

the TORCH

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**Revolutionary
Socialist League**

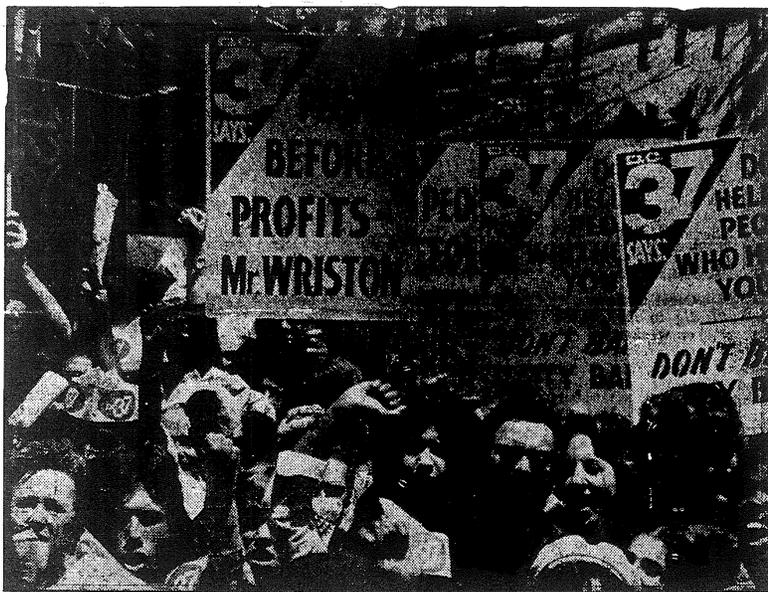
Reconstruct the Fourth International!

Vol. 2 No. 6

June 15 - July 14, 1975

Vicious Attack on New York Workers

MAKE THE BOSSES PAY!



New York City employees demonstrating on June 4. The AFSCE picket signs reflect the union bureaucracy's strategy of focusing the workers' anger towards a passive appeal for "help" from the banks, instead of leading a militant struggle against the capitalist attack.

NEW YORK—The ruling class has chosen the nation's largest city as the major battleground for its attempt to make the working class pay for the capitalist crisis. Mayor Abraham Beame heads an army of bankers, corporate heads, "civic leaders" and politicians threatening massive cuts in public services, wholesale layoffs, wage gouging and loss of job benefits for public employees.

On May 30 Beame announced his "crisis budget" for the fiscal year beginning July 1. It calls for eliminating 67,000 city jobs (on top of thousands that have already been wiped out this year). Eight city hospitals and several health centers would be closed. 66 Fire Department units would be shut down, which would double the firemen's response time from four to eight minutes. Garbage collection would be reduced by one-third, with the harshest cuts coming in ghetto areas that already have the worst sanitation service. The budget

eliminates all substitute teachers, increases class size to over 40 students per class, fires thousands of regular teachers and "might" eliminate all kindergarten classes. Admissions to the City University would be slashed by over 20,000 students. Other cuts would close day-care centers and many other welfare services.

All the debt-ridden urban centers will attempt to solve their crises at the workers' expense. The attacks in New York foreshadow what will come elsewhere. Therefore the confrontation in New York is of the utmost importance to every worker in this country. If the capitalist attacks succeed in New York, it will be the signal for the ruling class to step up the cutbacks throughout the country. But if the New York working class successfully defends its living standards, this would point the way to successful struggle to class brothers and sisters elsewhere.

BANKS PULL TRIGGER

The immediate crisis in New York was ushered in when major banks, led by First National City, refused to market city bonds. With \$3 billion in short-term loans coming due over the next few months, the city faced an immediate cash shortage. The banks stated that they would only back off if the city agreed to take measures to cut its budget deficit.

Beame added to an already hysterical atmosphere. He moaned that the city would have to declare bankruptcy on June 11—the date when \$792 million in loans came due. He

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PORTUGUESE LEFT UNDER GUN

by Chris Hudson

On May 29 more than 500 militants of the Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party, Portugal's largest extreme left organization, were arrested by the Portuguese junta without warning. The jailings of the leadership of this militant anti-government grouping demonstrates the tensions tearing apart the Bonapartist coalition ruling the country.

The arrests and the seizure of the offices and files of the Maoist MRPP came on the eve of a planned anti-NATO demonstration, which would have challenged the Portuguese government's declarations of loyalty at the recent NATO meeting in Brussels.

The arrests were only the latest in a series of moves against the MRPP and other extreme left (i.e., centrist) groups. In February, the

government stepped in to invalidate the election victory of the Maoist Workers and Peasants Alliance (AOC) over the Communist Party slate in the Lisbon Chemical Workers Union and arrested AOC leaders. The MRPP, its rallies broken up by the military, its periodicals banned and its officers facing legal harassment, was barred from participating in the April 25 Constituent Assembly elections. Whether or not the present arrests signal the permanent suppression of the MRPP (some government spokesmen claim the detentions are only temporary), the generals' direction is clear.

The four-party bourgeois-"socialist" coalition which rules Portugal under the control of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) is torn by internal bickering. The left faction of the military, dominating the ruling Armed Forces

Council but lacking a clear majority in the 240-man Armed Forces Assembly, is sniping at the Socialist Party, its main critic within the coalition, without yet being able to do away with it. The MFA is attacking the extreme left, first and foremost the MRPP, but this very fact shows that the MFA and its supporters in the leadership of the Communist Party are sitting on a powderkeg of potential mass opposition.

There is no doubt that the MRPP's planned anti-NATO demonstration would have mobilized thousands to demand that Portugal get out of NATO, an indication of the revolutionary passions seething among the masses. In order to consolidate its own bourgeois rule, in order to modernize Portuguese capitalism through centralized state measures, the MFA must both suppress its right critics

(including the Socialist Party) who stand for a more traditional, pluralistic capitalism, and simultaneously destroy all possibility of the proletariat finding a revolutionary road. But the very militancy of the proletariat means that for the present, the MFA cannot destroy the civilian parties and cannot move openly against the working class.

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Russia and China to the Rescue

The defeat of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia has thrown the international bourgeoisie into frenzy. Faced with the revolutionary threat of the masses—a threat increased by inspiration drawn from the anti-imperialist victories—and wracked by economic crisis, the world's capitalists are desperately trying to attain a new "stabilization."

Despite its losses in Indochina, the U.S. remains the main force looked to by the capitalists around the world. Therefore, the state-capitalists of Russia and China have stepped up their separate campaigns for "detente" and "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S., demonstrating their sincerity by moving to restrain revolutionary struggles.

RUSSIA DOES ITS JOB

Russia is playing its part in the Middle East. In late May, a near civil war broke out in Lebanon, after attacks on Palestinian refugees by the fascist Phalange party were repulsed by the armed organizations of the Palestinians and the Lebanese working class. Over 100 were killed and two governments fell during the fighting. A New York Times observer reported "deep concern" that "the Palestinians could join other Moslem and leftist political forces here in an armed revolution based on the grievances of industrial workers, Syrian and Kurdish laborers and poor peasants."

The Lebanese tension was temporarily quelled by the appointment of a Moslem Prime Minister at the urging of the Syrian government and Yasir Arafat (head of the Palestine Liberation Organization). At the same time, USSR Foreign Minister Gromyko had been meeting with Kissinger in Vienna, after which Kissinger commented that a Middle East settlement would be possible based on a U.S.-USSR agreement. In intervening to settle the turmoil in Lebanon to the benefit of bourgeois stability, both the Syrian government—a solid Soviet ally—and Arafat, who had recently returned from a visit to Moscow, were speaking for the Russians. An "armed revolution" by workers, peasants and oppressed immigrants is not to the liking of Russia or its followers in the Mideast.

CHINA STEPS IN

China participated even more openly in stabilizing the Far East, demonstrating what diplomats call "moderation" towards the regimes and liberation movements they claim to support. Peking has advised North Korea not to attempt the unification of Korea by force, and has royally welcomed the Philippines' butcher-President Marcos to audiences with Chou En-Lai and Mao Tse-Tung. Marcos' military director of intelligence and security accompanied him on the trip to ensure that measures are agreed upon to stifle the Maoist-led insurgents in the Philippines. China reportedly agreed to a policy of "non-interference," that is, non-support to the liberation movement.

China has also distinguished itself as the one power to vociferously call for the U.S. to retain its military forces on the Southeast Asian mainland in the one country—Thailand—that has not overthrown them. But the Thai government, like the Philippine, has questioned the value of the U.S.'s military bases on its territory and has already asked the Americans to leave. China has become more pro-U.S. imperialism than the traditional puppet regimes of Asia!

In return for the Chinese cooperation, the U.S. has decided to reduce the number of American military personnel on Taiwan. China and the U.S. are collaborating to stabilize the countries in the Far East that have been U.S. dependencies but are now looking for a greater measure of independence after the American debacle in Indochina.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST PENTAGON?

Are the Chinese rulers correct in believing that American diplomacy has changed since the Vietnam defeat, that the Pentagon now has "a good view of the world," as one Chinese spokesman put it? Imperialism has not mellowed in the least, but it has found out that the national liberation victories in Indochina have inspired masses of people to struggle against oppression throughout the world. The Nixon Administration had begun to recognize the value of China as an ally several years ago, but now that Indochina has opened up the world situation, the "socialist" powers' support for imperialist stabilization becomes an absolute necessity—and China understands this.

"Socialist Russia" and "People's China" both have vested interests in propping up unstable capitalism. The fall of bourgeois rule would mean their demise as well. Today, when the international proletariat has tremendous opportunities to break through and has drawn great strength from the Indochinese victories, the Stalinists accordingly seek to restrain the masses.

The world proletariat must have no illusions in the supposed "progressive" nature of Russia and China. Their wholly bourgeois policies must be rejected. The international working class must demand the immediate expulsion of U.S. imperialism from all of Asia, and must step up its struggle to smash capitalist rule throughout the globe. To accomplish this task, the working class needs its own party, a revolutionary party that counterposes the interests of the proletariat to bourgeois stability.

The enormous tasks confronting the workers today are paralleled by immense opportunities. Armed with a world revolutionary party, the reconstructed Fourth International, the working class will decisively defeat crumbling capitalism and establish its own rule, the proletarian dictatorship.

"New" U.S. Imperialism?

The Ford Administration has launched a whirlwind diplomatic flurry in its attempt to rebuild the U.S.'s international image in the wake of the Indochinese defeats. The highlight has been Ford's tour of Europe, timed to coincide with the meeting of NATO.

Ford is trying to paint a picture of a "reformed" U.S. imperialism. Now that the U.S. has been expelled from Southeast Asia, it's easy to claim that America does not seek territorial aggrandizement in that part of the world. All the U.S. wants, according to Ford, is to strengthen democracy and freedom.

Extolling the virtues of bourgeois democracy, Ford warned the Portuguese military that participation in the "Western Alliance" is incompatible with Communist domination of their government. The European allies backed him to the hilt, singing the same refrain.

To be sure, Ford did travel to Madrid to invite arch-reactionary Franco to join NATO. But Ford spent far more time with Prince Juan Carlos (who will soon try to form a "constitutional monarchy") than he did with the Spanish dictator. The trip was described as Ford's attempt "to work through existing channels" to end totalitarianism in Spain.

The "new" imperialism is a fraud. The U.S. will collaborate with any regime, no matter how reactionary or rotten, that can hold back the

demands of the proletariat. The U.S. has learned certain lessons from Portugal; it will try to pre-empt mass struggle by backing a regime less openly repressive than Franco's. Even Franco understands that such a step is necessary to maintain bourgeois rule in the face of a militant working class.

What is true in Spain also holds in Portugal. Despite bellicose rhetoric directed at the Portuguese military, imperialism will support the MFA against the workers' struggle. The proof of this is not hard to find. The London Financial Times recently reported that Britain has sold substantial quantities of tear gas grenades and crowd control weapons to the Portuguese army. These weapons will be used in the MFA-CP war against militant workers. Just as Russia and China are propping up western imperialism against the heightened opportunities for workers' insurrection, so the western powers come to the aid of the friends of Portuguese Stalinism in order to defeat the working class.

U.S. imperialism has not changed its stripes. The Maoists who back China's support for NATO and Mao's line that "the Pentagon is now the friend of the world's masses" are doing leg-work for Ford and the bourgeoisie. There is only one way to change imperialism—overthrowing it by proletarian revolution.

FUND DRIVE GOAL SET AT \$13,000

The Revolutionary Socialist League is conducting its fourth semi-annual fund drive. Our initial fund drive in 1973 had as its goal \$7,500; the present drive has set a goal of \$13,000. As we go to press, \$10,395 has been raised, with a month remaining before the drive ends July 15.

The goal of the drive has been set so high to finance major changes in the League's operations. \$5,000 is earmarked to finance the move of our National Office to New York. The present issue of *The Torch* is the first to be produced in New York.

The remaining \$8,000 will be used to help finance our ongoing operations. We are increasing our activity in rank and file labor caucuses and helping to publish revolutionary labor bulletins in several unions. We are intervening in the busing crisis, calling for the defense of the black communities and black students against racist terror while attacking the fraudulent busing program with its bogus promises of reform. Finally, we have scheduled the publication of pamphlets on state capitalism, busing, the present capitalist economic crisis and other subjects.

The high cost of these changes is being met with dedication by the League and its friends. One friend of the League has donated \$1,000 toward the expenses of moving. We ask every reader of *The Torch* to send \$1.00, \$5.00, or more to help meet our expanding needs. Send checks or money orders payable to R.S.L. or Sy Landy, P.O. Box 562, Times Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10036.

League Forum

—NEW YORK

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—THE HISTORY BEHIND THE
VICTORY
—THE ROAD FORWARD

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EDITOR OF THE TORCH

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—SWP, SL Tail Liberals at Boston March—

BUSING IS AN ATTACK ON BLACKS

BOSTON—10,000 people marched in this strife-torn city on May 17 in a march called by the NAACP. The march, nominally against racism and school desegregation, was in its entirety organized in support of the federal courts' forced busing plan.

The demonstration was passive and conservative. Although Boston has been plagued by racist terror attacks against black children and the black community, the march leaders did not so much as mention the need for militant mobilizations and united defense by labor and blacks against racist terror. Nor was any way forward pointed for black students: only the dead-end of the forced busing plan of the government and the liberal bourgeoisie.

Speaker after speaker appealed for the need to place complete faith in the bourgeois state. Joseph Rauh, who has been a top adviser to UMW President Arnold Miller and to Ed Sadlowski (the reformist oppositionist in the Steelworkers Union) urged, "Let us be known as the defenders of law and order, not the racists."

Maceo Dixon of the Socialist Workers Party, speaking for the National Student Coalition Against Racism (the latest of the SWP's single-issue front groups tailored to pull in bourgeois politicians) called for President Ford to remove troops from Cambodia and "send those troops and tanks to Boston to enforce the law." In its newspaper, *The Militant*, the SWP has had nothing but praise for the conservative NAACP, and has urged that militant blacks adopt passive calls for federal troops, so as to show that they only stand for implementing "the law of the land."

Why these hymns to bourgeois law and order? Why these appeals by "revolutionaries" to send bourgeois troops to Boston? Because today the liberal wing of the ruling class is pretending to be the friend of black people, and promises to provide better education through the forced busing solution. And a host of "progressives" and would-be revolutionaries are the loudest drum-beaters for the plans of this section of the bourgeoisie.

WHILE THE CITIES ROT

It's no accident that busing is being pushed forward as the economic crisis sends the decaying cities to the brink of bankruptcy. Along with wage-gouging, speed-up, unemployment and inflation, U.S. capitalism is trying to solve its massive crisis by slashing social services essential to the working class (and especially crucial to the most oppressed workers, largely black and Latin, who are completely dependent on public education, medical care and transit). Forced busing provides a way to cut the education budget while diverting attention away from these actions and covering everything with a "progressive," "anti-racist" veneer.

The first need of black students in decrepit ghetto schools is to relieve the miserable overcrowded conditions and provide new facilities. A crash program to build modern schools is essential. Thousands of new teachers must be hired to reduce class size to an adequate level—no more than 20 students per class, instead of the 40 or more common in many ghetto schools. Decent facilities and instructional aides should be at hand—every school should have as high a funding per pupil as the best suburban schools. All of this is needed, and it is needed

today. But schools, teachers and facilities cost money, and this is just what the government (city, state, federal) will not provide. Instead, thousands of teachers are being laid off and school construction programs are being suspended. New York City is the best example (see article in this issue).

Supporters of forced busing accept the ground rules laid down by the ruling class. Instead of organizing a militant, united movement of black, brown and white workers to resist the layoffs and the cuts in education and to fight for adequate funding, they have a "share-the-misery" approach. Keep the same inadequate facilities, the same inadequate funding (or even less!), the overcrowded classes,

capitalize on the situation to spread racist filth and build a small base in South Boston.

SMASH RACISM!

We stand in absolute opposition to the racist opponents of busing. We are for the strongest and most militant defense of Boston blacks against the racist terror. We call for militants to introduce at every trade union meeting the demand that the labor movement take up the defense of the black children, including organizing armed workers' defense guards to combat the racist vermin. We call for black community groups to likewise take up this fight. The defense of black schoolchildren must be insured by the

Is he really for better education for black students? Hardly. Several weeks ago the proposed Boston school budget was sent to White for his approval. White rejected 20 per cent of the school budget! This means fewer teachers, almost no new school construction and reduction in the funds available for school desegregation.

Federal Judge Arthur Garrity, who imposed the forced busing plan in Boston in response to an appeal from the NAACP, has the same idea as White. In early May, Garrity produced his busing plan for the school year beginning next September. It included closing down 20 ghetto schools and little construction of new schools.

The mayor and the judge have made plain as day that the bourgeoisie is pushing busing forward primarily as a convenient way to cut school budgets, attack workers and divert attention from their attacks by setting black and white workers at each others' throats.

LABOR FAKERS AND "REVOLUTIONARIES"

The labor fakers and so-called revolutionaries who beat the drums for forced busing only help the liberal capitalists perpetrate these attacks. Joseph Rauh, by calling on workers to put their faith completely in the bourgeoisie's idea of "law and order" tells workers to accept the cutbacks, and worse—he tells blacks faced by vicious racist terror to rely on the capitalist state for protection.

Rauh, though, is himself a Democratic politician. Even more treacherous is the stance of the "revolutionaries" of the Socialist Workers Party. Like Rauh, the SWP calls for observing the "law of the land"—that is, the law of the bourgeoisie. Further, the SWP continues to trumpet the call for federal troops into Boston, supposedly to "protect" the black students. The SWP cynically sows illusions in the bourgeois state, bourgeois troops and bourgeoisie law.

If federal troops are sent in, it will be to insure that the budget-slashing attacks are carried out. Federal troops will also see to it that militants who attempt to mobilize defense of the black students, let alone those who actively fight for expanded funds for education, are ruthlessly repressed. The working class can place no faith in the army, the armed fist of the bourgeoisie.

SPARTACISTS WHITEWASH LIBERALS

The Spartacist League marched on May 17 to give the demonstration a left cover. While the SL does call for labor-black defense of the students, it eagerly consumes the bourgeois busing plan. In commenting on Judge Garrity's plan, the SL newspaper, *Workers' Vanguard*, wrote on May 23: "Garrity's order to close 20 schools with virtually no new construction ensures the overcrowding of existing schools." The article continues: "The Spartacist League's call for 'No Retreat! Extend Busing Citywide and into the Suburbs!' remains very much on the agenda."

Rather than posing a class-wide fight for adequate funding, more teachers, decent facilities, more schools, the SL calls for retaining the

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NAACP supporters at May 17 demonstration. Reformist NAACP calls for passive reliance on bourgeois law and supports forced busing [a front for capitalist attacks against black and white workers]. "Socialist" SWP completely identifies with this bourgeois strategy.

accept the teacher layoffs—keep all of these, and then rearrange which students go to what schools.

Therefore, while many supporters of forced busing honestly believe that they are actively struggling to improve the conditions of black students, they are actually being used to attack blacks. It is black students who will suffer most from the failure to greatly expand educational facilities, just as it is black workers and unemployed who suffer most from the overall cutbacks in public services. These busing supporters forget that blacks have the right to have decent schools in their own neighborhoods.

Meanwhile, white workers view forced busing as an attack on them. To them, it means that their children will have to attend worse schools and get a worse education. And they're right to think this; this is precisely the share-the-misery concept of the liberals. It is impossible to conceive of more than a handful of white workers willingly accepting these consequences of forced busing. And it's not surprising that the Ku Klux Klan and fascist groups have been able to

organization of joint trade union-black defense guards.

At the same time, we reject the forced busing proposal. It pits black workers against white workers; it is designed (and in Boston it has already had success in this) to turn the attention of the working class away from the need for funds for quality education and to focus hostility on other workers. Instead of guaranteeing the right of every student to attend the school of his or her choice, it forces the liberals' choice upon them, while guaranteeing that the schools will be even more overcrowded and backward than before.

The result, as already stressed, hurts black workers and unemployed most of all, as under the aegis of busing, liberal "anti-racists" are succeeding in slashing education programs to the bone.

THE MAYOR AND THE JUDGE

This is precisely what is taking place in Boston. Boston mayor Kevin White is a liberal Democrat and an outspoken advocate of forced busing.

MAKE THE BOSSES PAY!

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threatened to withhold city workers' paychecks. He introduced his "crisis budget."

The last thing the capitalists wanted, First National City included, was for the city to default on its loans. If this happened the banks stood to lose billions. Worse still, a chain-reaction of debt defaults would likely have set in that could have led to the collapse of the flimsy credit structure and thus to a world-wide economic breakdown.

"BIG MAC"

Quite predictably, a last-minute agreement was reached. New York State Governor Hugh Carey rode to the rescue, setting up the Municipal Assistance Corporation (affectionately dubbed "Big Mac" by the bourgeois press after the more famous hamburger). MAC will issue \$3 billion in bonds in exchange for the city turning over its sales tax revenues as security. Under the terms of the agreement, the city will have to reduce its budget deficit, with a ceiling of \$6.2 billion in short-term loans.

This is the guarantee the banks demanded. Unless new sources of revenue are found, it will require drastic layoffs and cutbacks. Beame now "hopes" that he can eliminate some of the cuts proposed in the "crisis budget," but has made it clear that the major cutbacks will still be implemented.

The entire drama, complete with the threats by the banks, the "crisis budget" and "Big Mac," was staged from start to finish to set up conditions that would make it easier to push through the attacks on New York workers. Why did the banks refuse to float new city securities when the city is still rated an "A" credit risk by Moody's Investment Service, the banks' own credit bureau? New York City always has made sure that it repays its debt service (interest on loans to banks and corporations) before it pays for its salaries and services. The city has always been a "good credit risk."

First National City had an eye out not only for

present spending levels. Therefore cutbacks are the weapon the bourgeoisie has chosen.

The bourgeoisie hopes to fragment the proletariat in order to prevent a united struggle. Thus the bourgeois press blames the city's crisis on "greedy public workers" and "welfare chiselers." Since public employees and the unemployed (mainly black and Latin) are the hardest hit by the budget cuts, the capitalists' strategy is to convince the rest of New York's working class that it is in their interest to support the budget cuts, claiming that the cuts are aimed mainly at the supposed "parasites."

This message has been blared by all sectors of New York's rulers. Over the past few years, the Council for Economic Development has launched a well-conceived campaign to "modernize" the public sector and eliminate "waste and inefficiency." CED's Board of Directors reads like an honor roll of the capitalist class: top executives from New York Telephone, the major oil companies (Exxon, Texaco, etc.), Metropolitan Life Insurance and other giant corporations make up this body. Not surprisingly, CED has blamed waste on public workers and has advocated drastic cuts.

CED has pushed for time studies to impose speed-up upon public workers. It has sent a task force into the public schools with the goal of cutting teaching staff by eliminating preparation periods and increasing class size. CED's function and composition make clear that the dominant sectors of New York's bourgeoisie, which make up the most powerful sector of the U.S. capitalist class, are squarely behind the current attacks.

BEAME: THE BOSSES' BOY

Mayor Beame, supposedly "held at gun-point" by the banks and desperately "trying to do right" by city workers, is actually working hand and hand with this operation. One of Beame's four appointees to MAC is New York Telephone President William Ellinghaus, a director of CED. Beame's other three appointees are Wall Street brokerage operators tied in with the same banks that refused to circulate securities for the city. Thus Beame, who is

The entire working class must act in solidarity to repel these attacks. But such solidarity will prove impossible if workers swallow the bourgeois lies that blame the crisis on public workers and the unemployed. Unfortunately, many workers still accept this shuck. But the real cause of the crisis is the capitalist system itself, a system whose worldwide economic tailspin is hitting with particular viciousness at New York and other rotting urban centers.

CITY IN DECAY

Even during the post-war boom, New York and other major cities were decaying beneath the surface glitter. New York's ancient transit system was left to deteriorate with no expansion of subway facilities and no repair of rolling stock—until it reached the breakdown point. New school construction lagged behind the crumbling of old schools, leading to overcrowding and lack of decent facilities. Medical care similarly declined and housing conditions became intolerable.

Ghetto areas expanded into sprawling wastelands. The supposedly "healthy" capitalist economy could not integrate hundreds of thousands of blacks and Latins who were forced onto the growing welfare rolls. Hundreds of thousands of others were forced to work below minimum wage in sweat-shop conditions in the garment center and other cockroach operations. Welfare, pointed to as a huge drain, actually benefited the capitalists by providing a huge reserve of unemployed workers whose competition for jobs helped the bourgeoisie maintain poverty wage levels.

The deterioration of the inner cities, intertwined with the spiraling crime rate caused by the desperate conditions of ghetto life, led to a middle class exodus to the suburbs. New York's tax base narrowed accordingly. It narrowed further when scores of corporations moved out of the city. This situation, mirrored in city after city, resulted in the poorest sectors of the working class footing the steepest tax burden under the most wretched conditions. Even so, the attempt to provide minimal services to keep the proletariat at bay resulted in huge budget deficits. The deficits grew even more sharply after the early 1960's, when public employees began to organize to demand decent wages and working conditions.

PHONY SOLUTION

New York City's "solution" was the solution of the entire U.S. economy during the boom. The city engaged in massive borrowing while expecting that interest rates on loans and bond issues could be repaid by issuing further bonds and loans. The shell game appeared to be a permanent answer while the economy was expanding.

These methods subsidized the capitalists. Instead of taxing the banks and corporations to finance public spending, the city taxed the poorest workers most heavily. The city became more indebted to the bourgeoisie—as the debt-service-soared-upwards. Transit loans taken out in the late 19th century, for example, are still being repaid, although the city has already paid hundreds of times the original amount of the loans in interest.

INTO REVERSE

Today the capitalists are trying to throw the gears into reverse. New York's budget deficit no longer serves their needs. Unemployment in New York is now 11 per cent—the capitalists don't need to train new workers and education, health and housing expenditures are no longer in their interest. High unemployment has created intense pressure for jobs and maintenance of a reserve force on welfare is now expendable.

Budget deficits are now huge burdens in an economy overloaded by mountains of fictitious capital in the form of credit, debt, stocks and bonds. In today's contracting economy corporations have been forced to default on loans as the expected increase in future production (on which the loans were based) failed to materialize. The mountain of paper values, having no basis in production, contributed to high inflation. The capitalists desperately need to check this situation, to reduce deficits where they can, and this requires an attack on the working class.

The capitalists must be forced to pay the price of the crisis they have created. The banks and corporations who have profited from years of



Militant protests against deteriorating public services are nothing new in New York. This demonstration, in February 1974, demanded replacement of a 68-year old school building on the Lower East Side.

today, but for the future as well. Debt service payments now make up 17 per cent of the city budget and have climbed steadily. The banks are afraid that New York workers will become increasingly frustrated at the inroads being made into their standards of living, and at some point will demand that the attacks end. Instead of waiting for that day, they have chosen to strike hard now, hoping to push through harsh measures in a panic-stricken atmosphere.

This is not the strategy of the banks alone. The ruling class as a whole is lined up behind this approach. The financially-stricken cities have only three choices: tax the banks and corporations, tax the workers or brutally cut back. The bourgeoisie has no desire to increase its own taxes—in this period of economic crisis, it wants tax cuts and exemptions. Taxes on workers are already sky-high and it would be hard to push through the tremendously higher taxes needed to maintain the

supposedly confronting the banks and trying to save public services, has appointed the leading figure (Ellinghaus) in the general capitalist campaign to slash city spending and attack the working class together with three financial magnates involved in the banks' demands that the city cut back, to the corporation which is supposed to save the city.

The bourgeoisie, with its political representatives like Democrat Mayor Beame, is trying to bail itself out of the economic crisis by placing workers in a vise. The current attacks are aimed at weakening the public employee unions—which stand between the capitalists' goal of cutting inflation and increasing profits by cutting back on public spending—and the achievement of this goal. If public employee unions can be broken the ruling class will gain the confidence it needs to wage an even more vicious attack on the whole trade union movement.

"borrowing from the future," and who continue to profit today by the cutback attacks, cannot be allowed to strangle the working class.

MAKE THE BOSSES PAY!

Instead of letting the banks and corporations profit from brutal cutbacks, New York workers must demand that public employment and vital services be vastly expanded at the cost of the capitalists. **MAKE THE BOSSES PAY** for the crisis they have created. The funds for this expansion are available: repudiate the debt service and increase the taxes on banks and corporations to get the needed funds. If the bourgeoisie claims that they can't afford to pay, workers must demand that they **OPEN THE BOOKS** so that the proletariat can see if the funds are there. If the funds actually are not available that will only underline the fact that the capitalists cannot meet workers' needs and that major industry and the banks must be **NATIONALIZED UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL**.

Public employee unions must take the lead in this fight, aggressively thrusting forward the demand to **MAKE THE BOSSES PAY**. Public workers are in a key position to mount a unified struggle of all

All these "noble sacrifices" were made before the heat was really turned on. But Gotbaum proved more than equal to committing the worst class treachery. Speaking on May 22, he informed city employees: "The unions have got to give up some of the crap that they got at the bargaining table. They never should have got some of it."

When Beame threatened city workers with a four-day work week at 20 per cent less pay, Gotbaum responded that he couldn't accept this. But he hastily added that he would willingly sacrifice 37,000 jobs if the five-day work week was retained. Jobs are part of the "crap" that Gotbaum says the unions must surrender. This disgusting traitor only gives credence to the bourgeois lie that "greedy public workers are responsible for the crisis."

Gotbaum has blamed the entire crisis on First National City. He has called on public workers to withdraw their savings in protest of the bank's policies (as if this moralistic gesture will affect the world's third largest bank). Gotbaum even asked the giant bank to "pitch in to help the city." In this way, he conceals the real nature of the attacks—a concerted effort by the entire capitalist class working together with their political hacks.

had no clear strategy for carrying out the fight, nevertheless demonstrated the growing militancy among public workers and the potential for building a united response on a class-struggle basis.

Shanker too has been forced to pose more militantly under rank and file pressure. But he too has done this to coopt rather than lead the struggle. On June 9 Shanker (together with the Board of Education) called a rally of 30,000 teachers, parents and paraprofessionals at City Hall protesting the cuts in education. His proposed solution was increased aid from the federal government. But the question is how to get the money. The answer, a unified campaign building towards a citywide general strike and making the bosses pay, was not raised by Shanker.

READY TO FIGHT

In spite of their treacherous leadership, New York City workers are ready to fight. The militancy demonstrated at Gotbaum's demonstration, the numbers who turned out for Shanker's rally and several demonstrations called against the closing of hospitals and welfare centers are the proof of this.

To win victory, militant workers must organize for a mass response by all New York City workers. Every union local must be approached, every bureaucrat put on the spot, raising the demand that an aggressive campaign for **NO LAYOFFS, NO CUTBACKS** and **MAKE THE BOSSES PAY** be launched immediately. Strike committees must be elected now to organize towards a citywide general strike—organized against the objections and betrayals of the union hacks.

This fight for the defense of the elementary needs of all workers is a major test for the U.S. working class. Already, the union bureaucrats have demonstrated that when the crunch comes they will always place the needs of the bosses above those of the workers. Down the line, they have demonstrated their willingness to sacrifice jobs and working conditions without a fight.

DESPERATE ATTACKS

But the needs of the workers are directly counterposed to those of the bosses. Nothing shows this more sharply than the confrontation in New York. Despite all the propaganda to the contrary, New York's crisis is nothing but a unified attack by the entire bourgeoisie and their political puppets. It is a desperate attempt to break the power of the proletariat which will be repeated in every major city if it succeeds in New York.

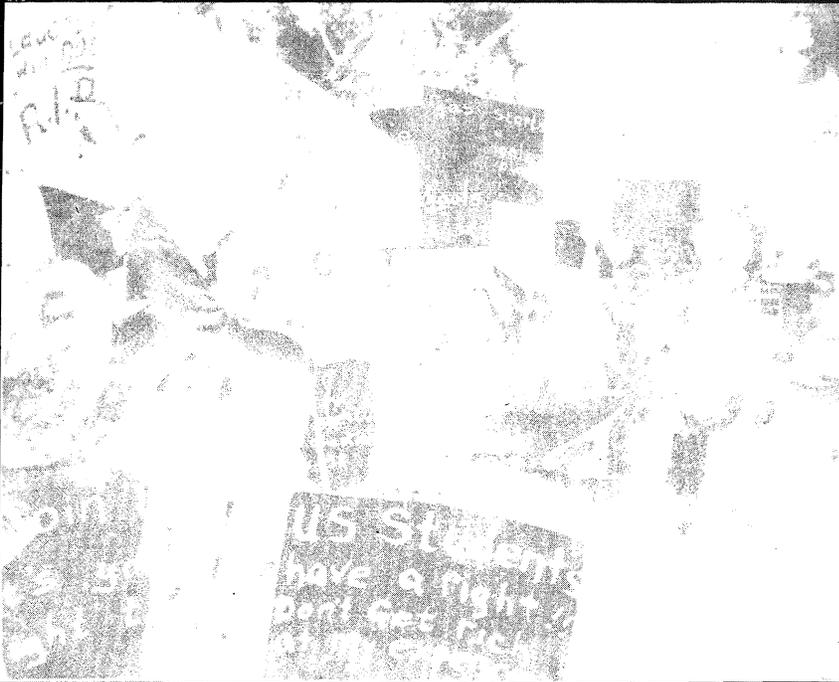
Militant workers in New York have an enormous task before them. The working class must be mobilized on a class-struggle basis against the opposition of the entire ruling class and the trade union bureaucracy. The hold that Gotbaum and Shanker still retain over many workers means that they may be able to contain the struggle this time. But the anger demonstrated by the ranks shows that an active class-struggle campaign has the potential to break their power.

If the New York working class is defeated, it will not be for lack of militancy. It will be because of the treachery of its leadership. The solutions to the problems of New York City workers—massive expansion of public services to provide needed jobs and to fulfill vital needs, the reduction of the work week at no loss in pay to guarantee full employment, the nationalization of the banks and industry under workers' control to finally end the rule of profit and to guarantee production for workers' needs—are solutions that the capitalist system cannot provide. Capitalism will always place profit first. And the trade union bureaucrats will always attempt to throttle the proletariat when workers struggle to place their needs first. This is precisely what is happening in New York, where Gotbaum and Shanker place the sacrosanct profits of the capitalists ahead of the jobs of public workers and the vital services needed by all workers.

The traitors who lead the trade unions must be overthrown and so must the system that they strive to maintain. As long as the bureaucrats remain in power they will stab workers in the back. As long as capitalism stands the bourgeoisie will turn viciously on the working class. The unified attack of the ruling class must be met with a consciously organized working class.

This requires leadership—not that of a corrupt union bureaucracy that seeks to prolong the life of dying capitalism, but the leadership of a revolutionary party fighting to eliminate bourgeois rule.

**FOR A CITYWIDE GENERAL STRIKE!
MAKE THE BOSSES PAY!
REPUDIATE THE DEBT SERVICE!
TAX THE BANKS AND CORPORATIONS!**



Coffin carried by New York parents and teachers at June 9 rally symbolizes Beame's and banks' treatment of city services. Placards denounces banks' rip-off of city, but teachers' union head Shanker opposes fighting the banks.

workers by demanding greatly expanded public employment as part of a campaign for **JOBS FOR ALL**. Direct links must be made with the poorest and most-oppressed sectors of the working class by demanding the expansion of public services, rejecting any cuts in welfare services and refusing to allow the capitalists to play one sector of the proletariat against another.

Municipal unions should immediately begin to organize this fight by calling for mass mobilizations of New York workers to fight the cutbacks. Appeals should go out to every union local, to the Central Labor Council and to unorganized and unemployed workers to join in common struggle. The mobilizations should form the beginning of a strategy that would exert the full pressure of the working class by calling work stoppages and building towards a citywide general strike against the layoffs and cutbacks.

GOTBAUM ATTACKS WORKERS

In this struggle, New York workers can expect nothing but betrayals from the entrenched bureaucracy of the public employee unions. Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 of AFSCME (which represents most of the city's public employees) has made this crystal clear. Over the past six months, Gotbaum has passively accepted 2,000 layoffs, the reduction of city payments into health and pension funds, the waiving of money already owed these funds by the city, the elimination of shorter summer working hours, the arbitrary transfer of city workers between departments and the end to guaranteed overtime for many workers.

Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers, is playing a similar role. However, Shanker has announced that fighting the banks which are bleeding the city dry is "counter-productive" and argues, "we don't negotiate our contracts with First National City Bank." Neither Shanker nor Gotbaum calls for repudiating the debt service and for making the bosses pay.

Over the past few years Shanker and Gotbaum have carried out a general policy of allowing the city to trim jobs, moderately cut services in their areas and have argued against militant actions by the workers. In the past public employees have generally accepted the cutbacks without mass protests, hoping that jobs would be restored in the future. Shanker and Gotbaum have divided workers by sacrificing newer workers while preserving their base among older workers with more seniority. But under the fire of today's sweeping cuts, public employee militancy threatens to break out of their control.

Sellout Gotbaum, under rank and file pressure, was forced to call a rally protesting the cutbacks on June 4. He attempted to keep the demonstration in check—to the extent, he could—choosing First National City's headquarters as the location and confining himself to "withdraw your savings" moralism. The rally was called at noon, with most public workers forced to travel long distances with no compensation for time off work. Still, 10,000 workers showed up.

More significantly, over 1,000 public workers demonstrated their anger at Gotbaum's treachery by leading a militant breakaway march on City Hall, demanding jobs for all. The march, while it

ATTACK ON BLACKS

Cont'd. from p. 3

same inadequate facilities and sharing the misery. Where is their call for expanded education for all, paid for at the capitalists' expense?

Despite more militant rhetoric, the SL flees from a fight against the bourgeoisie and calls for accepting what exists and redistributing it. This only gives a more radical coat to the budget-cutting, class-dividing attacks on the working class.

FOR UNITED ACTION!

The capitalist offensive, provoked by the desperate need to attack the working class in the face of the economic collapse, can only be defeated by united working-class action. Only by fighting for expanded funding to provide decent education can the class-dividing attack of forced busing be repelled. Only by demanding that education be funded by greatly increasing taxation of banks and corporations can workers see to it that the funds are actually obtained without the attacks simply being shifted to other essential services or passed along in the form of higher taxes on workers themselves.

Today, the working class is under severe attack. The layoffs of public employees and the slashing of essential services will hurt black workers the most. The fight for better schools is one and the same as the fight against the layoffs and the overall service cutbacks. Militant workers must reject the phony class-dividing forced busing attacks and take to every local union meeting the demand that the banks and corporations pay for the services that workers need. No Layoffs. No Cutbacks! Tax the Banks and Corporations!

Militant workers must call for the organization of mass rallies to protest the cutbacks, drawing in unorganized workers and the unemployed. Committees against the layoffs and the cutbacks are needed to press for actions the bureaucrats won't take. These are the starting points for exerting the force of the united workers in work stoppages and, if necessary, a general strike to roll back the bourgeois attacks.

Rejection of busing is at the heart of this strategy. If the liberal capitalists and their agents succeed in dividing the working class through this strategy, no united response will be possible. Militant workers therefore have a special responsibility to demonstrate their unwavering opposition to the racist opponents of busing as well as the proponents of this bourgeois strategy. In the trade unions, the call must be clearly sounded for the organization of workers' defense guards to defend the black students. The right of every student to attend the school of his or her choice must be advocated, at the same time as forced busing, which

denies this right, is rejected. Finally, a concrete program calling for adequately funded, quality education must be put forward to demonstrate that the working class is the strongest champion of quality education for blacks.

Armed with this approach, the united workers will defeat the bourgeois attacks. The racist filth and the "anti-racist" liberal bourgeois attackers will both be smashed, and the basic needs of black and white workers safeguarded.



Spartacist contingent at May 17 NAACP March in Boston. The centrists' call for black-labor defense and socialist revolution are belied by their subservience to the bourgeois busing plan.

USWA LOCAL 65 HACKS SMASH DEFENSE GUARD MOTION

By a Reporter

On May 28, 1975, supporters of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Committee in USWA Local 65 (Chicago South Works) raised a motion to the Local

membership to join in the defense of the black families in Broadview, Illinois (see Torch, May 15, 1975). Frank Mirocha, Local 65 President and I.W. Abel supporter, conducted a right-wing, bureaucratic mobilization to smash the motion.

The issue of classwide defense for black families under attack by fascist thugs is an extremely sensitive one for Mirocha, who bases his power in large part on a layer of older, conservative black tradesmen. It was in anticipation of a strong response to the RSC motion from young, militant blacks that Mirocha organized the display that he did.

In addition Mirocha, as president of Ed Sadlowski's base local, is in a shaky position as he stands a good chance of losing his post to Sadlowski supporters in the next election. There has also been an increase in opposition groups positioning themselves to the left of Sadlowski. Mirocha thus chose this opportunity to reassert his policy of running meetings with an iron hand to show that he will allow no opposition to his right-wing policies.

RSC IS RACE-BAITED

Prior to the meeting, and in the "discussion" itself, Mirocha's stooges race-baited the RSC ("what do whites know about the black community"), appealed to narrow trade-unionism ("steelworkers shouldn't involve themselves with autoworkers' problems"), red-baited ("this group calls itself revolutionary") and engaged in inane hysterics ("they want defense guards; does this mean every time two guys get into a fight over a glass of beer we've got to shoot one of them?"). Although several supporters of the motion were present, they were not allowed to speak against these attacks.

Mirocha's support was broader than just his lackeys. John Chico, Sadlowski's candidate for local president, supported Mirocha on this question although he afterward paid lip service

to the right of the RSC to raise the motion.

Rank and File Voice, a Stalinist caucus-newsletter, was split on the motion, one supporter of theirs telling an RSC supporter that she would support the motion (which she didn't), and another telling RSC he opposed the motion. The latter used Mirocha's arguments ("it's not the affair of the steelworkers: black families should rely on the cops").

RU CAPITULATES TO RACISM

"Breakout," a Maoist caucus hailed by the Revolutionary Union as a "model of trade union work," also opposed the motion although they lacked the courage to speak, claiming in private that the RSC was "turning white workers off" by calling them racist. This disgusting capitulation to racism is overshadowed only by their sectarianism. The simple fact is that Breakout will not work with the RSC because the RSC is Trotskyist. The effect of this sectarianism is that Breakout actively collaborates in the divisive policies of right-wing traitors like Mirocha and Abel.

Despite the defeat at the meeting, the fight as a whole represents a victory for the RSC. First, there was a good deal of response in the mill among workers who did not come to the meeting: RSC bulletins discussing the issue were posted in shops throughout the mills. More importantly, the fight helped clarify the actual character of all non-revolutionary (reformist and centrist) programs. Breakout and Rank and File Voice, each in their own way, abandoned the revolutionary forces to accommodate to the right-wing bureaucrats.

As the economic crisis deepens, and fascist attacks on blacks and the labor movement accelerate, the RSC will fight again and again for unity of the class to take the offensive against fascism. The RSC will prove in practice that only the revolutionary program it holds forth can organize a successful fight against fascism.

LETTERS

Spartacists Vacillate on Defense Guards

To the Editor:

As a member of UAW Local No. 6's Defense Steering Committee (Civil Rights Defense Committee) formed to protect a union brother's home from right-wing terror attacks, and as a member of the Revolutionary Auto Workers Committee, I am responding to a letter from Brother Marc Freedman which appeared in a recent issue of *Workers Vanguard* (news-paper of the Spartacist League).

Freedman, in the name of the Spartacist-supported Labor Struggle Caucus of Local No. 6 allegedly writes to "clear up" distortions in WV's coverage of the Local No. 6 defense campaign. But his letter only adds to those distortions and to the phony LSC claim that they initiated the defense guard action. Once the defense guard got started, the LSC became enthusiastic organizers for it. But before that, they hedged their bets. In fact, the LSC did not even know about the attack on Brother Dennis until I told Brother Freedman about it!

As reported in the last issue of the *Torch*, the LSC motions had no call to actually implement the defense guards, calling for "our local (to) immediately contact other labor organizations . . . to prepare to mobilize a mass labor-black defense." It was only the RAC motion, which stated "Local Six offers support to the

families under attack in the form of volunteer defense guards of union members," which actually laid the basis for forming the defense guard. In addition, it was the RAC leaflet which warned that the bureaucrats would stand in the way and that a rank and file committee was necessary for any measures passed to be carried out.

LSC VACILLATES

The LSC voted for both these motions, but publicly ignored their own political mistakes until I called them on it. Now Brother Freedman admits in his letter that the LSC proposed no way to actually enact the defense measures, but "can't understand" why I accused them of vacillating and temporizing because of this.

The only possible basis for the LSC's claim that they initiated the defense guards is that they were called on first at the union meeting. But that coincidence does not cover the fact that without the RAC motions, the Local would have been left with just so many fine words.

This is not the only example of the LSC's temporizing around the defense guards. The LSC proposed establishing a walkie-talkie set-up with the police without a word of warning that, although this might be a temporary

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RU: APOLOGISTS FOR RACISM

by Bob Anderson

In the decades following World War I, black people in the millions were driven from the land in the South and forced to migrate to the major industrial centers of the North. Many of these former sharecroppers and farmers could find jobs only in the relatively new and expanding mass production industries: steel, auto, rubber and so forth. Black workers today stand in the very heart of production, concentrated in the most difficult and dangerous jobs at the lowest wages.

This fact is of great importance to socialist revolution in the United States. The most oppressed section of the working class is in position to take hold of the central levers of industrial production. From the great Steel Strike of 1919, through the rise of the CIO, to the militant struggles of the 1960's, black workers have increasingly taken a leading role in the major battles of the proletariat.

At the same time, the black people as a whole constitute an oppressed caste in American society. That is, they are forced into an oppressed position on the basis of race. Faced with discrimination in all fields, blacks of every class are denied some of the most basic democratic rights: most importantly the free and equal sale of labor power. The capitalist class maintains the black masses as the most depressed section of the labor force through a separate and unequal labor market.

Thus the specific oppression of blacks includes aspects similar to both class and national oppression. This has led nearly every organization on the left to vacillate between seeing blacks as simply a super-exploited section of the working class or as a nation struggling for liberation. These two conflicting lines have translated historically as the petty-bourgeois strategies of integrationism and nationalism.

FIGHTING OVER CRUMBS

Both strategies accept the limits of capitalism, pitting black and white workers against each other, fighting over the few crumbs thrown out by the bourgeoisie. Integrationism has been the ideology of the black middle class in its efforts to erase the legal barriers to equality. The central goal has been to win entrance into the middle class occupations through improved education and the assimilation of the black masses into the white-dominated "American mainstream."

Nationalism has been the ideology of the black petty-bourgeoisie in its attempts to compete with white capital. The aim has been to build up black capitalism, and in some instances this has led to the call for a separate state. The nationalist movements of the 1960's, known generally as the Black Power movement, did express black aspirations for dignity, cultural pride and decent living standards. From the ghetto rebellions to the trade union caucuses, black workers battled fiercely against their exploitation and oppression. But the movement dissipated because its petty-bourgeois leaders had no revolutionary strategy.

The movements built around both ideologies have in certain periods tapped the aspirations of black workers for social power and equality. But integrationism and nationalism run into the dead-end of decaying capitalism. Capitalism is contracting. There is no possibility of building up black capitalism linked at the top with white capitalism. The black petty-bourgeoisie is crushed as capital is concentrated and the small businessmen are driven out. Capitalism cannot offer "upward mobility" for black workers or for the working class as a whole. In fact, large sections of the middle class and petty-bourgeoisie are driven down into the ranks of the proletariat and millions of workers are forced out of production entirely.

By tailing after these strategies, the centrists and reformists have erected a wall between the democratic tasks and the struggle of the working class for state power. The Stalinists have used these two lines interchangeably in order to redirect the revolutionary aspirations of black workers into reformist channels. From the CP's lines in the 1930's to the Revolutionary Union's current line, the Stalinists have made their reputation as the most cynical betrayers of the struggle for black liberation and proletarian revolution.

STALINISTS ON BLACK LIBERATION

The CP's line on the black question flipped and flopped through the 1930's in accordance with the twists and turns of the Stalinist Comintern. During the Third Period (1928-1933) the CP pushed the two-stage theory for black liberation. William Z. Foster, one of the leading Stalinist betrayers, put it this way:

Theoretically, it is possible for the Negro people to win national liberation, including the right to self-determination and secession, within the framework of the American capitalist system. There is a revolutionary bourgeois-democratic movement. (Negro People in American History, pp. 555-56)

Black workers were not to step beyond the bounds of capitalism. First the black nation (led by the "patriotic black bourgeoisie") would struggle for a separate capitalist state in the South and only in the second stage would socialist revolution be on the agenda. For the Stalinists, of course, the second stage never comes.

During this period the Stalinists mobilized sections of the working class in unemployed struggles, organizing drives in the South, and various defense campaigns. Their defense of the Scottsboro boys (nine black youths framed on a rape charge) mobilized thousands of workers nationally and internationally. The militancy and left rhetoric surrounding these campaigns attracted a number of black subjective revolutionaries to the CP.

In every fundamental sense, the Third Period line of the Stalinist Comintern was sectarian and ultra-left. In every country (including the U.S.) they split the trade unions and attempted to build their own tiny "red trade unions." By doing so, the Stalinists succeeded only in dividing the class. The workers in the social-democratic parties and trade unions were defined as "social fascists." The Stalinists pointed not to the actual fascists, not to the capitalists, but to these workers with reformist illusions as the main enemy. They refused to take on the reformist leaders of the Social Democracy and denied in principle the possibility of any united front formation to destroy the growing fascist movement. The Third Period line led the working class to slaughter.

This sectarianism soon flipped to its other side: blatant opportunism. When the CP's class-splitting tactics ended in Hitler's almost unobstructed rise to power in Germany, these traitors quickly switched to the popular front and open class collaboration. The call went out for an alliance with the "democratic" bourgeoisie across the board.

In the U.S., this meant support for the "people's president," Franklin Roosevelt, and the liquidation of the black question into the struggle for minor reforms. During their ultra-left phase, the CP had railed against the NAACP as the lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Now, in the popular front period, the NAACP was hailed as an absolutely progressive force in the "Negro People's United Front."

All talk of self-determination and proletarian revolution was thrown in the garbage can as outdated material. According to the Stalinists, only the liberal bourgeoisie could save the working class from fascism. The CP's role was to bury the class

struggle and point every effort toward maintaining "democratic" capitalism. As James Ford, a leading black CPer, said in 1934: "... we Communists welcome this progress and desire to do everything possible to extend the work of building and broadening the movement of the Negro people in cooperation with the NAACP, the National Negro Congress, and the Urban League and other organizations."

The Stalinists told black workers and poor farmers to line up quietly behind the black bourgeoisie and the "democratic" bourgeoisie as a whole in the great crusade to save democratic capitalism, thus staving off the only alternative to capitalist barbarity, be it in its "democratic" or fascist form, the socialist revolution.

These gyrations continued through the Hitler-Stalin Pact (1939-41) when the primary goal was to win blacks to the movement against the war. And during World War II, when the line was again turned on its head, the central task was convincing blacks to support the war effort. What had been billed as the "coming imperialist slaughter" had suddenly become a "just and democratic war." For the Stalinists the black masses were only so much cannon fodder to be used in the interests of the Russian ruling class. The Stalinists capped their role as policemen and strikebreakers for the bourgeoisie throughout the war with their enforcement of the no-strike pledge.

The Stalinists' two lines on black liberation were now clear. On the one hand pushing the black nation in the South, limiting the final goal of black workers to the establishment of a separate capitalist state, and on the other, liquidating the black question into the struggle for reforms, preaching reliance on the liberal bourgeoisie. Black workers were told to be content with bourgeois democracy. Both lines were counterposed to the proletarian revolution.

STALINISM VS. WORKERS' REVOLUTION

Stalin developed the two-stage theory of revolution and its counterpart, "Socialism in One Country," in direct opposition to Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution. But Stalin was by no means the originator of the two-stage theory. In the Russian Revolution, the Mensheviks demanded that the workers rely on Kerensky and the liberal bourgeoisie to defeat Czarism and establish capitalism. For the Mensheviks, socialism could be on the agenda only after capitalism had fully developed.

Lenin built the Bolshevik Party in the struggle against the Mensheviks and their reformist line. In 1917 Lenin broke decisively from any stagist notion of proletarian revolution, abandoning the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." His developing views on the nature of capitalism in the epoch of decay, as elaborated in "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" and other works of the period, dovetailed Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution. After the 1905 Revolution Trotsky saw that only the proletarian revolution could defeat Czarism. He further developed the concept of Permanent Revolution in opposition to the Stalinist betrayals after Lenin's death.

Capitalism cannot deliver on the central promises of the bourgeois revolution: the destruction of feudalism, equality for all, national self-determination, etc. In its epoch of decay, capitalism constantly attacks and destroys even those democratic rights it once granted. In the backward, semi-feudal countries the "national" bourgeoisie is tied to imperialism, maintaining the remnants of feudalism as a club against the masses of workers and peasants. Only the proletariat, by seizing power in its own name, can complete the bourgeois-democratic tasks and develop the productive forces of society to new heights.

Stalinists, from the CP to the RU, have consistently tailed petty-bourgeois black nationalism and middle class integrationism, using these two lines interchangeably to channel black revolutionary aspirations into bourgeois reformism.

Marxists do not stand aside in the struggle for these democratic rights. We are the fiercest defenders of the democratic rights of blacks and all oppressed people. Through the fight, we expose the misleaders who want to limit the struggle to reforms. We fight to convince the black masses of the necessary and inextricable link between the struggle for black liberation and the proletarian revolution.

MAOISM MEANS CLASS TREASON

The various Maoist groupings in the U.S. today stand proudly on the two-stage theory; all stand for bourgeois democracy in opposition to socialist revolution—after all, Mao only put into practice the theories of his mentors: the Mensheviks and Stalin. These groups sing the praises of the “progressive national bourgeoisie” and tell the international proletariat to submerge the class struggle so as not to alienate their “bourgeois allies.”

The Communist Labor Party (CLP), the October League (OL), the Black Workers Congress (BWC), the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO), and others all continue to parrot the traitorous CP line of the 1930's on the black question. For these Stalinists, first comes the black nation in the South and only in the next epoch can black workers talk about socialist revolution. These groups thus carry out the grossest capitulations to black nationalism and separatism (which in typical Stalinist fashion doesn't prevent them from parroting the NAACP's integrationism in the next breath).

The Revolutionary Union (Stalinist-Maoist) also held high this disgusting line its early days, but over the past two years these latter-day Stalinists have added some new twists. They now claim to stand opposed to the two-stage theory for black liberation.

LEFT IN COVER, RIGHT IN ESSENCE

The RU has attempted to carve out a place for itself as the left-wing of the Maoist milieu. To do so, they must try to explain away the most right-wing aspects of the Stalinist line. Consequently, the RU finds itself in one theoretical contradiction after another. For instance, the RU has described the Soviet Union as state capitalist, but since it can't break from Stalin, it must spend its time covering up the Stalinist counterrevolution of the 1930's and fabricating a case that the transformation took place under Khrushchev in the late 1950's. The RU “criticizes” the CP for supporting Roosevelt, yet its own call for a “United Front Against Imperialism” will lead to the same end when a wing of the U.S. ruling class decides to “bloc” with China against the Soviet Union (already, China calls for strengthening NATO).

The RU is caught in a bind on the two-stage theory—its acceptance of Stalinism-Maoism halts every left turn at mid-step. Fundamentally, the RU accepts the two-stage theory:

This first stage, the stage of new-democratic revolution, is still the stage of struggle in most of the Third World today . . . the new democratic epoch in the colonies—as opposed to the old bourgeois-democratic epoch in Europe . . . (Red Papers No. 6, p. 97)

All the talk of “new democracy” and “old bourgeois democracy” should fool no one—new democracy is state capitalism. New democracy is the explicitly capitalist stage of the revolution, based on an alliance with the national bourgeoisie (the bloc of four classes). While in theory this bloc is a step toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, it in fact represents a transitional stage in the non-proletarian-based revolution where the national bourgeoisie is utilized as an ally for a time until the new ruling class is consolidated. The RU points to a whole epoch of new democracy, an epoch of state capitalism. The proletariat, you see, is not capable of ruling in its own name, so state capitalism is the

best that's possible for the world's masses. All that's necessary is to cloak state capitalism in a revolutionary cover, in hopes that the proletariat and peasantry will not see that they are still exploited and oppressed by (now collective) capitalist class rule.

Within the confines of its acceptance of the two-stage theory internationally, the RU tries to dissociate itself from some of the most right-wing implications of this treacherous line. While the OL happily parrots Mao's support to the Shah of Iran and Echeverria in Mexico, the RU explains that these are simply necessary “deals” and that revolutionaries must still oppose these reactionary capitalists. But alas, they are still left with Mao's “United Front Against the Superpowers,” which calls for such cross-class alliances. And besides, the Shah, like Sihanouk of Cambodia, might support

“directing the main fire” they are about to unite with a section of the bourgeoisie. Try as they may, the RU is unable to distinguish their United Front against Imperialism from the CP's Anti-Monopoly Coalition. In fact, they represent the same politics—leading the working class to the slaughter by tying it to the bourgeoisie.

NEW PERIOD?

In its polemics with the BWC and PRRWO, the RU takes the position that the black question has now entered a new period in the U.S. The previous period, for the RU, was the struggle for national liberation, which they see as a peasant question and a bourgeois-democratic task. During this period, the RU stands on the Stalinist line of the 1930's, but since that time they say the question has been



Martin Luther King at March on Washington in August 1963. The integrationist movement expressed the desire of blacks for equality but fostered illusions that decaying

capitalism could be reformed to provide equality. Most centrists capitulate to this illusion.

the “new democratic” revolution.

In the U.S., the RU stands for one-stage revolution, for blacks as well as whites. Here the process is reversed—the two-stage theory is dropped, but keeps slipping in through the back door.

The RU's strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S. is the United Front Against Imperialism. They seek to tie the proletariat to the black and “anti-monopoly” sections of the bourgeoisie in a disastrous popular front. The RU is taking care of business as usual, by uniting the bourgeoisie against itself.

They define blacks as a “proletarian nation” in order to include the black bourgeoisie; On the other hand, the black bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie is dominated by the monopoly capitalists and suffers under the rule of U.S. imperialism. For this reason, if the correct position on the national question is upheld these sections can be united in struggle against U.S. imperialism. (Red Papers No. 5, p. 34)

The RU thus tells black workers that they must rely on the black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie who also “suffer under the rule of imperialism.”

Through the back-door the RU also includes the “anti-monopoly” bourgeoisie in their class-treason front:

In a time of revolutionary crisis some of this group (the anti-monopoly capitalists) may be crushed and ruined economically by the monopoly capitalists in the cut-throat contest to survive and rule as a class. In this situation the proletariat will take tactical advantage of this conflict . . . by directing the main fire at the monopoly capitalists and dealing with people in this group depending on their actions. . . . (Draft Program, p. 73)

Make no mistake, when the RU talks about

transformed:

This situation has radically changed since the 1930's, and the essentially bourgeois-democratic demands that the Comintern then placed at the center of the Black liberation struggle—going away with the feudal sharecropping system in the South and its legal reflection in segregation by law throughout the U.S.—has been carried through in the main. (Revolution, March, 1975, p. 10)

Here the RU gets into a hopeless theoretical muddle. The RU contends that blacks as a group are oppressed by capitalism. This is a good start. The question then is how.

It is undeniably true that the post-war period has brought tremendous changes to the United States in general and to the status of blacks in particular. The migration of blacks from the land and out of the South (given the big impulse during World War II) continued in the post-war period. As a result, the overwhelming majority of blacks are urban dwelling industrial workers and are not held in bondage by semi-feudal sharecropping. But this in no way signals the fact that the fundamental nature of the oppression of blacks has changed. They are still oppressed by their denial of basic bourgeois-democratic rights; only the form of this denial has changed.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

Trotskyists say that the oppression of blacks is based on their denial of basic bourgeois-democratic rights (either openly or covertly). We encourage the greatest struggle to win these rights under capitalism and at the same time fight to show that they can only be fully won through the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the theory of the Permanent Revolution, and it is diametrically

opposed to the Stalinist-Menshevik notion of the two-stage revolution which relegates the proletarian revolution to the indefinite future (i.e., never).

The RU, in a very un-Leninist manner, fudges the whole question. Since they accept that blacks are oppressed as a group they have the following choices: 1) Blacks are oppressed as a group and this is the result of the continued denial of bourgeois-democratic rights to blacks. In this case, the RU can continue to call for a two-stage revolution in the United States and fall into explicit Menshevism, or they can support the Permanent Revolution, i.e., the Leninist-Trotskyist truth that the problem can only be solved through the dictatorship of the proletariat; 2) Blacks are oppressed as a group and this is not the result of the denial to blacks of bourgeois-democratic rights but of something new.

To avoid the dilemma of No. 1, the RU has chosen No. 2. This enables them to claim to stand on the Stalinist-Menshevik position up through World War II and at the same time to deny its validity today, i.e., to differentiate themselves from the rest of the Maoist milieu which argues that the proletarian revolution is not on the order of the day. This is all very convenient but has a couple of snags. If blacks are no longer oppressed by their denial of democratic rights, how are they oppressed, by magnetic lines of force? This the RU carefully avoids answering.

If blacks are no longer oppressed by their denial of bourgeois-democratic rights, this means that capitalism has overcome this defect of its previous stage. In other words, capitalism is progressive, in which case there is no objective basis for the proletarian revolution at this time and we are back at Menshevism.

For the RU the epoch of imperialist decay is simply some half-baked theory concocted by Lenin. They see U.S. capitalism clipping along, solving the democratic tasks as it goes, progressive forever.

This is why the RU liquidates the struggle for black liberation and proletarian revolution into the struggle for bourgeois reforms. They bury every demand that threatens capitalism and seek every avenue for tying the working class to the liberal bourgeoisie. They see the demands of the most oppressed sections of the proletariat as divisive and counterposed to the interests of their own base: the aristocracy of labor and the petty bourgeoisie. The chauvinist, anti-Marxist content of the RU's line finds its sharpest expression in the current battles around busing in Boston.

The RU is opposed to busing in Boston, but over and over in their press they pledge allegiance to the ideology of integrationism. They make it clear they are not opposed to the bourgeois strategy of busing:

While it is correct to oppose this particular busing plan we . . . do not support or oppose busing in the abstract, though we are in principle for integration . . . (Revolution, Nov. 1974, p. 21)

Nearly every organization on the left has capitulated openly to the liberals on the busing question. The OL, the CLP, and others do nothing but tail behind the NAACP. The RU has attempted to differentiate itself from these groups, by making bows to the necessity of class unity to oppose the liberal strategy. Yet the RU views the struggle in Boston in totally classless terms. Their main initial slogan, "People must unite to smash the Boston Busing Plan," could appear on any KKK leaflet. The Stop Sign symbol which the RU used in its first

leaflets has been the symbol of the racist Kerrigan-Hicks forces in their fight against the black students. The RU leadership tails after the most backward consciousness in the working class: white chauvinism.

For these traitors, defending the black students only divides the working class. The final demand of their treacherous four-point program in Boston is: "Support the Right of Black and Latin People to Defend Themselves against Organized Racist Attacks." (Revolution, Nov. 1974, p. 20) That's very liberal of the racists who currently lead the RU. Their thugs are quickly mobilized to attack other organizations in the workers' movement; most importantly those tendencies which they are incapable of defeating politically. This is the basis of their assaults on the cadre of the RSL.

But when it comes to actually defending the black

They counterpose better facilities in black and Latin schools along with the old petty-bourgeois battle cry of community control:

Decent Education For All, Equal Educational Resources to Hire Black and Latin Teachers for Language and Cultural Programs and Better Facilities in Black and Latin Schools; Improve All Schools, Community Control of Allocation of Funds. (Revolution, Nov. 1974, p. 20)

At whose expense will these better facilities be built? The RU never mentions—they certainly wouldn't want to alienate their allies, the capitalist class. The RU believes the demands will be met by "progressive" capitalism. Unfortunately, capitalism is decaying and constantly taking away the few crumbs it has thrown out for education and social services in general. By posing the demands in terms of improving black and Latin schools on the one hand and improving white schools on the other, the RU as usual does the greatest service for the bourgeoisie. The RU actively pits black and Latin workers against white workers in a fight over the droppings of the capitalist class. Their talk of unity is nothing but a cynical cover.

Throughout his political life, Lenin pounded home the necessity for communists to bend over backwards to defend the most oppressed sections of the working class. This is the only road to unity. The RU bends over backwards to defend the bourgeoisie and the most virulent poisons which divide the proletariat: national chauvinism and racism.

NO BUSING! NO RACISM!

The Revolutionary Socialist League calls on all class-conscious workers to oppose the busing strategy of the liberal bourgeoisie. The various busing plans divide the proletariat by attempting to whip up a racist hysteria among white workers to be used as a club to beat back the struggles of blacks. The liberals hope that by sending more black students to the predominantly white schools, some of that "whiteness" will rub off. The cringing liberals pray that busing will help to "civilize" blacks. Busing is a direct attack on the masses of black people.

In the face of the economic crisis, busing is being proposed as a way to attack all workers, and especially black workers. Blacks, promised better education, will be given the back of the hand as the bourgeoisie uses divisions inside the class to slash school budgets as part of their general attacks on public services, public employee layoffs and the overall ravages of unemployment and inflation.

The RU's failure to call for a militant defense of black workers and students in Boston, the real targets of the bourgeois busing attacks, is the grossest indictment of their entire political approach. They capitulate to the racism of the most backward white workers—they support busing in principle, and only oppose it in practice because some white workers are racist. Therefore, they fail to warn that busing is primarily an attack on blacks. They fail to call for armed workers' defense guards to defend the black children.

RU revisionists notwithstanding, blacks in this country remain deprived of basic democratic rights. Decaying capitalism cannot qualitatively improve their lot. Indeed, crisis-wracked capitalism turns most viciously on the most oppressed. The RU's theory of "progressive" capitalism leads directly to the abandonment of the struggles of the most oppressed sectors. And just as the RU abandons the struggle for defense of blacks in Boston, just as it tells blacks in this country that their struggles can only be divisive, so it will tell the entire working class in the future to restrain their struggle for fear of alienating the "anti-monopoly" bourgeoisie (the "progressive" capitalists).

Revisionist theory has already led the RU to violent betrayal in Boston. Those who have illusions in the RU's claims to be revolutionary should learn these lessons well. Capitalism will attack the working class ever more viciously, and the proletariat cannot hope to survive on scraps left over by the bourgeoisie. Black workers cannot be told to hold back their struggles in hopes that gains will fall from the skies. White workers cannot be told that the aspirations of blacks for their denied democratic rights are "divisive." Rather, the struggles must be fused with the struggle for socialist demands through the perspective of the Permanent Revolution!

**CONDEMN RU RACISM!
DEFEND THE BLACK STUDENTS!
OPPOSE BOURGEOIS STRATEGIES!
FOR THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION!**



Black Power movement symbolized growing self-confidence of blacks, but was led by petty-bourgeois nationalists who placed race before class. After capitulating to nationalism, RU now panders before white racism.

students in Boston, they sit on their hands in a sickening capitulation to racism. They will allow blacks and Latins to defend themselves, but the cowardly RU leadership wants no part of it. And why are only organized racist attacks mentioned? Apparently, blacks are to quietly accept the unorganized attacks in order to build unity with their attackers. The real content of this line comes out most clearly when the RU discusses the fighting and attacks on black students at Collinwood High School in Cleveland:

Nor is it fundamentally a question of winning white workers to the defense of Black people from racist attacks . . . It's not principally a matter of defending Blacks against whites, but of uniting everyone against our real enemy . . . (Revolution, April 1975, p. 9)

For the RU, unity means refusing to defend black students. Unity means refusing to fight against national chauvinism and racism. This "unity" is an attack on blacks and can only lead black workers and our class as a whole to slaughter.

Finally, the RU refuses to defend the right of black students to attend the school of their choice.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE U.S.

EXCERPTS FROM RSL CONVENTION RESOLUTION

Reprinted below are excerpts from the *Tasks and Perspectives* document adopted unanimously at the Second National Convention of the Revolutionary Socialist League held in March. Further excerpts from this document will be printed in next month's *Torch*.

The United States is still in the early stages of economic and social crisis. The tremendous wealth of U.S. capitalism and its dominant position in international capitalism has meant that the U.S. has been able to protect itself from the effects of the crisis at the expense of other countries. As a result, the crisis has developed more slowly here, and it has only recently broken fully into the open.

The U.S. ruling class is just beginning to understand the implications of the crisis. It is only now realizing that the crisis is truly international and that it poses a deadly threat to the capitalist system as a whole. It is only now recognizing that some sort of strong-man rule will be necessary to control the working class, hold the country together and fight for the interests of the U.S. bourgeoisie against its international rivals. It is only now coming to see that the international struggle for natural resources, investment opportunities and markets will increase, posing the threat of world war.

Since the crisis has not yet posed these dangers directly, differences within the ruling class over how to handle the crisis have not emerged sharply and there is as yet no polarization in bourgeois circles. Instead there is a form of maneuvering for position among the various bourgeois political currents. With only a few exceptions, such as the busing question, clear political counterposition has not accompanied the maneuvers. Each of the currents is afraid to be the first to break the post-Watergate bipartisan front of unity, and the ruling class does not yet feel an intense pressure to coopt or repress plebeian struggle.

RUSSIA OR CHINA?

Although major divisions within the ruling class are by and large hidden, vague outlines of the differences can be seen. Concerning international policy, the main line of potential fracture is the question of detente, which in reality is the question of how the U.S. should construct an imperialist alliance, specifically whether the U.S. should orient toward Russia or China. Quite naturally, the fact that this division is only embryonic is a reflection of the fact that the detente itself is still intact, that the old international division of labor has not yet fully collapsed.

LIBERALS' DILEMMA

This dynamic is repeated in regard to domestic questions. The fact that the masses have not yet responded openly to the crisis has meant that differences among bourgeois circles over how to handle the domestic aspects of the crisis have not burst fully into the open. The aftermath of the Watergate affair is a case in point. The liberals are serious about a veto-proof Congress since they are afraid of another Nixon-type president

willing to abuse his power to further his own factional interests. Nevertheless, they are not for weakening the power of the executive branch; on the contrary they are for strengthening the power of the administration in order to increase the ruling class' ability to deal with the masses.

Consequently they must simultaneously move to increase their power in Congress without seriously weakening

on the lives of unionized workers. That is, since enough fat remained in the system to sustain illusions of future improvement of the conditions of certain sectors of the working class, the labor bureaucracy was able to keep the workers in line. As a result the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie were able to maintain an active and friendly collaborative relationship. Despite certain rumblings, the labor leadership

and looks for a Kennedy-type figure who will project a broader social image than does Jackson.

Today, there is little clear programmatic difference between these currents; they represent poles in the bureaucracy rather than hard and fast factions. Although both forces are reformist, each promulgates a somewhat different form of pro-capitalist ideology. The former peddles a traditional racist point of view that expresses the consciousness of the petty bourgeoisie and the skilled, white labor aristocracy. The latter expresses a more liberal view that reflects the consciousness of the liberal middle classes, including the black middle class and the better-off sectors of the industrial workers.

The division within the labor bureaucracy reflects differences over specific tactics to bind the workers to capitalism. I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers has taken the lead in the conservative approach. He openly advocates the crassest form of class collaboration, the necessity of labor and management to work together on a plant by plant and industry by industry basis. His approach is parochial and he appeals directly to



RUSSIA OR CHINA: As the international economic crisis deepens, a scramble for new imperialist alignments will occur. A major split could occur in the American ruling class over whether alignment with Russia or China would

maintain U.S. hegemony over world market. Beginning of this fracture could be seen during Nixon's "historic" visits abroad.

the power of the presidency. At every turn, however, the liberals come up against the same dilemma. To build their strength in Congress the liberals must appeal to the masses' suspicions and distrust of the government. At the same time they must ensure that this sentiment does not get out of hand and become an epidemic of radicalism, since this would threaten the basic aim of the entire ruling class to create a state strong enough to coopt or repress the masses. The result is a maneuvering for position among the bourgeois factions without any of them raising clear banners.

LABOR BUREAUCRATS DIVIDED

The key to the apparent calm in U.S. politics has been the labor bureaucracy, which controls the only really mass organizations American workers have. Until recently the crisis was not wreaking uncontrolled havoc

was able to work with Nixon. This relationship has continued under Ford, and the result has been to keep a lid on the growing anger and bitterness of the workers.

Although the labor bureaucracy remains relatively free of overt internal strife, a major line of division, one which has remained more or less constant throughout the post-war period, can be seen. This is the split between the dominant sector of the labor bureaucracy led by AFL-CIO President George Meany and the liberal wing, now led by United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock. The former rests on a largely craftunion base and generally orients toward the wing of the Democratic Party led by Cold War-liberal Senator Henry Jackson. The liberal wing, based largely on industrial workers and public employees, leans toward the left wing of the Democratic Party

the most parochial side of the consciousness of the workers. The most striking result of his efforts is the Experimental Negotiating Agreement which ties the union to an explicit no-strike deal.

The liberal wing has a more sophisticated approach. Instead of openly proclaiming its class collaborationist intentions, this wing prefers to fudge over the question and pose its strategy in terms of the "national interest." This enables it to pass itself off as more socially "concerned," more interested in blacks, Latins, women and general social problems of the country. While no less collaborationist, this sector of the bureaucracy is somewhat less parochial than the conservative wing and puts forward a nationalist outlook that parades under the banner of internationalism. Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers, who came to power at the

head of a union reform movement with the help of the liberal establishment and the Federal Government, is a relatively new face in the crowd and most likely a harbinger of things to come.

LIBERAL BUREAUCRATS WIN

These poles in the labor bureaucracy represent in general the consciousness of the skilled white workers on the one hand and the better-off sectors of the unionized industrial workers on the

lines of difference within the bureaucracy will become clearer.

At the same time, under the pressure of the workers, the labor bureaucracy as a whole will move left with the intent of coopting the struggle. This leftward motion will not be homogeneous. Some sectors of the bureaucracy will move left faster and farther than others, while some may not move at all. The liberal wing will take on a more left-sounding cover than will the Meanynites, while radical

matter how combative, could not break with the dominant ideology. Concretely, U.S. capitalism was strong enough to coopt the "liberation" movements through a combination of jobs for the leaders and a few gains for the masses (most of which are being withdrawn).

Meanwhile, the "termination" of the war in Vietnam in 1973 on imperialist terms by the Paris Accords was sufficient to completely deflate the anti-war movement.

The result was that the "revolutionism" of the petty-bourgeois radicalization was liquidated by the movement's inability to break with the bourgeoisie. This was underlined by the May-June events in France of 1968. What appeared to be the high point of the achievement of the petty-bourgeois radical movements, the alliance of the French workers and students, was actually the beginning of their ebb.

With the new period that commenced in 1968, the main elements of the petty-bourgeois leaderships openly capitulated to capitalism and adopted a purely reformist and pressure group strategy. Former black and women's liberation, student and anti-war movement leaders and militants joined the Democratic Party and government institutions. Here, despite their intentions, they became the agents of the anti-radical counterinsurgency efforts aimed directly to quash the masses' struggles.

By the early 1970's, a new strategy emerged involving the mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class by appeals to ethnic consciousness in the working class, middle class civil libertarianism and desires for anti-labor Bonapartist measures such as wage controls.

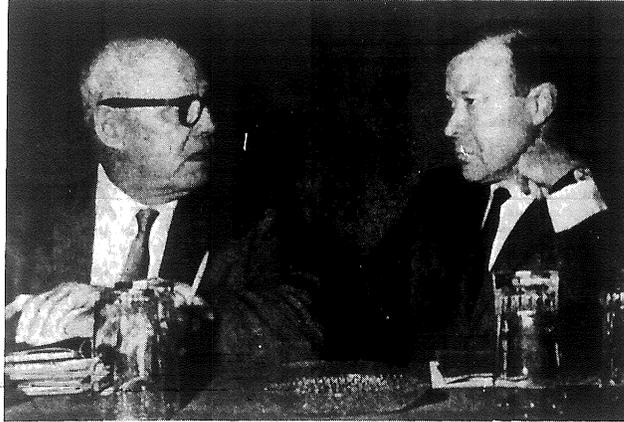
The victory of Ramsey Clark in the 1974 New York Democratic primary on a civil libertarian, reform and honest government platform represents one side of this approach. The victory of Barbara Mikulski in the Maryland Democratic primary on an ethnic populist appeal indicates the possibilities of another. The latter approach is based on the rising anger

Although the strategies of the various sectors of the labor bureaucracy and the petty-bourgeois and middle class misleaderships are visible only in broad outline, they will become clearer as the economic crisis deepens and the discontent in the working class accumulates. The pressure of the class struggle, in other words, will force the various sectors of the ruling class to propose radical sounding solutions to the crisis in order to coopt and/or repress the masses. In this way, the present political stalemate will give way to a polarization within society, not only between the classes in the form of a heightened class struggle, but also within the bourgeoisie.

Within the ruling class, there will develop an explicit division over the question of the detente and the related issues of a "progressive" variety, such as anti-militarism, welfare-statism and nationalization of certain industrial sectors. The liberal wing of the bourgeoisie will be the major proponent of a popular front "progressive" approach, while the conservative wing will stress an anti-detente line—that is, a line oriented toward an alliance with China, militarism and a more direct assault on the workers, especially its oppressed sectors. Both approaches require a move toward a strong state and Bonapartism, although the former will garb itself in radical-sounding rhetoric, while the latter will base itself far more explicitly on an appeal to racism, chauvinism and imperialism.

If a relatively slow pace of the class struggle continues for some time, as now seems likely, the possibility of the working class bypassing a popular-front-type development diminishes. The likely prospect is therefore a New Dealish movement within the Democratic Party on one side, and a coagulation of right wing forces (both party and non-party) on the other. In the longer run the formation of a radical-bourgeois third party is likely, with a comparable development on the right a distinct possibility.

In this "independent" bourgeoisie formation, the Communist party will



The post-war U.S. labor bureaucracy has been vaguely split between dominant Meaney wing and a fake-militant wing led by UAW heads Reuther [above, with Meaney] and, today, Woodcock. Major split will occur when workers' militancy forces bureaucrats left.

other. The line up in reality however has not always been this clear. For specific historical reasons, some unions of an industrial type, such as the UMW and the Steelworkers, have had leaderships which have held to the craft unionist, conservative approach rather than the expected liberal approach. This may be changing. Miller's victory in the UMW placed the miners' union on the liberal side. The victory of the liberal bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski in Steelworkers District 31 by an overwhelming vote may foretell a similar development in the USWA. Another basically industrial union which still has a leadership representing the conservative approach is the Teamsters union, led by Frank Fitzsimmons, one of the most craven of the labor hacks. Whether or not former IBT President Jimmy Hoffa is allowed to contest for power in the union, there can be little doubt that Fitzsimmons will face a challenge from some aspiring bureaucrat with the sense to base himself on the growing anger and militancy of the Teamster rank and file.

These divisions within the bureaucracy are visible only as shadows, reflecting the fact that the differences in the ruling class are still partially hidden. The shadow boxing cannot continue for too long, however. Inflation and unemployment will increase the pressure on the bureaucracy, even if the class struggle does not visibly intensify. The pressure on the bureaucrats will force the hacks to put pressure on the bourgeoisie, at a time when the ability and willingness of the latter to grant concessions will be significantly reduced. Consequently, the present cozy relationship between the bureaucracy and the ruling class will be replaced by a somewhat more antagonistic (although still collaborationist) one. This in turn will intensify the political disputes within the ruling class, forcing the crystallization of various tendencies, each espousing a different approach to keep the workers in place.

In other words, the bipartisan configuration of today will be replaced by a more open factional situation. Since the different groupings within the labor bureaucracy tend to align themselves with different groupings within the ruling class, the friction within the bureaucracy will also develop into a more factional state and

forces will make their appearance and expand their influence.

PETTY-BOURGEOIS MOVEMENTS

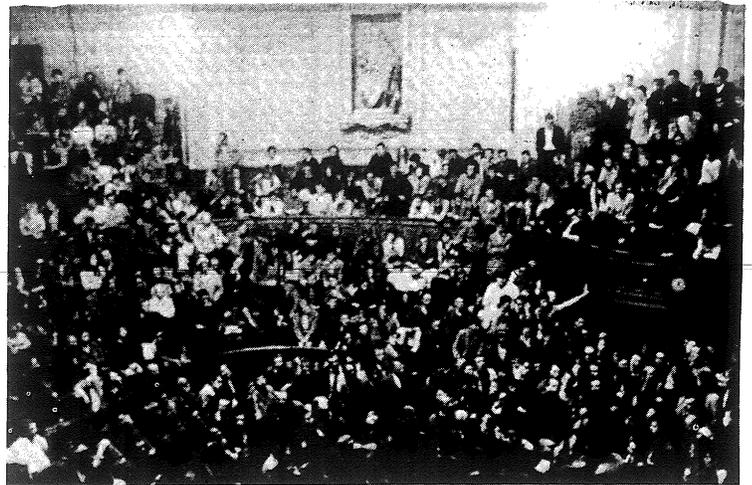
The trade union bureaucracy is not the sole agent for misleading the working class. Especially in the United States, where the class line has never been very clear to the masses, sections of the middle classes and petty bourgeoisie have served as an important political prop to bourgeois rule. Particularly during the post-war boom, the top-most petty-bourgeois layers increased their wealth and political power and became loyal defenders of U.S. capitalism. As a result of this position they serve as a crucial transmission belt of bourgeois ideology into the working class and the oppressed masses.

An important sector of the present middle class and petty-bourgeois misleaderships have their origins in the radical movements of the 1960's. These movements were part of an international radicalization of layers of the middle classes and petty bourgeoisie in the 1960's. They were a distinct response to the contradictory nature of the post-war prosperity which fomented the aspirations of these sectors but denied them the means to fulfill them. The defeat of the proletariat at the end of World War II and the consequent isolation and demoralization of the revolutionary vanguard elements determined the political character of these movements.

Thus in the absence of a revolutionary proletarian leadership these petty-bourgeois radical movements stayed well within the bounds of bourgeois democracy, no matter how radical they may have appeared at any given time. The enraged intelligentsia and its allies who led the movements, no

and desperation within the working class. Mikulski and sectors of the Jewish and Catholic liberal establishments are projecting a revival of ethnic identification within the working class. By fanning and manipulating this sentiment, they hope to define the issues facing the working class and the oppressed masses in terms of narrow parochial considerations. In this way they work to blunt class consciousness and maintain the hold of petty-bourgeois leadership and ideology over the workers.

play a significant but not hegemonic role. The liberal bureaucrats, of the type of Woodcock, Mazey and Miller will play the role that the Social Democracy plays in Europe. The formation may also include a "revolutionary" left wing composed of Maoist and other centrist forces. Appearing to be opposed to the "two-party" system, looking like it is anti-capitalist or at least anti-monopoly, such an "independent" radical although bourgeois party will be a most effective tool in entrapping the radicalized workers.



French students take over Sorbonne. Radicalization of petty bourgeoisie and middle class throughout the 1960's culminated in French events of 1968. Following this, the majority of the petty-bourgeois leadership openly capitulated to bourgeois reformism.

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Unite to Defeat CLUW Bureaucrats!

The Revolutionary Socialist League has issued a united front proposal to all leftists and militants in CLUW (the proposal is reprinted below). We call for joint action to fight rampant red-baiting and witch-hunts by CLUW bureaucrats. We also propose a fight to bring unorganized and unemployed women into CLUW and a program addressing the needs of these women.

October League supporters have recently called for such a fight in order to build CLUW. RSL supporters know that the bureaucrats would destroy CLUW before allowing it to become an instrument of class struggle fighting for the needs of the most oppressed workers. In the past, OL supporters have shied away from a confrontation with CLUW bureaucrats. Our united front proposal tests their new-found rhetoric. Will their deeds match their words? Will they join in an aggressive fight to smash the red-baiting and purge atmosphere that has been created? Will they actively struggle to open CLUW, both formally and politically, to the most oppressed women workers? Or will they, and the other centrist currents in CLUW, continue to capitulate to the reformist bureaucrats and leave the fight safely on paper?

ATTACK ON ALL WORKERS

The attack against the left in CLUW is an attack on all workers. It is one and the same with the conscious strategy of the CLUW leadership to prevent the development of a revolutionary working women's movement. Women labor bureaucrats did not form CLUW out of any desire to fight for the needs of women workers. Quite the contrary. Because women workers have become highly conscious of their special oppression in the past period, the bureaucrats formed CLUW to prevent this consciousness from extending to full class consciousness. They exclude unorganized women workers as part of this strategy of keeping the working class divided and to maintain CLUW as an organization based on higher-paid workers.

When CLUW was first formed, it seemed that there was a chance that it

would attract broad support and participation from trade union women. The founding convention had a large turnout and included broad representation from supporters of left groups. There was a vehement fight to endorse the United Farm Workers against the Teamsters which engaged most of the women present. Leftists were elected to sit on several leading bodies.

CENTRISTS CAPITULATE

But the bulk of the leftists in CLUW have thrown their support to the conservative bureaucrats. The centrists by and large applauded CLUW's support of the ERA—that hallmark of the middle class women's movement, a bourgeois vehicle to destroy protective legislation. They passively sat by without opposing indications of support to the Democratic Party. Some centrists went so far as to support the CLUW bureaucrats when they played hostesses to international guests of

the U.S. Labor Department!

When some Maoist women called a demonstration under CLUW's name at a Chicago factory, they were condemned by a bureaucrat from the local union involved. These same Maoist women voted for a letter of apology to the local union bureaucracy. CLUW bureaucrats have censured (and withdrawn charters) from chapters which allowed unorganized women to participate in local meetings—and even this has been tolerated by the centrists.

Most disgusting of all, the centrists have capitulated before the bureaucrats' anti-communism. Centrist women have remained obediently silent when the bureaucrats charged them with being the main danger to CLUW and to the entire labor movement. Whenever RSL supporters have attacked the bureaucrats' red-baiting, IS (International Socialists) and OL supporters—through whose

publications we learned of some of these incidents—remained silent.

OL GETS LOCKJAW

Recently RSL supporters in Chicago CLUW demanded a report on CLUW President Olga Madar's public slanders of the Atlanta CLUW chapter (Atlanta CLUW is heavily influenced by the OL). Although the OL's national newspaper (The Call) reported Madar's red-baiting, Chicago OL supporters kept their mouths shut when the bureaucrats claimed that nothing is happening in Atlanta and, anyway, "Atlanta's problems are not Chicago's problems."

OL, IS and other centrists have tried to behave themselves in hopes that the bureaucrats will ease off if they keep their mouths shut. This will only work if these groups drop any pretense of being revolutionaries and completely do the bidding of the labor hacks. The red-baiting stems from the bureaucrats' fear of the danger of a militant response from the ranks against their do-nothing policies around unemployment, inflation and the mounting capitalist attacks. They are trying to root out every potential nucleus for organized opposition.

UNITE TO WIN

We have no illusions that the OL and the IS are revolutionary organizations. Their actions in CLUW are consistent with long histories of capitulation. But if they refuse to join in this defensive campaign against bureaucratic witch-hunting and to champion the needs of the most oppressed, they will be exposed as the enemies of the working class.

We call on the left in CLUW to unite around a program to expose the corrupt and cynical bureaucracy before the hacks expel a divided left one by one. If the centrist groups refuse this unity, we urge their ranks to join with us against their leaders in this fight. A united defense can smash the plans of the corrupt bureaucrats. Those who abstain from this fight will demonstrate that they are not proletarian leaders, let alone revolutionaries.



Women workers at Farah plant during strike demanding recognition of Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. CLUW bureaucracy excludes workers waging organizing struggles, thus barring membership to many black and Latin women, who are among the most militant workers.

Wage the Class Struggle in CLUW!

A United Front Proposal to Supporters of the October League, all Communists, Militants and Rank and File from Supporters of The Revolutionary Socialist League.

A recent article in The Call, newspaper of the October League, has the following to say about CLUW: Rank and file women are realizing that the struggle in CLUW is part and parcel of the struggle against the labor aristocracy, which is raging throughout the unions today. CLUW can't be built into a mass women's labor organization without exposing their aims and defeating their line in CLUW.

Nowhere is the attitude of these aristocrats towards the masses clearer than in their stand toward minority women. They have consistently refused to allow unorganized women to be members of CLUW....

The struggle in CLUW is an important part of the effort to bring the masses of working women into the labor movement and the rank and file's ability to build CLUW rests on how thoroughly the traitors inside it can be exposed and defeated.

The road for the labor movement in this

period of crisis is the road of class struggle. The labor aristocrats inside and outside CLUW oppose this, like the faithful lackeys of imperialism they are. With revolutionary leadership, however, millions of women can be brought into the fight back....

The article in The Call also attacks supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party for providing "left cover" for these bureaucrats. But, indeed, if all the words in The Call article are not also to be left cover for CLUW, albeit in the guise of opposition, they must be translated into clear political proposals and action. CLUW faces self-destruction. CLUW bureaucrats are prepared to wreck the organization rather than allow it to express the strength of the left and needs of oppressed women workers. From the beginning CLUW leaders have caused havoc by denying the Harlan County women access to CLUW's first convention, and denying support to the United Farm Workers. Since then one chapter's charter has been withheld for allowing unorganized women to participate in its chapter discussions; Chicago CLUW bureaucrats have attempted two censures aimed at leftists; a Detroit CLUW demonstra-

tion around demands pushed through by the left such as full employment, a shorter work week with no loss in pay, all losses to come from employers' assets, etc., went unattended ("sabotaged") by the CLUW bureaucracy which was supposed to supply speakers. Atlanta CLUW, a stronghold of OL supporters, has been publicly attacked by Olga Madar, National Chairperson of CLUW.

The bureaucrats are suspending meetings, already so bureaucratically run, in an attempt to further declare their hegemony and deprive the left of an audience—N.Y. CLUW only meets every three months, Chicago had a summer "recess" planned. CLUW leaders are fully determined to either wear down, render impotent or completely eliminate the left in CLUW. The time is pressing for all leftists to wage a decisive united offensive against the CLUW bureaucracy! Supporters of the RSL therefore propose a united front to begin the fight to politically defeat the CLUW bureaucracy.

Entirely missing from The Call article is any explicit call to politically defeat and replace the CLUW bureaucrats, although this is the elementary

task facing class-conscious women—not to merely criticize the bureaucrats and their program in the privacy of one's press or committees, but to actually remove their influence from the labor movement. To call the bureaucrats "lackeys of imperialism," "traitors," etc. without explicitly fighting to displace them in the labor movement is to give the bureaucrats left cover.

We must fight to politically defeat the CLUW bureaucracy, its chauvinist line of excluding all unorganized and unemployed women, its strategy to divide unorganized working women from their oppressed sisters and brothers! CLUW bureaucrats would no doubt flee CLUW entirely rather than be responsible to an organization led by the most oppressed—proving their utter lack of commitment to the needs of working women.

As class-conscious women we stand on the unity of all oppressed and on the revolutionary potential of the working class. In fear and hatred the bureaucrats have sought to repress all activity by the left. They have tried to pin, red-bait, censor and purge individuals and chapters. Now that the CLUW red-baiting is

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finally acknowledged in a number of left periodicals, we can unite to defeat this cowardly bourgeois tactic and make this part of the struggle to defeat the CLUW bureaucracy: condemn and defeat all red-baiting! In addition we must fight for the rank and file, including unorganized and unemployed women, to control the organization at all times: for the standing right to immediately recall all officers by majority vote!

If the struggle in CLUW is to truly "bring the masses of working women into the labor movement," to engage "the struggle against the labor aristocracy" with "action programs" and "revolutionary leadership" (in the OL's own words), it must take the form of a call for the unity and collective power of all oppressed—organized, unorganized, black, white, male, female, employed and unemployed—to democratically decide a course of action for the labor movement to fight the economic crisis by its own program and methods. We must fight for CLUW chapters to mass-leaflet and call rallies to build for citywide unity conferences of all workers and oppressed.

Here is our proposal for the program of the united front:

1. Condemn and defeat all red-baiting.

2. Fight to bring unorganized and unemployed women into CLUW.

3. General meetings at least once a month, for the standing right to immediately recall all officers by majority vote.

4. Make the bosses pay for the economic crisis through a sliding scale of wages and hours—equal work and equal pay through full employment! Divide the work up among all who need work, cut the work week at no loss in pay with full cost of living determined by worker-housewife price committees.

5. Build Unity Conferences of all workers and oppressed to lead the labor movement in fighting for a solution to the economic crisis—defeat the labor bureaucracy!

6. Oust all sexist and racist bureaucrats—fight for union control of hiring to end discrimination.

7. A public works program funded by corporate profits, controlled by the unions to provide jobs, rebuild the cities and expand public services—including free 24-hour child care, designed and controlled by the workers themselves.

This is our proposal; we're willing to negotiate the demands. Our points are in the form of motions we must fight for in CLUW. They constitute the

beginning of the fight to politically defeat and replace the CLUW bureaucracy with a revolutionary leadership.

In order to successfully defend ourselves in CLUW we must mobilize the most oppressed and potentially most militant strata of women—the unorganized and unemployed. Such a base is our only real weapon against the bureaucrats' attack. That is why the bureaucrats flail their charter and rules against any attempt by the left to reach unorganized and unemployed women.

The left cannot capitulate to the legalistic maneuverings of the bureaucrats. We must begin immediately to open CLUW up through campaigns directed to the unemployed and unorganized. In addition to calling the Unity Conferences, CLUW must establish committees to take the lead in organizing the unorganized and leading demonstrations of the unemployed. Chapters where the left has a majority must begin such campaigns immediately. Open the membership of the left chapters to unorganized and unemployed women! Tie the proletariat's struggle against the economic crisis to the needs of the most oppressed!

Such actions to open CLUW will meet with attempted reprisals on the

part of the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats will try to destroy their organization before they will allow it to be an organ of the class struggle. We must mobilize a militant fight against any reprisals by the bureaucrats. If any CLUW chapters are expelled we must 1) Nationally overturn the expulsions by rank and file vote; 2) Set up militant pickets and a boycott to prevent the bureaucracy from establishing "alternate" chapters.

This is the fight needed to fulfill the intentions suggested by articles such as the one we quoted from *The Call*. Militant rhetoric is not enough. A real fight must be waged, even if this means going beyond the bounds of the CLUW charter. The left cannot continue to let itself be held hostage by the bureaucrats' rules!

We are calling for the united front, involving the broadest possible rank and file to make the strongest possible fight. All who join this united front hold the right to publicly present their own views and make their criticisms of other individuals' or organizations' views and functioning. We are, above all, calling for a national campaign which maintains unity in action in spite of our differences, which all groups in the united front have the right to raise publicly.

P. O. WORKERS

Cont'd. from p. 16
planned by USPS).

10. For a 1-year contract. In the face of inflation, postal workers must not be tied down to a two-year pact.

11. For the unlimited right to strike. These demands, along with other more specific ones, form the core of what is needed for a contract victory in July. Postal workers must aggressively fight for these demands, with no illusions that Filbey and Rademacher will do anything but stab the workers in the back.

STRATEGY FOR VICTORY

Every day and every union meeting between now and July 20th must be used by militant postal workers to organize for victory. In every union local across the country, postal workers must demand the election of rank and file strike committees. Democratically elected strike committees would form the basis for an alternative leadership to Filbey, Rademacher and their local lieutenants.

Postal workers must fight for a national network of these strike committees, with the committees in each local empowered to elect delegates to an emergency national convention. This convention is sorely needed to make sure postal workers have the opportunity to wage a coordinated fight for their vital needs. The convention would take up the demands, map out a strike strategy and elect a special bargaining committee responsible to the strike convention.

This would take bargaining out of the hands of the present "negotiators" who keep bargaining secret from the ranks. It would provide the basis for coordinating a winning strike. It would overcome the fragmentation of postal workers into several distinct unions, and lay the basis for one union of postal workers to present a unified face to the bosses.

NATIONAL STRIKE

USPS will not yield without a fight, and this will mean a national strike will be necessary. Filbey and Rademacher have already demonstrated that they will sabotage any strike

effort. The federal government has also demonstrated, in 1970, that it will not hesitate to bring in the National Guard to break the strike and scab on postal workers.

In order to win against these forces, postal workers will need the support of broad sectors of the working class. Other workers, likewise, need the support of postal workers, as they too face the capitalist attacks.

Classwide unity must be built. Particularly important is the need to forge links with other public employees. Postal workers must champion the right to strike for all public employees, and seek alliances with public workers in all sectors. This is especially urgent today, when public employees are faced with the threat of mass layoffs. Every union must come to the support of their embattled brothers and sisters.

Because cuts in public services mean a real cut in living standards, postal employees have an immediate interest in fighting alongside other public employees against the cuts in public services. Postal workers must take the demand for greatly expanded public services—more jobs, not less; more needed services, not less—to all public employees and the entire labor movement. This fight, an integral part of the struggle for Jobs for All and against the erosion of workers' living standards, will find staunch allies amongst black and Latin workers and unemployed who suffer most heavily in the current crisis.

Such support is absolutely indispensable. When federal troops once more try to break a postal strike, the basis would be laid for calling a general strike of all workers. No troops can cross the picket lines! In addition, this strategy lays the basis for the mobilization of the working class, through mass rallies and work stoppages, in preparation for a general strike against inflation, unemployment and the attacks on public services. Rademacher and Filbey will never implement this strategy, the real road to victory. It must be done by the rank and file.

Postal workers can be sure that USPS will respond to their demands by saying "sorry, we can't afford them," just as city governments cry



San Francisco pickets stopping mail truck during 1970 nationwide postal wildcat. Workers' militancy pushed government to use troops to break strike. This July's contract fight will test postal workers' response to expanded capitalist attack.

that they cannot afford to employ public workers and maintain essential services. USPS must open its books—let postal workers see where the money really goes. If USPS has no money, the banks and corporations—who pay for only a fraction of their mail use—must be taxed to cover the cost of the contract. Postal workers must rally around the slogan: Make the Bosses Pay! Just as the banks and corporations profit as the cities rot (the New York crisis is the best example of this), they and USPS profit from the attacks on postal workers.

Even if Filbey and Rademacher are able to beat back an immediate challenge to their sellout policies, postal workers will only be stronger—during the fight and after—if they begin to fight for an alternative to these betrayers now. Further, the tasks of postal workers are not limited to one contract fight in one industry, as the union hacks would lead them to believe. As we have seen, today's struggle of postal workers is part of a broader fight to mobilize a united working class offensive against capitalism's attacks.

Today's trade union leaders will

never lead such a fight. Neither will any grouping that accepts the capitalist system. Every such current will stop short of a militant struggle to meet the rank's needs—they will balk at making the banks and corporations pay ("that would threaten social stability"—i.e., the capitalist system). They will attempt to avert classwide mobilization for a general strike for the same reasons. And likewise, they will not lead the necessary fight to nationalize industry in the hands of the working class, nationalization under workers' control, for while this would end the attacks on the working class, it likewise would end the rule of the bourgeoisie.

For precisely these reasons, the working class needs a revolutionary party that can lead the struggle against the capitalist class—in the postal contract fight, in the trade union movement as a whole and in the entire working class. Militant postal workers have had enough of Filbey, Rademacher and their local agents. We call on postal militants to draw the lessons of their heroic struggles and join with the Revolutionary Socialist League in constructing the revolutionary party, the needed leadership for the working class.



Maoist demonstrators in Portugal carrying portraits of Stalin. The Maoist left, which opposes the bourgeois-military regime, is facing severe repression by the army, yet is unable to mount a united front defense of working class

organizations from the bourgeoisie. Full freedom of action and propaganda for proletarian organizations must be called for.

PORTUGUESE LEFT UNDER GUN

Cont'd. from p. 1

Thus the MFA is forced to remain in coalition with the civilian parties which provide its cloak of popular and socialist authority. At the same time it is trying to find its own road forward—the road of dictatorship with a “socialist” mask. In the week of May 26, the Armed Forces Assembly held an extraordinary session devoted to an open debate on whether to abolish the military-civilian coalition. “Party struggles do not interest the Portuguese people,” claimed the leader of the left military faction, Major General Otelo de Carvalho, who is head of the MFA’s security apparatus and strongly backed by the CP.

This is pure demagoguery. The workers, it is true, desire unity—but not a military dictatorship! This is shown by the events since the rightist coup attempt on March 11. As detailed in a previous issue of *The Torch*, the workers responded with exceptional militancy to this counter-revolutionary attempt by the conservative officers associated with former Provisional President Spínola. Roadblocks were thrown up, suspected rightists arrested, searched and disarmed; the Communist-dominated Intersindical (the largest union federation) issued a call for a general strike; in the wake of the failure of the coup attempt, demands arose for the nationalization of major enterprises, while workers seized a number of enterprises on their own without authorization. Yielding to this pressure, the MFA announced the nationalization of the major banks, insurance monopolies, transport and the largest estates.

The proletariat thus directed its main blow against the immediate threat—the attempted coup by the reactionaries. Although the workers retained dangerous illusions in the military regime, the Constituent Assembly elections held six weeks later on April 25 were a disaster for the MFA and its chief supporter, the Communist Party. With a big vote predicted for the critics of the MFA, the generals made every effort to minimize the election’s effect in advance. They forced the major parties to pledge to support continued military rule. They encouraged the casting of blank votes, announced that all blank and invalid ballots would be counted as support for the MFA, and ruled the MRPP and AOC off the ballot. This meant that a ballot marked for the anti-MFA MRPP, which would be invalid, would be counted for the military.

MFA, CP DEFEATED AT POLLS

With all these precautions, the elections were still a clear political defeat for the MFA and the CP. The remaining parties to the left of the Communists polled a total of 3.9 per cent of the vote. If to this is added the number who would have voted for the banned parties or who cast spoiled or blank ballots, the real strength of the extreme left can be estimated at 8 to 10 per cent. The Communist Party, running legally and with a huge propaganda machine at its service, hardly did better—it received only 12.5 per cent. This represented a major vote of no confidence in the party most

closely associated with the MFA.

The main beneficiaries of this no confidence vote were the Socialist Party and the Popular Democratic Party, which received 38 and 26 per cent respectively. This huge vote represented several contradictory elements: on the one hand, conservative rural votes of the peasants still under the influence of the Catholic Church, together with the urban petty bourgeoisie and middle classes who fear the military dictatorship and have been shown no revolutionary road. On the other hand, the SP undoubtedly also gained the votes of workers who saw in the SP, with its demagogic use of the slogan of “Socialism Yes, Dictatorship No,” a way of voting for socialism but against the MFA and the closely-associated CP.

The proletariat supports all “revolutionary” measures of the MFA—its defense against the Spínola wing of the military and its move against the large corporations—without any political confidence in the MFA. This correct class instinct, without a revolutionary Leninist party to focus it, is forced to find its expression within and among the existing parties. These parties, however, represent interests opposed to those of the proletariat.

BOGUS THREATS BY SP

This is shown by the events since the April 25 elections. The SP, with its huge vote in its pocket, attempted to show its muscle. However, far from mobilizing to force a change in the government, its aim was to use its clout with the voters to keep a place in the government for itself. Although it threatened once more to go into opposition, these threats were bogus. The SP is compelled to support the MFA because it fears the power of the militant proletariat and recognizes the need to maintain the workers’ illusions in the bourgeois “socialist” regime. It also understands the importance of rationalizing Portugal’s decaying economy in order to win a better deal from the U.S. and its European imperialist friends. But the MFA’s methods of defending capitalism require restrictions against the “democratic” SP, so the SP is reduced to making impotent noises.

On the other hand, the MFA, with the active backing of the CP, has moved cautiously against the SP. The CP attempted to keep the SP out of the government’s May Day rally, although SP leader Soares was able to force a way in for the supporters he had mobilized. Subsequently, Communist printers seized the presses of the SP’s newspaper, *Republica*, whereupon the government, which apparently had not planned so direct a confrontation, shut the paper down completely. The attacks on the SP, like those against the Maoists, represent an attack on the working class. The CP, which had regularly opposed workers’ seizures of capitalist-owned plants; backed this closing of the newspaper of a working-class party. For the Communist Party leadership, the moves against the SP are part of a campaign to cut off any possibility of independent working-class action and increase its bureaucratic control over the workers’ movement.

Both the Socialist Party, which prefers a Western European-style bourgeois democracy and the minimum of nationalization, and the CP and the “left” faction in the MFA, which want a disguised military dictatorship and a nationalized capitalist economy, are enemies of the proletariat. Yet the workers, even without a revolutionary party to lead them and secure victory, have moved to the left and undermined the Bonapartist coalition. The reasons for this contradictory situation lie in the workers’ own exceptional militancy, the economic weakness of Portuguese capitalism, and the resulting weakness of the bourgeoisie. These are the factors which originally led to the April 1974 coup and which the new regime has been unable to solve.

MILITARY AGAINST WORKERS

Taking power at a time of European economic decline, inheriting a decrepit economy and rousing a dispossessed working class, the 1974 victors were incapable of placing any wing of the bourgeoisie securely in power without first crushing the workers. In order to move against the most parasitic sectors of the bourgeoisie, the military regime was forced to lean on the working class. This Bonapartist balancing act—maintaining bourgeois authority over the proletariat but depriving even the bourgeoisie of political rights—was necessary both to reinforce a rotting capitalism and to forestall proletarian action towards real workers’ power.

In order to hold on to popular support, the regime had to seek an alliance with the working class parties. The Communist Party played a crucial role in temporarily stabilizing the regime. No openly bourgeois party could provide the disciplined apparatus that the Stalinists had constructed during the Salazar decades. The CP was also able to drape itself in revolutionary phrases, utilizing especially its role in the anti-Caetano resistance as well as its claim to the tradition of the Russian revolution to disguise its pro-capitalist character. The CP thus supplies the “revolutionary” cover for Bonapartist rule.

“LEFT” MFA GAINS

At present the program of the left MFA is gaining strength. This calls for doing away with the military-civilian coalition and the independence of the political parties, and instead imposing on the proletariat what General Carvalho calls a “proletarian dictatorship”—a military regime backed by a totalitarian mass party organized by the MFA. Implicit in the left MFA’s close ties with the CP is the possibility that while the Socialists, Popular Democrats and the far-left groups would in fact be suppressed, the CP and its apparatus would be absorbed in the new MFA-organized movement and in the administration. The treachery of the Communist Party allows Carvalho to flaunt this set-up as a “proletarian dictatorship.” Without such a left cover, Carvalho’s scheme would be seen as a pure and naked bourgeois dictatorship.



Portuguese security chief Carvalho claims that “party struggles do not interest the Portuguese people.”

However, the debate in the Armed Forces Assembly on instituting a purely military government ended without abolishing the political parties. As one military official admitted, “The armed forces are not strong enough to do so.” For the present, the army still needs a left-wing disguise. The MFA has announced its alliance with “revolutionary workers’ committees,” in order to continue this masquerade and at the same time to reduce

its dependence on the CP, which the bourgeoisie does not trust.

The current unstable situation can develop in several ways. Presently working-class unrest is flowing to some degree into support for the Socialist Party. But this party offers no way out. The class elements composing its electoral base—the educated middle class, sections of the petty bourgeoisie, etc.—do not themselves have any independent social weight.

Behind the SP stand figures in the Portuguese bourgeoisie and in the conservative wing of the officer corps who are actually to the right of the SP. And behind these stand the European bourgeoisie and its political mouthpieces in the

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West European Social Democratic parties. These elements are prepared to use the SP as their own left cover. They are at present riding the left wave to see where it goes—fearing that the present regime will be unable to defend the interests of West European imperialism, but hoping that the working class can be tied to this regime and held back from revolutionary measures.

A break between the MFA as a whole and the Communist Party, while possible, is less likely than a break between the halves of the MFA with the CP on one side and the SP on the other. Whether this takes the form of a gradual crippling of the SP and the military and bourgeois figures standing behind it, or whether an open conflict will break out in the form of a rightist officers' movement against the present left-MFA leaders, depends on the degree to which the MFA coalition can keep the proletariat in check.

PROLETARIAN POWER

The third alternative is that the working class will break free of the present situation through constructing its revolutionary party and creating institutions of dual power. At present, and since the 1974 coup, a situation with strong elements of dual power has existed. The workers' independent action has overturned the Spínola government, forced Spínola into exile and pushed the MFA faster along the road of nationalization than it had intended. The working class remains the most dynamic element in the Portuguese revolution. But it lacks a revolutionary Bolshevik-Leninist party. And, al-

though the numerous factory occupations, workers' committees in workplaces, etc., contain the elements of dual power, actual dual power institutions—a national network of workers', peasants' and soldiers' committees or soviets—do not exist.

Both a revolutionary party and soviets can be rapidly built, provided the basic dynamic of the situation is clearly understood. First, it must be understood that the two poles in the military—Spínola and the left MFA—represent not different classes but two opposed bourgeois strategies, and that the two mass "socialist" parties, the SP and the Communists, also represent alternative bourgeois strategies. That must be the first message of any revolutionary nucleus in Portugal. Second, while the workers must militarily support the existing regime against counterattack by the right-wing forces, it must prepare to overthrow this regime. Third, the revolutionary nucleus can only build itself and win authority as the genuine leadership of the masses by advancing a bold revolutionary program and by winning the workers' committees, the ranks of the army and the ranks of the CP and SP to its own banner. Finally, to do this it is necessary to propose united fronts in defense of the workers' democratic rights and class gains to the CP and SP and additionally to the splintered centrist parties which are incapable themselves of combining a revolutionary program with bold united front tactics.

The demand for a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly, previously on the order of the day as an

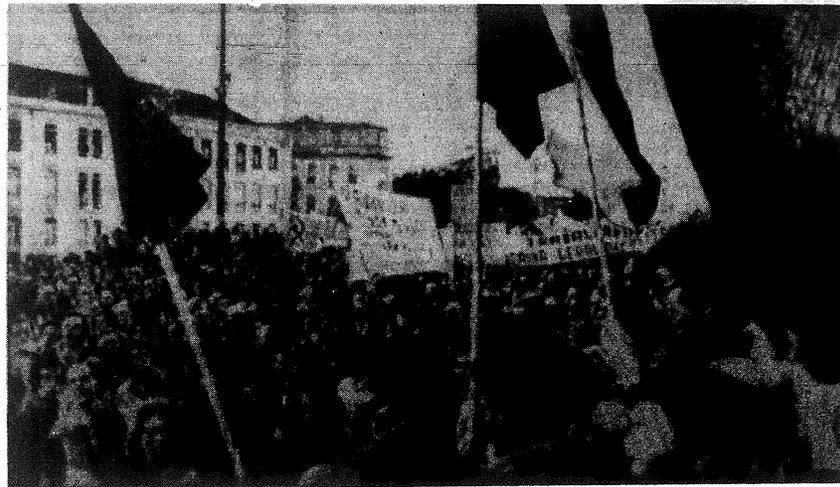
expression of the most profound democratic aspirations of the masses, has now expended its usefulness with the actual election of a Constituent Assembly pledged in advance to support military rule. To the fore must be advanced the demand for soviets to unite the masses' struggles and provide the embryonic forms of the future workers' government. **Form Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Committees Everywhere!** For a National Congress of Soviets! The group which can advance this demand energetically and tirelessly, and combine it with the immediate defense of the working class, will emerge as the revolutionary leadership of the Portuguese masses.

UNITED DEFENSE

The defense of the working class against immediate repressive efforts, and the defense and extension of its class gains of the past period, represents the immediate task of the day. **Defend the Right to Strike! Full Freedom of Agitation and Propaganda for all Workers' Organizations! Defend the Workers' Press! Form a Workers' Militia!** These demands should be presented to the CP, the SP and the extreme left groups as the basis for a united front. (The MRPP's disdain for united fronts kept it isolated and made it an easier target for repression.) At the same time the gains of the recent past must be extended. **Workers' Control of Industry and Finance! Seize and Divide the Estates! Portugal Out of NATO!**

Further, in order to fully expose the treacherous role of both the Communist and Socialist Parties, the revolutionary nucleus must advance the demand: **CP and SP Break with the MFA! Form a Workers' Government!** The revolutionists must teach the workers to support such a step by revolutionary means—by the seizure of the factories, the organization of soviets, the arming and military training of a proletarian militia. If the CP and SP should actually be pushed to a break with the MFA, these revolutionary measures would guarantee that this would be only an episode on the way to soviet power. But in reality, such a demand would serve precisely to expose the unwillingness of these parties to break with the bourgeoisie, and to win the allegiance of those workers who still believe the CP and SP's rhetoric.

These demands, coupled with the audacious use of united front tactics, provide the basis for the rapid construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Portugal. The present Bonapartist coalition has only a short time to stand—perhaps much shorter than the participants themselves think. Barring a successful rightist coup, it is quite likely that a more open dictatorship by the MFA will emerge before a revolutionary party can actually be built. However, even if the MFA strips off its present bourgeois-democratic mask, the working class has not been taken on and defeated. While it remains on the offensive, the prospects for the construction of the revolutionary party, whether in legal or illegal conditions, remains extraordinarily favorable. Without such a party, the revolution is doomed; with it, it is bound to be victorious.



Victory rally after defeat of March 11 rightwing coup attempt. Militant workers, who led the fight against the rightist putsch, are now under heavy attack from "left-MFA" and Communist Party.

Spartacists Vacillate on Defense Guards

Cont'd. from p. 6
necessity, the police would use such a request to establish authority over the defense guard. In addition, Brother Freedman led the fight in the steering committee against issuing any critical statement to the Local membership about the Local bureaucrats' lack of cooperation on the defense guards. Instead of trying to strengthen the defense guard by taking our case to the rank and file, Freedman wanted to postpone any criticism until the defense work was completed. This opportunist betrayal was "justified" by the fact that the LSC newsletter had already criticized the executive board.

SMOKESCREEN

Finally, Freedman's letter attacks me for voting for a "pro-integration" resolution. This is a smokescreen to try to cover the LSC's own errors and vacillations. The overwhelming weight of the LSC and RAC motions was to defend Brother Dennis's home and rights. These motions had to be supported by all class-conscious

workers. One of the five "whereas" in the LSC motion stated in part that the struggle for integration is in the interests of the labor movement. Because of the primacy of the defense question and the short time for discussion, I did not amend out the pro-integration clause. But is Labor Struggle seriously advocating that workers who oppose integration should have voted against the defense resolution? This is simply philistine demagoguery.

The charge that I haven't voiced my opposition to integration is a lie. I have talked to many workers in Local No. 6 about the need to distinguish between the right of blacks to live

where they choose (which is clearly stated in the RAC leaflet) and advocating the dispersal of blacks among whites (making them completely vulnerable to racial attacks) which is what an integration strategy means. Equality for blacks, the breaking down of all discriminatory barriers, and the right to live and work and go to school where they choose must be fought for. Guaranteeing these rights is the task of revolutionaries. Advocating dispersal of the black proletariat is a job for ruling class hacks, confused middle class liberals and their centrist cohorts like the Spartacist League.

The brothers in the Local who have been defending the Dennis home are doing it because they think he has the right to live there and deeply resent the racist attacks. That blacks should move into white neighborhoods is

pretty much the exclusive view of Labor Struggle. Dennis himself wants the home. The racial features of his neighbors is not what is motivating him. In general blacks moving into white neighborhoods seek quality homes rather than some abstract mixing of the races, as Labor Struggle would have it.

The RAC will continue to lead the fight for workers' self defense. We are attempting to build a city-wide black-labor defense against right-wing and racist attacks, by putting forward resolutions to this effect in union locals throughout the Chicago area. The RAC urges all class-conscious workers to join us in this necessary struggle.

Comradely,
Member of RAC
Name Withheld



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P.O. Workers Must Prepare For Victory

by Rod Miller

The national postal contracts expire July 20th. Postal workers are faced with a decisive question: will July mean victory or will it bring defeat? The answer has implications not just for postal workers, but for the entire U.S. working class.

Across the country, workers are confronted with the most massive attack on living standards in more than three decades. In Detroit, hundreds of thousands of auto workers are the leading casualties in a city with an unemployment rate of over 20 per cent. In New York City, over 50,000 public employees are threatened with layoffs. Proposed cutbacks in New York's public services would close dozens of schools, hospitals, day care centers and welfare centers—a brutal attack on all workers, and especially upon the poorest and most oppressed.

Faced with this onslaught, the tasks before the working class are enormous. Defense of jobs, incomes and standards of living requires a mobilization of the entire working class to beat back capitalism's attacks. Postal workers, a militant work force concentrated in every city in the U.S., can play a crucial role in helping to build this classwide response. The 1970 national postal wildcat demonstrated that postal workers have the militancy and determination necessary to carry through. The July contract will put these qualities to the test.

Since 1970, postal workers have been dealt harsh blows by the capitalist attacks. The "semi-public" United States Postal Service (USPS) has been carrying out a vicious "rationalization" program, which translates to speed-up, job losses and overwork. Rather than using new machinery to lighten the load on workers, USPS has forced individual workers to run these machines under tremendous time pressure (one example of this is the ziptronic mail translator machine—rather than hiring enough operators, one operator is forced to work under the most strenuous and demanding conditions).

THE KOKOMO PLAN

Letter carriers face similar speed-up attempts. USPS programmed a computer to determine the "optimal" speed for mail delivery. The computer, using USPS's instructions, allowed no time for anything except walking from house to house at the most rapid rate possible—no time for talking, no time to answer questions and not even time to walk around obstacles (carriers were expected to walk in a straight line on the inside of the curb)! Not surprisingly, the computer "decided" that carriers should be working more routes in shorter time—the answer USPS programmed it to come up with. This scheme, called the Kokomo Plan after the Indiana city where it was first introduced, means vicious overwork.

USPS's strategy has been simple. Cut total wages by cutting the work force, and make the workers who remain work several times as hard. The national postal contract currently has a no-layoff clause, but management has found ways to get around it. 60,000 postal workers are locked into the "substitute" category, which allows USPS to cut them to four hours work on any given day with no

prior notice. In this way, a sizeable number of full-time employees have been forced to work part-time (at part-time pay), effectively accomplishing the same end as layoffs.

Furthermore, management has waged a war of attrition—vacancies created by death or retirement are not filled. This, too, cuts the work force and places a greater work load on clerks, carriers and mailhandlers. These schemes have taken their toll. Even Francis Filbey, the sell-out president of the American Postal Workers Union, has been forced to admit that "the no-layoff clause has not brought adequate job security to postal employees."

The same miserable conditions affect postal workers' salaries. Average salaries are just over \$11,000 a year (or \$5.43 per hour), compared with the Bureau of Labor Statistics recommended \$14,333 needed for adequate living for a family of four. Moreover, while USPS constantly stresses the need to compete with United Parcel Service, UPS workers wages are more than 20 per cent higher than postal workers'.

Worse still, real wages have been eroded by inflation. The current cost of living clause calls for a one cent per hour increase for each four-tenths of

half-pay. Additionally, they have called for easing speed-up (although few specifics are given). Other demands include an end to USPS's policy of subcontracting work to private firms, company-paid retirement benefits (postal workers currently pay seven per cent of wages into the retirement fund) and employer-funded health benefits (as opposed to the current plan, which makes workers pay 35 per cent of the costs of the health plan).

President Rademacher of the National Association of Letter Carriers is putting forward similar demands. But the ranks should have no illusions in either Filbey or Rademacher. When all is said and done they will come back with crumbs and moan "this is the best we could do" and "in order to get something we had to give something."

One thing is for sure! Key demands, like the 32 hour week at 40 hours pay, the full cost of living adjustment to completely offset inflation, and the demand that all "substitutes" be made regulars, will be dropped. Management won't give on those without a fight, and that's the last thing the union hacks want.

The 1970 wildcat is the best example of their policy of betrayals. The wildcat was called over and

Rademacher will settle for. Sombrotto listed these as: 1) company-paid health benefits, 2) an 11 per cent wage increase over the next two years (less than 6 per cent per year), 3) a "slightly better" cost of living clause and 4) keeping the status of "substitutes" the same as it is today.

Look at this list! Where is the shorter work week with no loss in pay, the full cost of living clause, the upgrading of all "substitutes" to regular status? They are nowhere to be found. Once more, Rademacher has every intention of selling the ranks down the river.

While Filbey's price for selling out has not yet been revealed, no more can be expected from him. He has announced: "Collective bargaining is a private process in the sense that the compromises, the trade-offs and the give-and-take, no less than the stone-walling, cannot effectively be pursued in the press or other public forums." (The American Postal Worker, May, 1975). What Filbey really means is that in order to sell out, he needs the elbow room that hiding the negotiations from the ranks provides.

Postal workers are legally constrained from striking. Rather than demanding the unlimited right to strike, Filbey (like Rademacher) has called for "improved arbitration." But what will happen when the arbitrators hand back pro-management decisions? More importantly, how will postal workers wage a militant fight for their demands in the upcoming contract struggle without being able to utilize their most powerful weapon, the strike?

Filbey and Rademacher are on the spot. They must be kept there. No sell-outs, no "compromises" on the elementary needs of postal workers can be tolerated. All of the vital demands must be met. Others, which they have not even raised, are also crucial to postal workers.

WHAT POSTAL WORKERS NEED

- Postal workers need the following:
1. Hands off the No Layoffs Clause. No reduction of the work force through attrition. Make all subs regular.
 2. Expand postal services. Expand the work force. More jobs to end the brutal overwork and speed-up.
 3. A 32 hour week at 40 hour's pay to provide more jobs.
 4. A 20 per cent wage increase in the first year of the contract. Bring postal workers' pay immediately up to the "modest" standard of living set by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.
 5. Full cost of living protection against inflation. Union committees empowered by the contract to determine the actual rise in the cost of living.
 6. Union control of all work rules. No Kokomos. Rank and file committees in every station with contractual rights to monitor all work rules.
 7. Benefits fully paid by USPS: health and dental, retirement, 24-hour childcare.
 8. Eliminate all racist and sexist USPS practices. Equal access to all jobs and training programs. No discriminatory hiring tests. All tests bilingual. Training programs open to all who seek jobs with USPS.
 9. Regular tours and work weeks. Overtime pay for all weekend work. No split shifts (now rumored to be

Cont'd. p. 13



AWPU President Filbey [right] and Chief Union Negotiator Bernard Cushman are all smiles as they prepare to throw away demands ranks' pressure has forced them to raise.

one per cent increase in the Consumer Price Index. This falls far short of meeting inflation. Once more, APWU bureaucrats are forced to admit: "Cost of living protection for postal employees has been inadequate."

In the teeth of these attacks, and faced with ranks who demonstrated their explosiveness and power just five years ago, the postal union bureaucracy has been forced to raise several decent demands in the pre-contract bargaining. The APWU, calls for reduction of the work week to 32 hours with no loss in pay, with full cost of living wage increases plus a salary increase, to achieve parity with United Parcel Service workers. Further, APWU calls for keeping the no-layoff clause, strengthening it by converting all "substitutes" to regular status, which would end management's ability to impose four-hour work days at

against Rademacher's pleas for postal workers to return to their jobs. And even after the wildcat had spread from New York to Chicago, Rademacher was still whining, "reason will prevail over emotion . . . and ninety per cent of the mail will be moving on Monday."

RAT-E-MACHER

But on Monday, March 21, the wildcat was spreading to over 200 cities. Rademacher had earned the title of "Rat-e-macher" from the ranks. Now, five years later, he and his bureaucratic allies are again attempting to mislead and derail postal workers' militancy.

Thus, it should have come as no surprise, when Vinnie Sombrotto, head of the NALC's New York area local, recently revealed the terms that

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