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liente y socialista. □

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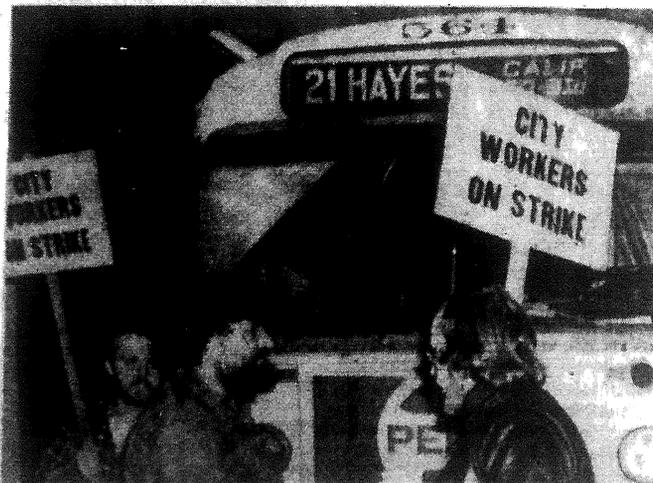
Newspaper
of the
Revolutionary
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League

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APRIL 15-MAY 14, 1976

SF Labor Threatens General Strike

Argentine Military
Overthrows Perón

After months of semi-public prepara-
tion, the Argentine military over-
threw the government of Isabel Perón
on March 24. This coup marks the end
of three decades of Peronist hegemony
over the Argentine working class. The
coup leaders want to appear "moder-
ate," but their program begins with
the takeover of the trade unions, the
suppression of all struggle by the
working class and the planned round-
up of Marxists and "extremists" of
the left.

The government's bankrupt policies
had frittered away nearly all its
support—support that had been mas-
sive when Juan Perón returned to
power in 1973. The Peronist regime,
built on labor support, was called back
to discipline the proletariat, attacking
the workers to save the capitalists.
This cost it the support of more and
more workers. At the same time,
because Isabel Perón had no real base
of support except the workers, she
was unable to carry out the attacks far
enough to satisfy the bourgeoisie. The
result was the constant narrowing of
the government's support, while
strikes and shootings grew in the
streets and factories and the Argen-
tine peso rapidly declined in value.

The lack of resistance to the recent
coup showed the foresight of General
Jorge Videla, head of the new junta,
when he put down an earlier coup
attempt in December. At that time

Videla expressed sympathy with the
rebels and insisted that Isabel Perón
intensify her attacks on the workers
and guerrillas. But he also argued that
the December coup was premature
and that there was more usefulness to
be squeezed out of her. He was right.
In December the Peronists were able
to threaten a general strike to defend
the government. But by February
there were no signs of serious will to
resist a coup.

The proletariat passively accepted
the coup because of its rotten
leadership. Most of the big labor
bureaucrats doggedly and cynically
stuck with Isabel Perón to the end,
offering no alternative but the wretch-
ed lesser of two evils. Workers were
not willing to fight for a government
that promised nothing but more aus-
terity plans. Meanwhile the leftist
guerrilla forces opposing Isabel Perón
have for some time welcomed the
prospect of a coup in the mistaken
belief that this would turn labor
against the military and heighten
"revolutionary conditions."

No one tried to mobilize the workers
behind the necessary revolutionary
strategy the Bolsheviks used toward
the Kerensky government in Russia in
1917. The Bolshevik strategy would
mean rallying workers to defend
against a coup, while preparing to
overthrow the Perón government from

Continued on page 15

SAN FRANCISCO, Apr. 13—As
we go to press, the strike against the
city government's attempt to break
the municipal unions continues to
build. Commuter bus drivers on the
Golden Gate route (northern suburbs)
have hit the bricks, joining 1,900 city
craftsmen and Municipal Railway
workers honoring the craft workers'
lines. Traffic is completely snarled in
and around the city.

One week ago the San Francisco
Central Labor Council voted for a
general strike of the city's nearly 50
unions if Mayor George Moscone and
the Board of Supervisors don't back
off their savage wage-cutting and
contract-busting demands. But to this
date the union leaderships have not
announced a strike deadline and have
made no preparations for the threat-
ened citywide walkout.

The bureaucrats are prepared to
negotiate a sellout—provided the city
administration backs off enough to
allow for a compromise. The Central
Labor Council still calls for federal
mediation, which is sure to mean
losses for the strikers. But, although
Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery has
dispatched a representative, the city's
intransigent politicians refuse to
accept mediation. Board of Super-
visors President Quentin Kopp put it
on the line: "Labor's day of running
San Francisco is over."

The city administration's ruthless
campaign and the union bureaucrats'
vacillations are meeting fierce resis-
tance from the rank and file of San
Francisco labor. The enormous mili-
tancy and solidarity was summed up
by one transit worker at an April 7

meeting: "The labor movement is at
stake here and all unions will suffer if
this thing fails." If the city govern-
ment does not make some concessions
the ranks' determination may force
the bureaucrats to call the first
citywide general strike since 1934.

The current strike was touched off
by the city craftsmen (plumbers, car-
penters, streetsweepers, electricians
and laborers) on March 30 when a
wage-cutting ordinance was put into
effect. The ordinance, which took back
previously negotiated pay increases,
capped a months-long campaign
against the city workers.

At last November's election, the
Supervisors pushed through Propo-
sition B. This anti-union law outlawed
strikes by firemen and cops and
stripped craftsmen of a 30-year-long
legal guarantee of wage parity with
privately employed craft workers. The
politicians are using Proposition B to
claim a "mandate from the people" in
their anti-union campaign.

BUREAUCRATS CATER
TO CITY GOVERNMENT

The craftsmen's strike follows a
period in which the city used the
bureaucrats' cowardice to divide and
isolate the public workers' unions. The
Service Employees International
Union (SEIU), representing half of
the city's 18,300 public workers, caved
in first. SEIU leaders Tim Twomey
and Vincent Courtland rammed
through a contract settlement on
March 25 that included a 3 percent
wage increase for most workers (which
Continued on page 14

Second Livernois Trial Ends in
Hung Jury; State Will Try Again

DETROIT—The second murder
trial of the Livernois Five ended in a
hung jury on April 7. Eight of the 12
jurors voted for acquittal of James
Henderson and Ronald Jordan, four
were for acquitting Raymond Peoples.
(Charges against the other two Liver-
nois Five defendants, Doug Lane and
George Young, previously were
dropped for lack of evidence.)

For all three defendants, the jury
count had shifted in their favor
compared to the first trial, which
ended in a hung jury last November.
This is a victory for the Livernois Five
and their supporters, especially since
presiding judge Joseph A. Gillis virtu-
ally acted as a second prosecutor.

The state still won't drop the
charges, scheduling a new trial for
May 7. The Livernois Five Defense
Committee demands an end to the

frame-up: no third trial and immed-
iate freedom for Peoples, Henderson
and Jordan.

For eight months the ruling class in
Detroit has tried to railroad the
Livernois Five, five young black men.
The five were charged with the murder
of Marion Pyszko, a white motorist
killed during street confrontations in
Detroit's Livernois-Fenkell area fol-
lowing the murder of 18-year-old black
youth Obie Wynn by white racist
Andrew Chinarian.

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and
the cops want to make an example of
the Livernois Five to warn blacks
against any future attempt to protest
against racist attacks and the miser-
able living conditions they must face
every day. The Five were arrested in a
typical racist dragnet which pulled in

Continued on page 18

State Capitalism vs. Workers' Rule-p.7

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

Bailar Calls For New Postal Service Cuts

The following article is reprinted from the New York Postal Action, local bulletin of the Postal Action Committee [PAC].

On March 29, Postmaster General Benjamin Bailar eliminated the second business delivery in nine Eastern cities. He has announced plans to drop the third delivery in New York City on May 17. These cuts threaten thousands of carrier jobs and would force additional thousands of clerks and mailhandlers onto night shifts to handle the earlier deliveries.

The timing of these moves was not accidental. Bailar knew that New York Carriers Branch 36 has traditionally been a militant stronghold. He hoped to present the New York carriers with an accomplished fact. If the cuts went through without a fight in the other Eastern cities, he reasoned, New York workers would be demoralized and isolated, and a strike would be averted. But so far, Branch 36 has held firm. It plans a strike vote for May 16.

The militancy of New York carriers reflects a growing determination of workers throughout the country to fight back against Bailar's attacks. Rank and file anger forced 42 local union officials to threaten strike action in a recent "Big Cities Caucus" meeting of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU). Workers are talking about the need for "another 1970"—referring to the wildcat strike which brought out the National Guard and won major gains for postal workers. This militancy is forcing sections of the ruling class to reconsider their strategies to solve the crisis of the U.S. Postal Service.

CONGRESS WAVERS

The congressional liberals are most sensitive to this pressure. They agree that jobs and services must be cut, but disagree with Ford and Bailar on the pace and form of these attacks. The liberals want to put off large-scale attacks for the present, pump in billions of subsidy dollars, and establish a congressional commission to "study" the question. This is the essence of the McGee Amendment now awaiting consideration in the Senate. The Democrats hope to appear as the protectors of jobs and services in their drive to unseat Ford. Any serious cuts would have to include the elimination of the unprofitable rural post offices, and the liberals don't want to alienate the rural voters. Most importantly, the liberals want to avoid a head-on confrontation with the working class, particularly in an election year.

President Ford and the conservatives call for the elimination of the postal monopoly, raising rates, and large-scale cut-backs. Ford promised to veto any postal subsidy. This is a scare-tactic to try to force through big cuts. Ford is now saying he will approve a "modest" subsidy.

Bailar is caught in the middle. He is committed to putting the PO on a profit-making basis through massive cutbacks in services and our jobs. However, the militancy of the work force and the resistance of the liberals are pressuring him to accept whatever "some cuts, some money" compromise is worked out in ruling class circles.

BUREAUCRATS ALLY WITH LIBERALS

The national union bureaucrats line up with the liberals. Like their idol Hubert Humphrey, these hacks accept that "saving" the PO means big cuts in jobs and working conditions. They have played a mediating role between Bailar and the ranks, selling rotten compromise schemes to the workers, while attempting to draw a line on how far they can retreat. APWU President Filbey was finally forced to break his "full cooperation with Bailar" line under intense prodding from local bureaucrats faced with an explosive rank and file. Even Vincent Sombrotto, the most "left" of the lot, calls for "professional management" (capitalist management, that is) at the same time he is forced to threaten a New York City Carriers' strike in order to maintain his hold on angry New York carriers.

A retreat by the ruling class and postal management, even a temporary one, would give us time to mobilize our forces for the battles ahead. This will be true, however, only to the extent that we refuse to be lulled by the Democrats' utopias, and fight the continued efforts to chip away at jobs and working conditions through forced transfers, speed-up, attrition, cutting safety standards and the like.

The outlook is good that this can be done. Postal workers are breaking out of the demoralization which followed last summer's contract sellout. Attendance at the March Branch 36 meeting was far above normal. So was consciousness. A Postal Action Committee (PAC)-sponsored motion to send organizers to other branches urging strike votes and preparations to build the strike passed over the opposition of the union tops.

Branch president Sombrotto preferred to keep silent on the motion, letting his cronies speak against it so

that he could maintain his militant image. But the membership didn't buy his trick. They passed PAC's motion and put Sombrotto on the spot to carry it out.

Sombrotto has taken few steps to implement the motion which passed. He is still hedging his bets, talking tough but doing little to prepare for a strike. Time and again, Sombrotto has proven that he will act only when massive pressure from the ranks forces him to do so. The Branch 36 membership must set up a rank and file committee to handle all strike preparations. To ensure a successful strike, the rank and file committee must:

1. Bring the entire rank and file into active participation through establishing committees at every station to educate and organize carriers for the strike.
2. Broaden the New York strike through appeals to Metro and LIUNA to join the strike in the interest of all postal workers. An area-wide conference of all postal workers should be called to hammer out a strike strategy based on the following demands:

a. NO REDUCTION IN THE

WORKFORCE: We refuse to pay for the USPS crisis! No Trip Cuts! No Forced Transfers! No Layoffs of Part-time or Temporary Workers! Full Hours for Subs! Restore all Jobs Cut! 30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay!

b. NO REDUCTION IN SERVICES: No Delivery Cuts! No Post Offices Closed! Roll Back All Increased Rates!

c. HOLD THE LINE ON WORKRULES: No Job Reversions or Combinations! Smash the Koko Plan! No Mandatory Overtime! Stop All Harassment of

Union Militants!

3. Spread the struggle nationally by forging links with other rank and file groups around the country. As the national rank and file movement grows, it can call city-wide and regional conferences to organize and unite postal workers in all crafts and classifications. A powerful national rank and file movement could take over the NALC and APWU conventions this summer, turning them into powerful national centers to coordinate the fight. Links must be forged with the rest of the working class on the basis of common needs to fight the capitalists' attacks. Particularly important is building mutual support with UPS workers, whose Central States Agreement expires April 30. Management always tries to play us off against UPS workers using "competition" as an excuse for speed-up and unsafe working conditions. Unity of UPS and postal workers in struggle could prevent any moving of scab mail and cargo and vastly increase the workers' power to defend themselves. □

[For further information write PAC, P.O. Box 439, New York, NY 10036.]



Benjamin F. Bailar, Postmaster General.

URW Contract Expires

The contract covering 67,700 members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) expires on April 20. Negotiations with the Big Four—Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich and Uniroyal—are underway with little chance of a decent settlement without strike action.

The current contract struggle must regain every inch of lost ground as well as provide real defense against future attacks. A militant nationwide strike against all four companies is essential to accomplishing this task.

Traditionally, the URW has been a pacesetter in the bargaining round—especially for the auto talks, which take place in the early fall. In recent years, however, this role has been undercut by the URW bureaucracy, headed by President Peter Bommarito. During the last three years alone, rubber workers have been hit with a 20 percent cut in real wages. This is the direct result of the union leadership's failure to fight for a decent contract in 1973. Using Nixon's wage-price controls as a cover, Bommarito negotiated a contract with no protection against inflation—no cost of living allowance.

Conditions in the plants deteriorated, but the workers got no protection from the union. Finally, the bureaucrats did nothing about mass layoffs, so that today 15 percent of all rubber workers are unemployed.

There is little reason to believe that Bommarito's strategy will achieve in 1976 what it was not able to gain in 1973 (a year of record profits). Ac-

cording to Goodyear Vice President O.M. Sherman, the largest of the rubber companies have "reached the point where we can't continue the kinds of settlements we have had. If there is any further movement in this direction, plants may have to close." Fourteen plants have already been closed over the last three years.

Caught in the middle of the conversion to radial production by the recession and fuel crisis, the companies have been hard put to maintain their profits. A good indicator of the health of the industry is passenger tire sales, which accounted for 81 percent of the total tire market in 1975 and two-thirds of total industry sales. In 1973, the companies sold over 200 million tires. In 1974, the figure had declined by 28 million and in 1975 had bottomed out at about 168 million. While sales are expected to reach 182 million this year, the companies have not yet recovered from the costs of converting to radials nor from the recession. To make up their losses, the rubber barons are demanding that work rules gained through years of struggle be scrapped. Instead of fighting to extend these gains, the bureaucrats give up without a fight. John Nardella, URW president at Goodyear, explained that the union had been opposed to work rule changes, but now this had changed and "we attack the problem." Thus, the bosses' job combination and speedup schemes to increase productivity are implemented with the



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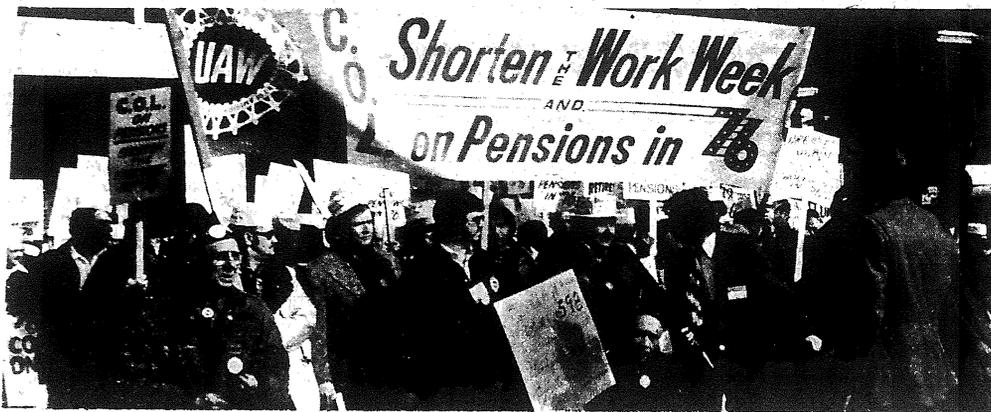
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UAW members demonstrate at Bargaining Convention. Woodcock ignored rank and file demands for a fight for the shorter work week.

UAW Bargaining Convention Meets; Major Issues Facing Ranks Ignored

DETROIT—The mid-March United Auto Workers (UAW) Bargaining Convention was the proving grounds for the Woodcock bureaucracy's strategy for the upcoming contract negotiations. The contract expires September 14.

That the Convention was a sellout comes as no surprise—it was stacked with Woodcock delegates elected two years ago, before the layoffs hit. But as opposed to three years ago this time there was barely even a pretense of militancy from the bureaucracy or the so-called oppositionists.

Many of the important issues facing auto workers were simply ignored: voluntary overtime, ensuring SUB benefits for low seniority workers and the like. Woodcock announced he would not fight for cost of living

increases for retirees, stating that he was legally bound not to reopen the pension issue until 1979. Speakers who pointed out that the UAW had forced reopeners on "legally closed" contracts before were ignored.

The only clear-cut position taken was to grant the skilled trades veto rights over the contract. This concession weakens the industrial union structure of the UAW and provides a veneer of "victory" for the privileged layer, lessening the pressure on Woodcock to actually win anything for auto workers.

But the major sellout took place on the shorter work week issue. Large numbers of rank and file auto workers understand that the shorter work week is key to preventing layoffs and providing jobs. Woodcock could not

simply ignore it. Instead he blustered and postured. In his opening remarks, Woodcock stated that "the central theme of 1976 bargaining has to be job security." But when Local 122 president Bob Weissman introduced a mealy-mouthed motion making the "principle" of the shorter work week the number one priority, Woodcock ruled it out of order.

"OPPOSITIONISTS" SOUND LIKE WOODCOCK

While delegates were settling down for a long boring reading of the official bargaining convention resolution, hundreds of demonstrators were milling around outside carrying picket signs and balloons to the sounds of a polka band.

April 20; Prepare To Strike All Four!

active support of the hacks. The ranks are left with the right to preferential rehire (seniority is nontransferable) when their jobs are eliminated.

MISLEADERSHIP POSTERS DISUNITY

Although an organized opposition has not openly emerged, there are indications of widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks. Bommarito, who was recently re-elected president of the union, was unable to get delegate credentials to the last convention from his own local. Pressure from the rank and file forced a shake-up on the newly elected executive board, giving representation to blacks and other minorities as well as adding one woman—a first in the union's history.

The union is under direct threat of a split from disgruntled skilled workers being courted by the reactionary International Society of Skilled Tradesmen (ISST). On February 17, the ISST filed a petition demanding an NLRB election to challenge URW representation of the skilled trades. The ISST claims to have the support of over 30 percent of the skilled workers in Akron.

Although the petition was denied, the threat of a split in the future remains as long as the union is under the thumb of reformists like Bommarito. The appeal of the ISST is based on the most backward sentiments within the better-off section of the union. ISST leader Henry Schickling claims to be fighting "the com-

munist system in the UAW and the URW, where everybody gets the same amount." In fact, he and his ilk weaken the union in the face of severe attacks. Skilled workers are told to sacrifice the well-being of their class brothers and sisters in production in the hopes of gaining a few more crumbs for themselves.

The URW bureaucracy denounces the ISST as a company union and tries to buy the loyalty of the skilled tradesmen by promising them an extra 35 cent raise over that demanded for production workers. This strategy plays directly into the hands of the ISST and the capitalists by reinforcing the divisions that exist between skilled and production workers. It ignores the fact that skilled workers would be unable to defend themselves if separated from production workers. Lasting unity can only be forged through a struggle for demands that guarantee jobs and a decent income for all.

ANGRY RANKS FORCE MILITANT POSE

Rubber workers' anger at the tremendous losses they have sustained has forced the bureaucrats to hike their demands. At the recent meeting of the 55-member URW policy committee in Cincinnati, Bommarito stated: "If we do not get what we need, there is a very good possibility of a strike." Besides recalling the 60-day strike of 1967, the hacks

are threatening a national boycott by the AFL-CIO and have asked the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers to sanction worldwide sympathy strikes.

The two central demands adopted at the meeting were wage parity with the UAW (\$1.65 per hour increase for production workers and \$2.00 per hour for skilled trades) and an uncapped cost-of-living escalator clause. Even to achieve the catch-up demands put forward by the bureaucrats, a serious, hard-fought struggle will be necessary. Already the rubber companies have begun to stockpile in anticipation of a strike. If the union leadership were fighting seriously, it would have called a series of local strikes prior to contract expiration to prevent this stockpiling. A strike to win means a national strike of all four companies on April 20. Faced with the militancy of the ranks, Bommarito now claims he is for an industry-wide strike. But even if forced to call a strike of all four, Bommarito will be looking to make a deal at the expense of rubber workers' needs.

Militant URW members must guard against such a betrayal by organizing strike committees in every local. Representatives from the committees should be sent to UAW locals as a step to building solidarity for the strike throughout the labor movement. □

URW MUST STRIKE THE BIG FOUR!

The occasion was a demonstration called by the National Shorten the Work Week Committee and the National 30 and Out Committee. Among the participants was the Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC), an opposition supported by the International Socialists and the United National Caucus.

Everyone was having a good time. Woodcock allowed the demonstrators to parade in front of the delegates. They were no threat to him and his cronies. Despite some formal differences on contract demands, the demonstration leaders have too much in common with Woodcock to organize an opposition that means anything.

First and most important, Woodcock and the demonstration leaders all base their contract demands on what the companies can afford. Frank Runnels, Chairman of the Shorter Work Week Committee, calls for 36 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. But he's willing to compromise with the companies. 32 hours? 36? 39? Runnels, like Woodcock, will take any face-saving crumbs the companies offer.

The CGC has a shorter work week plan all worked out. The first year of the contract they want every third Friday off, the second year two out of three, and the third year every Friday off. How realistic. Surely the companies will go for it. But CGC won't even fight for this. CGC member Weissman's resolution contained no specifics except that the work week "should be shortened" (how much?). We can expect the CGC to drop point after point of their program to make it more reasonable for the companies.

The CGC sounds a little more militant than the others calling for rank and file caucuses and local committees. But the focus of all their activity is not to bring auto workers into the streets to demand protection, not to strike all four auto makers in support of their demands, but merely to organize a "no" vote on the contract, and send Woodcock back to the bargaining table for a little more. The CGC makes clear that they will deflate their balloons and disband in September, preventing any possibility of the CGC becoming a serious organization to defend the ranks.

Slightly more militant bureaucrats who want to get a bigger share of the companies' shrinking profits are not the answer. Auto workers must organize into a fighting shop floor organization determined to take whatever steps necessary to protect their interests and the interests of all workers and unemployed. The key demand



Woodcock and Fraser: Smiling over layoffs!

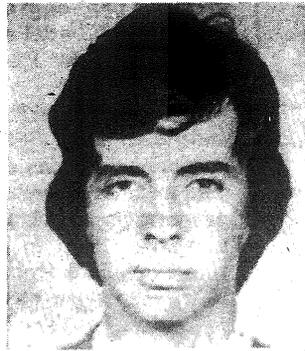
must be 30 for 40—six-hour shifts to get decent hours and provide more jobs. The Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC) is working to build such a force. RAC held a demonstration at the Bargaining Convention on Saturday morning, March 20, to show its determination that this struggle must be organized, not with compromises and balloons, but with clenched fists. □

PSP Leader's Son Murdered

Attacks on Left Escalate



PSP leader, Juan Mari Brás, speaks at Puerto Rican independence rally. His son [right]: victim of a political assassination.



The son of Juan Mari Brás, Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), was murdered near San Juan, Puerto Rico, on March 24. Twenty-four-year-old Santiago Mari Pesquera was found on the morning of March 25 shot through the right temple. Hours later, the coroner reported that Mari Pesquera was shot from a distance of one foot and termed the killing "an assassination."

Santiago Mari Pesquera's murder is the latest and most vicious in a series of attacks against the PSP and other participants in the Puerto Rican independence and workers' movements. PSP offices were shot up twice in 1974. Offices of *Claridad*, the PSP's newspaper, were bombed twice last year; two weeks ago, a shot was fired at the paper's general manager. Rosa Mercedes Mari, daughter of Juan Mari Brás, was shot at several times recently in her Rio Piedras Heights home by attackers who shouted: "Communists, we're going to kill you all."

The attacks have become more frequent over the past few months with the surfacing of two fascist organizations, the Falange and the Puerto Rican Nazi Party. These swine

have attacked stores owned by independentistas and claimed credit for smoke-bombing the offices of the PSP Central Committee.

Although these are just a few of nearly 200 acts of right-wing terrorism, prior to Mari Pesquera's murder no evidence was ever uncovered against those committing the acts. The FBI and Puerto Rican police are clearly involved in a cover-up. But more than that, they have also directly participated in the attacks on the left wing; for example, they carefully staged the arrest of trade union leader Federico Cintrón (see *Torch*: Volume 3, Number 2).

PSP SINGLED OUT FOR ATTACK

The PSP has been singled out for special treatment because it is the largest and most influential left-wing organization on the island. Its numbers and reputation have grown substantially over the past few years as the mass movement has gathered strength. Indeed, Juan Mari Brás's campaign to unseat present Governor (and imperialist lackey) Rafael Hernández Colón in November is viewed as a grave danger by U.S. interests.

The U.S. ruling class has had its eyes blackened on many other occasions by Mari Brás and the PSP—PSP representatives have testified on U.S. colonialism at the United Nations and, on March 20, Mari Brás testified at the House Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, where he denounced the proposed "Compact" which would perpetuate U.S. imperialism's grip over Puerto Rico.

But while U.S. imperialism foments violence against the PSP, it cannot afford to be caught in the act. Because the murder of Mari Pesquera was so obviously a political assassination, the FBI and Puerto Rican police had to abandon their past policy of turning up nothing. This time, they found a suspect almost immediately.

On March 26, San Juan police arrested a mental patient and former acquaintance of Mari Pesquera's. The suspect, whose name was withheld, is a rabid anti-communist who reportedly had threatened the victim's life several times in the past.

Apparently, Hernández Colón and the cops will claim that this was the work of one isolated lunatic. But even if he was acting on his own, which we doubt, who created the atmosphere for

the killing by allowing previous incidents to go unpunished? Why was this individual found so easily when nothing had been done about prior attacks? The imperialists and their local agents must not be allowed to get away with a whitewash. Mari Pesquera's murder must be avenged by exposing the true facts behind the murder, punishing all those involved and expelling the imperialist bandits from Puerto Rican shores.

ORGANIZE DEFENSE GUARDS!

Puerto Rican revolutionaries must organize defense against the fascist gangs and the imperialist agents. Immediately, the trade unions must form armed workers' defense guards to deal with the right-wing thugs, and broaden these to include all workers who will fight the fascists, unorganized workers as well as organized. The powerful Puerto Rican independence and workers' movements can destroy the fascist rabble, but only if they are prepared to fight. If they are not the hoodlums' self-confidence will grow and their attacks will increase.

The PSP, as the most influential left-wing group as well as the one under heaviest attack, should begin now to build armed workers' defense guards and demand that the trade unions and all left-wing groups unite in this defense effort. Unfortunately, they are not doing this. Instead, they call on the police and even the Puerto Rican FBI, the Criminal Investigation Force, to punish the right-wingers. The PSP should know by now that the cops will only cover and even take part in the crimes. The PSP's failure to have previously organized workers' defense guards has disarmed the mass movement before the right wing. It is essential that they take the correct course now.

We have serious differences with the PSP on this and many other points. However, we stand in solidarity with them in mourning the loss of Santiago Mari Pesquera and in denouncing his political assassination as a vicious crime initiated by U.S. imperialism. □

**AVENGE MARI PESQUERA!
INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL-
ISM FOR PUERTO RICO!**

Carter & Artis Freed; Frame-Up Exposed

Rubin (Hurricane) Carter and John Artis are free on bail. The New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that the state withheld vital evidence in their 1967 trial for triple murder.

At the time of his arrest, Carter was a top contender for the middleweight boxing title. He is now 38 years old and nearly blind. Although the frame-up is finally coming to light, the cops and the state managed to put Carter and his friend Artis away for nearly 10 years and to destroy Carter's career.

The cops and the courts were out to get Rubin Carter because he spoke out in favor of armed self-defense for the black community. During the Harlem Fruit Riot of 1964 Carter told a journalist, off the record, "When scores of children were being trampled, stomped and mutilated by a legion of club-wielding police while other cops held their guns to the children's heads, the black community should have arisen right then and fought to their death in the streets, if it was necessary. Because self-protection is the right of every living being." The reporter quoted him out of context, and also reported a remark that Carter had made, jokingly, to a friend that they could kill a lot of cops if they went onto a roof with guns.

From that day on the cops had it in for Hurricane Carter. A well-known

black who wouldn't put up with abuse threatened to inspire others to fight back. Carter was continually harassed. He was arrested twice and released when they couldn't make the charges stick.

Then, on June 17, 1966, two gunmen walked into the Lafayette Grill in Paterson, New Jersey, and killed three whites, allegedly retaliating for the murder of a black. They drove away in a white car. Carter and Artis were driving in Carter's white Dodge when they were picked up.

The cops took Carter and Artis to a hospital, where a wounded victim shook his head to indicate these were not the killers. The victim died shortly thereafter. Carter's lie detector test showed that he was telling the truth. He and Artis were released because the cops had nothing on them.

It took three months for the state to manufacture new evidence. Prosecution witnesses Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley claimed to have seen Carter and Artis shoot up the tavern (Bradley and Bello admitted that they were trying to burglarize a nearby factory at the time). Bradley was wanted on eight counts of burglary; Bello was on parole and admitted having robbed the bar after the shooting.

Although Carter and Artis had witnesses to vouch for their where-



Artis and Carter. Carter's advocacy of armed self-defense led to vicious frame-up.

abouts, although Carter had passed the lie detector test and one of the victims said they weren't the killers, the jury bought Bradley and Bello's testimony. Carter was given two consecutive life sentences (making him ineligible for parole until 1997) and Artis was given a life sentence. Bello went free; Bradley, who faced 70 years in jail on the burglary charges, was sentenced to three years.

In 1974, Bradley and Bello admitted in court that they had lied at the 1967 trial. On top of that, a 1967 tape recording of a discussion between Bello and the county detective in charge of the case was uncovered, showing that Bello was unsure of his identifications and that the detective offered to get him off if he cooperated.

The prosecution withheld this evidence.

In other words, the prosecution had no evidence. They just wanted to get Carter.

Rubin Carter, Joanne Little, the Livorno Five—the variations are endless, the theme is the same: if you're black, don't fight back. Rubin Carter fought back and he said that all blacks should fight back!

The frame-up has been exposed. We demand the dismissal of all charges. But how do you compensate a man for his lost years, his lost livelihood, his lost eyesight? How much is it worth? Someday the ruling class will have to pay in full. □

**NO NEW TRIAL!
DISMISS ALL CHARGES!**

May Day Fight

May Day—May holiday. The international movement, through demonstrations mobilizing workers, sets this as our struggle—the future—the socialist.

May Day arose as a struggle, in particular the eight-hour day, the birth of the work battle to limit the enormous significance struggle for a share of the very heart of under capitalism.

The capitalists increase the workday as long as they can increase the hours they can work, and the amount of surplus can accumulate. To prevent the capitalists from work unbearable and to shorten the day is it that in the production, the day is a working day, the result of a struggle between collective class of capitalists labour, i.e., the workers. Marx wrote in *Capital*.



Terence Powderly, K

The first May Day strike in the U.S. day. In the early 1800s, conditions were deplorable, with 25 percent of the 60-hour work week with many toiling for. The labor movement union-busting attacks. The workers responded in 1883 with a tremendous industry after industrial workers struck. The workers mushroomed. The battle flowed into the Knights contrast to the craft unions, the Knights organize all workers into the Knights grew at a break from July 1885 to membership grew 700,000.

As the workers increased, all the sectors began to merge into the eight-hour day passed by the Federal Trades (forerunner of May 1, 1886, as the

May Day Commemorates Past Victories and Future Battles

Fight for the Socialist Revolution!

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EXPOSE MARI PESQUERA! INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL- ISM FOR PUERTO RICO!

Exposed



Terence Powderly, Knights of Labor chief.

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NO NEW TRIAL!
MISS ALL CHARGES!

May Day—May 1—is the workers' holiday. The international workers' movement, through strikes and demonstrations mobilizing thousands of workers, sets this day apart to honor our struggle—the victories, the sacrifices and the martyrs—and our future—the socialist revolution.

May Day arose and developed in struggle, in particular the struggle for the eight-hour day. From the very birth of the workers' struggle, the battle to limit the workday has had enormous significance. In fact, the struggle for a shorter workday is at the very heart of the class struggle under capitalism.

The capitalists would like to make the workday as long as possible to increase the hours of surplus labor time they can extract from the workers, and thereby increase the amount of surplus value (profit) they can accumulate. The workers want to prevent the capitalists from making them work unbearably long hours, and to shorten the workday. "Hence is it that in the history of capitalist production, the determination of what is a working day, presents itself as the result of a struggle, a struggle between collective capital, i.e., the class of capitalists, and collective labour, i.e., the working class," Karl Marx wrote in *Capital*.



Haymarket rally, 1886, protested police murder of four workers during May 1 general strike for the eight-hour day. Bomb, probably thrown by a police agent, disrupted rally.

workers would impose the eight-hour day. The bureaucrats made no plans and did virtually nothing to enforce this, and the leadership of the Knights actively opposed the general strike. But the rank and file workers took preparations into their own hands. Eight-hour day agitation and preparations for a general strike stormed across the country.

In Chicago, the center of the movement, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, an anarcho-syndicalist group, organized a united front of all workers' organizations. Through this united front, the city was systematically blanketed with eight-hour agitation. The RSP linked this demand to the need to overthrow capitalism and organized armed workers' defense guards that drilled in the streets of Chicago.

That first May Day brought 200,000 to 350,000 out on strike—40,000 to 80,000 in Chicago alone. From all areas of the country and from every different layer in the working class, a united blow was struck against wage slavery. The bourgeoisie retreated. From 200,000 to 400,000 workers won the eight-hour day or had their hours reduced because of this struggle.

On May 3, the Chicago police murdered four pickets. Three thousand workers rallied at Haymarket Square the next night to denounce this atrocity. As the rally was ending, a bomb was thrown at the police—probably by an agent provocateur—and the cops opened fire, killing 10 and wounding many more.

The Haymarket bomb served as a pretext for the great Red Scare. Hundreds of militants were arrested and beaten. With the papers, preachers and politicians howling for blood, eight militant unionists and leaders of the RSP were dragged into court on murder charges. The prosecution's summation made the purpose of the trial clear: "Gentlemen of the jury; convict these men, make examples of them, hang them and you save our institutions, our society." On November 11, 1887, four more martyrs gave their lives for the working class.

The great example of the U.S. general strike and the tragedy of Haymarket led the Second International (the world organization of socialist parties at that time) to set May 1, 1890, as the date for the international fight for the eight-hour day. In at least 15 countries on three continents mobilizations were held, with 250,000

profits and privileges of the bourgeoisie. Eight hours a day of capitalist-imposed labor is far too much for a human being to develop his life. But the vast majority of the world's workers suffer far more than 40 hours work a week: the 48-hour week is common in Europe and, in the underdeveloped countries, work days of 12 or more hours still plague the proletariat. Even in the U.S., forced overtime makes the 40-hour week a joke for many.

The workers' movement must once again make the hours' question central. The transitional demand for the sliding scale of hours, cutting the work week until all are employed with no loss in pay, must become a powerful weapon for our class. The battle for this demand, starting with 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, is vital to building solidarity. The division between employed and unemployed is central to the tactics of the ruling class. The sliding scale of hours unites these two sectors by calling for jobs for the unemployed without displacing those with jobs.

The U.S. working class is not yet won to the six-hour day or the sliding scale of hours, and only a few workers celebrate May Day here. But as the workers' movement develops, May Day and the question of the shorter work day will re-emerge. To defend itself today and to prepare to take power the U.S. working class must be won to the sliding scale of hours. May Day is the occasion to reeducate ourselves to this fight, and to where this fight must lead—the socialist revolution. □

MAY DAY MARCH CHICAGO

Jobs for All!

30 Hours' Work for 40 Hours' Pay!

Smash U.S. Imperialism!

**Independence and Socialism for
Asia, Africa and Latin America!**

**Reconstruct the 4th International,
World Party of Socialist Revolution!**

Fight for Workers' Revolution!

**Assemble at the Federal Building
(Dearborn and Jackson) at 1:00 p.m.**

**March to Haymarket Square
(700 W. Randolph); Rally.**

Open House: 4:00 p.m., RSL Hall (160 N. Halsted)

Sponsored by the Revolutionary Socialist League

Health Care Workers, Poor and Elderly Hit By Medicaid Cutbacks

NEW YORK—With contracts covering health care workers in District 1199 expiring at the end of June, the state legislature has passed a bill that provides ready-made excuses for nursing home and hospital owners to reject union demands. The bill, which cuts Medicaid funding by \$122.5 million, also attacks the elderly, the poor and workers dependent on Medicaid. It is another step in the capitalists' attempt to make the working class pay for the economic crisis.

The bill's three major provisions are: 1) establishing five levels of payment rates to nursing homes based on the quality of care (as determined by the State Hospital Review and Planning Council) saving \$18 million next year; 2) authorizing the State Budget Director to reduce hospital reimbursement rates—cutting \$20 million; and 3) freezing clinic and emergency room reimbursements.

BILL PROTECTS BOSSES' PROFITS

These provisions have built-in safety clauses to maintain the hospitals' and nursing homes' profits. The State Hospital Review and Planning Council, which regulates nursing home payments, is a tool of the nursing home industry. (On top of this, a \$2.2 million appropriation for a special team of nursing home auditors has just been cut, showing that the state isn't interested in regulating this industry). To guarantee that hospital profits are also protected, hospitals are allowed to appeal any Medicaid reduction to a special state board.

The five repayment levels to nursing homes will make sure that

bad nursing homes get worse, further deteriorating the already nightmarish conditions of the aged. The reductions in payments on clinic and emergency room rates also mean poorer quality care. Patient costs will rise to make up the money being cut.

The bill especially attacks nursing home and hospital workers organized into Local 144 and District 1199. Seventy percent of all health care costs are labor costs. If Medicaid payments are reduced (thus reducing Blue Cross/Blue Shield payments, which are pegged to Medicaid) and clinic and emergency room rates frozen, the stage will be set for increased layoffs, productivity

schemes and wage freezes.

Nursing home and hospital owners are already trying to hit the workers along these lines. The nursing homes refused to pay Local 144 workers a previously negotiated increase due in the second year of their contract, citing an executive order freezing Medicaid reimbursements. The Hospital Association of New York State and the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes of New York, major employer associations, say that inadequate Medicaid reimbursements would force them to make extensive personnel cuts, freeze wages and benefits and reject demands for better working conditions. These announce-



Demonstration in New York City to protest proposed hospital closing. Cuts in Medicaid funding are part of the bosses' drive to force the working class to pay for the economic crisis. The entire health care industry must be nationalized under workers' control.

Working Conditions Endanger Childbirth

Chemical Pollution and Pregnancy



Child labor in 1910. Today, the drive for higher profits victimizes children at birth.

Recently released government and private research links the increasing rate of birth defects and miscarriages in the U.S. to working conditions and hazards. Although these initial studies only scratch the surface of the actual negative effect of the workplace on our ability to produce healthy children, they underscore capitalism's amazing capacity for destruction—in this case, the destruction of future generations of mankind itself.

A study conducted by five government scientists at the Pottstown, Pa., plant of Firestone Tire and Rubber Company revealed that the rate of miscarriages and stillbirths among wives whose husbands worked with vinyl chloride was twice as high as the rate for wives of workers who did not. Other data indicate that lead may be especially dangerous for the fetus and blacks who might have sickle-cell disease.

These facts have been given further weight by the research of Dr. Bruce Ames of the University of California. The results of a test he developed indicate that genetic changes can be

caused by virtually all known substances that cause cancer. Each year over 3,000 new chemicals are introduced into industry—while safe exposure levels are being developed at the rate of 100 per year. This means that thousands of workers come into daily contact with potential cancer-producing agents and, therefore, possibly damage their genetic structure. Since chromosomal abnormalities account for about half of all spontaneous abortions and many birth defects, the potential danger to future generations is staggering.

All this is only a small part of deteriorating work conditions, which occur despite the passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act in 1970. The act, which supposedly guarantees a "safe and healthful workplace" to all working people, was inadequate to begin with. But even it has been severely restricted and underfunded. Today, industry is waging a campaign to further restrict governmental regulation of working conditions.

The reason for this is clear. The trade-off for safe working conditions is

decreased profits and productivity. In the context of the economic crisis, the corporations not only cannot afford to replace their decaying machinery and upgrade working conditions, but must also increase existing dangers through speedup and productivity schemes.

CAREY ATTACKS UNIONS

In the meanwhile, New York Governor Hugh Carey has already attempted to use the Medicaid freeze/cutback as grounds for an injunction against Local 144's right to strike to enforce their contract, siding openly with the nursing home owners. In any strike between District 1199 and New York's hospital and nursing home owners, Carey will attempt to lead the attack on that union, using this Medicaid bill as his legal justification. Carey, the hospital and nursing home owners and the entire bourgeois state are already preparing to attack a hospital strike as "unconscionable," and not only because of hardship on patients. They claim that any increase in wages or benefits for hospital workers must mean further cutbacks in services to the community. They hope that these lies will isolate hospital workers from the rest of the working class.

Hospital workers must demand an end to layoffs, job attrition and the rehiring of all laid-off workers, a wage increase to catch up with the cost of living and a full cost of living allowance. Nursing home and hospital owners must show their real financial statements, not just the doctored version (the Uniform Financial Report) some hospitals are required to make public.

If the hospital and nursing home owners can't afford to pay, that will make clearer that medical care must be taken out of their hands. The health care industry should have been nationalized under the control of the workers long ago, with its costs paid for out of the profits of the banks and corporations. The disgusting conditions now coming to light make this more important than ever. The health care of workers, the oppressed and elderly, and the working conditions and living standards of hospital workers, must come before the bosses' profits.

We must demand that our unions carry out this fight. This is the way to unite all workers behind hospital workers and turn around the state's attacks. □

decreased profits and productivity. In the context of the economic crisis, the corporations not only cannot afford to replace their decaying machinery and upgrade working conditions, but must also increase existing dangers through speedup and productivity schemes. Women and minorities, largely unorganized and in low-paying and unskilled jobs, are frequently hit hardest by increasingly worse job conditions.

Instead of eliminating dangerous work conditions and establishing safe exposure levels for chemicals and substances for all workers before introducing them to the workplace, it is likely that the evidence in the new research will be used to keep women and blacks out of jobs. It will be used to further roll back the gains made in the late '60s. Corporations will attempt to make women choose between their lives and their jobs.

The technology exists for safe, productive jobs for all. Capitalism stands between that potential and the reality of thousands of unnecessary deaths and the continual destruction of human life. □

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State Capitalism vs. Workers' Rule

PART TWO

by Ron Taber

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

The first part of this series examined the nature of capitalism in the epoch of its decay, particularly its tendencies toward increased monopolization and statification. These are specific features of decaying capitalism's response to the threat of proletarian revolution. The first article showed how these tendencies, if drawn out to completion, would result in a system of state capitalism. However, the private shareholding bourgeoisie, particularly its topmost layer, is a tremendous obstacle to the gradual evolution of state capitalism. How then did state capitalism come into being? In this article, we shall see that state capitalism came into existence through the overthrow of the first and only successful proletarian revolution, the Russian Revolution.

In February 1917, following three years of world war that heightened the contradictions of an archaic social system and led to a massive revolutionary upheaval, the Czar of Russia was overthrown. The new Provisional Government proclaimed itself to be the "representative of the revolutionary people" but served the interests of the capitalist class. While claiming to be for peace, it kept Russia in the war and fulfilled all obligations and agreements established between the reactionary monarchy and its imperialist allies. While claiming to be for the workers, it allowed the capitalists to bloat their profits through speculation and rampant inflation while unemployment rose and living standards fell. And though in words it favored the transfer of land to the peasantry, in deeds the Provisional Government refused to divide up the huge semi-feudal estates and continually demanded "patience" from the impoverished peasants.

On October 25, 1917, the Russian working class, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and supported by the peasantry, rose up against these conditions and overthrew the bourgeoisie and its Provisional Government. The new government pulled Russia out of the war and divided the estates among the peasants. Most importantly, it was a government controlled by the workers through the vanguard party—a government based on workers' and soldiers' soviets (councils).

Twice in 1917 the Russian workers rose in revolutionary struggle—first in February, then in October. Although the workers had led the February Revolution, they were still willing to trust the liberal capitalists and parties that pretended to be revolutionary and socialist, such as the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries. But in October, the workers showed that they would be misled no longer. A decade earlier, Leon Trotsky had anticipated that the Russian Revolution would take this course.

Trotsky elaborated his theory of the permanent revolution following the Russian Revolution of 1905. He argued that the very weakness of Russian capitalism meant that the bourgeoisie would not lead a revolutionary struggle against the Czar and the landlords. The capitalists were too tied to the autocracy and to foreign imperialists. At the same time, they feared unleashing a revolution that would go beyond their control; they feared the power of the young Russian working class. Trotsky observed these factors in practice during the 1905 Revolution and argued that the tasks of overthrowing the Czar, establishing democratic liberties, freeing the oppressed nationalities and distributing land to the peasants—the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—would fall not to the bourgeoisie (as they had in Western Europe) but to the Russian proletariat.

But, said Trotsky, the working class could not limit itself to this bourgeois revolution. Having led the revolution, the workers would have to consolidate their own power, establish a workers' state and begin the construction of socialist society. Anything less would mean turning back the gains made by the workers to the capitalists and/or the old autocracy.

Trotsky's theory was met with the argument,



[Above] Armed workers in Berlin during unsuccessful revolution. [Below] Russian workers storm Winter Palace. The theory of permanent revolution held that the Russian economy was too backward, the working class too tiny, for the workers' state to survive in indefinite isolation.



then accepted by most socialists, that the Russian economy was too backward and the working class too tiny for the workers to take and retain power. Trotsky argued that while a workers' state could not survive indefinitely by itself, a successful revolution by the Russian proletariat would touch off a revolutionary wave internationally. Then, with the economic and cultural assistance of victorious workers' states in the more economically developed states of the West, the victory of the Russian workers would be secured. This was so because, although material conditions in backward Russia were not sufficient for socialism, material conditions were ripe on a world scale.

This perspective, the permanent revolution perspective of Trotsky, was the actual basis on which the Russian Revolution was made. The Russian workers, led by the Bolsheviks and supported by the peasants, carried out the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the process of establishing their own rule. They then turned their attention to the task of spreading the revolution internationally—Lenin and the Bolsheviks established the Communist International (Comintern) in 1919 for precisely this purpose. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky believed that the young workers' state could survive for long without revolution in the West. (Without discussing here Lenin's pre-1917 differences with Trotsky on this question, or Trotsky's earlier Menshevik position on the nature of the party, what can be said is that Lenin in practice in 1917 came to accept the conclusions of the permanent revolution theory. Trotsky's predictions of a decade earlier on the revolution's course were borne out.)

But while the workers had come to power, the

Russian Revolution did not lead to successful revolutions in the West. Although in the period following the October Revolution the Western European workers, especially the German proletariat, rose in heroic struggle, they were betrayed by the old Social Democratic Parties of the Second International. At the same time, the new Communist Parties of the Comintern lacked experience. The first wave of workers' revolutions after the war (most importantly in Germany and Hungary) was defeated.

This left the Russian workers' state in serious trouble. Russia, after destruction from three years of world war and three years of civil war waged against counter-revolutionary forces seeking to overthrow the workers' state, was almost totally devastated. Industrial production was only a tiny fraction of what it had been before the war. Famine ravaged the entire country (some provinces reported cannibalism). The proletariat, a tiny proportion of the population before the revolution, was reduced to 40 percent of its pre-war size. Large numbers of workers left the cities to search for food in the countryside. With economic life at a virtual standstill, with the working class in power but isolated internationally and drowning in a sea of peasants, the stage was set for the degeneration of the Russian Revolution from within.

To understand how the degeneration took place, it is first necessary to identify the tasks of the workers' state. The workers' state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) is a transitional state which creates the conditions for the development of communism—elimination of all social classes and the withering away of the state. Its chief tasks are expropriation of the bourgeoisie, nationalization of the means of production, smashing the remnants of the capitalist state apparatus and raising the working class to the level of ruling class—the precondition for the withering away of the state and the elimination of classes.

The task of raising the working class to the position of ruling class is not completed with the placing of the working class, or its party, in power. It is also necessary to raise the workers' living standards, to increase their educational and cultural level and, in general, to train the entire working class and all oppressed people to actually run society directly, actively and on a day to day basis.

Thus, soviets (workers' councils), factory committees and other workers' organizations (all of which came to life in Russia in 1917) are more than insurrectionary organs of dual power. These mass institutions are the lifeblood of the workers' state, the working class's levers of control and management. In order to increase the strength of these institutions and to broaden the masses' participation in them, it is crucial that the policies of the workers' state be directed toward freeing the masses from complete domination by the necessities of survival.

One of the keys to this process is the shortening of the workday. Only if the working class is relieved of the drudgery of working eight, 10, 12 or

are the industry's preparations
the upcoming negotiations with
ct 1199.

CAREY ATTACKS UNIONS

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ow coming to light make this
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ed profits and productivity. In
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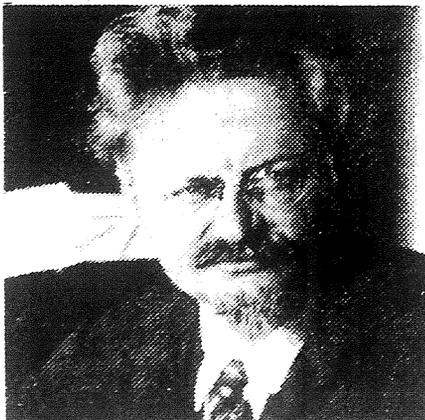
more hours a day will there be the time and energy for participation in the tasks of economic and social administration of society. It is only when the power of the bourgeoisie has been fully repressed and the working class and oppressed masses have been fully drawn into the running of society that classes can be eliminated and the state itself can disappear. When everyone in society is a worker, there is no bourgeoisie and no class society. And when classes have been eliminated and all are involved directly in the management of society as a whole, there is no need for a special class instrument to suppress another class, no need for politics to be the special preserve of an elite ruling class, no need for a repressive apparatus and, in fact, no distinction between rulers and ruled. At this point the need for the state itself vanishes.

The existence of classes is not based on the ill will of a given set of rulers—though there has been no shortage of that. Social classes arise out of conditions of relative scarcity. When there is not enough to go around, when the productive powers of society are at a level which does not allow for enough material goods, then only a tiny minority of society can find relief from the burdens of toil. The vast majority of society must work long hours merely to exist, supporting this minority and receiving in return only enough to continue working and producing new generations of workers. Meanwhile, the minority attends to the running of society, the development of science and culture and, of course, the maintenance of its own rule. In other words, under conditions of relative scarcity, the productivity of human labor is at a level that produces enough for only a small layer of society to live in leisure, the leisure paid for by the drudgery of the overwhelming majority.

In order to shorten the workday, raise living standards and provide workers with the education, skills and culture needed to run society, there must be a tremendous increase in the productive powers of society. Once the productive powers have been expanded, there will be enough produced to allow everyone to work, say, four hours a day, and devote the remaining time to educational, cultural and physical development in addition to the job of administering society. Without this highly increased productivity, relative scarcity will obstruct, and eventually reverse, the withering away of the state and classes. The result will be increasing class differentiation, the vast majority working to support a minority in leisure. In conditions of scarcity, the workers will be more and more



Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the Russian Revolution. After Lenin's death, Trotsky carried forward the fight to strengthen workers' rule against the growing bureaucracy.



dependent on other classes—they will be forced to rely on bourgeois intellectuals, technocrats and bourgeois administrators for the technical and cultural skills needed to run the society, and will be dependent upon the peasantry to deliver produce. (In conditions of scarcity, the rich peasants will corner the market.) Either the workers will receive aid from successful revolutions elsewhere or, eventually, the workers' state will fall.

Gains of October Reversed

Such a reversal and eventual overthrow of the gains of the revolution took place in Russia beginning in the early 1920s. The conditions of low productivity and scarcity were especially severe in Russia at this time. We have already described the poverty and isolation following the Civil War and the defeat of the revolutionary surge in the West. With the most class-conscious workers killed in the civil war, the Bolsheviks were especially dependent on elements from the old Czarist apparatus, former capitalists, bourgeois technicians, engineers and former Mensheviks to help run the state. The isolation of the revolution, the devastation of the country and the small size and low cultural level of the workers had forced the new workers' state to give these elements a dangerously large role in industry, the party and the state.

This layer, bolstered by demoralized elements from the working class itself, was gradually cohered and organized by Joseph Stalin, one of the Bolshevik leaders. Slowly but surely, taking advantage of the weakness and exhaustion of the Russian proletariat and the demoralization which arose out of the defeats of the international revolution, this bureaucratic layer began to usurp more and more power in the workers' state. The necessities of the Civil War, the need for the utmost discipline to defeat the counter-revolution, had already greatly bureaucratized the soviets, factory committees and other mass institutions created by the workers in 1917 as instruments of their class rule. But the reactionary bureaucracy sought to further bureaucratize these institutions, as well as the Bolshevik Party itself, pushing the masses even further from the levers of power and taking more and more power directly into its own hands. This perspective, the program of the Stalin forces, was directly counterposed to that of the revolutionary proletariat and to the tasks of the workers' state.

Rather than fighting to spread the revolution to other countries, the bureaucracy, under Stalin's leadership, fought for a policy based on the theory of "Socialism in One Country." Although Stalin tried to palm this theory off as an optimistic outlook on the prospects for building socialism, in reality the idea of "Socialism in One Country" grew out of a profound pessimism about the prospects for international revolution. "Socialism in One Country" was a direct rejection of the internationalist outlook of Lenin, which guided the Bolshevik Party prior to and after the October Revolution. Stalin's policy would lead the Comintern to first manipulate revolutions for the factional interests of the reactionary bureaucracy, as in China in 1927, and then later to actively sabotage them in the interests of alliance with the "democratic" bourgeois allies, as in Spain in the 1930s. Thus the Comintern, the international revolutionary leadership founded under Lenin, was turned into a tool to mislead and fool the workers and protect the narrow interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Domestic policy paralleled international. The key task facing the workers' state internally following the Civil War was the development of an economic policy that would strengthen the position of the proletariat in society. Stalin fought for the opposite. Initially, he followed a policy of slow economic development based on increasing the wealth and influence of the rich peasants (kulaks), who exploited the middle and poor peasants. This

The Stalin purges of 1936-1938 signify the transition from a state of the working class through the last remnants of the proletarian rule of 1917, to a capitalist state standing apart from and in opposition to the proletariat. This final destruction of the Bolshevik Party represents the complete loss of control by the Russian proletariat over the state apparatus. The Stalinist bureaucracy no longer represented the interests of the working class, but a privileged layer of the proletariat, separate from the working class whose power it had usurped completely.



One of the first regular Red Army regiments prepares for departure to the front in 1918. The tiny army at the time of the October Revolution, saw its ranks virtually depleted by the immense

course continued until the kulaks, sensing their power, began imposing conditions on the bureaucracy (such as withholding grain) that opened the door to the complete overthrow of the workers' state. Recognizing the threat this posed to the bureaucracy itself, Stalin abruptly reversed himself in 1928 and turned to massive forced collectivization of the peasantry. Millions of peasants were killed; a huge amount of livestock was slaughtered. Russian agriculture fell below Czarist levels, and has never really recovered from the effects of Stalin's policies.

Meanwhile, having destroyed the kulak threat, Stalin and the apparatus turned on the workers. The bureaucracy was now able to feel its independent strength, based on its control of the state and state production, more than ever before. It had routed the immediate threat to its power. Now, with millions of peasants pouring into the cities to escape starvation in the devastated countryside, Stalin had a reserve labor force with which to batter the workers and force down their wages and working conditions. Between 1928 and 1933 the workday was lengthened to 10 or more hours per day while wages were cut in half. Wage differentials were increased far beyond what existed in the western capitalist states. Piecework, which Marx had termed the method of production "most suitable to capitalism," was reintroduced. "Socialist emulation" was transformed into the code-name for almost unbearably vicious speedup. What protection had still been afforded by the trade unions was eliminated. All in all, Stalin's apparatus was establishing the preconditions for capitalist rule through the state power.

The most advanced elements in the Bolshevik Party, grouped around Trotsky, fought Stalin's course. From the early 1920s, the Trotskyist opposition had developed an overall program for restoring the maximum power to the workers possible under the given material conditions. Internationally and domestically, their program started from the independent needs of the workers. The Trotskyist opposition proposed a Leninist international policy designed to give maximum aid to the revolutionary proletariat abroad, a struggle against the bureaucratization of the party and for workers' democracy and an economic policy for

industrializing Russia while maintaining the workers' rule.

To Stalin's "Socialism in One Country" counterposed the permanent internationalist perspective of using the Russian Revolution as a base to further the world revolution. Stalinist bureaucratization of the party and mass institutions of workers' rule, Trotskyist opposition counterposed workers' party democracy and a revitalized internationalist perspective and other workers' institutions. Under Stalin's economic policies, Trotskyist opposition counterposed policies designed to strengthen the workers' rule in the capital goods sector in order to develop industrial infrastructure, at the same time narrowing wage differentials, shortening hours and generalizing opportunities for workers to play a role in the running of the country. In the cities, Trotsky was demarcating the most heavily taxed and exploited workers from the danger of kulak counter-revolution. Under Stalin, industrialization was undertaken on a program that had never been implemented, but in 1928 and Stalin's industrialization program for the proletariat in the post-1928 period occurred.

Significance of Trotsky-Stalin

This counterposition of perspectives was called the "Trotsky-Stalin" dispute in the 1920s and 1930s. This dispute was the side of the class struggle in the period. It reflected deeper contradictions throughout the country. Out of the destruction of revolutionary Russia and international isolation of the workers' state, class divisions were re-emerged and strengthened. Conditions of relative scarcity (absolute) scarcity were increased, widening the gap between the majority of toilers and the tiny ruling class maintained in conditions of relative scarcity. The revolution was being reversed.



The first regular Red Army regiments prepares for departure to the front in 1918. The Russian proletariat, at the time of the October Revolution, saw its ranks virtually depleted by the immense toll of the Civil War.

continued until the kulaks, sensing their danger in imposing conditions on the bureaucracy (such as withholding grain) that opened the way to the complete overthrow of the workers' state, recognized the threat this posed to the workers' state. Stalin abruptly reversed himself and turned to massive forced collectivization of the peasantry. Millions of peasants were killed. A huge amount of livestock was slaughtered. Agriculture fell below Czarist levels, and the economy really recovered from the effects of the Civil War.

While, having destroyed the kulak threat, the apparatus turned on the workers. The bureaucracy was now able to feel its own strength, based on its control of the state production, more than ever before. It eliminated the immediate threat to its power by pouring millions of peasants into the devastated countryside. Stalin had a reserve labor force with which to batter the workers and force down their working conditions. Between 1928 and 1932, the workday was lengthened to 10 or more hours a day while wages were cut in half. Wages were increased far beyond what existed in the most capitalist states. Piecework, which had been eliminated, was reintroduced. "Socialism" was transformed into the code-name for an unbearably vicious speedup. What had still been afforded by the trade unions was eliminated. All in all, Stalin's apparatus was establishing the preconditions for capitalist rule by the state power.

The most advanced elements in the Bolshevik Party, who had fought Stalin's policies from the early 1920s, the Trotskyist vanguard, had developed an overall program for the maximum power to the workers under the given material conditions. Internationally and domestically, their program was based on the independent needs of the workers. The Trotskyist opposition proposed a Leninist policy designed to give maximum aid to the revolutionary proletariat abroad, a struggle against the bureaucratization of the party and for workers' democracy and an economic policy for

industrializing Russia while strengthening the working class.

To Stalin's "Socialism in One Country" Trotsky counterposed the permanent revolution, the perspective of using the Russian workers' state as a base to further the world revolution. To the Stalinist bureaucratization of the Bolshevik Party and mass institutions of workers' democracy, the Trotskyist opposition counterposed a widening of party democracy and a revitalization of the soviets and other workers' institutions. And to Stalin's economic policies, Trotsky counterposed a policy designed to strengthen the proletariat—building the capital goods sector in order to construct an industrial infrastructure, at the same time narrowing wage differentials, increasing wages, shortening hours and generally extending the opportunities for workers to play a full and active role in the running of the country. While Stalin was playing up to the kulaks and to capitalist elements in the cities, Trotsky was demanding that they be the most heavily taxed and was warning of the danger of kulak counter-revolution unless moderate industrialization was undertaken. Had Trotsky's program been implemented, both the kulak threat in 1928 and Stalin's industrialization against the proletariat in the post-1928 period would not have occurred.

Significance of Trotsky-Stalin Dispute

This counterposition of perspectives has come to be called the "Trotsky-Stalin" dispute of the 1920s and 1930s. This dispute was the dominant political side of the class struggle in Russia during this period. It reflected deeper forces at work throughout the country. Out of the poverty and destruction of revolutionary Russia, the weakness and international isolation of the Russian workers, class divisions were re-emerging and being strengthened. Conditions of relative (and in some places, absolute) scarcity were sharpening class differentiation, widening the gap between the vast majority of toilers and the tiny minority who were maintained in conditions of relative leisure. The revolution was being reversed. No longer was the

state withering away, no longer were classes disappearing; the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy were leading in the other direction. The revolution was being destroyed from within.

In 1927, Trotsky and the Joint Opposition were eliminated from the party. In the period following, all organized opposition forces were defeated and dispersed. Bureaucratization of the state institutions became complete. The workers were demoralized and weakened through a variety of bourgeois devices: wage cuts, increased hours and speedup. The agricultural sector was devastated.

With this as the backdrop, Stalin turned once again on the remains of the Bolshevik Party, determined to wipe out every last remnant that might represent a nucleus of opposition to his counter-revolutionary course. Here is the significance of the purge trials of 1936-1938. Virtually the entirety of Lenin's old leadership cadre was imprisoned, exiled to Siberia or completely liquidated. The onslaught was not limited to the destruction of Lenin's central committee, the Red Army's officer corps or even the topmost layers of the state apparatus. The purging process raged throughout the entire party and state apparatus.

Thousands upon thousands of old worker Bolsheviks, rank and file veterans of the October Revolution and the Civil War, were purged and killed. Any Bolshevik in any segment of the party or administration with any direct recollections of the revolutionary struggles of 1917-1921 was killed. At the same time, over 10 million individuals were killed, jailed or sent to slave labor camps. Thus, by 1938, this massive purge meant the destruction of almost the entire proletarian vanguard that had led the working class and oppressed masses to victory in 1917.

Moreover, the Russian proletariat of the mid-'30s was not the proletariat that had made the October Revolution and defeated the counter-revolution in the Civil War. The proletariat of 1917, tiny to begin with, saw its ranks virtually depleted by the immense toll of the Civil War. The 1936-1938 proletariat, save a handful, was entirely new, created in the crucible of forced industrialization. With the added results of the 1938 purges, Russia lacked a revolutionary vanguard, and all that remained were the last remnants of a revolutionary proletariat as a whole.

Lenin emphasized in *State and Revolution* that the workers' state is a bourgeois institution. Its continued existence parallels the existence of bourgeois norms of distribution of the articles of consumption (from each, according to his abilities; to each, according to his work). So long as the state is subordinated to the working class, directly or indirectly, the state remains a workers' state. However, when this control, no matter how tenuous, is destroyed, the state is no longer a workers' state. At this point it has become a capitalist state.

The Stalin purges of 1936-1938 signify the transition from a state tied to the working class through the last remnants of the proletarian vanguard of 1917, to a capitalist state standing apart from and in opposition to the proletariat. The destruction of the old vanguard signified that the Bolshevik Party itself, the workers' lever of control, had been completely destroyed. While the name "Bolshevik" was retained, the bureaucratized apparatus that remained represented the complete negation of the revolutionary vanguard. This final destruction of the Bolshevik Party represents the complete loss of control by the Russian proletariat over the state apparatus. This final destruction turned the state inside out—once a workers' state, now a capitalist state: And, at the same time, the Stalinist bureaucracy no longer represented merely

a privileged layer of the proletariat, but a ruling class, completely separate from the working class whose power it had usurped completely.

This new ruling class owned the means of production through its control of the state. The basic capitalist relation was re-established: the working class was forced to sell its labor power for a subsistence wage, while the surplus value was appropriated by an alien class, accumulating this surplus value to increase its power over the working class. In other words, with the destruction of the old vanguard, the bureaucracy became completely separated from the proletariat, the proletariat lost every last shred of control over the Russian state and hence became completely alienated from the means of production. No longer did it control, even indirectly, the allocation and utilization of the surplus. Surplus was accumulated not to increase the workers' control over the means of production but to maintain the workers' subordination to the means of production.

The New Bourgeoisie

This, in brief, was the completion of the process of the bureaucratization of the revolution. A bourgeoisie was brought to power, organized from elements of the old bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy, but based not in individual, pluralistic shares but in collective, that is state, property. Out of the ashes of the Russian Revolution, out of the defeat of the first and only successful proletarian revolution, emerged a system of state capitalism.

But rather than openly proclaiming itself as capitalist and its victory the triumph of state capitalism, the state-capitalist bourgeoisie continued to drape itself in the flag of Marx, Engels and Lenin—in the banner of the proletarian revolution. This ideological cover has served exceptionally well as an aid to the police and military apparatus as a means of propping up the system and warding off the danger of proletarian overthrow. In this way, Russian state capitalism partially solved the problem of state capitalism's vulnerability to socialist revolution. It has also meant that state capitalism not only represents the extension of the tendencies toward monopolization and statification that are present in monopoly capitalism, but also achieves the continuation of the tendency of monopoly capitalism to dress itself in proletarian forms, to borrow socialist forms to mask its capitalist content. Thus we have state capitalism, in which the state owns the single capitalist trust, that exploits the proletariat while pretending to be its revolutionary negation: socialism.

With the exception of the analysis of the completion of the Stalinist counter-revolution, this is essentially the analysis put forward by Trotsky. It was Trotsky who first described and analyzed in a Marxist manner the counter-revolutionary process in Russia. But while Trotsky thought that state capitalism was a theoretical possibility, he did not think it would actually come into existence historically. Moreover, he thought that the completion of the counter-revolution in Russia would take the form of a breakup of the state property and the establishment of traditional capitalism based on individual shareholding. And based on this incorrect assumption, he thought that as long as nationalized property continued to exist in Russia, one could not say that the workers' state had completely degenerated and the counter-revolution had triumphed.

It is to this question, and to the role of state capitalism in the world today, that we will turn in the final part of this series. □



Hitler-Stalin pact is signed, August 23, 1939. As the new capitalist class consolidated itself, the last vestiges of proletarian internationalism disappeared. When pact ended CPs called on workers to ally with "democratic" bourgeoisies.

1938 signify the transition from a state tied to the last remnants of the proletarian vanguard standing apart from and in opposition to the destruction of the Bolshevik Party represents the victory of the Russian proletariat over the state bureaucracy no longer represented merely a proletarian, but a ruling class, completely separate from the working class whose power it had usurped completely.

Bosses Gain Edge in '76 Contract Round

Fitz Makes Deal; Teamsters Go Back

The recent settlement between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) and the trucking industry represents a setback for Teamsters, and the entire working class. The Teamster bureaucrats, management and the government outmaneuvered Teamster militants and sent the ranks home with a lousy package.

Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery summed it up. He called the settlement in the "best interests" of the nation. If by "nation," he meant "ruling class," he was right.

The national strike, ballyhooed as the first in the industry's history, never got off the ground. Despite widespread anger in the ranks and the presence of an organized opposition, IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons kept the strike firmly under control. The Teamster ranks were tricked. While Fitzsimmons, Usery and the trucking companies worked out the sellout compromise, the ranks were allowed to blow off steam. Then the strike was called off.

DEFEAT FOR RANKS

A militant national IBT strike would have set a pattern for labor in the 1976 contract round. It could have touched off a huge strike wave. Therefore, the ruling class feared that a national strike would shatter the economic upturn and put an end to "labor peace." The Republican administration, anxious to have Ford re-elected, was particularly worried about a strike.

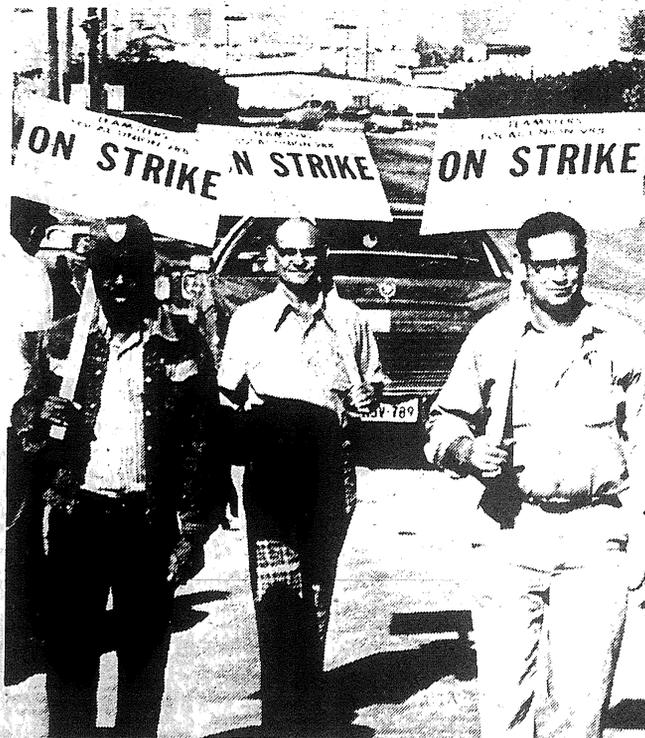
The arranged settlement, with no serious strike, is thus a substantial defeat for the working class. The ruling class is content with the settlement since it falls within their "acceptable" bounds of 9 to 10 percent wage increases this year. Meanwhile, the capitalists bank on their ability to keep settlements in other industries lower. Thus while the powerful Teamsters are lulled by concessions, the weaker sections of the working class can be confronted with a harder line. Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, revealed as much when he stated that "the IBT is not a pacesetter for industry."

But even the "concessions" do not add up to much. To start with, Fitzsimmons' wage demand was pared down from \$2.25 to \$1.65. Secondly, the workers got cheated on the cost of living formula. This was the major issue in the contract talks. The 11 cents per year cap on cost of living increases in the last contract cost Teamsters about 75 cents.

This year, the ranks demanded no cap. The industry proposed a 25-cent cap. The settlement represented a "compromise." Everybody "won." The ranks got the cap eliminated... in words. The industry got the cap... in fact.

In exchange for removing the cap, the Teamsters gave up their entire cost of living increase for 1976. The cost of living formula for 1977 and 1978 will not make up for inflation. Even if inflation is held to 6 percent each year, Teamsters will lose about 90 cents to inflation in the next three years (and since inflation will probably be worse, the ranks will lose even more). Combined with the 75 cents lost since the last contract, the \$1.65 wage increase "won" in this contract is reduced to... zero.

The additional concessions are improvements in pension contributions, air-conditioned trucks and single occupancy motel rooms for



Teamsters picket Houston truck terminal. A militant national IBT strike could have set a pattern for labor in the 1976 contract round. Fitzsimmons made sure this didn't happen.

drivers on the road. Given the limited numbers of Teamsters driving over the road and the widespread abrogation of the national agreement, few Teamsters will actually get these benefits. The settlement didn't begin to touch such crucial issues as the high rate of unemployment in the industry, terrible health and safety standards and the abuse and lack of protection of casual workers.

"NATIONAL STRIKE" CHARADE

The strike itself was a charade. Chicago, the center of the industry and traditionally a militant area, never went out at all. New York was barely affected. Firms representing one-third of the industry were in full operation on the second day of the strike thanks to Fitzsimmons' interim agreements. These agreements let companies sign the IBT's "final compromise offer," and get red stickers to signal it was all right for them to operate during the strike. These "settlements" would be superseded by whatever the final agreement was. Fitzsimmons touted these deals as a new and effective tactic. In fact, they were directed against the workers. Through them, Fitz could call a national strike without actually having one. A settlement could be reached that looked like a serious concession to the union, and Fitz could have something to sell to the ranks. In this way a real strike could be avoided.

In short, everyone won something... except the ranks. The industry, the government and the ruling class as a whole got labor peace and a cheap package. Fitzsimmons got a contract without a serious strike. The ranks got a sellout.

Fitzsimmons' strike strategy was aimed at undercutting opposition, which in several cities crystallized around the Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). TDC attracted some of the best and most militant Team-

sters. But its leadership, a coalition of supporters of the International Socialists (IS) and other aspiring left bureaucrats, made sure that TDC did not upset Fitz's appercart.

TDC's threat of a national wildcat movement never materialized. As of this writing, TDC leaders were urging the rank and file to return to work and vote "no" on the contract. They tried to explain away their failures by boasting about the ranks finally

getting recognition from the IBT bureaucrats—because TDC leaders have gotten the bureaucrats to talk to them!

In program and practice, the IS kept TDC a left version of Fitzsimmons. They got TDC to limit itself to a "more for over the road drivers" strategy. For example, TDC voted down a proposal to fight for 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, which would have put unemployed IBT members and casuals to work on a full time basis.

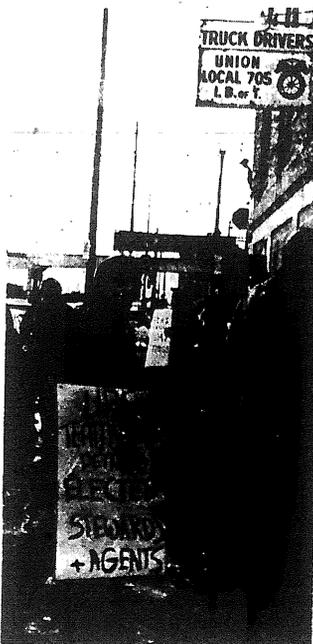
Thanks to IS supporters, TDC also rejected the demand for parity of the rest of the IBT with Master Freight, although most of the IBT is organized under sweetheart contracts. TDC refused to support the farmworkers in their struggle for unionization and decent lives against the alliance of the growers and the IBT bureaucracy, violating the most fundamental notions of working class unity. Finally, the IS supporters did not fight the red-baiting campaign of IBT bureaucrats and right-wing forces within TDC.

The IS is responsible for the destruction of TDC's potential. If TDC survives, it will be a tool of the liberal bureaucrats who want to put a more democratic face on the bureaucratic union.

The IBT settlement demonstrates the ruling class tactic for the contract round. The capitalists want to avoid a head-on confrontation with the working class. They will try to buy off the strongest sections of the working class while driving down other workers (especially public workers and the unorganized and unemployed).

But as capitalism's crisis deepens it will be increasingly difficult to continue a policy of concessions. Sooner or later, the capitalists must face a head-on confrontation with the workers. The workers must prepare for this confrontation by building a leadership that fights for their needs in place of sellouts like Fitz and opportunists like the IS. □

UPS Contract Ends April 30



Militant Teamsters picket Chicago IBT office demanding right to elect stewards.

The United Parcel Service (UPS) Central States Agreement expires on April 30. UPS workers must prepare to strike to prevent a repeat of the Teamster bureaucrats' sellout on the Master Freight Agreement (MFA).

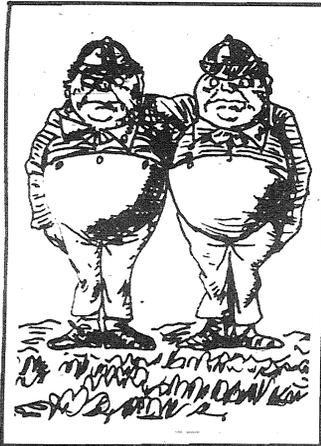
UPS workers must learn well from the MFA deal. Fitzsimmons and the IBT bureaucrats will not fight for their stated contract demands (inadequate as these are). Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), the main opposition group, was strangled by the opportunist leadership of supporters of the International Socialists.

The leading opposition group in UPS, UPSurge, is also heavily influenced by the IS supporters. Just as they did with TDC, IS supporters will undercut the struggle of militants attracted to UPSurge. Already, they have succeeded in turning UPSurge's Fighting Fund, originally set up as a strike fund, into a legal fund to take the union and the company to court. This means UPSurge leaders have no plans for a serious national wildcat movement against a sellout contract.

UPSurge militants must join with other UPS workers to prevent another raw deal. UPS workers must immediately form rank and file strike committees in every shop to organize strike preparations, educate the membership and demand full daily reports from the union's negotiators. □

EDITORIALS

Tweedledum and Tweedledee



Capitalism is falling apart.

Fifteen million workers in this country are jobless. The unemployment rate for young blacks is over 50 percent.

Education, transit, housing, health care, food stamps and other services essential to workers—many poor people depend upon these programs for their very survival—are being eliminated or drastically cut back.

Tens of thousands of public employees have been thrown out of work—at a time when the government should especially be creating jobs and expanding services. Municipal unions' contracts have been broken from New York to San Francisco, wages and pensions have been slashed and working conditions are deteriorating.

International stability is fading. Southern Africa, India, the Middle East, China, Latin America, Portugal and Spain, Britain, Italy and France—pick an area at random and the odds are nine to one it's near exploding.

The economy, shaken by the deep worldwide recession of 1973-75, has picked up only in the U.S. and West Germany (and there, only slightly). Even optimists doubt that the upswing will last much longer than another year or two.

TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE

In the middle of all this we are treated to the presidential campaign—the contest to see who presides over the misery and uncertainty. The candidates put forward no solutions. They systematically avoid speaking to the needs of blacks and other oppressed peoples. They mouth platitudes about bettering workers' conditions while they chop away at federal subsidies for jobs and services.

None of the candidates disagrees much with any of the others. None of them wants to tell the workers the truth: that they are capitalist politicians; that they must lead the attacks against the workers since this is capitalism's only long-term way to survive. Instead the candidates all march around the issues, hoping the workers can be conned into believing bourgeois politicians.

Just glance at the frontrunners—Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. What do they have to say about the major problems? What are their solutions? Where do they disagree?

Who can say what they stand for, except that both attack government

spending, both want to "keep America strong" by increasing defense spending, and neither wants to get pinned down on anything?

REAGAN'S PHONY CAMPAIGN

Ronald Reagan projects an image of the hard-line right-winger. But beneath the surface insults, where does Reagan disagree with Ford? Reagan would follow essentially the same domestic program as Ford: cut back federal spending for jobs and services and boost defense spending.

A few months ago, Reagan attracted a lot of publicity by claiming he would cut \$97 billion off the federal budget if elected. Ford forced him to back off this utopian scheme and now Reagan barely raises domestic issues. On foreign policy, Reagan attacks Ford and Kissinger for capitulating to the Russians—but again puts forward no substantive disagreements (in fact, he recently attacked Ford for taking too hard a line towards Cuba).

Of the announced candidates, Morris Udall is the leading liberal... only he doesn't want to be called a liberal because the word is associated with government spending. It turns out that Udall is for government spending—when he's talking to labor about the need for government-created jobs and mass transit subsidies. He doesn't want to be pinned down to the position, though; in some places it's to his advantage to be against "big government." Udall, the "idealist," is as hypocritical as the rest—and puts forward nothing very different.

THE SENATOR FROM BOEING

There is one exception. The Senator from Boeing, Henry Jackson speaks for the defense lobby. He puts forward sharp disagreements with the administration's foreign policy. Unlike Reagan, he doesn't just mumble generalities against detente, but is for breaking the deal in the Middle East by going all out behind Israel. The ruling class, which wants to continue its imperialist deal with the Russians, wants no part of Jackson. Consequently, Jackson receives bad press reviews (ranging from "boring and lackluster" to "war-monger") and is getting swamped in the primaries.

Everything is being shoved towards the middle, towards consensus, with both conservatives and left liberals squeezed out.

For years Hubert Humphrey has had nothing new or direct to say about anything, yet today he emerges as the liberal hope. Humphrey is running heavily on the need for public works programs to create jobs. His proposal,

the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, will at best, after the usual horsetrading, provide a small number of new jobs at low wages.

Humphrey is just standing in place. He presents the same shopworn programs he has advocated for 30 years. He appears to some as a "left-winger" only because the rest of the Democrats have moved so far towards the middle of the road.

Labor is too strong to attack head-on, so nobody is for that. On the other hand, nearly everyone is for weakening the public employees' unions and cutting aid to the cities.

Nobody wants to break the deal with the Russians. But nobody wants to be branded as a capitulator after Vietnam and Angola. So there are no foreign policy differences.

The point is none of the candidates has a long-range solution to the capitalist crisis short of smashing the workers—and they can't run on that today. All keep their fingers crossed, hoping the deep-seated problems can be juggled on a day-to-day basis.

NOTHING TO OFFER

While workers and the oppressed suffer, the capitalist politicians have nothing to offer... because capitalism itself has nothing to offer. In short, the election campaign is noteworthy only as a dramatic confirmation that neither capitalist party offers a solution for the working class.

When the workers' struggle becomes more organized and forceful, the consensus will break down. Some politicians will begin to state the bourgeoisie's solution—break the unions, smash the workers. Others, mainly left-liberal Democrats, will direct all sorts of proposals at the workers—to try to convince the workers to give the system "one more chance."

There is no real solution that favors the working class on capitalism's terms. The only solution we have ever had is to organize collectively against the capitalists, pitting our strength as a class against the ruling class. The only lasting solution is the destruction of capitalist rule through socialist revolution. The two capitalist parties—like the capitalists themselves—are worthless. What is needed is a revolutionary party to lead the fight for workers' rule.

WHAT WORKERS SHOULD DO ABOUT THE ELECTION

There is no mass revolutionary party intervening in this year's elections. Should we let the labor hacks go hat in hand to the Democrats

until a revolutionary party is formed?

No. A revolutionary party cannot be built separate from the struggles of the working class. Workers must be organized to struggle for their own interests against the capitalists on all levels—including electoral action. We cannot abstain while the bureaucrats once more try to sell the bill of goods that the Democrats defend workers' interests. Instead, we must demand that the labor movement take the lead in forming a party of the workers—a labor party.

Revolutionaries will fight for the labor party to adopt a revolutionary program. But we will support a labor party which makes a break on clear class lines to put forward the defense of the workers as a class against the capitalists and their parties.

If the millions of workers in this country take this step, it will be a blow to the capitalists and the workers will have a means to put forward their immediate needs of defense against the capitalist attacks. Revolutionaries will have a mass forum to fight concretely for the adoption of the revolutionary program and the creation of the revolutionary party. □

RSL Begins Fund Drive

The Revolutionary Socialist League is conducting an \$8,000 fund drive from April 15 to June 15 to expand our labor and defense work and to improve our publications. The Livernois Five and East Side defense cases in Detroit, our revolutionary work in key national industries and trade unions and our active involvement in united front struggles on behalf of political prisoners and victimized union militants are examples of the growing revolutionary activities of the League. We have stepped up the publication of pamphlets and, at the same time, have taken steps to professionalize the Torch. The purchase of a printing press and of headlining equipment are examples of our mounting expenses.

The League must continue to expand and deepen its work. Torch readers and supporters can help make this possible by contributing generously to the fund drive. Please send check or money order payable to the Torch or S. Young to: P.O. Box 562, New York, N.Y. 10036.

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CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Speaker: Randy Thompson
Sunday, April 25
7 PM

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LETTERS

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Livernois Five Speak Out:

Below are statements from the three Livernois Five defendants still on trial. The Livernois Five Defense Committee has asked us to print the statements.

Greeting friends, family and supporters, and most of all the Livernois Five Defense Committee.

How are all of you?
For those of you who have no knowledge of me, my name is Raymond Peoples, one of the Livernois Five.

First of all I would like to assure all of you, I'm very grateful for your appearance here tonight. I'm really undecided on how to begin my speech at this present time. After all this is my first time ever speaking or appearing in front of an audience. So if I seem to be a little nervous or appear to be stage frightened, please bear along with me.

I'm quite sure that things I'm about to say could be classified as coming from the hearts of each and everyone of us that is being framed in the recent July racial disturbance.

We have been incarcerated in the Wayne County Jail now for nearly eight months charged with murder in the first degree in connection with the death of Marion Pyszko. He was killed in a racial uprising which was triggered off by Andrew Chinarian's hideous killing of Obie Wynn.

However, both tragedies have brought about the racial injustice that

is inflicted upon the black communities.

I'm quite sure we are all aware of Coleman Young's position in our society. He personally spoke the second day of this disturbance, and claimed he would see justice done in behalf of the racist killing of Obie Wynn.

But has there been? No!
Chinarian, who has self-confessed to this murder, was released on a \$500 bond, then rearraigned because of more disturbances the next day. Therefore he was granted a \$25,000 bond and released again.

Here we are innocent, remaining behind bars without bond, not responsible for the event in which we are charged.

Our case is one out of hundreds of cases that have not seen any justice, and nine times out of ten they will not, and will have to spend part or the rest of their lives in prison.

At this time I would like to thank you all again, and that your concern is highly appreciated, and when I speak I'm speaking for all; I'm pretty sure they feel as I do.

I would like to close by saying be strong and bring about more unity.

Thank You

To the Committee,

I am writing you this letter to express my deep feelings about the case, and to let you know of my

appreciation for everything the Committee has done on our behalf. My views on the case are that I honestly feel that I am strictly a victim of circumstance. A fall guy for the Police Department's pressure of having to arrest somebody in connection of the unfortunate incident that occurred on Livernois. I know myself that I had nothing to do with the incident that occurred, and feel that I just happened to be one of the many possibles who were picked at random to blame the incident on. This way the pressure was taken off the Police Department about making an arrest concerning the Livernois incident. I would like to sincerely thank each and everyone personally who is working or connected with the National Bulletin of the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee for all their support and backing of our case. I sincerely feel that without the Committee's support that we would not stand a chance of proving our innocence of the crime that we are accused of! Thank God for the people who care! I honestly feel lucky to have such an organization to have a fair and equal chance to prove our innocence. I'm sure there are many who aren't as fortunate. I thank you again!

Sincerely,
Ronald Jordan

To the Defense Committee,

Well first of all, I would like to introduce myself to the peoples of

society of the working class. I'm James Henderson, a defendant of the tragedy that happened on July 28.

I would like to say a few things to and about the Committee, and how I feel and what I acknowledge about them.

Well, from what I learn from reading, as well as getting a good understanding, I learn that you all are a group of people who have seen reality just as it is today. So you formed this organization to struggle against capitalism, against the suffering of the black peoples and the low working class peoples. And also to prepare a way for a more complete insight into the emancipation of working class peoples as well for the three of us who are being framed (Henderson, Jordan, Peoples).

The struggle is to eliminate the bosses from calling shots and pushing buttons on the people of society. The struggle of factories and workshops to organize like soldiers. To open their eyes and realize that they are only bourgeois class slaves. To take over the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. Because the more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end as well as its aim, the more petty, and the more hateful and more embittering it is, and will get worse.

Well I just want to say this to show the people as well as the Committee my appreciation and concern.
Thank you!

Trial Ends in Hung Jury...

Continued from page 1

every young black male in sight; the only "evidence" against them has been from prosecution witnesses forced to testify under threat of imprisonment if they didn't.

JUDGE PLAYED PROSECUTOR

Gillis, who had also been the judge in the first trial, knew that the state had no case. He made it clear right from the beginning of this trial that he would help the prosecution out in every way he could.

The judge refused the defense its right to reject potential jurors for bias. In fact, he refused to let defense lawyers question individual jurors at all. Throughout the trial Gillis overruled almost every defense objection. But he lent a willing ear to every courtroom maneuver prosecutor Boak could come up with. He even gave Boak friendly suggestions on how to run his case. For example, the judge suggested a possible objection for the prosecution when Boak was at a loss.

Gillis tried to bail the state out by ruling that proof of coercion against witnesses was "immaterial" and could not be used as evidence. The "impartial" judge openly played prosecutor; responding to the defense's contention that key prosecution witness Michael Dorris had been granted immunity in return for fingering Peoples and Jordan, Gillis barked: "Everyone knows that this

witness was not granted immunity." The defense forced him to apologize in front of the jury the next day.

Despite this attempted cover-up, the prosecution witnesses told how the state used threats and under-the-table deals to shore up its case. Michael Dorris testified that he was afraid of being "railroaded by police" if he refused to cooperate, adding that he had been threatened with a 10-year sentence if he didn't play his part in the frame-up.

"IT'S RIGHT TO PROTEST"

The most telling testimony was that of Dennis Lindsay, who appeared as a witness for the defense. He stated that he was in the Livernois-Fenkell area, saw the events, and that with hundreds of people in the streets, poor lighting and total confusion no one could have identified anyone.

Boak tried to discredit Lindsay by asking him what he was doing throwing rocks at police cars. Lindsay answered that he was doing what hundreds of other youths were doing—protesting against the murder of a young black man. He declared that he thought it was right to protest.

Lindsay's courageous defiance of the prosecutor brought the real issues behind the trial of the Livernois Five out into the open. Response to a racist murder and to the desperate conditions forced upon blacks sparked the Livernois-Fenkell confrontations. Capitalism, not the Livernois Five, must be found guilty, and executed.

The "crime" of the Livernois Five was to think that it was right to protest. This is what Mayor Young, Judge Gillis, prosecutor Boak and the whole of the ruling class in Detroit have tried to conceal from the working class, even at the expense of the lives and futures of three innocent young men.

Raymond Peoples, James Henderson and Ronald Jordan have committed no crime. They must go free. All workers must demand that they go free, because the freedom of every worker to stand up and fight against oppression is at stake in their case. All

must demand no new trial and freedom for the defendants. The Livernois Five Defense Committee will continue to fight in their defense until Raymond Peoples, James Henderson and Ronald Jordan are free and this criminal frame-up is smashed once and for all. □

The Livernois Five Defense Committee is in urgent need of funds. The decision to try the defendants a third time demonstrates that the state is determined to strike a blow at all who dare to fight back against racial injustice. But, as the importance of the case mounts, so do legal and other expenses. Please send funds and requests for further information to: Livernois Five Defense Committee, P.O. Box 503, Detroit, Michigan 48221.

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General Strike...

Continued from page 1

means a loss in real wages) and a reduction in overtime rates. Worst of all, the new SEIU contract allows the city to send workers home in the middle of the day, any day, by just saying there's no work for them. The guarantee of a full week's pay, something the unions won long ago, was given up without a fight!

CRAFTSMEN HIT HARDEST

Bad as the SEIU contract was, the craftsmen were hit worse. On March 29, the Board of Supervisors passed the pay ordinance cutting craft workers' wages a total of \$5.7 million—an average of over \$3,000 per year for each worker! The craft unions walked out the next day when Moscone signed the pay ordinance.

By settling up, the SEIU bureaucrats sold out their own ranks and left the craftsmen isolated. The Central Labor Council bureaucrats, although they talked as tough in March as they do today, were no better: they offered to submit the dispute to binding arbitration. The Board of Supervisors refused. Then the craft bureaucrats begged for a three-month extension of the contract deadline, from April 1 to July 1. Although the Supervisors' own negotiator, Patrick Mahler, was for the extension, the bureaucrats were turned down again.

Every time the bureaucrats tried to reach a rotten compromise, the city slammed the door in their faces. The Board of Supervisors deliberately provoked the confrontation.

For years, the craft unions have been paid more than other workers and fought to retain this privilege. Blacks and other minorities have been largely excluded from membership. These aristocratic actions antagonized other workers and helped make it possible for an anti-labor law like Proposition B to pass. The Supervisors expected an isolated strike of a handful of craftsmen.

The politicians underestimated the solidarity of labor's rank and file. Workers in San Francisco have learned through mass struggle, including the great 1934 general strike and several mass public employee strikes in the past five years, that an injury to one is an injury to all. They know that if craft workers pay can be chopped by thousands of dollars, all workers will be hit next.

For example, on the first day of the

craftsmen's strike a mass meeting of SEIU workers voted to honor all picket lines—overturning the attempt of several SEIU leaders to sabotage the strike (earlier in the day, hacks from four SEIU locals had opposed staying out). The Municipal Railway workers (Transport Workers Union Local 250A) shut down most of the transit system; the transit workers have for years been among the most militant workers in the Bay Area.

San Francisco is a union town. The municipal and craft unions are the bulwarks of the city's trade unions. The Supervisors and Moscone knew they had to weaken these unions to push through the cuts in public jobs and services that are the capitalist strategy for bailing out the economy this year. They didn't realize just how strong the unions are because they looked at the bureaucrats and not at the ranks.

The ranks are fighting their way out of the corner the bureaucrats shoved them into. The trade union hacks campaigned for most of the Board of Supervisors last November, even though the Supervisors were pushing the anti-labor Proposition B. The bureaucrats really turned on the praise and turned out the votes for Moscone.

HACKS FIDDLE

The hacks allowed the Supervisors and Moscone to spread the lie that workers' wages are responsible for increased taxes on working people. The bureaucrats have played with threats of the general strike while making it clear that they're looking for any way at all to compromise. If they were serious, they'd announce a deadline and make preparations for a citywide strike immediately.

The militant rank and file of the San Francisco labor movement must make the issues clear and fight to win. Workers in every union should form rank and file strike committees to make serious preparations for a citywide general strike. These committees in turn should elect a citywide strike committee.

FORM STRIKE COMMITTEES!

The city must be given a hard deadline to abandon its wage-gouging of the craftsmen and to rip up the outrageous SEIU contract or face a



San Francisco's 1934 general strike shut city down tight. If the SF trade union movement is to avoid a crushing defeat, the Central Labor Council must be prepared to follow through on its general strike threat. Rank and file militancy has thus far prevented defeat.

total shutdown. The strike committees must make all necessary provisions for communications, defense guards against the cops, medical care and emergency measures in preparation for the strike.

MAKE THE BOSSES PAY!

The labor movement must win over public support by exposing the lie that wages are to blame for increased personal taxes. The New York crisis made clear that debt service and other payments to the banks and corporations are the biggest cause of the squeeze on city budgets. The profits of the banks and corporations have to be chopped. Make the bosses pay, not the workers!

The solution to the cities' problems is not cutting workers' wages, busting the unions and cutting essential services. By shortening the work week

and putting into effect public works programs (controlled by the unions at union wages), vital services can be expanded, not cut, and jobs for all provided. The bosses must pay for these—tax the banks and corporations!

Moscone and the Board of Supervisors, the leaders of the union-busting campaign, were elected thanks to labor support. Workers cannot remain dependent on capitalist politicians to act in their interest. The trade unions must lead in organizing a labor party to guarantee that the gains won in struggle are not taken away by backstabbing politicians. □

**FOR A CITYWIDE
GENERAL STRIKE!
30 HOURS' WORK
FOR 40 HOURS' PAY!
TAX THE BANKS
AND CORPORATIONS!
FORM A LABOR PARTY!**

TWU Signs New Pact; Ranks Lose Ground

NEW YORK—Transport Workers Union (TWU) International President Matthew Guinan has given an example of how not to fight the attack on city workers and services. Guinan had filled the air with threats that, unless the city came across with a "substantial" wage increase, there would be a strike. But with the 5 a.m. April 1 deadline minutes away, Guinan and Transit Authority chairman David Yunich announced agreement on a new contract for New York City transit workers (TWU Local 100) providing for: 1) No wage increase; 2) a cost of living formula that won't match inflation; 3) joint union-management panels to "eliminate inefficiency, unnecessary costs and underutilization resulting from any cause whatsoever."

Transit workers' real wages will fall—and for this privilege the union leadership agreed to endorse a blanket productivity deal. Although the contract has a reopener clause in case any other city unions get a better wage deal, neither Guinan, Yunich nor Mayor Abe Beame takes the provision seriously: the TWU traditionally sets the pace for the municipal unions. A TWU strike could have broken the wage freeze for all public employees in the city. It is even less likely that bureaucrats like Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME's DC 37 will try to break the freeze when the bulk of city contracts expire on June 30.

The Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), the state-run agency that must approve all contracts between the city and the unions, is threatening to reject the transit pact. Apparently, the EFCB isn't happy with Guinan's giveaway. Board mem-

bers want to eliminate the cost-of-living clause altogether. During pre-contract talks, Guinan blustered that the EFCB had to approve any contract before the strike deadline. As we go to press, nearly two weeks after the deadline passed, the Board still hasn't acted on it. Rejection must be met immediately with a strike.

GUINAN AND VAN RIPER: MANAGEMENT'S FRIENDS

Over the past five years, the TWU has worked with management to stiffen work rules, tighten up on sick leave and other attendance requirements, and speed up work (making safety conditions on the transit system more dangerous than ever). Local 100 President Ellis Van Riper boasted in late March that the union had helped save the city \$140 to \$150 million over the past 11 months. The new contract means even more savings at the expense of working conditions and the safety of the transit system's passengers.

"There's no way we're going to give up what we've striven for," Guinan declared in March, adding that the city wanted the union to give up what it had gained in 40 years of struggle. But when it came time to act, Guinan waved the white flag and handed over the ranks' working conditions and wages.

New York transit workers must not let Guinan and Van Riper put this deal across. Rank and filers must vote "no" on the contract and elect strike committees. It will take a strike run by the ranks to break the wage freeze, secure working conditions and fight for free transit and other vital services. □

The Easter Rebellion

Sixty years ago in Dublin on Easter Monday (April 24, 1916), several small but dedicated detachments of trade unionists and ex-soldiers began a rising against British imperialism. The insurrection, led by James Connolly and Patrick Pearse, was part of a 700-year struggle against British domination that continues today. Although the heroic armed rebellion was brutally crushed by British forces after six days, it still stands out as the single most important event in Ireland's struggle for independence.

Ireland's fight against imperialism then and today is unconditionally ours. However, we believe if the struggle against imperialism in Ireland or anywhere is to be successful, it must incorporate the ideas of the Easter Rebellion's central leader, James Connolly. Connolly saw the necessity of building a workers' militia to lead the fight against imperialism and he organized armed trade unionists into the Irish Citizens Army.

His words in January of 1897 ring all the more true today as living conditions deteriorate continually in the Irish Republic as well as in the northern counties: "If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the Green Flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organization of the Socialist Republic your effort would be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and individualist institutions she has planted in this country." □

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF THE EASTER REBELLION!
LONG LIVE THE IDEAS AND STRUGGLE OF JAMES CONNOLLY!

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Deposed Argentine President Isabel Perón.

out of World War II in the face of years of pressure from the allies, maintaining an almost friendly attitude toward the Axis.

BONAPARTISM

Decades ago Leon Trotsky described how underdeveloped countries, under the pressure of poverty and imperialism, usually develop Bonapartist rule: the rule of an individual or clique pretending to stand above the contending classes and act as arbiter of the nation's destiny, while in fact defending capitalism.

Trotsky described two different kinds of Bonapartism:

"The governments of backward, i.e., colonial and semicolonial, countries by and large assume a Bonapartist or semi-Bonapartist character; they differ from one another in that some try to orient in a democratic direction, seeking support among workers and peasants, while others install a form close to military-police dictatorship. This likewise determines the fate of the trade unions. They either stand under the special patronage of the state or they are subjected to cruel persecution. Patronage on the part of the state is dictated by two tasks that confront it: first, to draw the working class closer, thus gaining a support for resistance against excessive pretensions on the part of imperialism; and, at the same time, to discipline the workers themselves by placing them under the control of a bureaucracy." [Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions, pp. 71-72.]

Peronism obviously represents the first type of Bonapartism Trotsky described. The junta established by the coup represents the second.

In the early 1950s the bubble burst. Argentina's international trade position (under direct assault by U.S. imperialism) deteriorated. In response, Perón cut down on the workers' benefits, increased taxation of the capitalists and made concessions to foreign capital that angered both right- and left-wing nationalists. He made enemies on all sides. In 1955 he was overthrown in a coup and fled the country.

1955 TO 1973

From 1955 to 1973 a variety of military and elected governments failed to restore Argentina's fleeting prosperity. The period was generally one of stagnation. As the military regime in Brazil in the '60s crushed the working class and began a rapid economic and military accumulation on the backs of the proletariat and peasantry, Argentina's leading role on the continent faded.

During all these years the Argentine working class was sometimes defeated but never crushed. Memories of the "golden age" were strong; the CGT remained a force; massive strikes kept recurring. In the intervals when elections were held, the military kept Peronists off the ballot. They knew how much loyalty the exiled dictator still commanded.

PERÓN'S RETURN

By 1973 the military and Perón moved toward reconciliation, pushed by Perón's thirst for power and the bourgeoisie's need to use Perón to contain an upsurge of militancy among Argentine workers. This upsurge was strongest in the "Cordobazos"—massive strikes in Córdoba, Argentina's second largest city. The bourgeoisie reckoned that if the memory of Peronism kept the working class de-

termined and united, the reality of Peronist rule would contain and dissipate its strength.

In 1973, in a series of steps, Perón was allowed back into the country, onto the ballot, and was placed in power by a massive popular vote. His third wife Isabel, a former cabaret dancer, took office as Vice President, and succeeded him after his death in mid-1974.

Peronism has always been a fraud, claiming to stand "between liberalism and Marxism," and to reconcile classes under capitalism. Back in office, Perón demonstrated his loyalty to capitalism.

From the day of Perón's return, Peronist rule meant phony "social pacts" that aimed at increasing production and profits while restraining strikes; government intervention in unions to remove militant leaders; arrests and repression aimed at workers and the left. Denunciations by the Presidents Perón—backed up with action—hit at the proletariat, not the capitalists. Most vicious of all was the growth of the government-protected rightist murder gangs, which have carried out the major portion of the 2,000 political killings in the last two years.



General Jorge Videla, head of new junta.

But the workers had other ideas. In 1975 they launched a series of magnificent struggles. In February-April, the Villa Constitución steel strike lasted for months in the face of hundreds of arrests and the bombings of militants' homes. The strike was eventually defeated, though not smashed, when the government and union bureaucracy brought all their pressure to bear and the strikers were unable to mobilize national labor action in their defense.

In June Perón tried to put a ceiling of 50 percent on wage increases, although many recently negotiated

contracts called for raises of up to 100 percent. A national strike was launched June 27 that threw the country into turmoil. After several weeks Perón gave up and, on July 8, ratified the disputed contracts. Three days later she had to dismiss her right-hand man, the mystic López Rega, who was the real power in the regime.

In November and December the workers of the auto workers union (SMATA) defeated a government attempt to put them under the thumb of the Peronist bureaucrats of the metal workers' union, the UOM. The government backed down after a 10-day general strike and massive street demonstrations.

In March workers began fighting the latest austerity plan, which called for a six-month wage freeze after an initial 12 percent raise. At the time of the coup Isabel Perón had retreated from 12 percent to 20 percent and strikes and turmoil were continuing.

Perón's exhortations failed to control the working class. The trade union bureaucrats restrained the proletariat from fighting to destroy the whole system, but they were forced by their militant ranks to stand at the head of major strikes. Attempts by Perón and her top labor allies to replace militant local leaders, or simply arrest them, failed; the workers chose and followed their own leaders in many strikes, including Villa Constitución. Meanwhile the wild inflation, running faster than wage increases, drove workers to fight. So did promises of wage increases that finally came six months late, when the money had shrunk to half its value.

In spite of all the capitalist attacks, the regime could not stabilize Argentina on a profitable capitalist basis. The Argentine workers refused to take the brunt of the efforts to restore the profitability of Argentine capitalism. What the Argentine bourgeoisie needed was to isolate the left and destroy the workers' ability to resist. Peronist rule could not accomplish this. But it was effective enough to leave the workers demoralized and disoriented and therefore it destroyed the social basis of the regime. The generals gave Perón plenty of rope, which she obligingly used to hamstring and weaken the working class while isolating herself.

Peronism's day is over. Argentine capitalism can no longer afford the crumbs to keep the workers in line. The decay of the Peronist regime and its replacement with military rule mark the end of the road for "populist" Bonapartism and the beginning of open capitalist dictatorship. □

Continued from page 1

the left and replacing it with the revolutionary rule of the working class.

REPRESSION

The coup is a major setback to the Argentine proletariat. With state power in military hands, the bourgeoisie is in a strong position to intensify its assault on the wages, living standards and democratic rights of the workers. The new regime has already begun its crackdown. It has called for austerity and has set out to round up militants, seize the trade unions and occupy militant factories with troops. The continuing struggle against the "guerrillas"—actually concentrated on the proletariat—means a fierce dictatorship with mass arrests and mass shootings. Strikes are prohibited.

THE WORKING CLASS AND PERONISM

The Argentine working class has a history of power and organization. For decades the bourgeoisie has attempted to master it and break its fighting ability. The new regime, facing a demoralized and disoriented trade union movement, stands a good chance of succeeding, at least temporarily.

Juan Perón built his machine on the trade unions, beginning in the mid-1940s. Using the foreign exchange reserves Argentina accumulated during and after World War II, based mainly on food sales to war-ravaged Europe, Perón gave workers a taste of prosperity and created the era of Peronism that many Argentine workers still look back on as a golden age. He forged the trade unions into a powerful weapon, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), and tied them to himself by a thousand strings of loyalty, authority and money. He legislated benefits for Argentine workers unparalleled in Latin America—many of them through a huge welfare fund built on money extorted from the capitalists and administered personally and corruptly by Perón and his wife Eva.

Argentine capitalists accepted Perón during the prosperity because he strengthened and centralized Argentine capitalism, ensuring labor peace and production at a time when keeping the wheels turning meant raking in enough profits to pay for it all. He also stood for a certain degree of Argentine nationalism and won a little freedom from U.S. and British imperialism. Many foreign-owned utilities were nationalized (with compensation). And Argentina stayed

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