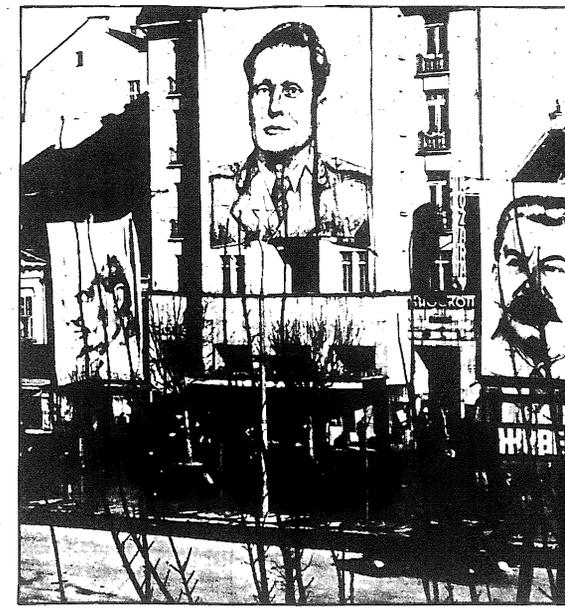
Here Lenin is talking about the need for the proletariat to use bourgeois specialists to help the proletariat to administer the economy. He was not talking about using a section of the petty bourgeoisie to run the state for the proletariat. As long as the proletariat controlled the state through its vanguard organized in the Bolshevik Party (and Lenin is assuming this), the question of the specialists was secondary. It would never have occurred to Lenin, the author of State and Revolution, Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power? and the analyst of wartime German state capitalism, that the mere nationalization of property was sufficient to mean the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The SL, moreover, has quoted selectively. On the very next page, p. 457 of the Progress Publishers 1965 English edition, there is the following: "It is only the domination of a class that determines property relations and which class is to be on top." In other words, it is the class relations that determine property relations. The domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie determines the "proletarian" content of the nationalized property. The SL has taken the Lenin quotation out of the context of Lenin's whole work, and out of the context of the surrounding passages. But the SL refutes itself. If the rule of the proletariat is expressed simply in the fact that the capitalists and landlords have been expropriated, why does the SL deny that the proletariat is the ruling class in the deformed workers states? Why does the SL deny that

"Exceptional Historical Circumstances..."



CUBA: Fidelista guerrillas routed Batista dictatorship in 1959.



YUGOSLAVIA: Tito's forces followed Stalin's model after World War

To the SL, "exceptional circumstances" which allow the petty bourgeoisie to occur more frequently than "normal circumstances" that accomplish this task. Because of their position on the nature of names, etc., states, the SL is fundamentally a loyal opposition to state capitalist transformations but critical of the Stalinists' m

deformed workers states are a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat? To the SL, the whole dispute is nothing but words to be pushed around at will.

The SL finds justification of its position in Trotsky's theory of the degenerated workers' state. They merely add another related but separate category of the "deformed workers state." The difference between the two is negligible to the Spartacist League. To Marxists, however, it is all the difference in the world.

THE RUSSIAN COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The degenerated workers state in Russia was a workers state which had been established by a class-conscious proletariat led by a revolutionary party. Because of the economic and cultural backwardness of Russia and the isolation of the Revolution, this state was in the process of degenerating. With the killing of thousands of advanced workers in the Civil War, the demoralization of the rest of the proletariat, the atrophy of the soviets, the bureaucratization of the trade unions and the Bolshevik Party, the workers state increasingly came under control of a bureaucracy. This bureaucracy was based in the party and state machinery and was led by Stalin. Rather than being controlled by the proletariat, it more and more established its control over the proletariat. It was a privileged layer separating itself out from the working class. At a certain point, it separated itself out from the working class completely and established its total domination over the proletariat.

As long as the bureaucracy remained a part of the working class, even though a privileged part, the state remained a workers state. When the bureaucracy separated itself completely from the working class and destroyed the last elements of the vanguard of 1917-23, it established itself as a ruling class and the state was transformed into a bourgeois state. Since property remained nationalized, the bureaucracy became a state-capitalist ruling class.

As Trotsky elaborated his theory, he tried to apply concepts applicable to capitalist society to the workers state. For example, he held that the dichotomy between economic and political power

that applies under capitalism also applies under a workers state (i.e., that the workers could rule economically although they were expropriated politically). We have already examined why this view is mistaken. From this error flowed another—that as long as property was nationalized and the state monopoly of foreign trade remained intact, the Russian workers state could not have completely degenerated and capitalism could not have been restored. As the degeneration of the Russian workers state moved toward its conclusion, Trotsky increasingly came to emphasize the centrality of the nationalized property forms (instead of the actual control of the working class over the state apparatus), as key to defining the workers state. To Trotsky, the fact that the nationalized property, created by a class-conscious proletariat, continued to exist was evidence that the October Revolution was still alive. And at the same time, he tended to preclude the possibility of a counter-revolution which would maintain the nationalized property. Thus, despite the purge trials and the complete destruction of the proletarian vanguard, Trotsky failed to see that a bourgeois counter-revolution had been completed within the framework of the nationalized property.

Nevertheless, to Trotsky the degeneration of the revolution was a process. The Russian state had been a real workers state which was degenerating. It is inconceivable that Trotsky could have argued that the existence of nationalized property forms in and of themselves means a workers state.

PABLO AND PABLOISM

Trotsky's mistakes were errors in a generally correct and Marxist approach to the question. Trotsky remained a Marxist and a Leninist until his death at the hands of a Stalinist assassin in 1940. After World War II, however, these errors were seized upon by elements within the Fourth International who used them to completely gut the essence of Marxism. To explain the state-capitalist transformation of Eastern Europe, these individuals invented a new category called the "deformed workers state" which was used to describe the Eastern European state capitalist countries.

To Trotsky, Russia was a workers state, even

while degenerating, because the world Bolsheviks, had actually overthrown and established their own state. To the "deformed workers state," these workers states because property was nationalized. Because of the similarity between "deformed workers state" and Trotsky's "deformed workers state," these people could follow in Trotsky's footsteps. The theory of these epigones, a logic they articulated by Michel Pablo, led to Pabloism: a conscious working class led by a party is not necessary to overthrow and establish workers states; instead, the theory of these epigones, a logic they articulated by objective and subjective means, led to the overthrow of capitalism and establish v

PABLO'S CHILDREN

The SL, despite its disclaimers, is a descendant of Pablo. As soon as one does the SL, that some force of the proletariat led by a revolutionary party, workers states, one must discard fundamental precepts of Marxism. To see, is what the SL does.

The SL has a bad conscience. Awar theory leads directly to liquidating the party and becoming "critical" super-Stalinists, guerrillaism and petty bourgeoisments in general, they pull back from more obvious implications of his position back only part way, remaining committed term "deformed workers' states. But back with Pablo.

If such states are really workers' dictatorship of the proletariat, thinks what Pablo says is true: the Stalinists establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, although in a distorted form. And so, in attempt to avoid this conclusion, the SL itself in a knot and argue that deformed states are not in fact any kind of dictatorship of the proletariat, that the proletariat is in the ruling class of these societies, and these societies have no ruling class at all. This Marxist alternative to Pabloism is a capitalist analysis supported by the R

Historical Circumstances..."



YUGOSLAVIA: Tito's forces followed Stalin's model after World War II.



CHINA: Peasant-based army ousted rotting Chiang Kai-shek regime in 1949.

"Historical Circumstances" which allow the petty bourgeoisie to overthrow capitalism more readily than "normal circumstances" that enable the working class to do so. The SL is fundamentally a loyal opposition to the Stalinists, supporting their goals but critical of the Stalinists' methods.

...plies under capitalism also applies under a workers state (i.e., that the workers could rule themselves although they were expropriated by the state monopoly of foreign trade remained the Russian workers state could not have degenerated and capitalism could not be restored. As the degeneration of the workers state moved toward its conclusion, the SL increasingly came to emphasize the necessity of the nationalized property forms and of the actual control of the working class (the state apparatus), as key to defining the workers state. To Trotsky, the fact that the nationalized property, created by a class-conscious proletariat, continued to exist was evidence that the Russian Revolution was still alive. And at the same time he tended to preclude the possibility of a second revolution which would maintain the nationalized property. Thus, despite the purge trials and the complete destruction of the proletarian leadership, Trotsky failed to see that a bourgeois revolution had been completed within the framework of the nationalized property. Nevertheless, to Trotsky the degeneration of the Russian state was a process. The Russian state had become a real workers state which was degenerating. It is inconceivable that Trotsky could have argued that the existence of nationalized property forms in itself means a workers state.

PABLO AND PABLOISM

Trotsky's mistakes were errors in a generally Leninist and Marxist approach to the question of the workers state. He remained a Marxist and a Leninist until his death at the hands of a Stalinist assassin in 1940. After World War II, however, these errors were compounded by elements within the Fourth International who used them to completely gut the theory of Marxism. To explain the state-capitalist formation of Eastern Europe, these individuals invented a new category called the "deformed workers state" which was used to describe the Eastern European state capitalist formations. Trotsky, Russia was a workers state, even

while degenerating, because the workers, led by the Bolsheviks, had actually overthrown capitalism and established their own state. To the creators of the "deformed workers state," these states were workers states because property was nationalized. Because of the similarity between the term "deformed workers state" and Trotsky's "degenerated workers state," these people could claim to be following in Trotsky's footsteps. The logic of the theory of these epigones, a logic they soon realized, articulated by Michel Pablo, led outside of Marxism: a conscious working class led by a revolutionary party is not necessary to overthrow capitalism and establish workers states; instead, other sectors of society (the petty bourgeoisie) motivated by high ideals and pressed by objective conditions can overthrow capitalism and establish workers states.

PABLO'S CHILDREN

The SL, despite its disclaimers, is a direct descendent of Pablo. As soon as one accepts, as does the SL, that some force other than the proletariat led by a revolutionary party can create workers states, one must discard the most fundamental precepts of Marxism. This, we have seen, is what the SL does.

The SL has a bad conscience. Aware that Pablo's theory leads directly to liquidating the revolutionary party and becoming "critical" supporters of the Stalinists, guerrillaism and petty bourgeois movements in general, they pull back from some of the more obvious implications of his position. They pull back only part way, remaining committed to the term "deformed workers" states. But then they are back with Pablo.

If such states are really versions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thinks the SL, then what Pablo says is true: the Stalinists can indeed establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, although in a distorted form. And so, in a desperate attempt to avoid this conclusion, the SL must tie itself in a knot and argue that deformed workers states are not in fact any kind of dictatorship of the proletariat, that the proletariat is in no way the ruling class of these societies, and that these societies have no ruling class at all. The only Marxist alternative to Pabloism is the state capitalist analysis supported by the RSL. But the

SL will have no part of this. As a result they are condemned to vacillate between the more overt form of Pabloism and the Marxist position of the RSL, without in fact ever breaking from Pabloism. At the same time, the SL winds up in the camp of those who think that Russia and the other Stalinist states are some new type of society, neither bourgeois nor proletarian. And like some of the supporters of these theories (such as Max Shachtman in his early formulations on bureaucratic collectivism), the SL thinks that such societies are progressive. We hope they like the company.

MORALISTS ON THE PARTY

This petty-bourgeois theory is not an accidental part of the SL's program. Every aspect of their method and approach is cut from the same cloth. A look at their view on the revolutionary party will help make this clear.

The SL, claiming to be orthodox Leninists, pride themselves on standing foursquare on *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin's most complete and famous exposition of his conception of the revolutionary party. They quote with particular assurance Lenin's insistence (at that time) that socialist consciousness must be brought to the working class from outside. Here is the passage: "We have said that there could not have been Social Democratic consciousness among the workers of the 1890's (editor). It would have to be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own efforts, is able to develop only trade union consciousness. . . ." (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*, International Publishers, 1969, p. 31.) Yet true to form, the SL turns Lenin into the petty bourgeois that they themselves are.

In 1901-2, when *What Is To Be Done?* was written, Lenin (like all Marxist revolutionaries at the time) accepted the general Social Democratic framework as his starting point. The formulation that socialist consciousness could only be brought to workers "from without" (outside the working class) was contributed by Karl Kautsky, leading theoretician of the Second International. Despite its Marxist claim, the formulation reflected Kautsky's petty-bourgeois assumptions, which were exposed fully in his betrayal of internationalism in 1914.

If revolutionary consciousness is brought to the working class "from without," it must either come from the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie. Kautsky was explicit: just as socialist theory was elaborated by the intellectuals, out of material developed by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, socialist consciousness must come from the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Kautsky and the majority of the Social Democratic leadership took Kautsky's formulation literally and the result was Social Democratic practice, the elitist reformism we referred to above.

Lenin gave the formulation a different content, and this led him to admit its one-sided character after the 1905 Revolution.¹ In arguing against the "Economists," who repudiated the notion of revolutionary leadership, an explicit struggle for revolutionary consciousness, Lenin wished to stress that socialist consciousness does not emerge spontaneously. What he was emphasizing was that a conscious struggle to win the proletariat to the idea of revolution was necessary, and that this struggle was the struggle to build a revolutionary party. This emphasis was 100 per cent correct. Lenin's error was to accept Kautsky's formulation that this meant bringing socialist consciousness to the working class from the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Since the overwhelming mass of the proletariat is won to socialist consciousness by the efforts of its most advanced elements, it appears as if such consciousness is coming from outside the class. In fact, it comes from the advanced proletarians.

SL BUILDS PETTY-BOURGEOIS PARTY

The SL, despite Trotsky's reference in his biography of Stalin, does not recognize the one-sided character of Lenin's formulation in *What Is To Be Done?* They take it literally and turn it into a cornerstone of party-building. The revolutionary party, the SL thinks, is actually built outside the working class. But, if something is outside the working class, it is either bourgeois or petty bourgeois (we ignore the remnants of feudal society). And since we assume that the SL knows enough not to try to build the party in the bourgeoisie, we are left to conclude that the SL's position is to build the party among the petty bourgeoisie. Only after a sector of the petty bourgeoisie is organized is there an attempt to build the party in the working class itself.

And this is the history of the Spartacist League. Only recently has it decided to do serious work in the proletariat. This decision coincided with their turn toward overt opportunism, downplaying the Transitional Program in their labor work and elsewhere. Prior to this, SL work in the labor movement was "exemplary" (the SL's term). It was designed to impress left-wing intellectuals.

The problem with this approach is the problem with the entire SL method. Such a strategy, however successful it may appear at any given time, is in fact an attempt to assert petty-bourgeois hegemony over the proletariat. It is a strategy not to fight to build the party from the advanced proletarians, but to turn the party into an instrument of a sector of the petty bourgeoisie in the latter's efforts to mislead the proletariat.

We have come full circle. The SL's position on what is happening in Indochina today is an apology for Stalinist rule. Although they have criticisms, they still see the Stalinist leadership (a sector of the radical petty bourgeoisie) as a progressive force capable of overthrowing capitalism in the interests of the proletariat. This position is consistent with the SL's strategy for building the revolutionary party and fully expresses their petty-bourgeois outlook. Despite appearances, then, there is some consistency in the program of the Spartacist League. The Spartacist League represents a sector of the radical petty bourgeoisie which is in competition with other sectors for the misleadership of the proletariat.

The class nature of the Spartacist League is not just a question of theory. Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary practice. With petty-bourgeois theory, practice can only be petty-bourgeois. And such practice will never lead the proletariat to victory. The struggle to build a proletarian leadership requires sweeping aside the petty-bourgeois misleaders of the Spartacist League.

¹In his biography of Stalin, Trotsky, in referring to Lenin's statement that socialist consciousness comes "from the outside" writes: "The author of *What Is To Be Done?* (editor) himself subsequently acknowledged the biased nature, and therewith the erroneousness, of his theory, which he had parenthetically interjected as a battery in the battle against 'Economism' and its deference to the elemental nature of the labor movement." (Trotsky, *Stalin*, Stein and Day, 1967, p. 58)

Capitalism Guilty

Joan Little Acquitted

Joan Little, victim of a racist frameup attempt by the state of North Carolina, has been found innocent. It took the jury just over an hour to acquit her of all charges, further exposing the fraudulent nature of the state's case. Little was charged with murder for defending herself against a vicious sexual assault by her white jailer. The struggle to free Joan Little was not just a struggle to free one individual—it was a struggle against the brutality of capitalism's prisons and the vile racism of its police, court and state.



Joan Little heading for trial session with lawyer William Kunstler.

The trumped-up charges in the Little case made the real issues clear. Did a young black woman in a Southern jail have the right to defend herself against a rape attack by a white jailer? Or would capitalist "justice" send her to the gas chamber for her "crime"? It is doubtful that Joan Little would ever even have been in prison at the time of the rape attack if she were not poor and black. She was serving a five to seven year sentence for a crime which would probably have brought a slap on the wrist and "probation" to any middle class white.

Yet when jailer Allgood was found dead with his pants off and semen on his leg, the forces of justice cried "murder!" The real criminal in the Joan Little trial was capitalism itself.

Following her trial, Joan Little stated:

My case has important meaning to many people. To me, it means I'm free at last from the year-long horror of anticipating execution in the gas chamber for the death of a white jailer who sexually assaulted me. To many women it sets the precedent for woman to defend herself against rape. For Southern blacks, my victory proves that racism can be defeated.

RACISM REMAINS

While the Joan Little trial ended in victory, it might have been otherwise. Racism has not been defeated. Thousands of blacks, in the North as well as the South, have been railroaded into prison and given outrageously long sentences on trumped-up or petty charges. Every day the number of victims grows. The state of North Carolina intended Little as one more victim added to the long list. Only militant demonstrations, massive publicity and public outrage saved Joan Little from the fate of thousands of others. The forces of law and order in North Carolina—the police, state officials and the Ku Klux Klan—intended to settle their accounts with an unknown black woman who had committed the crime of defending herself. The public attention focused on the case meant that those same forces dared not expose their real

nature to millions of oppressed and exploited people. Joan Little was "spared"—but it was not because justice triumphed.

The most extensive and militant defense of Joan Little was led by the radical black movement, particularly the Winston-Salem Black Panther Party. Many organizations, including the Revolutionary Socialist League, actively participated in the defense. Daily demonstrations were held in front of the courthouse in Raleigh where Little was on trial. The demonstrations demanded freedom for Little and the release of all political prisoners—the thousands whose only crime is being poor or black and the thousands more whose crime is that they dared to fight back. Chants of "Free Joan Little, the criminal's already dead!" and "She should have done it a thousand times!" clearly voiced the angry sentiment that Joan Little's only crime was that she, too, dared to fight back.

ENTER THE LIBERALS

Left organizations and militants were not the only forces to come to Joan Little's defense. The black liberal establishment, most prominently Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, funneled large sums of money into the case. Their efforts focused exclusively on Little's legal defense, demanding that she be given a "fair trial." They were conspicuously absent from any of the hundreds of demonstrations and rallies held across the country to build the movement to free Joan Little.

The Joan Little case is a perfect illustration of the role that liberals such as Julian Bond play in a struggle against racial oppression and capitalist injustice. Types like Bond may have been honestly outraged by the gross racial injustice apparent in the Little case. But they were also keenly aware that the black community had been angered by the Little case and was becoming actively involved. This made it important for them to join the defense campaign, although Little was hardly the first or last victim of capitalist brutality. The liberals' defense of Joan Little is fundamentally a defense of capitalism and the continu-

ing oppression it imposes. It is important to understand why.

The liberals believe that change can only come gradually, and only by convincing the "decent" judges, the "honest" politicians, the "impartial" state officials of the justness of their cause. But judges, politicians and the state all serve the class interests of the bourgeoisie. A mass militant movement which focuses on capitalist injustice instead of confining itself exclusively to moralisms about one individual is guaranteed to alienate them. Therefore, the liberals strive mightily to dissociate themselves from the left.

For example, Bond and the liberals boycotted a mass demonstration called by the Black Panthers in Raleigh at the beginning of the Joan Little trial. They argued that the militant tactics would only alienate broad support, and that a mass movement aimed at striking at the basis of oppression of blacks and prisoners would only drive away

people sympathetic to Little. But the militancy that the liberals disdained and the fear that if Little were not freed a mass movement would break out aimed at the capitalist system were the main forces which freed Joan Little.

The fight to free Joan Little must be part of a fight for the freedom of the thousands of other victims of capitalism's brutal racial oppression. Millions of people rot—either in jails or in poverty—and millions more will join them as long as capitalism survives. Joan Little's case was a

rallying cry for the fight on behalf of every victim of oppression and exploitation. Democratic Party politicians like Bond have no interest in leading this fight; they have every interest in derailing it before it gets off the ground.

Bond must seek to appear to be actually fighting for change in order to lead struggles away from a revolutionary assault on capitalism itself. Bond's loyalty to capitalism comes first and foremost. Thus the "helping hand" he extends to Joan Little is merely part of the same fist which is used to grind down the oppressed wage slaves of capitalist society.

LITTLE MUST BE FREED!

The victory of Joan Little must be used to build the struggle against all aspects of capitalist oppression. Little herself is not yet free. She is out on bail pending her appeal on a previous conviction for breaking and entering—a charge which she had no money to fight when first brought to trial. Whatever the outcome of Joan Little's appeal, there is one thing which is certain: millions of Joan Little's throughout the world will remain impoverished, brutalized and imprisoned, the victims of capitalism's "justice" until capitalism is overthrown.



Supporters of Little defense raising funds outside Raleigh courthouse. Widespread mobilizations led by radical black movement were key to victory in frame-up trial.

CTU Strikes Chicago Schools

The Chicago Teachers Union, Local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers, has struck Chicago schools. The 28,000-member CTU walked out when Superintendent of Schools Hannon refused to extend the old contract and handed down a proposal to cut 1,525 teaching positions and 928 other positions (auxiliary staff, gym teachers, teacher aides, custodial staff, etc.). Hannon's cuts would also slash funds for text books, playgrounds and substitute teachers.

The largest turnout ever for a CTU meeting voted down Hannon's "offer," with 90 percent voting strike. The CTU joined AFT Local 1600, representing teachers at Chicago's community colleges, which had already been on strike for a week against cuts which include larger classes, lower real wages and imposing tuition on the students (mainly working class and ghetto youth).

The Chicago bourgeois press likes to gloat about New York's financial crisis and brag about how healthy their

town is. But the relative health of Chicago capitalists is no consolation for Chicago's working class, which is being told to sacrifice to keep "their" capitalists' profits high.

Hannon's excuse for the education cuts is that Illinois Governor Dan Walker has cut \$47.2 million from state aid to the Chicago schools in an effort to solve Illinois' own financial crisis. Hannon loudly proclaims that he doesn't know what all the fuss is about, since (he says) he's already restored all the budget cuts. Meanwhile, he tries to get the CTU to sign an escape clause to allow him to restore the cuts if Walker doesn't give back the \$47.2 million. But the state aid* remains cut, and so despite Hannon's promises the cuts are still in force. And even if Walker hands over the money, increased costs because of inflation will mean cuts in any event. The Chicago schools need more funds just to break even.

Hannon is wielding a two-edged

sword. By provoking the CTU strike, he is trying to use the teachers' walkout to force Walker to come up with more money. He is also trying to weaken the union—even if the state funds are returned he wants to increase class size, cut real wages, and keep substitute teachers without benefits. The escape clause he wants would be a precedent for breaking the contract whenever Walker cuts the state budget.

CTU President Robert Healy talks militant. But he's the same "leader" who agreed to last year's contract, which "won" a wage increase that fell short of inflation and did nothing to improve working conditions or the quality of education. This year, healy has nothing to say except that the budget crisis is a fraud. At best, Healy wants to settle for the same kind of contract that he did last year—a contract which will open the door for cutting substitute teachers, auxiliary staff, textbook funds and other areas

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The CTU can do much better than that. As opposed to the situation a few years ago, the teachers' have broad-based support in the black community. For example, Jesse Jackson and his People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) are supporting this year's strike, where a few years ago they sided against the teachers. This kind of support can force the city and state to come up with the funds and with more—with money to really provide

decent education, to cut class size to 20, hire thousands more teachers and other school workers, expand facilities and provide full cost of living increases against inflation.

Teachers for a Workers' Government, a group of rank and file teachers in the CTU, is putting forward a strategy that can win these demands. They call for making the bosses, not the workers, pay by canceling the debt and taxing the corporations to come up with the funds. Teachers for a Workers' Government also calls for

the CTU adopting the demand for a massive public works program under the control of the unions to provide jobs for all—again to be paid for at the expense of the corporations.

Teachers for a Workers' Government calls on Healy to adopt this approach in the current contract fight. The CTU is in a position to win; the policies of its leadership are the real problem. Advanced workers can't afford to have illusions about Healy, but he also can't be let off the hook. While demanding that he lead a real

fight, teachers must organize around Teachers for a Workers' Government to build genuine class struggle leadership.

By refusing to accept the rules of the game—that when money's tight the workers must pay—and by aggressively championing demands in the common interest of teachers and parents, employed and unemployed, the CTU can set a model for the rest of the working class, and especially for the nation's heavily attacked public employees.

Gay Rights Faces Test in New York

The movement for civil rights for homosexuals is facing a new test in New York City. A bill banning discrimination against homosexuals in housing, employment and public accommodation, which was defeated 22-19 by the city council last year (Torch, Vol. I, No. 11), will again come before the council in the next month. Before the bill can appear before the full council, it must be reported out of the General Welfare Committee—where it was bottled up for three years before 1974.

The bill, Intro 554, actually provides only the most minimal civil rights. A legal ban on discrimination does not affect most of the real power of employers, landlords and others to fire homosexuals, refuse to hire them, kick them out of their homes, etc., since it leaves it up to the victim to go to court and prove discrimination. Like other recent reforms passed elsewhere which legalize consenting sexual acts, the anti-discrimination measure does not affect the "accosting and soliciting" laws under which thousands of homosexuals are arrested by undercover vice cops.

Although actually minimal, such measures have been taken by many gays at face value. In California, where a consenting sex bill was passed recently, a reporter described "a mixed mood of triumph and uncertainty" among the owners and patrons of a homosexual discotheque for teenagers even before the bill took effect. They took the law as freeing them (which it will not) from the threat of arrest, victimization, beating and death for being gay. This was a small taste of a society without fear, where medieval prejudice has been forever smashed—a society which in fact will come only with socialist revolution.

LIBERALS' "SUPPORT"

The very minimal nature of Intro 554 shows how treacherous is the support of liberals for minimal democratic rights. Maneuvering to gain passage of the bill last year, gay activists watered down their campaign by allowing protection for transvestites to be dropped from the bill. They intentionally ran what one sympathetic writer called a "smoothly-orchestrated 'respectable' campaign" designed to garner liberal support. Despite the apparent success of this tactic, the support evaporated when the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York and the leaders of the police and firefighters' unions mounted a last-minute campaign against the bill. Behind this defeat is a pattern of competing ruling class factions in which the mass of homosexuals have very little to gain from either side.

The liberal supporters of gay rights belong to that section of the bourgeois political leadership which tries to offer piecemeal reforms to various oppressed groups and thereby convince them that "the system works." Bella Abzug, who has introduced a federal gay rights bill (HR 5442), is typical of this group. They have



followed traditional tactics of offering mild concessions to a liberal pressure group. The concessions in question, formal civil rights guarantees and decriminalizing of private sexual acts, do not threaten major bourgeois interests. They do not even interfere with the prerogatives of the police. Even so, this issue has been too controversial to secure much liberal support and homosexuals do not constitute a very powerful special interest. The less committed liberals have easily backed off when powerful interests such as the Catholic Church have entered the fight.

On the other side stand more conservative sections of the bourgeoisie whose strategy is direct repression rather than buying off sections of the oppressed. Thus while bourgeois liberals have offered meaningless reforms to blacks (for example), the right wing bourgeoisie mobilizes racist whites directly against blacks to divide the proletariat and smash its most militant and conscious sections.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The opposition to gay rights is part of this general right-wing assault on democratic rights. The connection is not accidental. Only on the surface do the recent gains by homosexuals result from the "smoothly orchestrated 'respectable' campaigns" of conservative gay activists and bourgeois liberals. Actually the changes have come because of the recent militant struggles of blacks and other oppressed groups (including homosexuals themselves) and the obvious breakdown of U.S. capitalism. These are what "opened up" U.S. society and challenged accepted values to the point where many are willing to consider or actively support rights for homosexuals.

The reactionaries have simply turned this logic around. Part of the growing social rebellion in the United States over the last decade has been the breakdown of accepted values. The authority of the family and traditional morality, deeply oppressive to homosexuals, is a source of social stability for the ruling class. For this reason, reactionary movements are always hostile to cultural freedom in general, and to sexual "deviation" in particular. By appealing to backward prejudices, right-wing sections of the bourgeoisie hope to build a law-and-order movement which can become the breeding ground for semi-fascist politics. These right wingers may try to appeal to workers and others on the basis of anti-homosexual prejudices (as the racists appeal to white workers to fight against black workers). But what they hope to do is to mobilize a big conservative constituency not only against democratic rights but also against the gains made by workers.

One example of this is the recent attempt of the right-wing Coalition of Christian Citizens in California to put a referendum on the ballot to reverse a recently-passed law legalizing consenting sexual acts. If this attempt had been successful, the referendum would have been on next June's primary ballot. The CCC's hope was that a huge conservative turnout would defeat liberal primary candidates. This would have affected public workers' right to strike, farmworkers' union rights and other issues which

are the focus of controversy in California.

CCC'S CAMPAIGN FLOPS

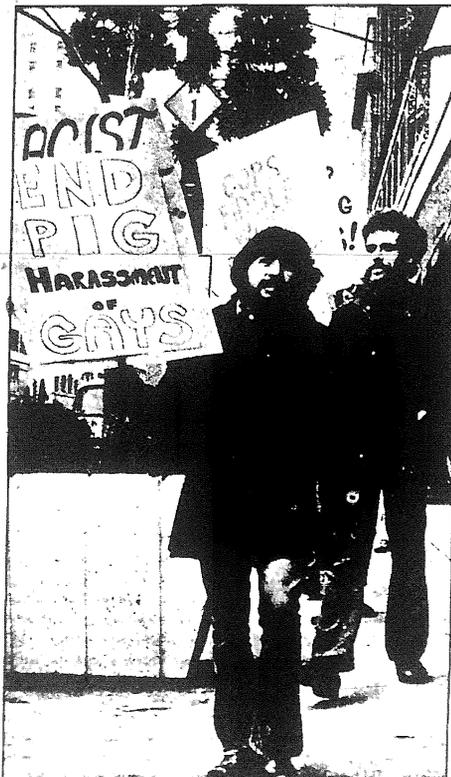
This reactionary move was a failure. Although the CCC obtained enough petitions to qualify for the ballot, all sides conceded that the disqualification of invalid petitions would drop the number below the required total. Conceding failure, the head of the CCC said bitterly, "If I were a state legislator, I would take the failure of the referendum as an indication of what is the temper of our time."

This is an extremely important admission. So far, right-wing anti-gay campaigns have had only a limited success. The working class has not responded to attempts to mobilize it for these reactionary aims. This does not necessarily mean workers favor gay rights, only that they see through reactionary appeals and reject them. The middle class and petty-bourgeois elements who are the main potential base for the reactionaries remain on the fence, but perhaps more inclined to liberalism.

Reactionary anti-homosexual campaigns will grow in the future. As the class struggle grows more bitter, sections of the petty bourgeoisie, middle class and labor aristocracy will cast their lots with the reactionaries. But such campaigns can be defeated if it is realized that the authoritarian atmosphere which the right wingers seek to promote is a danger not only to homosexuals but to the working class as a whole.

The next important test of the reactionaries' strength will come in New York. The Catholic hierarchy's mobilization of letters and telegrams against the gay rights bill last year actually was a much less representative test of public opinion than the referendum attempt in California. Nevertheless, it provided the excuse for liberal city council members to back down on the bill. It is important to show that the working class does not back the reactionaries. Despite the very limited nature of the reforms Intro 554 would introduce, resolutions should be introduced in New York City unions calling for the passage of this bill. The rights of tens of thousands of workers who are homosexual are directly involved, and the rights of the working class as a whole.

SEPT. 12—The General Welfare Committee has defeated Intro 554, 7-4. Catcalls greeted the 1 a.m. vote. Supporters shouted, "We'll be back for the Democratic Convention!"



Pickers protest police harassment of homosexuals, one example of oppression that gay rights movement must fight.

MILLER, BOSSES ATTACK UMW WILDCAT

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tremendously.

Disillusionment with Miller's failure to deliver on the promises of his 1972 election campaign mushroomed into active opposition to the entire UMW bureaucracy's sellout strategy. This was summarized in the demand to reopen the contract. As one miner put it, "This strike is about Arnold Miller and that damned contract and our right to strike whenever we need to."

The most active organized force in the strike was the Miners' Committee to Defend the Right to Strike, which organized roving pickets who closed mines throughout West Virginia and into Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio. A march and rally of thousands of strikers closed union offices in Charleston, West Virginia and the next day picket lines closed the UMW office in Beckley, West Virginia. Strong strike sentiment forced Miller to cancel his Labor Day speech in Whitesville, W.Va. Periodic violence erupted during the strike when police intervened against strike activities.

STATE INTERVENTION

The state moved in quickly against the miners' struggle. U.S. District Judge K.K. Hall ordered the miners back to work. When this order was ignored, local union leader Sim Howze was jailed for contempt of court, and a \$500,000 fine was imposed with an additional \$100,000 fine for each additional day of the strike.

Rather than mobilizing the entire UMW against state intervention into UMW affairs, the UMW bureaucracy acted in concert with it. When Miller ordered the miners back to work, he met the same response as did the courts—complete defiance. While Miller was being praised by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (the bargaining agent for the coal companies) for his efforts on behalf of the bosses, Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick tried to intimidate the UMW ranks with ominous statements about the destruction of the UMW. In speaking of the "severe damage" the court-imposed fines would cause the UMW, Patrick stated, "The government is talking about putting Federal control over the UMW. That would be the beginning of the end of our strength as a union."

Patrick tries to convince the militant ranks that the way to fight the intervention of the state is through groveling and begging forgiveness for the "mistake" of defending the miners' rights. On August 25, the UMW Executive Board voted unanimously not to ask the Bituminous Coal Operators Association to reopen the 1974 sellout contract. Its only "solution" was to ask the Federal Mediation Service to "speed up its efforts" to resolve local grievances in the Appalachian mines.

BUREAUCRATS EXPOSED

Arnold Miller and his cronies have been discredited by the past month's actions. Miller ran for union presidency against the completely corrupt right-wing Tony Boyle machine in 1972, basing himself on the strength of a widespread and militant rank and

file movement, the Miners for Democracy. His massive victory reflected and stimulated the aspirations of miners for decent working conditions in the mines and for a democratic union. His chief campaign slogan was "if coal can't be mined safely, it won't be mined at all."

However, Miller began to betray his promises as soon as he came to power. He disbanded the MFD and refused to wage a real struggle against the companies. This betrayal was capped by the 1974 contract sellout, which Miller barely managed to push through despite his popular appeal.

The energy crisis and boosting of coal prices made the coal companies willing to grant certain wage and benefit concessions in return for increased productivity from the miners. Then, as today, the coal companies wanted to take advantage of the favorable market conditions to boost their profits. Therefore their chief concern has been the continuity of production.

Central to Miller's election campaign and his fight to sell the contract to the ranks were the questions of health and safety. Miners have been especially sensitive to working under unsafe conditions and Miller sought to tap this sentiment. At the same time,



United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller joins state in strike breaking.

grievance procedures into effect. Wildcats have continued.

In June of this year, the UMW bureaucracy started its crackdown on wildcats in earnest. A special 10-person commission on wildcats was set up and new anti-wildcat rules were announced, including a policy by the International of refusing to pay any part of fines incurred by locals out on unauthorized strikes. It also passed a rule that after a wildcat is settled, work must begin promptly at the start of the next shift (instead of waiting the customary 24-hours before returning to work). This crackdown plus the Thompson firing touched off the massive rank and file revolt last month.

MILLER ON THE ROPES

Miller's move to the right and loss of rank and file support has also been reflected on the union's Executive Board. A number of his old reform cronies are quitting their jobs in the UMW hierarchy to continue middle-class careers elsewhere. Chip Yablonski and Daniel Edelman are resigning from the UMW legal staff to set up their own law practice. Don Stillman, editor of the UMW Journal, is leaving to become publications director for the United Auto Workers, along with



Cops in Charleston, West Virginia, assault march of coal miners. Strikers' demand for the right to shut down mines over grievances ran into attack from owners, state and union bureaucrats.

agreement with the coal operators would require him to cut down the wildcat strikes, many of which are provoked by unsafe working conditions. To pull off this trick, Miller proposed setting up a streamlined grievance procedure using "impartial" umpires to settle local disputes and make strikes "unnecessary."

In other words, Miller agreed to crack down on wildcats and proposed a new arbitration procedure to lull the miners into accepting this sellout. This is the essence of the 1974 contract. The coal operators, however, failed to keep their end of the deal with Miller. They have, needless to say, failed to make working conditions safe, and have refused to put the new

Matt Witt, another Journal writer who is also switching to the UAW. Edgar James, formerly Miller's "administrative assistant" is returning to Harvard Law School.

Miller is on the ropes. His only hope for consolidating the Executive Board is through cementing an alliance with the conservative, old-guard machine hacks, giving up ever-greater portions of his "reform" image. However, the traditional animosities between the conservatives and the Miller wing and Miller's weakness with the ranks will make this alliance difficult to pull off.

The defeat of the strike may well inaugurate a red-baiting campaign aimed at the leaders of the wildcat. Both the bourgeois press and the

Miller machine played up the influence of "communists" in the strike. In particular, the Maoist Revolutionary Union was named as playing a major leading role in the strike. While the strike leadership was undoubtedly young and radical, and some of the miners may politically support the RU, the strike represented more than a "Communist conspiracy."

Radicals and revolutionaries cannot stir up the workers where there are not already pressing grievances driving the workers to struggle. In particular, the events of the past few years have enabled a growing sector of the miners to see what Miller represents. They can see that Miller's campaign and contract represented a more devious way to weaken the strength of the union and to tie it to the state. The fact that the strike was led by radicals testifies to the new level of consciousness of the miners. The charge that the wildcat is simply a product of a "Communist conspiracy" is a classic ruling class slander designed to detract attention from the real grievances of the miners, to isolate and defeat this militant sector of the working class.

If the attempt to play on the uneven consciousness of the rank and file miners and to blame the strike on "outside agitators" and "communists" to cover the bureaucrats' disgusting betrayal is successful, a full-scale terror campaign of isolating and firing UMW militants can result.

Class-conscious miners must smash this effort. Every miner must be defended against both the coal companies and the union hacks. Miners must be mobilized to place the blame for the defeat of the strike squarely on the shoulders of the UMW leadership, which could have won the strike by extending the strike nationally, making it official, using the militancy of the ranks to force a reopening and

renegotiation of the 1974 contract and mobilizing the rest of the labor movement. The fact that the UMW tops did not and cannot mount such a strategy must be used to begin to construct a revolutionary alternative within the UMW.

Attacks by the capitalist state on the independence of the trade unions are growing. The contradictions in the coal industry, as in capitalism generally, are too great to be settled peacefully, no matter how desperately Miller would like to harmonize with U.S. capitalism. The new technology required to mine coal safely would squeeze coal company profits. Miners must fight to nationalize the mines under workers' control, instituting the necessary changes in mining procedures by

expropriating the profits of the companies. This struggle, which will bring into question capitalism's right to continued existence, must be tied to a continuing struggle for immediate needs of the miners, such as full employment, mine safety, protection from arbitrary firings and decent pensions.

The month-long strike proves that there is no lack of militancy in the ranks for such a fight. While the recent defeat will be used to attempt to demoralize and disperse the active rank and file, it can instead become the launching point for a revolutionary struggle against the continuing attacks by the state, companies and their agents in the UMW.

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DEFEND THE BLACK STUDENTS!



Pro-busing demonstrators lined up against wall by police in South Boston. Massive deployment of cops and troops

will not defend black schoolchildren, but will prevent blacks from fighting back against racist attacks.

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designed them proves that this is no accident: the forced busing strategy is a conscious attack on the working class and especially on blacks.

GARRITY'S PLAN

The new plan ordered by Federal Judge Arthur Garrity requires the busing of 21,000 Boston schoolchildren to distant schools in the interest of racial balance. (The total school enrollment had been expected to be 90,000 last year, but average attendance was below 60,000 because of opposition to busing and fear of violence. The anticipated enrollment this year is 72,000, of which 29 percent will be bused. Under the plan, no Boston school will be allowed to be overwhelmingly black, although some schools will remain almost 100 percent white. The busing program is based on the Supreme Court's decision banning segregated public schools as an obstacle to education.

But the busing programs are not designed simply to end segregation. At point after point, integration of the schools via busing is explicitly counterposed to improved education. Busing has been thrust to the forefront by the NAACP and other liberals, in Boston and elsewhere, at the peak of the economic crisis that is bankrupting cities and slashing budgets for social services. It is a device for cutting spending on education and maintaining conditions of crisis and decay in the school system, all in the name of anti-racism and democratic rights.

There are legitimate democratic rights for schoolchildren: the right to a quality education and the right to attend schools of their choice, for example. These rights are directly denied by the busing and civil rights officials. Likewise, racism in the schools must be wiped out. But the integrationists accept the public service cutbacks (including school cuts) that victimize the oppressed sections of the proletariat the most and substitute instead a "share-the-misery" program that threatens the conditions of white workers and thereby stirs up racist violence against blacks. At the same time, the integrationists cynically admit that quality education is not the goal of the busing plans. In this they are right: busing is a fraud from beginning to end.

ROTTING SCHOOLS

Take the conditions in the Boston schools. The system is physically rotting. According to Judge Garrity's report, 55 out of Boston's 167 school buildings have been recommended for closing. The reason is graphically described by the court-appointed experts who drew up Garrity's plan: "By modern standards, many of the older schools in

Boston are crowded, ill-heated, dark, odorous and located on cramped sites, as well as below today's standards of fire safety."

Buildings like this should be torn down and replaced with modern schools. Yet the judge ordered that only 20 of the hazardous buildings be closed and added that some of these may be reopened if they are needed. Despite the desperate need, no new school construction is planned. On the contrary, Judge Garrity forbade the city from "beginning the construction of any new school or expansion or the replacement of new portables" in order to preserve his delicate racial balance.

Garrity's report explains that "a major reason for closing schools is that desegregation is more easily and economically achieved through the consolidation of student bodies." This is an amazing statement. Obviously "consolidation of student bodies" together with Garrity's ban on new school construction means worse overcrowding. It thereby reduces the number of teachers and school staff and increases class sizes, as was charged by the Boston Teachers Union and later admitted by one of the court's experts, Dean Marvin Scott of the Boston University School of Education. What Garrity was really saying is that cutbacks in school facilities are more easily achieved through "desegregation."

At a July 31 court hearing over the mean budget, Judge Garrity was asked, "Does this mean that desegregation gets top priority and that we worry about bills and building renovations later?" According to the *Boston Globe*, Garrity replied "Correct."

WHITE SLASHES SCHOOL FUNDS

While Garrity is cutting vital school budget items in favor of busing, Boston Mayor Kevin White is busy slashing the overall school budget. This summer he eliminated \$30 million from the requested \$177 budget, a cut of 17 percent, stating that savings could be made by eliminating "hundreds of unnecessary teaching positions and unnecessary bus monitors and teachers' aides." The excuse for this is bitterly ironic: "staffing of schools was based on unrealistic enrollment figures." That is, reduced attendance due to fear of worsened conditions is used as the excuse to worsen conditions further. Busing expenses for Phase 2 are expected to be in the \$20 to \$25 million range. This does not include police expenses for busing, which last year exceeded transportation expenses by over 20 percent.

Boston's schoolchildren and schoolworkers are caught in a political pincers. The judge demands budget cuts in order to enforce busing, while the mayor uses busing as the excuse to cut the budget further.

One example of how the busing order works against education and against the wishes of black students is given by the Martin Luther King middle school in Dorchester. Known for its reputation of violence, the King school got through Phase 1 last year without serious trouble, partly because of special programs (like bilingual education) and planning by parents and teachers. For this year, Judge Garrity declared it a "magnet school," one that students from anywhere in the city could enroll in if they wished because of its special programs. Since it is located in a black neighborhood, however, many more blacks applied than whites—and since the judge insists that it be racially balanced, the "excess" of black applicants had to be turned away. So only 300 out of a possible 1,000 students were admitted to the King school. As a further result, many of the teachers will now be transferred out as "unnecessary." Thus the staff and the effort that improved the King school both become victims of the busing plan that sacrifices everything to "racial balance."

EDUCATIONAL VALUE?

With this record, how is busing justified to parents and students? Why do some people think that busing is worth fighting for, given the racial divisions that it sharpens and the school decay that it permits? Not even its staunchest proponents claim that busing is a benefit to education. Judge Garrity wrote that his court has no power to decide "what educational policies are desirable" for Boston. In other words, busing is imposed not for its educational value, and Garrity makes no promise that it will improve schooling.

Similarly, one of the leading black pro-busing figures in Boston, Mrs. Ellen Swepson Jackson, ran into objections from black parents who resented the fact that black children were the majority of those being bused and that more schools in the black ghetto of Roxbury were being closed than elsewhere in the city. When asked whether busing was worth it, she answered, "Well, if you're asking me whether taking a black kid and seating him next to white kid will improve his education, my answer is definitely 'No!'"

... OR RACIST PLOY

This however is exactly Garrity's justification, not on educational but on racist grounds. His report stated, "Minority students assigned to identifiable minority schools are cut off from the majority culture which is widely reflected in the standards, explicit and implicit, that determine success in our society." This is the racist argument that blacks are unable to learn unless they rub shoulders with whites. Garrity's source of "success" is "majority culture"—some quality presumably inherent in whites and not in blacks. The standards that determine success, according to the judge, are transmitted in school not by good teachers using top quality facilities but by white majorities in the student body. No wonder Garrity feels free to lop off teachers and schools, all in the interest of spreading "majority culture" among blacks.

A similar point of view is expressed by the NAACP. Thomas Atkins, NAACP head in Boston, is opposed to extending the busing plans to the middle class suburbs, some of which have public schools that are among the best in the country. "There are enough white folks in Boston to integrate the schools," Atkins says, "and until there aren't enough, we aren't particularly interested in metropolitan solutions." Atkins agrees with Garrity that a few white faces in the classroom is the main thing that black students need.

Some busing advocates claim that busing must be defended as a democratic right: blacks have the right to go to integrated schools. It is correct that blacks have a right not to be forced into segregated schools; students and parents have the right to choose their schools on whatever basis they please—educational programs, geographical convenience, racial balance, etc. But the busing program grants no such rights.

Garrity at one point recognizes the right of blacks not to be integrated if they wish: "An individual may decide, of course, that he prefers to avoid the majority culture, but the public school system may not impose that isolation." A fine sentiment, which the busing plan violates down the line. Under Garrity's plan, the only individual whose decisions count is Garrity. His plan wrecked the King school's program, sending 700 black students away from the school they chose in order to impose Garrity's "majority culture" on them. Black

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LETTERS

SEND LETTERS TO: P.O. BOX 562, TIMES SQUARE STATION,
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10036

Unite Against USLP, Hack Attacks

To The Torch:

The August 15 issue of *The Torch* carried an article on attempts by the U.S. Labor Party (USLP) to drive supporters of Maoist organizations out of the labor movement. The USLP is a front organization of the National Caucus of Labor Committees. The article exposed the vile tactics of the USLP as nothing but playing cop for the bourgeoisie and called for a united front of left tendencies to prevent distribution of the USLP's fingering leaflets. The *Torch* also warned that both the state and union bureaucrats might attempt to use repression of the NCLC-USLP as an excuse to launch an attack on genuine workers' organizations and other militants and revolutionaries. This is exactly what has occurred in our local (Local 65, United Steel Workers).

Torch readers are familiar with the attempt by the USLP to drive supporters of a caucus called "Breakout" out of the local. Following this attack, which was defeated, the USLP issued a leaflet with a picture of Cass

Tomasik (Chairman of the Local 65 Grievance Committee) and Ed Sadlowski (District President). The leaflet was a series of slanders including the charge that Tomasik was a Nazi and had collaborated with the Nazis during World War II.

ACCUSED OF SLANDERS

A day before the August union meeting a member of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), the group which has been leading the fight in the local to defend Breakout from USLP attacks, was informed by Tomasik that charges might be brought against him for slander. The RSC member was accused of handing out the USLP leaflet that accused Tomasik of being a Nazi. This was an outright lie since Tomasik was well aware that the RSC had led the fight against USLP redbaiting just one month earlier!

The Local 65 bureaucrats were not simply "confused" as to who was who. Revolutionary Steelworker members

have been waging a militant struggle in the local for some time. We have fought the local bureaucrats on a host of issues including the layoffs, the defense of the black families and the redbaiting. The bureaucrats were planning to use the USLP leaflet as an excuse to attempt to drive us out of the local. Local 65 President Frank Mirocha told us that if he were Tomasik he would press charges. Mirocha is in a shaky position in the local and clearly saw an opportunity to intimidate all militants by trying to drive RSC out. There can be no doubt that he was behind the charges.

Mirocha is not the only one who would like to get rid of the RSC. John Chico, leader of the pro-Sadlowski forces and announced candidate for Mirocha's job, would also like to see us out of the local. Chico poses as a "militant alternative" to Mirocha, but the RSC has consistently exposed his policies as being fundamentally the same as Mirocha's. Chico didn't want to come right out and support Mirocha and Tomasik's charges because it might hurt his image so he cynically hedged his bets. He told RSC members, "They're trying to drive you out of the union because you guys are crazy." Chico knew the charges were ridiculous, but rather than committing himself to defending the RSC he half-justified the attacks without openly supporting them.

The RSC fought back and was able to force the bureaucrats to back down. We issued a leaflet exposing the fraudulent nature of the charges and

mobilizing support for us at the union meeting. A number of militant groups and several individuals promised to support the RSC if the charges were raised. By the time of the meeting it was clear to Mirocha and Tomasik that they would face substantial opposition if they tried to carry through the attack and thus decided to forget the whole thing.

While the RSC was able to beat back this rather hasty and ill-prepared attack, the incident must serve as a warning to all militants. There have now been two attempts at redbaiting in two months in our local: both were defeated. Both these attempts foreshadow much more serious purges in the future.

LEFT MUST UNITE

It is crucial for all militants to unite in the face of these attacks. Mirocha had hoped to isolate and pick off militants one by one in Local 65. Instead, he is faced with a left which is more united than it was previously. This unity must be extended beyond the redbaiting attempts to a united struggle against all of Mirocha's bureaucratic tactics. In our fight to build a revolutionary leadership inside the USWA, the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus stands ready to unite with all militants to fight every attempt of the union bureaucrats to attack militants and derail the struggle for the needs of rank and file steel workers.

Revolutionary Steelworkers Committee

Black Students

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students and white still have no right to attend the schools they want, unless they are assigned by the judge. They have gained only the privilege of being told the lie that their rights have been granted.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS VIOLATED

Garrity is only implementing a national policy that violates democratic rights. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission states this policy in its pamphlet, *Your Child and Busing*. "Clearly parents cannot, on their own, make the decision about where to send their children for public schooling—whether it be to the nearest school, the 'best' school, the newest school, or whatever. A school district in which parents made the final decisions could hardly operate, because every parent would want to enroll his children in the 'best' or most convenient school." What this means is that the best schools will be restricted to the children of the bourgeoisie and the upper middle class. Good schools cannot be built in everybody's neighborhood, says the Civil Rights Commission, and therefore democratic rights can "hardly operate." How convenient a policy for the bourgeoisie at a time of economic crisis!

The Civil Rights Commission has made almost explicit the reasons by the bourgeoisie backs busing. The burden of the crisis has to be heaved onto the backs of the working class, and demands for decent education, jobs, housing, wages, etc., have to be stopped. The NAACP willingly goes along. In New York City, now the cutting edge of the urban crisis, NAACP head Roy Wilkins and his Urban League counterpart Vernon Jordan both advocated attacks on city workers as the "solution." Wilkins said, "I know that I'm treading on a lot of toes, but what New York needs in common with most cities of over 25,000 population is a reduction in the number of municipal employees." Jordan added wage freezes, hiring freezes and a four-day work week (with a corresponding cut in pay) to Wilkins' program. Both Wilkins and Jordan, who are supposed to be in the business of defending the interests of black people, ignore the fact that blacks and Latins are the hardest hit by the cutbacks they advocate. They have clearly taken the side of the bourgeoisie against the working class. The NAACP's busing strategy fits in directly.

In order to defeat the working class it is necessary to discipline it from the start. That is part of the schools' role generally, to inculcate attitudes

of obedience and subservience to authority. The busing plans expand this role by bringing the police, the bourgeoisie's armed servants, into the schools. They are there supposedly to defend black students against racist attacks, but this is a fiction. Their job, like the school administrators', is to quash militant protest and to teach black students the bourgeoisie's favorite lesson—don't fight back against oppression.



Senator Kennedy booed by anti-busing strategy on racist theory that blacks demonstrators. Kennedy's ally Judge need whites present in order to learn. Garrity bases "anti-racist" busing Quality of education is ignored.

In Boston under Phase 1, black students were handed 58 percent of the suspensions even though they comprised only 38 percent of the average daily attendance. (In the previous year before busing, blacks were also victimized: 37 percent of the enrollment, but 46 percent of the suspensions. Busing only increased the disparity.) This was in spite of the fact that the anti-busing riots were exclusively white, and the racial attacks, in school and out, were mainly by whites against blacks. Yet it was blacks who were singled out by the cops and administrators for punishment.

Under this year's Phase 2 police presence has been expanded. There are now 1,600 cops instead of last year's 400, plus 600 National Guard troops and U.S. marshals. Dean Scott, the court's appointee, anticipates "soldiers on every corner," and hinted that Garrity was working with the FBI who had

agents "all over Boston." The show of force will do more to prevent blacks from defending themselves against attack than it will to prevent the attacks.

In sum, the ruling class has used the busing controversy to slash funds for education and replace them with funds for busing, most of which goes to pay cops. The schools, already more disciplinary institutions than educational ones, are turned into

armed camps. If the bourgeoisie has its way, black people will rely on the state for "protection" and will learn to regard white workers as their ultimate enemy. The struggle for the needs of working people, in which blacks play an exceptionally militant role, will be derailed.

DEFEND THE BLACK STUDENTS!

In combatting this bourgeois strategy and working class has two central tasks. The first and immediate one is to defend the black population from racist violence and not to depend on the liberals or the bourgeois state to do this job. Black defense guards must be organized and a campaign for workers defense guards from the trade unions must be launched. The examples of trade union defense guards in Detroit and Chicago reported

previous issues of *The Torch* must be generalized to a citywide scale in Boston and other cities where forced busing plans are being implemented.

Second, the democratic rights of black and white students must be defended with no concession to the bourgeois claims that the "best" education cannot be offered to all. The fight for decent education means opposition both to the busing plans and to the school systems' status quo. Both mean the continued decay of education and of other vital public services. Both mean acquiescence to the intensified attack by the capitalists on the jobs, wages, working conditions and living standards of the workers.

The fundamental point is that busing is a program designed by the bourgeoisie to divide the proletariat and divert its struggle. This must not be allowed to continue.

Detroit Busing Axed

Portugal

On August 16 Detroit's busing plan was axed by Federal District Judge Robert DeMascio, the judge assigned to implement a desegregation plan for Detroit. DeMascio ordered the preparation of a new, less sweeping plan.

All the alternative busing plans offered for Detroit were cynical farces. The NAACP's plan would have made all schools conform to the 70 percent black, 30 percent white ratio of the school system as a whole. Exactly how mixing 30 percent of white students with the existing black majority was to help the black students was never clear. The somewhat better facilities in the present majority-white schools would have deteriorated rapidly given a more equal spread of funds which are being slashed every year.

The School Board's plan merely tried to whittle down the amount of integration. In this plan, no school would have been more than half white, but the central city schools (the oldest and worst) would have remained all black. The new plan DeMascio has ordered will whittle a little more. In this plan, schools in predominately white neighborhoods can retain up to 70 percent white students, meaning even less integration, less white students in ghetto schools.

Integration is not a solution either to deteriorating education or to blacks' lack of rights. Blacks must have the right to go to any school through completely open admissions policies. But this right will mean nothing for the vast majority of black students without massive construction of new schools, renovation of existing facilities, hiring of more teachers, expansion of existing facilities, etc. (And all this would mean little without full employment, rebuilding the central cities, etc.) Busing was meant as an alternative to the quality education the bourgeoisie will not provide—not as a step towards it.

The rejection of busing in Detroit shows that better education and blacks' rights were the last thing on the liberals' mind. Since early this year, New Detroit, Inc. (a coalition of major capitalist firms and the chiefs of the UAW and other unions) has been trying to stop busing. Black Democratic Mayor Coleman Young took the same stand. They feared first that

busing would touch off a racial explosion, with blacks as the majority rather than a weak minority as in Boston. Second, they were afraid of "white flight" to the suburbs if busing were implemented. The overall aim of these liberals is to keep Detroit's white population as high as possible and even reverse its decline. For this reason they turned their backs on busing.

The bourgeois liberals are having second thoughts about busing as a means of fooling blacks and setting whites and blacks into competition for the favors of capitalism. These second thoughts take the form of one group of liberals continuing to advocate busing while others draw back. Thus on September 4 a cross-district (city-sub-

urban) busing plan, which will do nothing to gain better education or more rights for blacks, was forced through in Louisville, the nation's 12th largest school district. On the other hand, the fears of Detroit's liberals have been vocalized by the bourgeois scholar James Coleman, who warns that busing will increase "white flight" and thus mean less integration. Already, Louisville has exploded in racial confrontation. (That is, the central cities will become more black, which all liberals fear).

Neither view has won out among the liberals. What is clear is that in either case social stability—which means not fighting for the rights of blacks—will be the liberals' overwhelming concern.

Hands Off Angola!

Cont'd. from p. 5
against the MPLA.

The August 1 "declaration of independence" by the "Front for the Liberation of Cabinda," located in Zaire, prefigures one possible outcome to the present struggle. This bogus "independence struggle" is Mobutu Sese Soko's way of laying hands on Cabinda's oil. The imperialists have no intention of giving up the \$450 million which they pumped out of Cabinda's wells every year, but they prefer to operate through reliable African rather than completely discredited white colonialists.

If the FNLA wins in Angola, Mobutu is likely to honor the FNLA's claim to Cabinda, but if the MPLA wins, Zaire will not honor the same claim made by the MPLA. Similarly, if they cannot conquer the whole of Angola, Zaire and Zambia, acting through the FNLA and UNITA, are likely to grab the parts they presently occupy, which include much of Angola's wealth.

PRESENT SITUATION

The essential politics of the present situation in Angola are a civil war in which the FNLA and UNITA repre-

sent the interests of Western imperialism, operating through African neo-colonial regimes. The neo-colonial nature of the Mobutu regime has long been clear; the present role of Zambia's Kaunda, given the carefully-constructed "detente" of the last year with South Africa's Vorster, is also clearly neo-colonial.

On the other side, the MPLA does not stand for socialism, despite its rhetoric, but for national capitalist development, probably with a relatively high degree of stratification and the takeover of some imperialist firms. Russian imperialism, with which it is allied, is too weak economically to dominate directly in Africa, and there as elsewhere follows the strategy of building up local bourgeois forces more or less independent of the present, Western imperialists. As a result, the MPLA in power would make deals of its own with these imperialists, but from a somewhat more independent position.

The revolutionary Marxists do not limit themselves to a strategy for the present nationalist stage of the revolution. Only a proletarian revolution in Angola and other colonial and semi-colonial states can make a complete break with imperialism, expropriate all the imperialist properties and build an all-African revolutionary movement for the liberation and unification of Africa. But neither does the revolutionary strategy ignore the present stage of struggle.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM

In this stage, there can be no political support to the bourgeois, strike-breaking MPLA; the necessity is to build an independent revolutionary movement based in Angola's small but volatile proletariat and reaching out to the rural masses. But on the military front, the MPLA must be supported against the FNLA and UNITA, as well as South Africa and Portugal, should the latter resume military operations, and against the UN or other "peacekeeping" force. The Leninist position in war is based

Cont'd. from p. 4

ability for the MFA regime or any of its wings—including Carvalho. By opposing the bourgeois state machine that will tighten its noose around the workers and peasants, the proletariat can regain the initiative and rally the masses around its banner.

The Portuguese working class can turn the tide against the reaction. This requires the construction of a revolutionary party which fights for complete independence from the capitalists and the bourgeois MFA while calling for a united military front against the reaction, which concretely puts forward the proletarian solution to the economic crisis, and which wins the peasantry to the revolutionary banner by consistently linking the democratic demands to the need for workers' rule. (For an elaboration of this program see last month's Torch.)

not on which side broke agreements or began the fighting, or even on the formal programs of the contending sides, but on the social forces represented by the opposing armies. Those social forces today are: bourgeois nationalism, represented by the MPLA, versus the carve-up of Africa by imperialism and neo-colonialism, represented by the FNLA and UNITA in liaison with Zaire and Zambia.

Similar issues are at stake in Cabinda. Cabinda has been administered by Angola (rather than as a separate Portuguese colony) only since 1956; in language (Kikongo and French), tribal culture (Bakongo) and economy it is closer to Zaire than to Angola. If self-determination were the real issue at stake, Marxists would support Cabinda's right to independence. But self-determination is a concrete question, a question of a concrete struggle against national oppression and not merely a cover for other interests. In Cabinda the real issue is a concrete struggle over who shall own the oil—Angola or Zaire and Gulf? There can be no support for Cabinda's "independence struggle," which is not really an independence struggle at all.

The present situation is shifting extremely rapidly. At present the shift appears to be in the favor of the FNLA and UNITA. If this is in fact the outcome, the result will be a victory for imperialism. If the MPLA manages, against considerable odds, to break out of encirclement and defeat the FNLA-UNITA and South African forces, the result will be a blow against imperialism, even though one limited by a treacherous leadership anxious to make its own deals with European and United States imperialism.

In either case the immediate duty of American and European workers, including the Portuguese workers, is to prevent new imperialist intervention in Angola. A united front campaign against U.S.-NATO intervention both in Portugal and in Angola must be launched immediately.

Independence for Angola! Victory to the MPLA!

Hands off Angola! Portugal, UN and all foreign troops out of Angola!

For the Integrity of Angola! No Balkanization! No "Independence" for Cabinda

No political support to the bourgeois MPLA! Arms to the Workers! Defend the Right to Strike! For a Workers Government!

Maoism and the Soviet Union



How the R.U. Supports State Capitalism

Has capitalism been restored in Russia? When and how was this accomplished? Is Maoism truly an alternative to Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionism, or its left face? These are questions every advanced worker must answer. The Revolutionary Union, one of the more left-sounding Maoist groups, pretends to expose the process by which capitalism was restored in Russia, but actually covers it up—in order to cover for Chinese state capitalism. The RU's distortions of Leninism are exposed in this pamphlet, which originally appeared as a series of articles in The Torch.

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END STUDENTS!

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