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RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

TORCH

Newspaper
of the
Revolutionary
Socialist
League

STACK 3 OVERSIZE

VOLUME 3, NUMBER 3 / 25 CENTS

MARCH 15-APRIL 14, 1976

Teamsters Must Strike!

Fitz Plans Sellout Contract Battles Ahead



Frank Fitzsimmons: The bosses' No. 1 man.

Militant workers throughout the country are watching as the Master Freight Agreement (MFA), covering 450,000 drivers, dockworkers and clerks expires on March 31. This is the first in a series of major contracts covering over 4.5 million workers that will be renegotiated in 1976.

The battle against the trucking bosses immediately precedes the contract fights in the rubber industry (50,000 URW members on April 20) and at United Parcel Service (20,000 Teamsters on April 30). By winning real gains through a militant strike, the Teamsters can set the pace for the struggles that follow in rubber, electrical and auto. In the same way, a serious defeat for the Teamsters will make negotiations in these other industries that much tougher.

Like nearly all of us, Teamsters have taken a beating during the last three years. The sellout contract in 1973 provided a measly \$.90 in wages over three years and an \$.11 cap on

Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) for each year. With inflation averaging more than 10 percent per year, this meant that workers covered by the MFA lost nearly \$1.00 in real wages during the life of the contract.

The 1973 sellout left Teamsters nearly defenseless while the bosses used the depression-like conditions of the past period to step up their attacks. The Teamster bureaucracy has actually aided the bosses by junking the MFA in wide sections of the industry and replacing it with separate sweetheart deals.

SWEETHEART DEALS

These deals are most widespread in the trucking centers of the New York-New Jersey area, which should be a Teamster stronghold. The Wall Street Journal reports: "Industry executives estimate that 80 percent of the trucking workers in the area are receiving pay and benefits below the master freight standard." According to the MFA, drivers are to get close to \$7.00 per hour, but Beckers' Motor Transport in New Jersey, through a special deal with International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) Local 863, gets away with paying drivers as low as \$4.11 per hour.

Traditionally, the IBT bureaucracy has played off wages against conditions, gaining substantial wage hikes

which the trucking industry merely passed off to their customers in the form of price increases. As a result, workers under the MFA have faced deteriorating working conditions and a grievance procedure that is little more than a joke. Many drivers are forced to be on the road for up to 15 hours straight, which has meant a sharp rise in the number of road accidents. Many of the trucks are rolling death traps with bad tires, faulty brakes, etc. Conditions on the loading docks are no better because the companies refuse to repair or replace worn out equipment.

Layoffs in the industry now total nearly 20 percent of the work force. The trucking bosses have taken advantage of the recession through mergers and takeovers of smaller companies to accomplish these layoffs in many cases. Giants such as Gateway and Roadway are reorganizing terminals, moving them out of the cities and laying off thousands in the process.

Continued on page 14

**Program for Teamsters
& Analysis of TDC....**
See pages 2 and 3

Struggle Flares in Southern Africa

The MPLA victory in Angola has led to a sharpening of armed struggle throughout southern Africa. In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South-West Africa) and racist South Africa itself the white minority regimes are facing crises.

The most immediate crisis is building up in Zimbabwe. Guerrilla forces have stepped up their attacks and major clashes have occurred with Rhodesian security forces, bolstered by foreign white mercenaries. On March 3, Mozambique closed its border with Rhodesia, sealing Rhodesia's main link to the sea, in order to put pressure on the white minority regime. A recent New York Times editorial warned that the "last chance" of a "peaceful" (neo-colonial) solution may even now be slipping by.

Zimbabwe, with an African population of about six million, is ruled by the white settler population of 275,000. The settlers include big and small capitalists and a layer of labor aristocrats who owe their privileges to

Continued on page 15



Zimbabwean guerrillas. Armed struggle against the racist white minority regimes is sharpening throughout southern Africa.

State Capitalism vs. Workers' Rule-p.7

Opposition Organizes

IS Opportunism Threatens TDC

There is again a stirring in the ranks of the IBT, as evidenced by a group called Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). TDC has been able to draw from 20 to 100 truckers to meeting in many cities and has turned over to President Fitzsimmons 15,000 signatures in January on a petition of contract demands.

The TDC has a communications network covering more than 100 cities and has brought together many serious, militant road and city drivers and dockhands. If it were organized around a fighting program such an organization could be very instrumental in building some measure of control of any authorized strike should one be called. Should a wildcat movement develop, such an organization could serve to cohere that movement, organize support and develop a real leadership that could drive out the pro-capitalist, mob-ridden bureaucracy and rebuild the union into a fighting organization.

However, the TDC, despite all the dedicated work of dozens of organizers, is not moving in this direction. A rank and file organization, to be a serious progressive force, must adhere to certain fundamental principles: 1) It must organize around a program which actually would meet the needs of the workers. 2) It must maintain complete independence from the government and not limit itself to bourgeois legality in its struggles to defend the working class. 3) It must function democratically. 4) It must absolutely not tolerate any form of red-baiting within the organization. 5) It must advance the interests of the working class as a whole and organize political support for other workers' struggles.

Today, the TDC meets none of these conditions.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

TDC was originally planned and primarily organized by supporters of the International Socialists (IS). The political role of the IS supporters within TDC has been to prevent the development of revolutionary class consciousness within the organization.

Look at the TDC program. The demands are so minimal that Fitz has been able to pose as equal to TDC's contract petition. TDC calls for a \$2.00 per hour raise in wages; Fitz calls for \$2.50. TDC calls for sick leave in general; Fitz says he is for 10 paid sick days. Both call for an unlimited cost of living increase. TDC's main advances over Fitz are in the realm of safety standards and overtime limits and pay. Fitzsimmons will certainly not fight for his program, but he is able to posture as militant because neither TDC nor any other Teamster group addresses the crucial issues.

That TDC's program is reformist is not because TDC is an organization led by leftward moving rank and file militants who are "feeling their way." The reformist and narrow program is the result of a conscious policy on the part of the IS supporters who run the organization. They have actively (and bureaucratically) fought to prevent the adoption of a more militant program. Supporters of the RSL raised a program of transitional



Teamsters for a Decent Contract denounces Fitzsimmons' plans for a sellout at a press conference held at IBT headquarters. The TDC, organized around a fighting program, could play a major role in the struggle to throw out the Fitzsimmons gang. The IS blocks this development by limiting the struggle and working to prevent the development of a revolutionary pole inside the TDC.

demands (see box) within TDC in November. The program was well received, but the IS supporters allowed no vote on the motion. (See Torch: Vol. II, Nos. 11 and 12 for details of IS supporters' functioning.) Through their control of the steering committee, the IS supporters watered down the program.

In a recent pamphlet, *Conspiracy in the Trucking Industry*, the IS tells us why their supporters maneuvered to keep the demand for the shorter work week with no loss in pay (the only real solution to the 20 percent layoff rate) out of the TDC program:

"A shorter work week would make work easier on us all. It would give us all more leisure to spend with our friends and create more jobs. At this time many Teamsters are not convinced of the necessity and practicality of this idea. For that reason we who organized the Teamsters for a Decent Contract did not include it in our list of demands. But in the coming contract it will be essential. A shorter work week should be the first demand of the American labor movement." (p. 44.)

The shorter work week is essential in the next contract, says the IS, but since some Teamsters do not yet accept it, we (bureaucratically) excluded it from the TDC program.

The IS supporters also blocked the slogan "Prepare for a National Strike." Any organization that is even halfway serious about preparing the rank and file for the kind of battle necessary to beat the combined forces of the companies and the IBT bureaucracy would have made this slogan a prominent one in its program. But the IS supporters, for the same reason they blocked the shorter work week demand, blocked this one:

"The ranks don't want to hear about a strike! . . . The bureaucrats would come down on us if we say it

openly. . . . We have to wait until we are sure we are being sold out first."

Rather than prepare the ranks by telling them the truth, the IS supporters prefer to pander to the illusions of the less aware Teamsters. Lately, the IS supporters have talked some about a strike, but have done nothing to prepare for one.

The strategy of the IS supporters is to try to corral the largest numbers of Teamsters on the lowest political basis. Since they think a program of transitional demands will scare away some of the less advanced Teamsters, the IS supporters (who claim to be revolutionaries—privately) work to prevent the adoption of such a program, hide the truth from the ranks and play cops against the left. But this dishonest technique has a logic of its own.

One piece of this "logic" is the need of its proponents to seek bureaucratic alliances with more "respectable" forces. After all, if the workers are basically conservative (as the IS supporters think), then conservative forces should lead the movement. As a result, the IS supporters run around trying to find appropriate bourgeois forces to front for their organization.

The IS supporters in TDC are specifically orienting toward Washington attorney Arthur Fox, the self-made head of PROD (Professional Drivers Council). Fox acquired the old TURF mailing list and declared himself to be an organization, soliciting \$20 per man dues for himself to act as lobbyist and legal agent for all dissatisfied truck drivers. PROD does not even present a sham of a democratic structure. The whole "action" program of PROD consists of relying on the capitalist government to clean up the IBT by continually filing suits against the union and by lobbying Congress for more safety laws.

In December, Fox sent out a letter

to key PROD members. This letter reveals Fox's politics. In the letter Fox states that he opposes the right to strike over grievances and calls for compulsory arbitration. Fox goes on to attack the idea of a strike while affirming the lawful right to strike at the proper time. Fox adds: "However, in so doing we must be careful not to alienate our allies since a crippling strike could unleash a damaging backlash from the public and the Congress. Ultimately we believe that we need to nurture good relations with the public and the government. . . ." In this same letter Fox suggests that PROD members send in their petitions to him and not to TDC.

This is Arthur Fox. This is the character the IS supporters begged to join the TDC steering committee (without allowing a vote, despite the fact that several steering committee members strongly objected to the decision). When Fox refused, the IS supporters continued to court him and paraded him around the country to speak at TDC meetings. Apparently, the IS supporters think they can "use" Fox. RSL supporters warned the IS supporters and other TDC militants that, in following the policy of attacking the left and preventing the development of a strong revolutionary wing in order to suck up to Fox, they would only cut their own throats. RSL supporters explained that such a line would build Fox's base in the organization and, when Fox felt strong enough, he would launch an attack on the IS supporters.

In the December letter referred to above, Fox fulfilled this prediction. In this letter, Fox states that people with any kind of beliefs, except socialists, can legitimately participate in and lead a rank and file movement:

"With socialists," Fox warns, "it is different. The reason is simple. . . . Socialism seeks to obtain its political goals through infiltrating rank and

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IS LIES ABOUT

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Inside Teamsters Union

file groups and through striking to cripple industries and ultimately the country and our government." (Emphasis added.)

How do the IS supporters respond to this knife in the back from their buddy Fox? Do they take the offensive to expose and isolate Fox and to educate the TDC rank and file about the poison of red-baiting? Not on your life!

At the TDC steering committee meeting of January 10, the IS supporters allowed Fox to present a red-baiting motion for discussion and a vote. They did this even though two steering committee members (who had voiced strong objections to Fox even being in the organization and had not been informed that Fox had been invited to the meeting) could not attend. Fox's motion read: "That the steering committee of TDC opposes political change by any means other than by lawful, constitutional procedures." This anti-red clause, obviously directed at the IS supporters, passed by a vote of 3 to 2, with several IS supporters abstaining! Even though two members of the steering committee were not present, and the motion got only three votes out of a committee of 16, TDC Secretary Ken Paff declared that the motion henceforth guided TDC policy. Supporters of the IS cannot avoid responsibility for the adoption of this reactionary motion.

That the IS supporters refused to wage a fight against this motion is just the logical result of their whole policy. If the IS supporters think that the role of revolutionaries is to hide their politics, fight against development of a revolutionary pole and to suck up to the likes of Fox, then it is perfectly consistent to refuse to fight against a red-baiting motion. After all, to really struggle against such a motion would "reveal" who they are. So instead of denouncing red-baiting and exposing Fox, the IS supporters peep: "Nobody here but us chickens."

The IS lied all along about its organizational role in TDC and most of its supporters had lied about their politics. They therefore left themselves wide open to such red-baiting attacks. When the first red-baiting began from Local 249 in Pittsburgh, some IS supporters, to their credit, stated their beliefs and began to fight the attacks politically. After some weeks of indecision and a few faltering steps to the left, the IS decided to capitulate.

Allowing the Fox motion in TDC is only one example. Fox in his letter attacked the IS statement of objectives in their paper, *Workers' Power*: "First and foremost is a 'Working Class Revolution': Working class revolution will destroy capitalism. Reform schemes cannot patch it up. . . . The Capitalist state must be destroyed." Since then the IS has changed their basic statement of objectives; they now present basically a liberal, syndicalist list of things "WE OPPOSE" and things "WE SUPPORT." Workers' revolution is far down on the list, the language has been drastically liberalized, there is not a word about smashing the capitalist state and IMPERIALISM is no longer even mentioned!! This too follows directly from the whole IS approach.

IS LIES ABOUT TDC MEETING

The opportunist line of the IS supporters pervades every aspect of their work. At a TDC meeting in Indianapolis on January 31, 35

supporters of the Teamster bureaucracy showed up, including the president of Local 135, Lorrain Robbins. One IS supporter argued for calling the cops to throw them out! Others had decided to call off the meeting and run. A supporter of the RSL argued successfully that the meeting had to be held or TDC would never again be able to show its face in that city. Robbins got up after the speeches and, acting like a prosecutor, for a half hour red-baited and attacked the IS supporter who had been speaking for TDC. The IS supporter completely capitulated to the charges. He claimed that he knew of no connection between the newspaper *Workers' Power* and the TDC, and that "we wouldn't accept a dime from a communist." He couldn't answer any questions about the union, about Robbins' attacks on the TDC program, or about the need for a national strike or the need to cut down overtime.

As Robbins and his men were leaving, Jim B., member of the TDC steering committee and a supporter of the RSL, challenged him to a debate on the issue of the strike. Robbins, feeling overconfident after destroying the IS supporter, accepted and brought his men back. He sarcastically asked how the TDC proposed to organize and finance a national

strike. Jim fired back that the job of the union is to fight the bosses, not to attack the membership, that the IBT is the richest union in the country and if the present leadership doesn't know how to organize a strike than we need a new leadership, that a national Teamster strike is necessary to win our legitimate demands, that we need an elected rank and file negotiating committee, that the ranks must be actively organized to run the strike and that the union must challenge the government and break Taft-Hartley to win. Jim pointed out that the union's negotiating proposals are a joke and that the leadership is not even serious about fighting for them and that a serious program must include a shorter work week at no loss in pay to combat unemployment.

While too much damage had already been done to accomplish a clear victory, Jim's intervention and the confrontation did serve to reverse the whipped-dog attitude, score a number of political points and salvage the meeting.

How far does IS's dishonesty go? In *Workers' Power* of February 9, on page 5, an article titled *BA's Invade TDC Meeting*, under the subheading *PREVENT MEETING*, states: "There was no physical violence, but Robbins and his associates were able to prevent the meeting from being

held." As part of its whole lying method the IS lied blatantly about what happened at the Indianapolis meeting. These cowards are incapable of telling the truth. But this lying can only hurt the IS. What the Teamster goons were not able to do, the IS did for them. They told their own base that they turned tail and ran!

UPSURGE

That same evening a regional meeting of UPSurge, an IS-initiated organization of United Parcel Service (UPS) workers, was held with about 500 attending. In five hours of speeches and discussion, during which many IS supporters spoke, the concepts of socialism or revolution or anything similar were not raised once. One leading IS supporter even discussed the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster Strike without even mentioning that that strike was organized and led by revolutionary socialists—by Trotskyists. The meeting decided to centralize a legal defense fund, which would hire fancy lawyers (like Arthur Fox?) to fight cases of harassment instead of concentrating on the concept of working class (strike) action to defend ourselves. A supporter of the RSL was prevented from speaking on this subject by the IS supporter chairing the meeting.

The IS policy of lying to the workers has already destroyed the UPSurge organization in Chicago. When IS supporters were asked about their politics by UPSurge members, they openly lied in response. Then when the company and union agents red-baited they had no defense. The UPS workers, seeing that they could not trust the organizers, and being provided with no political education by the IS, were demoralized and gave it up. Attendance at successive meetings fell from 240 to 20 to 10 to one.

IS—DEAD END FOR THE WORKING CLASS

The IS policy—trying to rope in the broadest possible number on a reformist basis, using bureaucratic tactics to kick out class-conscious workers and prevent the development of a revolutionary pole, and seeking bureaucratic alliances with bourgeois liberals—can only build cynicism and defeatism among the workers. Since the IS is not interested in building a class-conscious workers' movement, and does not really believe in the possibility of a revolution, it does not care about the workers it destroys.

But the IS approach is not a new one. It is basically the same as the Stalinist popular front strategy, where the Communist Parties fought to prevent the workers from going beyond bourgeois bounds in order to maintain a bloc with bourgeois liberals. The result of this strategy, in Spain, France, the U.S. and elsewhere, was to disorient and demoralize the working class. When the workers have been sufficiently demoralized, the capitalists move to the offensive. In Spain this led to Franco, in France to Petain and in the U.S. to McCarthyism and the red-scare. If the IS and other organizations like it are not exposed and swept aside, the working class can only be defeated.

Teamsters: Build a democratic rank and file movement; study and apply the above fighting program; prepare for a national strike; smash Taft-Hartley; kick out the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and rebuild the union into a fighting organization of the working class! □



1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike: The battle to build the Teamsters Union was led by revolutionaries who sought to build a workers' movement that could overthrow capitalism.

For a Fighting Program for Teamsters

Teamsters must organize around a program which really speaks to their needs. A sliding scale of hours and wages is the only realistic answer to the job cuts. Divide up all available work among the available workers at no loss in pay. Specifically 30 or 32 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. The companies claim poverty, yet trucking is the second most profitable industry in the country. We say open the books to the workers. If they really can't pay then nationalize the industry under workers' control. Councils of workers to oversee the industry would prevent the loss of jobs by mergers and bankruptcies.

Build unity of all Teamsters and all workers. We demand parity wage increases with the MFA as a minimum standard for all the 2,000,000 second-class Teamsters who are held under sweetheart contracts. Support all strikes by workers in any industry. Immediately cease all union-busting attacks on the farm workers. Pay reparations to the United Farm Workers for the damage that Fitz has already done. Break with the bosses' political parties and begin now to build a labor party for a workers' government as a means to organize the working class politically. A labor party would fight to eliminate Taft-Hartley and all repressive legislation. It would fight for 30 for 40, for a massive public works program under union standards and wages to rebuild the decaying cities and provide jobs for all, and would mobilize the whole working class to fight for a workers' government which alone can guarantee that this program will be carried out. □

Revolutionaries Fight for Leadership in Steel Union

RSC Runs Slate in April Elections

CHICAGO—Central to the strategy of revolutionaries is wresting control of the trade unions from the sellout, pro-capitalist bureaucrats who run them today. Since the cozy position of these labor lieutenants of capital depends on the existence of capitalism, they try to confine struggles to a level that won't threaten the system. When they pretend to be militant it is only to buttress their authority so they can better sell out the rank and file workers.

On the other hand, rank and file workers have no use at all for the capitalist system. Its profits come from their sweat and blood and the capitalists increasingly attack workers through layoffs, low wages, inflation, speed-up and unsafe conditions. As the present crisis and the history of world wars and depressions suggests, if capitalism is not overthrown and replaced, it will drag the workers to their doom. Workers must be mobilized to fight against the capitalist system itself, and must be prepared to take power into their own hands. In the course of this struggle the pro-capitalist bureaucrats must be pushed aside and replaced with a revolutionary leadership. This requires consistent struggle within the trade unions to fight for the needs of workers and to expose the bureaucrats.

The situation in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) is particularly bad. While the bureaucrats fiddle, conditions get worse and worse. Wages don't begin to keep up with inflation, working conditions are terrible, cranes are in poor shape (often falling off the rails) and violations of the contract are an everyday occurrence. Since the steel

industry requires tremendous amounts of capital investment to modernize production, machinery is very old and unsafe. New facilities can exist for years before they are worked to capacity and tremendous amounts of machinery are idle while thousands of workers are laid off.

As the post-war boom has given way to economic crisis, the steel companies have sought to force the burden of the crisis onto the workers in order to maintain their profits. Bethlehem, for example, is now threatening to close four of its plants if the union doesn't agree to a 10

percent wage cut.

The USWA bureaucrats have willingly pledged their cooperation in this attack. For example, the sellout steel union leadership has promised the companies there will be no strikes until 1980! Of course the companies are trying to get away with murder—and the bureaucrats have guaranteed that the union won't interfere. The bureaucrats have also promised the bosses that they will help raise the productivity of the plants, which can only mean helping to attack working and safety conditions.

The need for a new leadership in the



R.H. Larry, vice chairman of U.S. Steel, and I.W. Abel, head of the USWA: A partnership.

PO Workers Picket Detroit GPO

DETROIT—Under the joint sponsorship of the Postal Action Committee (PAC) and the APWU Reform Slate, over 50 postal workers recently picketed the GPO here to protest the forced transfer of 43 regular mailhandlers to the new suburban Bulk Mail Center and the proposed firing of casuals and reduction of Subs' hours. The picket line raised chants of "Postal workers grab a sign, All our jobs are on the line." PAC supporters gave political leadership to the anger over the job cuts with the chant "No forced transfers 100 miles away, Expand the service and make the bosses pay!"

The GPO demonstration was only one of a number of actions in which PAC and the Reform Slate have been able to combine forces successfully in defense of the postal ranks, despite their serious political differences.

In early January, rank and filers whose jobs were being cut forced the local to call a special meeting to explain why it was not fighting. PAC raised the necessity of organizing a strike against the job cuts and speedup. The ranks and the Reform Slate agreed, voting to inform the national leadership of the local's intention to call a strike vote.

Shortly thereafter, local APWU president Doug Holbrook tried to

block Jimmie Reid's reappointment as a steward. This was because Reid (the Reform Slate's presidential candidate) collaborated with PAC on the GPO demonstration and in support of the national strike strategy. Holbrook had maneuvered some time ago to have stewards appointed rather than elected by the ranks. PAC organized for the February union meeting to demand Reid's reinstatement, to fight for the election of stewards and to smash Holbrook's harassment of union opposition.

As a result of the rank and file strength at the union meeting, Holbrook backed down and reinstated Reid. But Holbrook submitted an even more undemocratic motion threatening to expel from the union any steward who works with "outside groups." This is an attempt to red-bait PAC. First of all, PAC is made up of postal workers. Second, postal workers must be free to work with anyone they please. Militant rank and filers will be organized for the next union meeting to defeat this maneuver.

The campaign to organize the postal ranks for a national strike to stop the attacks on jobs and working conditions is growing despite the red-baiting and anti-union actions of Holbrook and the other postal union bureaucrats. □

steel union is as clear as day.

This is the task that the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC) has set for itself. As part of its struggle, it is running candidates for four offices in the United Steel Workers Local 65. This local represents the workers at U.S. Steel's Southworks plant on the south side of Chicago, where the RSC has been active for over a year. At every turn, the RSC has fought in the union to strengthen the position of steel workers and to expose the practices of the bureaucracy. For example, in the spring of 1975, the RSC raised motions in Local 65 for the defense of C. B. Dennis, a black UAW worker whose home in the predominately white area of Broadview, Illinois, was under attack from racists who wanted to burn him out. The RSC motion called for union members to help protect Dennis from the attempts to prevent him from moving into the white neighborhood.

The union president, Frank Mirocha, tried to sabotage this struggle, declaring the motion out of order on the grounds that Dennis was not in the steel union. The "opposition" candidate, John Chico (now Financial Secretary), stood silent while this was going on. Mirocha also sabotaged RSC's fight to form a defense guard to protect minorities on Chicago's south side from attacks by Nazi thugs.

The RSC has also fought to mobilize workers in a serious fight against the layoffs that have hit

workers in the plant time and again. The union officials do not believe that anything can be done since they are in the business of collecting dues and squabbling among themselves, but not of fighting U.S. Steel. And much to the annoyance of the bureaucrats, the RSC has pointed out the treachery of the no-strike agreement the union signed and has consistently agitated for a national steel strike. This is critical to steel workers, since the bureaucrats have not been willing to strike since 1959. As a result, steel workers' wages and conditions have steadily eroded.

Neither Mirocha nor Chico has ever fought the company. Both came to office on the same ticket. Mirocha, a loyal flunky of the rotten Abel regime, has run the local in heavy-handed bureaucratic fashion while Chico has looked on. Now Chico is trying to ride liberal reformer Ed Sadlowski's coattails into the presidency, not being satisfied with the job of Financial Secretary. The two of them are currently fighting over who has the right to use the name "Membership Committee" for their slate.

The most insidious part of their rivalry, however, is their attempt to divide the work force along racial lines. Mirocha has his base among the more conservative white workers, and has also been successful in rounding out his machine with some black faces. This has created some support for him among blacks in the plants. Meanwhile, Chico has his base among Latin workers and is trying to pit them against the blacks as well as the whites.

As opposed to this garbage, the RSC is running on a program based on the workers' real needs and the political reality facing the working class. This program, and the defense of minority workers that the RSC has fought for, can unify and strengthen the work force. First of all, the RSC calls for ripping up the ENA (Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which promises no strikes until 1980) and launching a national strike. Secondly, the RSC calls for 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay to create more jobs and end unemployment. Thirdly, the RSC demands that the steel industry be nationalized under workers' control since the capitalists can do nothing but attack the workers.

As workers struggle for this program it will be clear that the government is on the side of the steel companies. Court injunctions, no-strike laws, wage controls and caps will be used against the workers. The bureaucrats are seeking the closest possible ties with the capitalist state and are spreading the illusion that it is "neutral." The labor movement must fight for its independence from the state and capitalist politicians. For this reason, the RSC calls for a labor party to fight for a workers' government to replace the capitalist government.

As part of its struggle, the RSC has also attacked the "red clause" in the union's constitution. This makes it illegal for communists or anyone the bureaucrats claim is communist to be in the union. It is a tremendous weapon in the hands of the bureaucrats to be used against revolutionaries or any militants they want to get rid of.

At this time the RSC does not expect to win the offices it is contesting. It is running to use the elections as a means to agitate for its program, expose the bureaucrats, and explain to the workers what the alternative is. Elections focus the attention of the work force on the program and practice of the candidates. While the two leading contenders fight over the name "Membership Committee," the RSC is putting forward a program and strategy that can lead steel workers to victory. □

DETROIT—The Special Bar here on March 14 was attacked by the Big Four want rates by rolling workers have w General Motors has taken the lea the UAW enforce plan while givin and fringe ben contract round.

Leonard Wo Bluestone (head Division) have r companies' offer that the UAW w Living Allowanc House has stopp about what the U Instead, they an how much they They will "defen us out on the o

At the Produ ference, held in bureaucrats' chie sellout plans was "foreign competi major theme Convention as crats are looking blame for the pr workers. They wa to see foreign a enemy.

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to stand on the free trade position. Woodcock's recor seriously. It was W to Japan in the negotiate "volunta tions on the Japan And it was Woodc urged import restri auto jobs.

Woodcock supp ism, which is alw increase its share of at the expense of t countries. Today, th stronger than ma advanced capitalis right now free trad break down barrier have set up to prot And today, Wood trade. When this s and the U.S. bourg face to outright prot Woodcock.

The Skilled Tra brought another re

UAW Bargaining Convention Opens March 18

Ranks Need Contract Victory!

the plant time and again. Officials do not believe that can be done since they are in a race of collecting dues and among themselves, but not U.S. Steel. And much to the chagrin of the bureaucrats, it is pointed out the treacherous strike agreement the union has consistently agitated against the national steel strike. This is the case with steel workers, since they have not been willing to go back to work since 1959. As a result, steel wages and conditions have not improved.

Woodcock nor Chico has ever been in the same company. Both came to Detroit on the same ticket. Woodcock, a member of the rotten Abel regime, is the local in heavy-handed fashion while Chico has been low. Chico is trying to ride on the coat-tails of Ed Sadlowski's coat of office, not being the job of Financial Director. The two of them are fighting over who has the name "Membership" for their slate.

Woodcock's insidious part of their ever, is their attempt to work force along racial lines. He has his base among the native white workers, and is successful in rounding up some black support with some black support. Chico has his base among the blacks as well as the

led to this garbage, the RSC is on a program based on the real needs and the reality facing the working class. The RSC is the defense workers that the RSC has a unify and strengthen the RSC. First of all, the RSC is fighting up the ENA and Negotiating Agreements. No strikes until we win a national strike. The RSC calls for 30 hours' pay to create more unemployment. Thirdly, the RSC demands that the steel industry be nationalized under work-union control. The capitalists can do what they want to do to attack the workers.

The RSC struggle for this will be clear that the RSC is on the side of the steel workers. Court injunctions, no-wage controls and cops are against the workers. The RSC are seeking the closest with the capitalist state to bring the illusion that it is the labor movement must be independent from the capitalist politicians. For the RSC calls for a labor government for a workers' government to overthrow the capitalist government.

The RSC's struggle, the RSC has the "red clause" in the constitution. This makes it impossible for anyone to claim to be communist to be a RSC. It is a tremendous move to the hands of the bureaucrats used against revolutionaries. The RSC want to get

time the RSC does not win the offices it is in. It is running to use the RSC as a means to agitate for its own sake. The RSC pose the bureaucrats, and the workers what the RSC is. Elections focus the RSC on the work force on the RSC. The RSC practice of the RSC: the two leading contenders: the name "Membership" the RSC is putting the RSC program and strategy that will lead workers to victory. □

DETROIT—The UAW goes into its Special Bargaining Convention here on March 18 facing a heavy attack by the auto companies. The Big Four want to jack up their profit rates by rolling back the gains auto workers have won in previous years. General Motors head Tom Murphy has taken the lead in demanding that the UAW enforce the bosses' speedup plan while giving up monetary gains and fringe benefits in the next contract round.

Leonard Woodcock and Irving Bluestone (head of the UAW's GM Division) have responded to the auto companies' offensive by blustering that the UAW will defend the Cost of Living Allowance (COLA). Solidarity House has stopped pretending to talk about what the UAW will win in 1976. Instead, they are trying to cover up how much they plan to give away. They will "defend" COLA by selling us out on the other issues.

At the Production Workers' Conference, held in late January, the bureaucrats' chief tactic to hide their sellout plans was pushing the issue of "foreign competition," and it will be a major theme at the Bargaining Convention as well. Union bureaucrats are looking for a scapegoat to blame for the problems of U.S. auto workers. They want U.S. auto workers to see foreign auto workers as the enemy.

After a fling with overt protectionism last year, Woodcock now claims



Cars stand idle on Detroit assembly lines.

to stand on the UAW's traditional free trade position. No one who knows Woodcock's record can take this seriously. It was Woodcock who went to Japan in the early 1970's to negotiate "voluntary" export restrictions on the Japanese auto industry. And it was Woodcock who last year urged import restrictions to save U.S. auto jobs.

Woodcock supports U.S. imperialism, which is always struggling to increase its share of the world market at the expense of the other capitalist countries. Today, the U.S. economy is stronger than many of the other advanced capitalist economies. So right now free trade is a means to break down barriers other countries have set up to protect their markets. And today, Woodcock is for free trade. When this situation changes, and the U.S. bourgeoisie turns full face to outright protectionism, so will Woodcock.

The Skilled Trades Conference brought another reactionary "cure-

all" out into the open. The International Society of Skilled Trades (ISST) is openly organizing to win representation elections among UAW skilled tradesmen, and fought to have the Convention adopt a motion for a separate trades local. John Nutting, chairman of the ISST executive advisory council, claims 62 percent of the eligible tradesmen have signed cards at 12 GM plants, 70 percent at 15 Ford plants and 48 percent at 6 Chrysler facilities.

Such splitting can only cripple the UAW and the efforts of all auto workers to fight the companies' attacks at a time when the UAW is facing serious problems.

Forty years ago skilled tradesmen realized that their best defense lay in uniting with the industrial workers in basic industry. This was a vital part of the growth of industrial unionism in this country and the resurgence of the U.S. labor movement in the 1930s. Today, the ISST is sabotaging the unity that made these victories possible (they are waging the same kind of union-busting campaign in the United Rubber Workers).

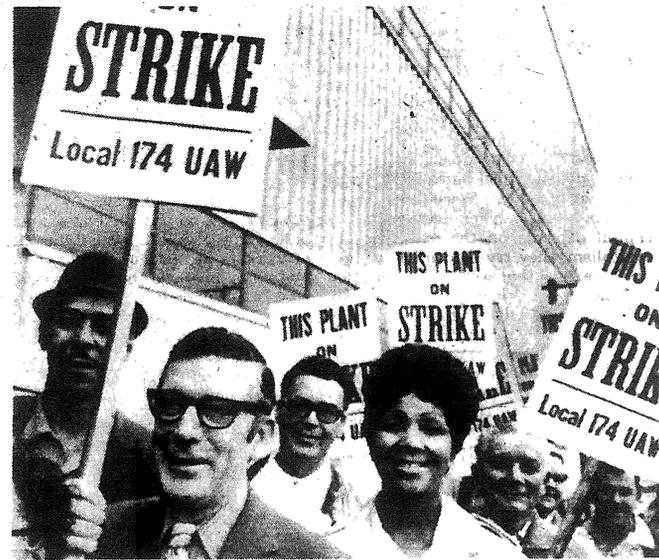
Woodcock and Co. have no answer to the challenge of the ISST. In fact, the ISST has grown because the UAW leadership has refused to lead a fight to win gains for any auto workers, skilled or unskilled. Instead of organizing a fight, Woodcock and Co. pander to the reactionary craft sentiment that is building the ISST. Hence they have given the skilled workers the right to veto the national contract. This veto won't solve the skilled workers problems; it is a sop thrown to the tradesmen to cover the fact that the UAW bureaucrats have not fought for them.

OPPOSE THE SKILLED TRADES VETO

All auto workers must oppose this veto. In the UAW, as in all unions, the voting rule should be one worker, one vote. Giving the skilled workers veto rights means granting them special privileges over and above the production workers. And since the bureaucracy has most of its base among the skilled tradesmen, increasing the power of the skilled workers over the production workers can only mean strengthening the hand of the bureaucracy over production workers.

Some workers, remembering 1973 when the skilled workers rejected the settlement, while the production workers voted for it, may think that giving the skilled tradesmen veto power will make the union more militant. Nothing could be further from the truth. Today, when production workers are disorganized and cynical about fighting back, the skilled tradesmen may appear to be more militant. But when production workers begin to move, the skilled workers, largely white and politically conservative, will serve as a brake on the struggle. To increase the skilled workers' leverage in the union today means to place a club in the hands of the bureaucrats tomorrow.

While some bureaucrats appeal to the national chauvinism or craft union sentiment of some auto workers, others try to capture the support of more militant workers. Most of these left-sounding bureaucrats are concentrating on proposals for a shorter work week. The officials who pushed for "30 and Out" a few years ago are now in a Four Day Work Week Committee calling for a four-day



Woodcock has his picture taken on UAW picket line: More bluster to pave way for sellout.

week, nine-hour day. Hank Wilson, president of Local 600's Dearborn Assembly Unit, has issued a program calling for 32 for 40.

If these people were serious, they would crack the Bargaining Convention wide open, as has been done in the past on such major issues. But they show no signs of wanting to do more than talk—they have made no real preparations for a fight.

The economic crisis, and the resulting tension within the UAW itself, offer militants the opportunity to begin the construction of a leadership which can meet the real needs of auto workers.

To carry out this task, revolutionaries must demonstrate that they can organize UAW militants around a concrete program for the contract. For this reason, the Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee, whose program is supported by the RSL, is putting forward the following six-point program:

1) The focus of our defense is 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay! A shorter work week at full pay is the only real answer to unemployment. Jobs for all!

2) The SUB fund is bankrupt. It must be filled from company profits! Full SUB benefits from the date of hire! SUB must be continued until recall, with no cut-off date.

3) Full COLA based on the real rate of inflation. Union price committees to replace the phony Consumer Price Index. A \$1.50 per hour immediate wage increase to make up for money lost through inflation since the last contract.

4) Union control of work rules to eliminate speedup and dangerous working conditions. Why should the workers pay with injuries and sickness while the companies increase their profits?

Grievances are piling up in the plants, getting sidetracked and pigeonholed because we have no power to back them up. For the local right to strike, with no Solidarity House veto! For the right to strike over grievances and unsafe working conditions!

5) Union control of hiring and upgrading to combat racism and discrimination against women and oppressed minorities. The bosses fight

by dividing the workers. To fight back, workers must unite and refuse to be divided by capitalist tricks.

6) Use the power of the UAW to win these demands. No more "target corporation" or "mini-strikes." When the contract expires, shut down all four auto makers! The contract must be the same for all parts plants and suppliers as for the big corporations. Then it will no longer be profitable for the bosses to divide us by shipping out work to companies which pay lower wages. This is the real solution to sub-contracting. For a master contract covering all auto-related industries!

The struggle must begin now. One way militants can bring the contract fight to the ranks is to organize a picket at the Bargaining Convention with slogans rejecting a sellout and all protectionist tricks and demanding a real defense of the UAW through a national strike to win 30 for 40. Such a demonstration can serve to launch a campaign to form rank and file committees throughout the UAW to prepare the ranks for the contract expiration in September.

This is what the Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee wants to do. They are organizing now for a picket outside the Bargaining Convention. They will work with any UAW member, rank and file group or opposition caucus that wants to mobilize the ranks of the UAW in 1976. We call on all militants to join RAC at the Bargaining Convention to start building the struggle for a good contract and a fighting leadership in the UAW. □

JOIN RAC BARGAINING CONVENTION PICKET

RAC is demonstrating at the UAW Bargaining Convention on Saturday, March 20, to stop Woodcock's planned sellout of auto workers. We must fight for 30 for 40, full SUB, full COLA, union control of working conditions and hiring.

Cobo Hall (foot of Washington St.) at 10:00 A.M.

BUILD THE CONTRACT FIGHT! MOBILIZE THE UAW!

Contact RAC: (313) 868-3654

Independence & Socialism for Puerto Rico

Defeat the Imperialist Compact!



The Puerto Rican independence movement is gaining strength. U.S. seeks to use the Compact to crush the independence movement.

The U.S. Congress is now considering a "Compact of Permanent Union" with Puerto Rico. The imperialists and their lackeys in the colonial government of Puerto Rico hail this bill as perfecting the "free-associated state" status of the island by extending the powers of the colonial government. In fact, the changes introduced by this bill are one-tenth camouflage of the colonial relationship and nine-tenths attacks on the Puerto Rican masses. The struggle for independence and socialist revolution, not the Compact, is the only solution that can meet the needs of the overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans.

MASS STRUGGLE THREATENS IMPERIALISTS

The Compact is part of imperialism's assault on the growing militancy and strength of the trade union and independence movements. Since 1969, the Puerto Rican working class has unleashed a powerful strike movement. In the early '70s, when the size of the trade unions was shrinking in the U.S., Puerto Rican unions grew from 18 percent of the work force to 25 percent. In July 1973, to try to end a strike wave, the National Guard was called out to break a strike. This was the first time the Guard had been called out since the suppression of the Nationalist Revolt in 1950. The Guard fired on crowds, bayoneted strikers and tried to seize the firemen's union hall. A four-hour general strike was successful in forcing the Guard out of the strike.

Eighteen months later, during the sewer workers' strike, the Guard was called out again, both to repress the strike and scab on it. The union's leadership was arrested for violating an injunction. This time, the threat of a general strike resulted in the pardon of the union leaders one day after their conviction. The intensity of the class struggle has continued—80 percent of all public workers struck against union-busting attacks last October, and the cement and telephone workers have waged major strikes.

The independence movement has enjoyed similar growth and radicalization. In 1972, independentistas were elected to the legislature for the first time in 12 years. Two of these three

legislators have since broken from the bourgeois Puerto Rican Independence Party and joined working class parties.

The struggle of the Puerto Rican masses, combined with the economic downturn, is a major threat to the imperialists. Imperialism distorted the Puerto Rican economy so that it is extremely dependent on low-wage, labor-intensive industries, drawn to the island by the incentive of subsidies and the security of direct U.S. military occupation. But Puerto Rican wages have now risen far above those of the world's sweatshops such as South Korea and Taiwan. Many of these factories, especially textile, are fleeing Puerto Rico. The result is increased misery for the Puerto Rican masses. Unemployment is now estimated at 40 percent; in the town of Jayuya it is 96 percent. Wages remain one-third to one-half of U.S. wages while prices run 25 percent above U.S. levels. One-third of the island's people are on welfare, while 70 percent qualify for food stamps.

The colonial government's solution to its crisis is to crush the independence and trade union movements, cut living standards even further and offer even bigger give-aways to business. The government is now offering industry up to 30-year tax exemptions, while its austerity program calls for sharply higher taxes on working people. The government is offering to subsidize 25 percent of new large factories' wage bills, while cutting back public workers' wages 30 percent. The austerity program means the government will take over shipping and telephone to offer services to business at reduced rates while slashing spending on education. These tactics are combined with outright repression—the arrest of trade union leader Federico Cintrón on trumped-up charges, a series of arrests of independentistas and increased right-wing thug violence.

IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE

The Compact is another weapon in this imperialist offensive. It is designed to do two things. Empty concessions toward autonomy are intended to defuse the independence struggle. They will also be used by the U.S. as a cover to prevent a United

Nations' condemnation of U.S. colonialism.

The substantive changes have an additional purpose: to cut the colonial government free from U.S. legal restrictions. Existing federal laws which formally apply to Puerto Rico do not allow for sufficiently brutal attacks on the Puerto Rican masses. The Compact will enable the colonial government to press the offensive much more sharply than the U.S. bourgeoisie is now able to do in this country.

EMPTY CONCESSIONS

The "concessions" are completely empty. A representative in the Senate will be added to the representative in the House; neither will have voting rights. A federal district court will be set up in Puerto Rico, while the U.S. Supreme Court retains its authority. The Governor of Puerto Rico will be allowed to ask the U.S. President to "consider" Puerto Rico's special immigration needs.

Under the Compact, the basic colonial relationship remains the same. U.S. military occupation (U.S. bases cover 13 percent of the island's area) will continue. The economy will still be under the thumb of the U.S., bound by U.S. currency and tariffs and 85 percent owned by U.S. capitalists. The power of the U.S. government—Congress, government agencies, the Supreme Court and the President—is not seriously limited. For all the hypocritical talk of granting self-determination to the Puerto Rican people, the Compact, once approved, can only be changed if Congress agrees!

Some of the changes do mean something real. The Compact would give the colonial government exclusive jurisdiction over minimum wage, labor-management relations and occupational health and safety regulations. The colonial government has wished for decades to be freed from U.S. minimum wage laws. When the minimum wage was applied in 1938, it caused such a severe economic crisis that special provisions had to be established allowing for the application of the minimum wage on an industry-by-industry basis. The Nathan Commission reported in the mid-50s that general enforcement of the

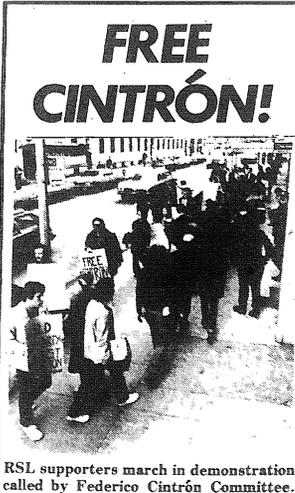
minimum wage law would double Puerto Rican wages. As spottily as the minimum wage law is enforced, passage of this article of the Compact will mean a savage reduction in wage levels.

Exclusive jurisdiction over occupational health and safety goes along with another article which grants "primary authority to regulate the ecology" to the colonial government. This measure is crucial. In the mid-60s, the colonial government made a major effort to attract heavy industry. Oil refineries and petrochemical factories (including a plant that manufactures the deadly polyvinyl chloride) came running, fleeing the modest U.S. environmental restrictions. An investment of \$1.6 billion in these industries today is expected to double by 1980, paced by the construction of the first super-tanker port-oil refinery complex under the U.S. flag. The environmental destruction caused by this complex will be enormous. Moreover, the colonial government is trying to develop copper mining, another industry which scars the environment. "Autonomy" on this question means freeing the imperialists to ravage the island.

These are the only areas specified in which the colonial government would get broader powers. However, the imperialists are leaving themselves a loop-hole. Congress will be able to decide with each and every law whether it applies to Puerto Rico, and a special commission will be set up to recommend to Congress which existing laws should be modified or eliminated. The U.S. government will decide which federal agencies will have jurisdiction over Puerto Rico. The U.S. government would then have the ability to withhold any concession that they must make in the U.S. from the Puerto Rican workers.

The racism of the U.S. government is despicable. While it will free its stooges to attack the Puerto Rican masses, it doesn't even trust them to decide which laws and regulations will be eliminated.

The terms of the Compact underline the real content of the "free-associated-state" status—colonialism with all basic economic, military and political power held by U.S. imperialism. "Autonomy" is a fraud, a thin cover for increasingly vicious attacks. In 1950, the introduction of "free-associated-state" status was accompanied by brutal provocations setting the stage for the bloody suppression of the Nationalist Revolt. Imperialism again will move to drown the independence and trade union movements in blood. The fight against the Compact is one battle in the fight against imperialism's rule and terror, one battle in the fight for an independent, socialist Puerto Rico. □



RSL supporters march in demonstration called by Federico Cintrón Committee.

State Capitalism vs. Workers' Rule

PART ONE

by Ron Taber

This is the first of a three-part series based on speeches given by RSL National Secretary Ron Taber on his recent national tour.

The question of state capitalism is vital today. The great teachers of the proletariat, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, always stressed that for the working class to overthrow capitalism, it must be fully conscious of the world around it. A myriad of social forces and political tendencies claim to be the "friends of the working class." Who are the real friends? Who are the foes? What forces will strengthen the working class in its struggle for self-emancipation? And what forces will betray or crush this struggle?

The answer to these questions lies in looking beneath the surface, looking beyond what individuals, organizations or even entire countries say they are to what they actually represent. This demands an understanding of the nature and role of state capitalism. But more is at stake here. Marxists base themselves on the ability of the working class to overthrow capitalism—the ability of the workers to establish their own rule and thus liberate themselves and all of mankind from the shackles of oppression and exploitation. Can the working class emancipate itself, as Marx taught? Or must it rely on some other force, some superior non-working class "savior," to achieve its liberation? This question is the very essence of Marxism, of socialism itself. It, too, is the question of state capitalism.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the period immediately following the defeat of the first successful proletarian revolution, honest differences of opinion among revolutionaries on the nature of the Russian state were possible. Today, after a 40-year period in which the Russian ruling class has demonstrated its bourgeois character, and state capitalism has conquered through defeats of the proletariat across the globe, the question assumes far greater dimensions. To see in state capitalism today the rule of the working class represents, at root, a colossal cynicism about the possibility of the working class overthrowing capitalism and constructing socialism.

The theory of state capitalism, and its concrete historical development as a social system, is a broad and complex question. A presentation in fullest form requires a more lengthy document than the scope of this series permits. What is possible here is a discussion of the important essentials of the question.

Capitalism's Epoch of Decay

We will examine the nature of capitalism in its epoch of decay. Faced throughout this epoch with the threat of proletarian revolution, capitalism develops distinct features specifically designed to ward off the proletarian threat. The growth of monopolies, the systematic plundering of the "underdeveloped" countries and the drastic increase of state intervention in the economy are central aspects of this tendency. Growing state intervention ("statification") is particularly crucial to capitalism for its own self-defense. Yet this same self-protective tendency is resisted by the big bourgeoisie. These tendencies and contradictions are the subject of the first part of this series.

Next, we will show how state capitalism as a social system actually came into existence. How did societies with all (or nearly all) the means of production held in the hands of the state, and with production geared first and foremost toward production of surplus value, develop? The answer lies in the Bolshevik Revolution—not in its victorious triumph in 1917 but in the developments which led to its crushing defeat in 1936-38. The first successful socialist revolution was born in isolation; it struggled to survive in conditions of backwardness and war-devastation until aid might become available through proletarian revolution in the more advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe. The theory of Permanent Revolution, which guided Lenin and Trotsky in 1917, recognized that the proletariat in Russia could hold



Czechs demonstrate against 1968 Russian invasion. To see in state capitalism the rule of the working class represents a colossal cynicism about the possibility of the working class overthrowing capitalism and constructing socialism.

state power for only a limited period of time if the revolution failed to spread. It is in this context, in conditions of isolation and economic backwardness, that a reactionary bureaucracy, led by Stalin and fought by Leon Trotsky, lifted itself above the working class, forced the proletariat out of its own institutions of self-government and, finally, through the complete destruction of the Bolshevik party, established itself as a state-capitalist ruling class.

Finally, we will examine the role that the state capitalism that emerged from the ashes of the October Revolution plays in the world today. State capitalism, since it can help offset the plundering effects of world imperialism and can instill some economic growth in underdeveloped countries, appears to represent a revolutionary alternative to world capitalism. Yet, while it masquerades as the continuation of the working class in power, state capitalism is nothing but the continuation of capitalism. But it is not only a continuation. State capitalism, in a variety of ways, works to thwart the real socialist revolution and to channel the revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat and oppressed masses into propping up and defending capitalism rather than overthrowing it.

The task of revolutionaries today is to expose the role of state capitalism. Those political tendencies which do not come to see the true nature of the state-capitalist countries can only become obstacles to the struggle for the socialist revolution, obstacles which must be swept aside by the working class in its struggle for its own liberation. Revolutionaries today must fight to continue Leon Trotsky's heroic struggle, fight to reconstruct his Fourth International. The working class needs an international revolutionary party based on the true principles of Marx and Lenin to lead all workers and oppressed masses to the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of world socialism.

The Development of State Capitalism

By state capitalism, we mean the social system that exists in the countries called "Communist": Russia, China, Outer Mongolia, Cuba and the countries of Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia and

North Korea. These societies, despite what they are called and what their own rulers call them, are capitalist. All represent a form of capitalism in which major property is in the hands of the state and the state itself runs production on a capitalist basis. There are other societies (such as those called "African Socialist") which are varieties of state capitalism but are not as fully developed as these countries.

State capitalism is a product of capitalism in its epoch of decay. At approximately the turn of the present century, capitalism entered a stage of development that has produced World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, the Cold War, the energy crisis and the environmental crisis. And, if the working class does not intervene first, a new depression and a third world war will be spawned. This is the nature of capitalist "development" in the epoch of capitalist decay. State capitalism is a product of this epoch, a product of decaying capitalism. To see this, and to see how state capitalism developed, we must look at this epoch of capitalist decay more closely.

The life of every pre-socialist economic system (with the exception of primitive communism, the period prior to the development of classes) can be divided into two main periods or epochs. In its initial period, when a social system is progressive, it is developing society; it increases the powers of production (first and foremost, the productivity of human labor). Slowly but surely the given society is advancing mankind's mastery over nature.

Thus, for example, capitalism in the 18th and 19th centuries tore down the barriers of feudal society that halted mankind's advance over the dictates of nature. Progressive, developing capitalism eliminated feudal restrictions which tied the producers (the serfs) to the land, limited commerce and prevented the growth of modern industry. Capitalism, in its progressive epoch, vastly increased the productive capabilities of society in comparison to the feudal system preceding it. It is this that made capitalism's triumph over feudalism and the accompanying triumph of the modern bourgeoisie over the landed nobility, inevitable and world-wide.

Having created the conditions which make possible its overthrow and replacement with a new and more progressive social system, every social system turns and becomes reactionary. Faced with the threat of extinction, the old system turns its energies to propping up its own rule, holding back advancement of the productive forces. Most importantly, it strives to hold back the social class which has been created and which by its very position in society, is forced to destroy the old system and establish a new one. To offset the threat of revolution, to ward off or control the revolutionary class, the old system turns its back on its past achievements, tries to undo or distort them and increasingly relies on the very reactionary methods it had once overthrown. When a social system reaches this stage, when it enters its epoch of decay, it must be overthrown. If it is not, it begins to decay, and threatens to drag all the members of society down with it.

Capitalism Creates Gravedigger

Capitalism created the basis for its overthrow around the turn of the present century. It is here that we date the commencement of its epoch of decay. Capitalism's achievements in its progressive epoch can be summarized as follows: 1) creation of a world market, world-wide commerce and an international division of labor (including the formation of credit and trade institutions to coordinate capitalism's economic operations); 2) building a large-scale production apparatus consisting of factories, mines and other industries; and, most importantly, 3) the development of an international working class capable of taking over and running this apparatus and the whole society in the interests of itself and all those oppressed by capitalism—in other words, a class ready to overthrow capitalism.

Capitalism, with the working class and socialist revolution staring it in the face, did exactly what other social systems do when they have outlived their time and are threatened with overthrow. It began to turn on its achievements, trying to slow down the development of the productive forces and distort and channel these forces in order to disorient, control or cripple the working class and ward off the workers' revolution.

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Shut-down auto plant: One more fruit of capitalist decay.

Lenin described capitalism in its epoch of decay as imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. In a book by that name written during World War I, he analyzed the workings of modern imperialism and showed how its contradictions were leading to international socialist revolution. Lenin described the following five central characteristics of imperialism: 1) the growth of monopolies; 2) the merging of industrial and bank capital to form finance capital; 3) the predominance of the export of capital; 4) the formation of international monopolist associations that share the world among themselves; and, 5) the territorial division of the world among the great imperialist powers. While space considerations make it impossible to take up all these points in detail, the discussion of several is important to a greater understanding of the nature of capitalism in its epoch of decay.

Two of the major tendencies of capitalist society are the concentration and centralization of capital—each block of capital grows larger while the larger blocks of capital continually swallow up the smaller. These tendencies, operating through competition and economic crisis, continually place an ever larger share of the total social capital, the society's entire means of production, in the hands of an ever more narrow circle of capitalists.

At a certain point in this development, blocks of capital become so large and powerful that they can successfully obstruct the free workings of the market. Auto companies today, to take just one example, do not compete directly with each other on an open market, with each striving to improve its product and cut its prices in order to obtain a larger share of the market. Instead, since all production has been concentrated in the hands of a few big monopolies, the companies are able to agree on a general level of prices and standards for production and temporarily eliminate competition in these areas. This creates greater profit for all the car producers since prices are kept artificially high and the quality of each car is kept lower than normal competition would dictate. While a certain amount of competition continues on a day to day basis, it is largely through indirect forms such as advertising, planned obsolescence, model changes, "buyer protection" plans, etc.

Monopolies, despite appearances, do not actually eliminate competition. While they create superprofits through the temporary suppression of competition, the tension among the large firms builds up over time, having been pushed off to the side only to re-emerge at a later date. When the tension of competition finally breaks out into the open, it does so with an explosive force, as if the build-up of pressure had been cumulative. Take the auto industry as an example once again. The existing competition has slowly and gradually weakened the Chrysler Corporation to the point that it is not likely to survive against its major rivals, GM and Ford. When Chrysler goes under it will have an enormous impact on the entire U.S. economy. Who will pick up the pieces? Who will capture Chrysler's share of the market? These questions will be decided as the result of a fierce struggle among the remaining auto companies.

Not only does competition remain within a monopoly-dominated economy, but monopolies represent the decay of capitalism, not its further development. To Marx, free competition represented the norm of healthy capitalism. There are several reasons for this. First, free competition is the condition most conducive to the growth and organization of the working class. Second, free competition is the motor force for capitalism's most efficient allocation of resources since, on a free

Monopoly represents, in a distorted way, the development of private-property economy. But these forms are not an attack on to dress itself up in proletarian forms as a means of prote

market, entrepreneurs tend to buy the products they need at the cheapest price available. Finally, free competition provides the greatest stimulus to technological development since only the most efficient capitalists survive.

Monopolistic Anarchy

Monopoly, in contrast, only appears to be more efficient than an economy operating through free competition. While monopolization increases the ability of each individual firm to plan and coordinate its operations, it actually increases the anarchy of the system as a whole. As we noted above, competition among the giant monopolies remains. Moreover, through the artificial manipulation of the market, monopolization obstructs the most efficient division of labor—inefficient production is hidden and protected, forcing the purchase of products at artificially high prices. In addition (and contrary to the claims of its champions), monopolization retards the rate of technological change and advancement, since price-fixing agreements and other monopolist practices decrease the pressure to modernize the production process. The steel industry is a striking example: U.S. steel companies maintain ancient furnaces side by side with the newest equipment, preferring to phase out outdated operations only when their life-span is completely exhausted.

While practices such as these boost the profits of the individual capitalist firms, they are a tremendous drain on society as a whole. The "superprofits" extracted by limiting investment in modernization come from other sectors of the economy (since only a finite amount of total surplus value is produced)—in particular, from those sectors facing a greater degree of competition. Thus, monopoly profits are gained through robbing other sectors of the economy.

We have thus far seen that monopolies, despite appearances, do not eliminate competition and that monopolies represent the decaying period of capitalism. There is one additional aspect of monopoly that is important to discuss. Monopoly represents, in a distorted way, the development of collective forms of property within a private-property economy. In the model of a "normal" and "pure" capitalist economy, each block of capital is the capital of an individual entrepreneur who is directly in charge of his own operation. Monopolization, however, creates a large block of capital that represents the combined capital of many individuals who, in effect, pool their individual capital and divide the profits among themselves. Thus, the collective forms of monopoly represent an encroachment of forms proper to socialism into the capitalist economy. But these forms are not an attack on capitalism; they come into being in order to shore it up.

We discussed at the outset the fact that every social system, in its epoch of decay, acts to offset the threat of its overthrow by a new and more progressive social system. The collective forms represented by monopolization are an important aspect of this tendency. In this case, decaying capitalism borrows forms from the future society in order to shore itself up in the face of the revolutionary threat of the working class. Put differently, capitalism, as it decays, tries to dress itself up in proletarian forms as a means of protecting itself from the working class.

Plundering the Underdeveloped World

There is a second aspect of capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decay that operates to shore it up in the face of socialist revolution: the systematic plundering of the so-called underdeveloped countries. While capitalism in its progressive epoch certainly plundered and looted the non-capitalist world, this imperialist pillage has become a central feature of capitalism in its epoch of decay. In its imperialist stage, capitalism has turned the "advanced" countries into parasites leeching off underdeveloped economies and thus maintaining their wealth. It is important to recognize that the "underdeveloped" character of the imperialized countries does not represent a stage of development the imperialist powers passed through in an earlier period. Quite the contrary, the economies of the

imperialized countries are systematically distorted and stunted through their relationship to the imperialist countries, and the "advanced" countries are subsidized by this same relationship.

Imperialist plunder in the epoch of capitalist decay is accomplished through a variety of means: direct plunder of raw materials without compensating reinvestment; investment in enterprises with extremely high profit rates due to the low wages of the indigenous work force; unequal trade relations (the imperialist countries exchange their monopoly-priced goods for goods produced on a competitive basis); "aid," most of which is loans conditioned on purchasing goods from the "aiding" country, thus providing a guaranteed market for high-priced goods.

One of the most important features of this aspect of imperialism is the creation of a labor aristocracy, a section of the working class—mostly white and in large degree skilled—that has been made loyal to capitalism from the relative privileges and gains imperialist plunder provides. The hegemonic position of U.S. imperialism since World War II means that the labor aristocracy today exerts a particularly strong influence in the working class movement of this country. This conservative layer of the working class, committed to U.S. imperialism and providing the major prop for the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, serves as a huge social buffer that sits on top of the rest of the working class, blunting its militancy and sapping its will to fight. The creation of this layer, the aristocracy of labor, is one of the chief means through which capitalism in its imperialist epoch defends itself against the threat of socialist revolution.

The post-war boom in the U.S. and, to a lesser degree, in the other imperialist countries, owes most of its existence to imperialism's systematic looting and plundering of the underdeveloped countries. However, while the plundering of the underdeveloped countries can serve for a period of time as a support for imperialist wealth and stability, in the long run it undermines the basic ability of the imperialist countries to grow. Why is this so?

The world economy must be seen as an organic whole. If one sector is systematically looted, distorted and stunted, this eventually has a negative impact on the economies of the imperialist countries themselves. The oil crisis is an example. For years, oil has been pumped out of the ground at the expense of the imperialized producer countries. Now this policy is coming home to roost. The increased strength of the producer countries due to

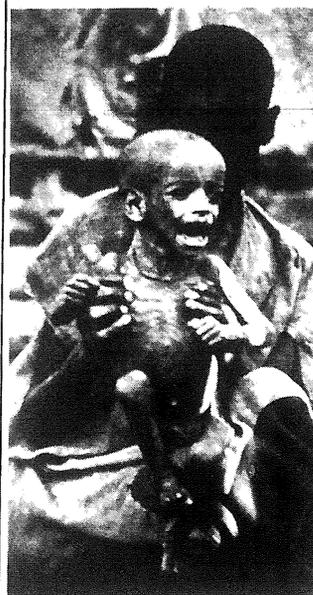
the anti-imperialist struggle, the relative shortage of oil in the imperialist countries to band together to control the price of oil. These pressures are felt throughout the world as costs and, over time, will lead to the imperialist industrial

Role of

Finally, a crucial aspect of the epoch of decay is the tremendous influence of the state. The state is an instrument of class rule, an instrument of the ruling class to maintain its rule in capitalist society, is a product of the 19th century, while capitalism is still developing, the state plays a role in society that it does not play today. It stays on the sidelines, intervening only into economic life to provide certain social services, to intervene against reform movements in the labor movement, to establish the state apparatus which the class struggle has created. Hence the term "labor aristocracy" and "capitalism."

However, as the world economy enters an intensification of capitalist development, the role and influence of the state gradually extended. The state plays a direct role in economic development, subsidizing certain sectors, intervening in the international economy. This advanced state in World War II, governments own, control, and operate mines, major branches of industry, communication, etc. "Socialism" is less advanced in the U.S. and the 1930s represented a period of capitalist process.

Stafification offers the lever to control the class struggle and stabilize the capitalist system with monopoly, this is a measure. The inner core of the world economy is hidden or held in check elsewhere. Most frequently, this is on the world arena, since the struggle is to a national basis. The anarchy is temporarily



Starvation in Ethiopia and immigrant workers in France: "While capitalism in its progressive epoch plundered and looted the non-capitalist world, this imperialist pillage has become a central feature of capitalism in its epoch of decay. The economies of the imperialized countries are systematically distorted and stunted through their relationship to the imperialist countries, and the 'advanced' countries are subsidized by this same relationship."

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relative shortage of oil sources enables the producer
countries to band together and enforce increases in
the price of oil. These price increases have been felt
throughout the world economy. They increase
costs and, over time, undermine the profitability of
the imperialist industries.

Role of the State

Finally, a crucial aspect of capitalism in its epoch
of decay is the tremendous growth in the power and
influence of the state. Marxists view the state as an
instrument of class rule, a weapon used by the
ruling class to maintain its power. The state, in
capitalist society, is a tool of the bourgeoisie. In the
19th century, while capitalism was still healthy and
developing, the state played a far more limited role
in society than it does today. The state tended to
stay on the sidelines, avoiding direct intervention
into economic life other than the regulation of
certain social services. While the state was ready
to intervene against revolutionaries and militants
in the labor movement (and often did), and while
the state established the general boundaries in
which the class struggle would be fought, direct
intervention in the economy was the exception.
Hence the term "laissez-faire (to leave alone)
capitalism."

However, as the working class matured, leading
to an intensification of the class struggle and the
aggravation of capitalist contradictions generally,
the role and influence of the state in society was
gradually extended. The state began to play a
direct role in economic life, taking over whole
sectors, subsidizing others and increasingly
intervening in the interests of "coordinating" the
entire economy. This process is in an extremely
advanced state in Western Europe today, where
governments own, outright, auto companies,
mines, major branches of transportation and
communication, etc. "Statification" is considerably
less advanced in the U.S., but the "New Deal" of
the 1930s represented a significant advance of this
process.

Statification offers the bourgeoisie an important
lever to control the class struggle and coordinate
and stabilize the capitalist economy. But, just as
with monopoly, this is only a partial and temporary
measure. The inner contradictions of capitalism—
hidden or held in check—inevitably break out
elsewhere. Most frequently, this explosion occurs
on the world arena, since the state's role is limited
to a national basis. Thus, while local (national)
anarchy is temporarily suppressed, this merely

intensifies the long-term anarchy of the system as a
whole.

Statification in the underdeveloped countries
exists as a means to offset and check imperialist
plundering and looting. Similarly with the point
discussed above, this blocking of the imperialist
drain on resources occurs on a partial and
temporary basis.

Taxes on parasitic classes, controls on the
exploitation of natural resources, limitations on
direct foreign investment, taxes and controls on the
repatriation of profits, raising tariff barriers to
offset the drain of unequal exchange and, most
directly, the expropriation and nationalization of
foreign-owned enterprises are all mechanisms at the
disposal of a strong state in an imperialized
country. Herein is the explanation for an apparent
contradiction: statification, a characteristic of
capitalism in imperialist decay, often appears most
developed in underdeveloped countries.

The process of statification is key to all the
tendencies characteristic of the epoch of imperialist
decay. It is the major weapon of the bourgeoisie in
its efforts to control the contradictions of
capitalism and ward off the proletarian revolution.
There are two main reasons for this: 1) the state is
the largest and strongest weapon available to the
bourgeoisie. The state is a more powerful force for
the bourgeoisie than any given individual enter-
prise under its control. And 2) the state, because it
can appear to represent the interests of "the whole
people," not just one segment or class, can carry
out measures that a more direct and explicit tool of
bourgeois domination could not accomplish without
arousing the hostility of the masses. For example,
Rockefeller, as Vice-President of a "democratic"
government, can often accomplish far more than he
could if he operated as an open agent for Standard
Oil of Indiana, the Chase Manhattan Bank or other
Rockefeller-dominated enterprises. The central
point is that the state is able to (and does) intervene
on behalf of the bourgeoisie without unnecessarily
evoking the wrath of the proletariat.

Costs of Statism

However, as with monopolization, statification is
costly. Despite appearances during certain periods,
the state is an overall drain on the economy of any
given capitalist country. The state, by and large,
intervenes to take over or subsidize unprofitable or
marginally profitable sectors of the economy in
order to guarantee profits to the bourgeoisie or to
maintain services that are necessary to capitalism
but are extremely costly to the bourgeoisie. The
tremendously bloated state bureaucracy, which
develops with state intervention, and the enor-
mously expensive military and police forces
accompanying it are examples of this latter drain.
Moreover, the inefficient state bureaucracy is a
huge sponge continually absorbing important
resources of the society. For a long time, these
massive costs can be hidden in the form of state
debts. So long as the economy appeared healthy
and expanding, the burden of debts that would
eventually contribute to the crippling of the
economy was not seen as dangerous. But capitalism
has now entered a period of severe crisis; the debts,
costs simply deferred to a future date, are now
coming due. Who will pay the debt? Who will pick
up the tab for the enormous costs of the state? This
has become a central focus of the class struggle.
The bourgeoisie wants the working class and all
oppressed people—through job cuts, reductions in
social services, taxes and a general deterioration of
living standards—to pay. The workers are
resisting; this is the significance of the struggles
breaking out in major cities over cutbacks and
layoffs.

Finally, this entire process of statification,
despite its usefulness to the bourgeoisie, is resisted
by the bourgeoisie itself. Only the steps which are
deemed absolutely essential, and even here there
are misgivings, are taken at any given time. While
the "New Deal" in the United States represented a
landmark in the growth of state intervention, its
policies were implemented over the opposition of a
sizeable portion of the U.S. ruling class. There are
good reasons for the resistance, from the
bourgeoisie's point of view. Each time the state
takes over an additional economic sector or
function, a threat is posed to the property of other
sections of the bourgeoisie. Each individual



Intervention by state masks naked rule of bourgeoisie.

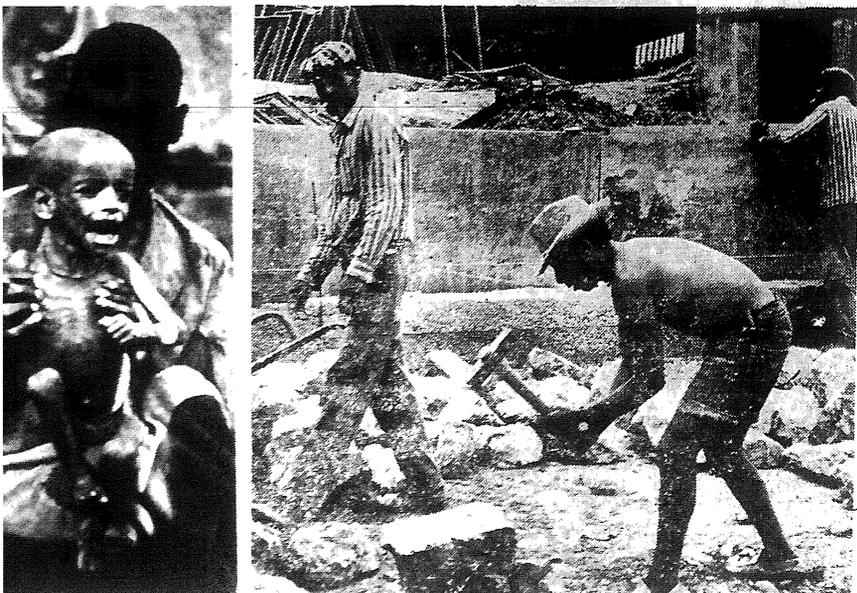
capitalist sees in a state takeover of a segment of
bourgeois property the possibility of the loss of his
own property. Thus, statification poses the decay of
the entire capitalist system.

If the tendencies toward monopolization and
statification were drawn out to completion, if all
capitalist firms were centralized into one huge
trust—owned by the state—and if everyone worked
for this trust (receiving wages in return for their
labor power), what would exist? What has been
drawn here is a picture of a system of state
capitalism: the working class continues to sell its
labor power on the market for a wage sufficient only
to maintain it at subsistence (the fact that it is a
monopolized market does not alter this funda-
mental capital-labor relationship); the difference
between what is paid and what is produced (surplus
value) is appropriated by an alien class; and,
moreover, this alien class reinvests its surplus in
such a way as to increase its power over and against
the workers, i.e., it invests the surplus value
predominately in production of the means of
production in order to further increase the surplus
value gained from the production process.

In other words: 1) the wage laborers are
exploited by an alien class, which buys labor power
as a commodity, at value; 2) production is for profit
(the collective profit of the state-capitalist trust);
and, 3) the fundamental dynamic of the system is
production for the sake of accumulation. These are
the basic laws of motion and relationship of classes
that define capitalism.

We can see that the bourgeoisie has good reason
to fear the process of statification. If everything
was completely centralized, if all property was in
the hands of one giant trust, if this trust were
owned by the state and state bureaucrats ran the
economy, what would the individual capitalists do?
In fact, the big bourgeoisie that presently rules
Western capitalism would be completely super-
fluous. And this historic obsolescence, this
parasitic uselessness, would be obvious to all. If it
is conceivable to picture all the capitalists in
retirement in Miami Beach, clipping coupons or
sunbathing while their hired bureaucrats operated
society for them, then it is equally conceivable to
picture taking these same capitalists out to sea and
dumping them overboard—for all the difference it
would make to the economy as a whole. As a result,
the private shareholding bourgeoisie has a deathly
fear of extensive statification. Hence, the bour-
geoisie itself is a tremendous obstacle to a system
of state capitalism evolving gradually and
peacefully out of regular capitalism.

Yet, a system of state capitalism exists
throughout approximately one-third of the world.
How did such a system come into existence? How
have all the tendencies of capitalism in its epoch of
decay been drawn out to their "logical" conclusion
if the dominant sectors of the bourgeoisie violently
oppose this end result? The answer lies in the
overturn of the first and only successful proletarian
revolution, the Russian Revolution. It is to this
that we must now turn our attention. □



in Ethiopia and immigrant workers in France: "While capitalism in its progressive epoch certainly plun-
dered the non-capitalist world, this imperialist pillage has become a central feature of capitalism in its
decay. The economies of the imperialized countries are systematically distorted and stunted through their
ship to the imperialist countries, and the 'advanced' countries are subsidized by this same relationship."

Free the Livernois Five!

2nd Trial Opens March 22

Defense Effort Builds

DETROIT—Raymond Peoples, James Henderson and Ronald Jordan will stand trial for the second time on March 22. The three young black men are being framed on a first degree murder charge stemming from last year's Livernois-Fenkell street confrontations. The Livernois Five Defense Committee is redoubling its efforts to rally mass support to defeat the state's attempt to railroad these men into prison.

Peoples, Henderson, Jordan and two juveniles, Doug Lane and George "Butch" Young, were charged in the beating death of Marion Pyszko. Pyszko was killed during the disturbances ignited by the racist slaying of Obie Wynn, a black youth, by Andrew Chinarian, a white bar owner. Out of over 100 blacks rounded up in a police dragnet, the Livernois Five were pinned with the murder rap.

The first trial of the adults ended in a hung jury, with two key prosecution witnesses testifying they had been threatened by the cops with the choice of being witnesses for the prosecution or becoming defendants. The evidence supporting the state's case was so flimsy that the two juveniles were never even brought to trial. The charges against both were dismissed at the evidentiary hearings. Despite the failure of the prosecution to force a conviction, the three adults have been locked behind bars without bail. By the time their second trial begins, they will have been imprisoned for nearly eight months. This is eight months in the overcrowded County Jail for a crime they did not commit.

This treatment contrasts sharply with that received by Andrew Chinarian, self-confessed killer of Obie Wynn. Immediately after the shooting of Wynn, Chinarian was released on a \$500 bond. This was defended by the cops on the grounds that he was a businessman and a respected member of the community. Although the bond was later raised to \$25,000 in response to the outrage expressed by the black community, Chinarian was back on the streets after having been charged with second degree murder.

The mild handling of Chinarian was an indication of what was to come. While Mayor Coleman Young promised that "justice would be done" for the death of Wynn and Pyszko, each black youth who took to the streets knew he was lying. They knew that Chinarian would not get what he deserved in the bosses' court. And they knew right.

On February 7, Chinarian was convicted on a charge of reckless use of a firearm causing death. The conviction carries a maximum sentence of two years' imprisonment. The defense attorney maintained that Chinarian was attempting to make a citizen's arrest and was in fear for his life when he fired the shot that killed Wynn. While Wynn allegedly had a knife, no knife was ever found at the site of the shooting. Chinarian's explanation for why Wynn was shot in the back of the head was that he had actually meant to fire a warning shot at the fleeing youth, but his aim was off due to his bad eye. This unbelievable story was corroborated by a homicide investigator, who claimed that a black youth at the scene of the killing told him that he

wouldn't be able to find the knife. The black youth who offered such valuable information to this cop was never identified.

Chinarian's treatment is a promise of leniency to any racist who decides to take up the "defense" of his property against any black unlucky enough to find himself at the wrong end of the gun. The "justice" promised by Young was really a threat to any black who dares respond

to the racial oppression of capitalist society. The capitalist courts can be trusted to defend only the bosses and their lackeys.

To prove that the courts are evenhanded, the same judge that tried the Chinarian case was assigned to hear a set of motions filed by the defense attorneys in the Livernois Five case. Originally, the second trial had been postponed from January 21 to give the defense more time to prepare. The presiding judge, Judge Gillis, then decided to postpone the trial until after his vacation (an extra month). The defense attorneys were asking 1) that the trial start before the vacation or 2) that Gillis be removed from the case. If both were refused, a reasonable bond for the defendants was requested. Judge Clarence Laster,

Jr., who had just presided over Chinarian's trial, denied all three motions. The trial will remain in the court of the same Gillis who worked hand in hand with the prosecution in the first trial.

The efforts of the state to buy time through denying the motions will not bolster its sagging case. The new trial will further expose the frame-up character of the charges. The fact that the three adults have been repeatedly denied bail will only increase the determination of their supporters to see them free.

The Livernois Five Defense Committee will be sponsoring a support rally on March 21. Speakers for the Legal Defense Team, Family and Friends United, the Revolutionary Socialist League and other supporting organizations will address the audience. Two of the Livernois Five have already been freed. The Committee needs your support to see that Peoples, Henderson and Jordan gain their freedom. □

Nationalization Under Workers' Control

We reprint this article from the February issue of *Revolutionary Autoworker*, bulletin of the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC).

RAC has put forward contract proposals under the slogan "Make the Bosses Pay" for the crisis of the auto industry. The corporations and the union bureaucrats will respond, "Let's be realistic. The economy is in a recession, the companies are broke, the workers have to pay—with speed-up, layoffs and wage cuts. That's the only choice." We can expect this response, and must be ready for it.

First, we demand **Open the Books**. We demand the right to have our accountants and bookkeepers go over company records, to see if they are lying. With the company records open to our investigation, we can plan our strategy better—know how and when to strike and the best way to win our demands.

It's possible, however, that we would find the corporation unable to meet our demands. Chrysler is the most likely auto company to fit this description.

With old and decaying factories concentrated in Detroit, with a militant and "unreliable" work force, our demands for a decent standard of living could push Chrysler over the edge, to join the ranks of Packard, Nash and Studebaker. Even now GM is pushing for a bigger share of the market at Chrysler's expense.

Chrysler's solution will be, "Workers! Sacrifice for your company." Woodcock will agree. RAC's solution is **Nationalization Under Workers' Control!**

We're not just calling for government take-over of bankrupt corporations. We have seen many examples of this—such as the Penn Central Railroad. Recently the British government was considering taking over British Chrysler. Renault is run by the French government, and Fiat is run by the Italian government. In the Soviet Union and China, the state runs almost all of their countries' corporations.

These are examples of bourgeois nationalization, where the capitalist state takes over for individual capitalists, and uses the whole power of the state to increase the exploitation of the workers, to make the workers pay. The only difference is the state would lay off and speed up workers in the name of the "public good," instead of Riccardo (Chrysler chairman—Editor) doing it in the name of Chrysler stockholders. Under bourgeois na-

tionalization, auto workers would become public employees, and face the same attacks as city workers in New York and across the country are facing now.

What we demand is completely different. First, we would call for **nationalization without compensation**. The capitalist state takes over an industry by buying it—paying off the stockholders, guaranteeing high executive salaries and profits. They reward the capitalists for running industry into the ground. We demand that the corporation be taken over without paying blood money to the capitalists.



Workers protest against layoffs at government-run Fiat plant in Italy. Not bourgeois nationalization, but nationalization without compensation under workers' control!

Second, we demand **nationalization under workers' control**. We don't trust management to run the factories without our supervision. On the shop floor we must win union control of working conditions to guard against speed-up and unsafe working conditions. We must also train ourselves to keep track of financial operations to head off capitalist bookkeeping swindles. In this way all workers will work together to prevent any capitalist tricks, while winning the tools and experience they need to run production in their own interests.

This demand, nationalization without compensation under workers' control, will meet fierce opposition from the capitalists. The bankers will lose their interest, the stockholders will lose their blood money. Manage-

ment will have to give up their "sole right" to run things as they see fit. This situation cannot be very stable or long lasting.

On one side will be the bosses with their factories and state power. On our side will be the organized working class, with the power to control production in defense of its own interests. The question of who will run society will be posed. The bosses will attack. They will try and use the state power, the police and the army, to try to win back their control of our lives. To beat back this attack, we must be prepared to seize state power—to overthrow the capitalists and create a workers' government. We must build a revolutionary leadership in the UAW to take the lead in uniting the entire working class for this battle.

In Chile in 1971-72 workers reorganized and took control of factories closed by their owners. But the working class was not organized to take total control of the state from the capitalists. When the attack came, thousands of workers paid in blood. Today in Portugal workers are taking control of the factories but the capitalists are still in control of the government. This situation is full of danger for the working class.

In the United States, as in other countries, we must be prepared to carry the defense of our standard of living through to its conclusion—to replace the government of the bosses by the government of the working class—for a socialist revolution. Nationalization under workers' control of bankrupt corporations is an important victory, but we must be prepared to defend it.

Capitalism is unable to provide for all workers. This is clear from looking around us. The struggle for a decent living for all workers will be long and difficult, and means taking on the full power of the ruling class. But the alternative is to retreat before the capitalist offensive. The alternative is to drop our demands for jobs for all and for safe jobs. The alternative is to shrug our shoulders when a company goes broke, or puts thousands of us on permanent layoff. The alternative is to suffer through each crisis of capitalism, and sacrifice our wages, our living standards, and the future of our families so the bourgeoisie can continue to get rich.

We cannot be satisfied with easy "solutions." Instead we must look ahead and prepare our defense against each attack the capitalists will make in their drive to crush the working class. We must push our struggle on to its conclusion. □

The following conc... interview with a milit... and veteran of man... UAW. She is also the... the defendants in the... case. Her name is... security reasons.

Q: The RSL bel... Livernois Five are b... that the case is a fra... you think the under... this railroad are?

A: I think that un... a lot to do with it. I... unemployed, blacks... ased so much by th... ment. Young people... know what's happe... bitterness has built... parents weren't reall... what our youngst... through. I think th... Five case has reall... eyes of a lot of us an... so many more eyes w...

Q: We think that's... in a city where the un... for black youth is ove... a black youth like... murdered. What kind... you think are po... unemployment questi...

A: Well, if we coul... 40 in the contract t... give more of our peo... they will cut out the o... of having people w... overtime. Some that... seven days, nine hours... give them the regula... bring some of the... streets? Give them th...

Q: When you were... worker the contract... Revolutionary Autow... certain response to... response was that 30 f... good thing but we ca... do you feel about th... your response to this...

A: I think they felt... the beginning. It's... something very big, an... to say that we can... company is not going... us. But I feel that i... enough people togeth... get what you want.

Q: How?

A: By demanding i...

Q: And if they don't...

A: Then whatever ste... take, take them.

Q: Right now there... people in the UAW wh... don't have what they n... see how to fight for... when it comes to talki... tion, there are all kind... the plants who shy aw... you think is the reason... there are a lot of people...

had just presided over a trial, denied all three. The trial will remain in the same Gillis who worked and with the prosecution in trial.

parts of the state to buy time denying the motions will not sagging case. The new trial will expose the frame-up of the charges. The fact that adults have been repeatedly will only increase the of their supporters to free.

Livornois Five Defense Committee is sponsoring a support march 21. Speakers for the Defense Team, Family and Friends, the Revolutionary League and other supporting groups will address the audience of the Livornois Five have been freed. The Committee for support to see that Anderson and Jordan gain freedom. □

'Control

ave to give up their "sole things as they see fit. cannot be very stable or

de will be the bosses with es and state power. On our e the organized working the power to control in defense of its own e question of who will run be posed. The bosses will will try and use the state police and the army, to try their control of our lives. k this attack, we must be seize state power—to e capitalists and create a nment. We must build ary leadership in the e the lead in uniting the ng class for this battle.

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ot be satisfied with easy Instead we must look epare our defense against e capitalists will make ve to crush the working ust push our struggle on usion. □

TORCH Interview Continued

"The Only Way To Win Is by Taking Over"

The following concludes a two-part interview with a militant auto worker, and veteran of many years in the UAW. She is also the mother of one of the defendants in the Livornois Five case. Her name is withheld for security reasons.

Q: The RSL believes that the Livornois Five are being railroaded, that the case is a frame-up. What do you think the underlying causes of this railroad are?

A: I think that unemployment has a lot to do with it. Black people are unemployed, blacks are being harassed so much by the police department. Young people see this, they know what's happening, and such bitterness has built up in them. We parents weren't really trying to see what our youngsters are going through. I think that the Livornois Five case has really opened up the eyes of a lot of us and I do hope that so many more eyes will be opened up.

Q: We think that's true, especially in a city where the unemployment rate for black youth is over 60 percent and a black youth like Obie Wynn is murdered. What kind of solutions do you think are possible for the unemployment question?

A: Well, if we could get this 30 for 40 in the contract this could really give more of our people jobs. Also if they will cut out the overtime, instead of having people working all this overtime. Some that I know of work seven days, nine hours a day. Why not give them the regular 40 hours and bring some of the people off the streets? Give them the jobs.

Q: When you were showing another worker the contract demands in Revolutionary Autoworker you got a certain response to 30 for 40. This response was that 30 for 40 would be a good thing but we can't win it. How do you feel about that? What was your response to this worker?

A: I think they felt the way I did in the beginning. It seemed to be something very big, and we are quick to say that we can't do it, the company is not going to give that to us. But I feel that if you can get enough people together you can really get what you want.

Q: How?

A: By demanding it.

Q: And if they don't give it to you?

A: Then whatever steps you have to take, take them.

Q: Right now there are a lot of people in the UAW who see that they don't have what they need, but don't see how to fight for it. Especially when it comes to talking about revolution, there are all kinds of people in the plants who shy away. What do you think is the reason that right now there are a lot of people who are not

fighting or who are afraid to fight?

A: I really think that the bosses have got them so afraid, that's what I really think it is. I guess it takes people who are really convincing to convince them, but it seems to me that this is hard to do, because they've been had so long, especially older people. But I think that the younger people are more concerned about a better working position than they have. I think they don't have too much to look forward to. I hear a lot of people where I work complaining about the money they take out of your check, the cost of living being so high. There are so many people who are very much displeased about the way things are going but they say what can we do about it?

Q: What do you think will get them to move? To go into action?

A: The only thing I know is—would be if somebody could convince them.

Q: How would somebody convince them?

A: For instance, if you could get some of them to come to the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee meetings. It could be explained to them as it has been to me. There's so much I have learned in just a little short time I have been working with you about what can be done. I was won over by seeing this, others can be too.

Q: What kind of issues are there that are on people's minds, that people want to fight about?

A: Well, racism is one, I do know that. And that people are also being really harassed on the job. If the line is fast, and you're not able to keep up, they are standing right over you and pushing you. And on things like this, you really don't get too much representation from the union. Your representatives tell you there's nothing they can do, you just do the best you can and that's that. But what about those people who are standing over me all the time, I don't want that, I'm doing my job, get them off my back. But they don't do anything.

Q: What do you think would happen if the workers controlled the production line, if they decided what the speed would be, what the working time would be? What do you think could come out of that?

A: I think that if the right kind of people with the right things in mind, who aren't trying to get so much from the working people but just wanted a day's work, an honest day's work, instead of ones who feed off a person, speed the line up because the more cars you run the more money is in the bosses' pocket. People who are really concerned about the working class. You want an honest day's work, yes, but not to run that person. Not people who say you're going to be here for

eight hours and not do anything, I don't believe in that, but to do an honest day's work.

Q: How do you feel about the present UAW leadership?

A: They just give you enough to keep the workers going. It's still the big man all the time. They are still keeping the working class of people as their tools. There's a lot of things I think that should be done, and I don't think we're going to get it. Maybe if enough people got together to demand it. But in talking with several representatives where I work they just take it lightly because they think it can't be done. And I feel that it can be.

Q: Do you think the heads of local unions, the second and third levels of UAW bureaucracy, are fighting in any way?

A: No I don't. I think they're doing enough to keep people together, if they want to call it together. But I don't think that people have enough gumption, I would say, to speak up and say we don't really want this. I think that the leadership has power over them and he will just say take it or leave it. So I really don't think you would get anywhere just by your leaders in the local.

Q: The Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee, which the RSL supports, is leading a petition drive around organizing union defense committees to stop the racist attacks in this city. What do you think of the petition campaign?

A: I am working on it. I think the union should defend against these racist attacks. I know that three or four years ago they put out a paper saying that the union is not going to have anything to do with any race disturbances. If you start it, we are not going to uphold you in it. In other words, you better learn to get along. Whether this getting along was right or not, whether a person wanted to speak up on something, don't do it. You're going to have to just learn to get along with it because we are not going to defend you in this. And I don't think that this is right.

Q: Do you think there are people in the plants who are willing to listen to a group that not only knows how to talk but which also, through campaigns like the Livornois Five campaign, proves that it also knows how to fight?

A: I talked with a couple of people as far as the Livornois Five is concerned, and they thought it was a very good fight, and that you really stood out in front. It's kind of hard—it seems that you can't really feel anything or see anything until it happens to you. It seems to me that you hate for people to have to wait until something happens to them in order for them to see exactly what is happening. This is why we're so much

at ease, we have taken what the bosses have given us, like it or not. I think that I will be able to reach people where I work, and let them see how necessary it is. I have talked with quite a few of them now to say that something has to be done. The way that things are now, if you think that things are going to get better, they're going to get worse. If they can get away with one thing, next time they're going to try something else, and it's going to continue like this. They want to keep the working class under the whip all the time, because they're feeding off the working man. When we can really convince people, and let them see—they know that they're doing this, I'm sure they do, but they say what can we do about this? If we can convince them that something can be done about it then I think that that will be a good way to win them over.

Q: You said that people tend not to see things until it starts happening to them. Do you think that things are going to get worse for a whole lot more people?

A: I do believe that, yes I do. I think sometimes it has to happen in order for them to see. It's bad that it has to be like that, but I really think that this is what's going to happen. The way the world is today—you can see it even with the leaders of this country and what they are doing—it seems to me that the country is really falling apart.

Q: Do you think it's important for any group that claims to be a communist group to warn people ahead of time about what's going to happen? Do you think it's necessary for these groups to explain why these attacks are going on, to give people a world view and a solution from a working class point of view?

A: I think you should give them something, to let them see what will happen if this continues. This has happened, and if something isn't done about it, this will happen. It would be good, it would really open their eyes, to see that it really isn't going to stop at this. I mentioned once at a meeting that if they can get away with the Livornois Five case, next time it's going to be someone else. You're only making them stronger, when they get by with things like that. But if you stop them now, and say we're tired of this, we can do something about it.

Q: The RSL says that for the working class to take power it has to organize its own party, a revolutionary party made up of workers. Most workers don't agree with that now. And yet still a party of workers is necessary, because the Republican and Democratic Parties are parties of the bosses. Do you think that a working class party, a labor party, could really fight for the workers' interests?

A: Yes I do, because I think it is the working class that is really running the country. I think that what the workers are looking at—they feel it can't be done. This is the reason they're not for that. But I think that this is the only way that it's going to be won, by the labor party taking over completely. Unless it is taken over by a revolutionary party I don't think the bosses are going to give over, they just aren't going to do it. That's the only way I think that you would win, is by taking over. □

Read the TORCH!

EDITORIALS

Behind the Hearst Trial

Patty Hearst is on trial for bank robbery. On the surface, the issue in the trial is whether Patty Hearst acted willingly, as the government claims, or whether she was "brainwashed," as the defense claims.

The real "brainwashing" job in the Hearst case is being done by the ruling class and its newspapers and TV. They have already engineered a guilty verdict against the real defendants—the Symbionese Liberation Army and its two surviving members, William and Emily Harris, and the revolutionary left in general. The whole case is being used to drive home the ideas that all revolutionary violence must be condemned, and that all revolutionaries are aimless terrorists and murderers, and should be thrown in jail.

There is agreement between the Hearst family, Judge Oliver Carter, the State of California and, today, Patty Hearst herself on one point: the Symbionese Liberation Army got what they deserved when they were riddled with machine-gun fire in a Los Angeles cellar in late 1974, executed without trial for the crime of fighting U.S. imperialism.

This is the real issue in the trial. Patty Hearst's defense, which depends on the picture of Donald DeFreeze and the HARRISES as ruthless terrorists, drug-crazed zombies and worse, dovetails with the ruling

class's assault on the working class and its campaign to prepare the atmosphere for repression of the revolutionary left. The disagreement is only over the fact that Patty Hearst now wants off. This is actually a secondary issue. The ruling class would actually like to find a way to go light on her, but an acquittal would be too cynical a reward to this daughter of the very rich who joined her captors and then turned tail. Acquittal would discredit the ruling class's own campaign for the "rule of law." Conviction and a light sentence are more likely.

The actual point being sought by the ruling class has been made so successfully that despite the wanton murder of the SLA members by the police, despite the blatant attempt to buy Patty Hearst's freedom or a reduced sentence by pinning the whole thing on the HARRISES, there is almost no one on the left to defend the SLA or to demand freedom for the HARRISES. Almost the entire left has capitulated, to the ruling class's brainwash campaign.

The Symbionese Liberation Army was basically a group of petty-bourgeois anti-imperialist terrorists. It was a remnant of the much larger anti-imperialist movement of the 1960s. In its majority, this movement went from liberalism to anti-imperialist revolutionism without finding

roots in the working class, the only class capable of destroying capitalist society and building socialism.

Instead, it embraced all sorts of elitist substitutes for building a class-conscious workers' movement—substitutes ranging from Maoist guerrillaism to terrorism. The SLA was one remnant of this movement. Its idea of winning crumbs for the poor from the Hearst press empire by kidnapping Patty Hearst, although well intentioned, was naive and ineffectual. The SLA was unprepared for underground existence and was easily hunted down and destroyed—and it apparently made the fatal mistake of trusting Patty Hearst. All this made it easier for the ruling class to brand the SLA as insane criminals, and to create a climate in which the police could gun them down in cold blood.

But the SLA was composed of anti-imperialist revolutionaries, trying to strike a blow at the ruling class. To refuse to defend them because their tactics were wrong is utterly cynical and cowardly. Virtually the entire left has taken this line—either by keeping silent or, worse, by noisily denouncing the SLA as "lumpen criminals."

The ruling class is attempting to isolate the revolutionary left, to force it to retreat and abandon its aims. Simultaneously, it is trying to show that change is possible "within the

system." To make this case the ruling class cynically praises turncoats like Eldridge Cleaver, Jerry Rubin and Tom Hayden (now running for Senate in the Democratic Party primary). At the same time, it offers the masses "reforms" such as busing and the Equal Rights Amendment, which change nothing, and escalates the offensive against the working class.

In the face of the ruling class offensive, most of the organized and unorganized left has retreated and moved right. The failure to defend the SLA and its survivors is part of this. It is no accident that the Spartacist League, for example, which accepts the farces of busing and the ERA as good coin, also slanders the SLA as deranged psychotics.

The Revolutionary Socialist League, while attacking the illusions of petty-bourgeois terrorism, has always stood on the side of anti-imperialist fighters under attack by the U.S. capitalist class, the class which is the enemy of American workers, blacks and other oppressed groups, and of the workers and oppressed masses of the entire world. We still do. Patty Hearst, turncoat and informer, we leave to her fate. We demand freedom for William and Emily Harris.

**FREE THE HARRISES!
DEFEND THE SLA!**

LETTERS

Desmond Trotter Must Not Hang!

Desmond Trotter, imprisoned Dominican revolutionary, faces death by hanging unless the British Privy Council, the highest court in the British Commonwealth, grants his appeal on March 18. Trotter was framed on charges of murdering an American tourist in 1974. He is innocent. The real purpose of the trial was to stamp out a rising wave of protest, especially among unemployed youth. The following letter was sent to the committees working in Dominica and England for Trotter's freedom. Send support messages to the addresses indicated.

Dear Comrades:

We join the international campaign to save the life of Desmond Trotter. Our newspaper, the Torch, has previously demanded freedom for Desmond Trotter as a victim of trumped-up charges and class justice. The brutal campaign to hang Desmond Trotter is an attempt to quench the flames of revolt against imperialism and capitalist exploitation among the Dominican masses.

Despite differences in outlook we recognize that for the Dominican masses Desmond Trotter is a symbol of their resistance and their determination to struggle against imperialism and capitalism. Victory in the campaign to free Desmond Trotter is a victory for the international working-

class movement. Free Desmond Trotter now!

International Secretary
For the Central Committee
Revolutionary Socialist League, USA
Send messages of support to:

Committee in Defense of Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners in
Dominica
P.O. Box 231
Roseau
Dominica

Campaign to Save Desmond Trotter
37 Tollington Park
London N.4
England

**LEAGUE
FORUM
CHICAGO**

REVOLUTION IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

Sunday, April 4

160 North Halsted

3:00 P.M.

Speaker: Darryl Clark

German Leftists: Free Livernois Five!

The letter below was received by the Livernois Five Defense Committee, which requested that the Torch publish it.

Dear Comrades,

We of the Spartacusbund (local group in Koblenz), German organization of revolutionary trotskyism, condemn the racist attack against the Livernois Five as an attack against the whole black movement in the USA.

It's another misdeed of U.S. class-justice all revolutionaries all over the world has to condemn too.

We declare our full solidarity with

the charged comrades Raymond Peoples, James Henderson, Ronald Jordan, George Young and Butch Lane wishing them and their committee a successful fight against the class-justice and its system.

With fraternally greetings,
Spartacusbund-Koblenz
Postlagerkarte A 023 981
5400 Koblenz BRD

(The Defense Committee is urgently in need of funds to continue its work. Please send funds and requests for further information to: Livernois Five Defense Committee, P.O. Box 503, Detroit, Michigan 48221.)

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New York, N.Y. 10036

© 1976, Revolutionary Socialist League Publishing Company

Editor: Jack Gregory
Managing Editor: Susan Edmunds

Correspondence and subscriptions to:
Torch
P.O. Box 562
Times Square Station
New York, N.Y. 10036

Subscriptions (U.S., Canada, Mexico):
6 issue introductory \$1.00
12 issues (one year) \$3.00
supporting (one year) \$5.00

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Checks should be made out to the Torch

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Government Continues 25-Year Cover-Up

Why Were the Rosenbergs Murdered?

Twenty-five years ago this month, a federal court convicted Julius and Ethel Rosenberg of espionage. Two years later, on June 19, 1953, the Rosenbergs became the first Americans ever executed as spies in peacetime.

The Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, filed suit two years ago under the Freedom of Information Act to force the release of 300,000 pages of government documents on the case. In December, the government yielded about one-third of the documents in the FBI file—less than 10 percent of all the documents on the case. Even these were heavily censored.

As Michael Meeropol emphasized at a news conference in January, "files the government chose to give us" were released. The campaign for full, uncensored release of the documents must be supported.

COLD WAR HYSTERIA

Although they were charged with stealing atomic secrets, the Rosenbergs were really executed for the crime of Communism—and being Jewish. The charges against the Rosenbergs were blatantly false. But even if the charges had been true, the evidence against them was so flimsy, the "stolen secrets" so insignificant, that it is inconceivable that they would have been executed if not for the hysteria that gripped the U.S. in the early 1950s.

The right-wing hysteria of the '50s resulted from the breakup of the wartime alliance between the U.S. and the USSR. In 1945-47, U.S. capitalism turned from alliance with the USSR to rivalry. The wartime concessions it made to Russian imperialism to keep its loyalty became obstacles to U.S. imperialism's own world domination. The U.S. launched the "cold war" to establish itself as the world's most powerful state. At the same time, it launched an attack on the independence of U.S. unions and on radical opposition in general.

Those in government who were identified with the wartime policy—chiefly liberals who thought the USSR could be included in a scheme to police the world against revolution—were purged. In the unions, the Communist Party and its supporters got similar treatment and 11 major unions with a membership of nearly a million were expelled from the CIO. Schools and universities fired teachers who refused to cooperate with government investigations. Liberals viciously joined in all these measures, and only protested when right-wingers turned the same tactics against them.

By 1950, the idea of the Communist "menace" was so firmly implanted that large numbers of Americans believed Communists should be executed in case of war. Once accused, few escaped the hysteria. One West Virginia teacher, accused of Communism and atheism, was fired despite the lack of any evidence, and attempted suicide. Many were out of work for years, or had to leave the United States.

ATOM SPIES

In early 1950, Klaus Fuchs, a German-born physicist living in England, confessed to passing atomic information to the USSR during World War II. The FBI soon picked up Harry Gold, a Philadelphia chemist who had minor connections with the USSR before the war, as Fuchs' U.S. accomplice. Gold implicated



The Rosenbergs: Murdered by U.S. imperialism, guilty of being Communists and Jews.

David Greenglass, a machinist who did minor work on the bomb project. Greenglass in turn accused his own sister, Ethel Rosenberg, her husband Julius, and others of being leaders of the "plot." As his reward, Greenglass expected a suspended sentence, but received 15 years (he served nine). Gold received 30 years. Morton Sobell, accused as an accomplice, served 18 years of a 30-year sentence, swearing his innocence. The Rosenbergs were electrocuted.

By "proving" that the Rosenbergs had stolen atomic secrets, the government could "prove" that all Communists and Communist sympathizers were potential traitors, that U.S. radicals had helped Russia launch the Korean war, that any suppression of left-wingers was valid in the name of national security. All these ideas were involved when Judge Irving Kaufman told the Rosenbergs as he sentenced them to die:

"I consider your crime worse than murder . . . (It) has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding fifty thousand and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason."

But the government convicted the Rosenbergs only on the basis of hysteria. It had no case.

GOLD'S LIES

Gold's story was that the Rosenbergs were master spies who ran an entire espionage ring during and after World War II. In reality, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were lower-middle class Jewish radicals who had been close to or members of the Communist Party. This fact alone tends to prove they were not spies, since real spies usually are politically colorless people with no known connections to their foreign bosses.

Gold further claimed that he received A-bomb plans from David Greenglass on a visit to Albuquerque in June 1945. To start with, the supposed plans, recreated by Greenglass five years later, were very crude sketches of machine molds for parts of one type of A-bomb detonator. The principle of this type of detonator was known to any scientist working on atomic weapons—as Russian scientists already were. Thus even if the whole story were true, Greenglass' plans would only have enabled a trained scientist to conclude that the U.S. was working on this type of detonator. This was the information Judge Kaufman said had "caused" fifty thousand casualties!

But even this "evidence" was fabricated. The government's case

rested on the unsupported testimony of Greenglass and Gold, who worked out their stories in months of pre-trial coaching by the FBI and were allowed to confer with each other in jail. The government was not even able to prove that Gold had been in Albuquerque in June of 1945. Gold's memories of Greenglass's Albuquerque home were inaccurate, the government's exhibit of a Hilton Hotel registration card may have been forged, and in any case the time-stamp on the card is for a different date than the one given by Gold!

Other "evidence" is simply unbelievable. For example, Max Elitcher, a slight acquaintance of Rosenberg, testified that Rosenberg repeatedly asked him to commit espionage over a four-year period even though Elitcher never gave him any encouragement!

STEAM FROM HIS EARS

One of the main government witnesses, Greenglass, had his own neck to save, and was described by his own wife as having a "tendency to hysteria" and to "say things were so even if they were not so." The other, Harry Gold, was a pathologic liar who told contradictory stories in different court appearances, supplied himself with a string of imaginary relatives and, when forced to admit the contradictions, exclaimed: "It is a wonder steam didn't come out of my ears at times." In a later, unrelated trial Gold was asked: "You lied for a period of six years?" He answered: "I lied for a period of 16 years, not alone six."

The FBI was able to use terrified individuals, like Elitcher and Greenglass, to corroborate the fabrications rehearsed with Gold. The story was

believable because the Rosenbergs were apparently Communist sympathizers—and because they were Jewish. The element of anti-Semitism in the case was indignantly denied by liberals and disguised by the fact that the judge and the prosecutors, too, were Jews. But how likely is it that the Rosenbergs would have fied if their name had been Adams or Kennedy?

NEW COVER-UP

Twenty-five years later, there is at last a chance to reveal the full truth in the Rosenberg case. But already there is a new cover-up. When the expurgated FBI files were made public by court order, the New York Times was on hand to make light of the few damaging facts that had been allowed to appear. For example, when David Greenglass first denied and then testified that Ethel Rosenberg was involved, the Times explained that the contradiction could show how "a person, torn by terrible emotions, gradually is brought to the point where he tells the full truth."

The American Bar Association, mouthpiece of ruling class and corporation lawyers, formed a special committee "to counteract unwarranted criticism" of the trial judges. "Altogether 112 judges dealt... with the Rosenberg case. Not one saw fit to question their guilt," according to a spokesman. This completely ignores the atmosphere of the times, in which, for example, impeachment was demanded for a judge said to have been lenient to Alger Hiss.

Why is it important for the Times and the ABA to defend the conduct of the Rosenberg case after 25 years? Despite the recent exposures of CIA and FBI "dirty tricks" by these same liberals, their aim is to "clean house," confine the CIA and FBI to "legitimate" intelligence work, and restore public trust in the agencies.

Moreover, for the liberals to admit that the Rosenbergs were framed would condemn their own pasts—for at the time, they all joined in the hunt. For all these reasons, they wish, if they cannot prove the Rosenbergs were guilty, at least to write their execution off as an "honest mistake."

This is a vicious lie. The Rosenbergs were railroaded to death by U.S. imperialism, trying to build public acceptance of its aggressive policies. Those who prosecuted and tried the case were accomplices in a frame-up. Justice cannot bring the Rosenbergs back to life, but the working class must learn the lesson of the government's lies. □

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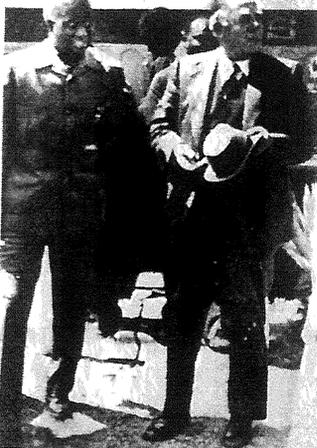
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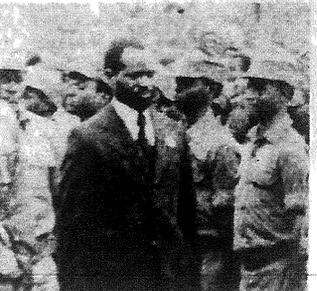
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Racist Smith's days are numbered but imperialists seek a new neo-colonial solution.



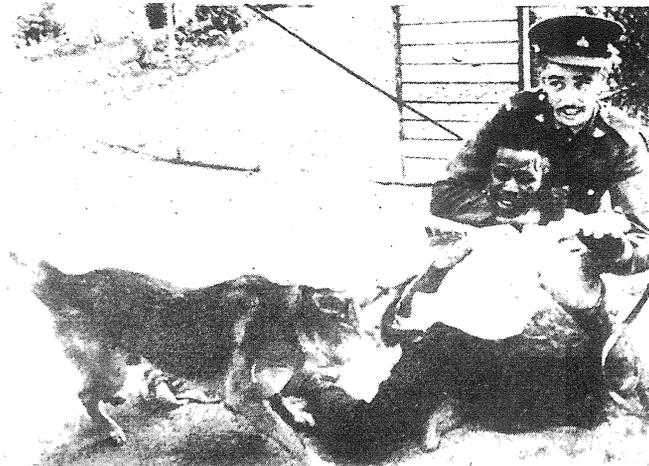
Kaunda, President of Zambia, at conference with South African Prime Minister Vorster. He seeks to sacrifice struggle for liberation.



President Machel of Mozambique reviews troops of the Mozambique liberation army. Continued from page 1

their white skins and the brutal exploitation of unskilled black workers. The majority are farmers living off the labor of African farm workers. The entire position of this colonial settler population depends on the denial of all rights to the African majority. The few white liberals who have called for compromise solutions have lost all white support.

Until recently, world imperialism banked on the survival of this vicious regime. Britain and the U.S. gave lip service to the principle of majority rule while blocking action against the racists: South Africa openly backed Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister. But the defeat of Portuguese colonialism, and now the defeat of the U.S.-South African attempt to force the P.N.L.A.-UNITA puppet regime on the Angolan people, have made it clear to all that Smith cannot last forever. The imperialists are now desperately looking for a neo-colonial



Policeman holds demonstrator after police broke up a meeting of the Zimbabwe African National Union. Split in the nationalist movement gives the imperialists an opening.

solution, which would bring the form of majority rule under the actual control of world imperialism.

"LAST CHANCE" FOR NEO-COLONIALISM

The possibility of a neo-colonial solution arises from the splits in the Zimbabwe nationalist movement. Nominally all black anti-Smith forces are united in the African National Council (ANC). In reality, since the early 1960's the movement has been split between forces loyal to Joshua Nkomo, once the major nationalist leader, and those of Ndabaningi Sithole, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA). This split has given the imperialists their chance.

Sithole's forces, which have the support of the overwhelming bulk of nationalist militants and the Zimbabwe masses, launched armed guerrilla attacks beginning in 1969. In the meantime, Nkomo lost most of his backing in Zimbabwe and is now trying to come to power as an African front man for white South Africa.

Since December, Nkomo has been engaged in negotiations with Ian Smith. These talks have been condemned by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, spokesman for the militant nationalists in place of the imprisoned Sithole. So far, Smith is unwilling to agree to the principle of majority rule, which would mean political suicide for himself and—if achieved—would spell the end of the power and privileges of the white settlers. Nkomo cannot politically survive if he agrees to anything less than a timetable for majority rule. The talks, therefore, are at an impasse.

VORSTER BACKS NKOMO

The main pressure for a negotiated solution comes from South African Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster. This vicious totalitarian racist is trying to set up a black Rhodesian regime friendly to his own country. Vorster knows that Smith cannot last and that the interests of U.S., British and South African capital in Zimbabwe can survive under a black bourgeois regime. Vorster is ready to sacrifice Smith and the 275,000 white settlers, who are not a necessary prop for imperialist interests in Zimbabwe, if an African regime that owes everything to South Africa can be brought in. Vorster's pressure on Smith is Nkomo's only chance of coming to power.

Rather than condemning this neo-colonial power play, the leaders of the African "frontline" states are going along. These states include Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique, all bordering on Zimbabwe, and Tanzania, headquarters of the southern African exile movements. The "frontline" presidents, from the "moderate" Kaunda of Zambia to the "radicals" Nyerere of Tanzania and Machel of Mozambique, all want to avoid a revolutionary war in Zimbabwe. They themselves wish to find a way to live with South Africa, which means sacrificing the struggle against imperialism in southern Africa. But they cannot openly betray the struggle and survive politically. This means they must find a way to give Zimbabwe a regime acceptable to the masses—in other words a majority regime—and also to South Africa.

AFRICAN RULERS' TWO LINES

The African leaders are therefore following a two-sided strategy, which Kaunda calls "the doctrine of irrelevance." This means: if negotiations succeed, the militant nationalists become irrelevant; if negotiations fail, Nkomo becomes irrelevant. Mozambique's closing of the border was intended to put pressure on Smith to keep Nkomo "relevant." In sum, Nyerere, Kaunda and the others are saying to Vorster that, if he can force Smith to give in, they will politically support Nkomo, who will rule Zimbabwe in the interests of U.S., British and South African capital. But, they threaten, if Vorster cannot force Smith to give in, they will have to back the armed struggle.

The treachery of Kaunda, Nyerere and Machel to the anti-imperialist struggle is obvious. It gives the lie to the claims of these leaders to be revolutionaries and socialists. They are nothing but bourgeois nationalists forced to pose as revolutionaries to keep the support of the masses, hoping that South Africa will get them off the hook.

ARMED STRUGGLE AHEAD

However, the almost certain failure of the Smith-Nkomo talks will force these treacherous leaders to support the armed struggle under "the doctrine of irrelevance." The next phase in Zimbabwe is therefore likely to be an intensification of armed struggle.

Outside Zimbabwe, the struggle is also growing, although more slowly. The Angola-Namibia border is now open to the South-West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO),

which has threatened to call on Cuba for aid.

Nor will the struggle stop in Namibia. In the former British protectorates bordering on South Africa, legally independent regimes that are actually South African puppets hold sway. This is particularly true in Lesotho, where the elections won by the Basutoland Congress Party five years ago were cancelled by South African puppet Leabua Jonathan to keep himself in power. In these states too, the rise of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia will give new hope to the opponents of South African domination.

MARXISM VS. CENTRISM

These developments prove the correctness of the Marxist position of military support to the MPLA in the recent Angolan war. The Maoists' position of neutrality, and the U.S. Spartacist League's position of support to Russia's "proxy war" against the U.S., had one feature in common: All these petty-bourgeois centrists denied that the struggle of the MPLA in Angola was a mass liberation struggle that would play a revolutionary role in southern Africa. (The SL's Workers Vanguard, in its January 16 issue, even shamefully declared that "the present war in Angola is not a national liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism.")

In contrast, the Marxist position stressed that the victory of the MPLA would be a victory over imperialism, despite the MPLA's character as a capitalist party. This victory has therefore spurred the mass struggle throughout southern Africa.

Balthazar Vorster's delicate diplomacy, aimed at buying peace for his totalitarian state by surrounding it with bought-off African puppet and client regimes, has been given a sharp blow by the victory in Angola and the resulting advances of the struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Moreover, the arming of the southern African masses and their mobilization in the anti-imperialist struggle mean the entrance of the African masses into the arena of modern politics. Through such experiences the masses learn to struggle and the building of revolutionary workers' parties throughout southern Africa is brought closer. These are the reasons why the victories of the bourgeois national liberation movements in southern Africa have world-wide revolutionary significance. □

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