

STACK 3 OVERSIZE

Reconstruct
the
Fourth
International!

TORCH

Newspaper
of the
Revolutionary
Socialist League

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 10/25¢

OCTOBER 15-NOVEMBER 14, 1977

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NYPL

Build Workers' Defense Guards-



Black and White Defense Committee and RSL march against Nazis in Chicago.

SMASH THE NAZIS!

Racist bombings and assaults have been going on in Chicago for over a year. Now, a new wave of attacks has begun in order to keep Black children from being bused into white schools.

In response to the growing attacks, the RSL and our supporters have set up the Black and White Defense Committee. With street rallies, film showings and other actions, the Committee is organizing working and oppressed people—Black, Latin and white—to build a united defense against the racists.

The main targets of the latest wave of racist hysteria are Black school children—10 years and younger. The attackers are from various all-white neighborhoods on Chicago's southwest side. These thugs are trying to keep Black and Latin children from using the city government's new voluntary busing plan.

The city government has for years neglected the educational needs of Black and Latin school children. This neglect has gotten far too obvious for the Illinois politicians. They threatened to cut funds from the Board of Education unless some changes were made.

So, recently, a number of elementary schools in Black and Latin neighborhoods

(Continued on page 4)

south africa Biko's Murder Fans Flames of Revolt

By TONY CURZO

The murder of Black Power leader Steven Biko while imprisoned in September has shaken white-ruled South Africa to its foundations. Biko was one of the founders of the Black People's Convention. He was one of the few leaders enjoying the support of the revolutionary Black students in Soweto.

Several times this year, Biko had disappeared into the jaws of apartheid's repressive police apparatus. The last time, he didn't come out alive. More than 40 such victims have died since detention without trial was introduced in 1963, 20 in the last 19 months alone. (These are government figures. The real ones are bound to be in the thousands.)

Biko's murder has further fueled the fires of revolt. On September 21, the revolutionary students of Soweto took to the streets. They

attacked the cops with stones and were fired upon. At least one was killed.

In another incident that day, Soweto youths ran into a Catholic church to evade cops firing rubber bullets. The cops gave chase and beat up adults in the church who were attending services in memory of Biko. Police also fired shots in Emdeni, another part of Soweto where services were being held.

On September 25, at Steven Biko's funeral outside Ginsberg, Biko's home

(Continued on page 12)



Steven Biko's funeral.

sección
en
español

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (February - October, 1917) ... p. 10

**our
readers
write...**

Send letters to:
**TORCH, PO Box 562,
N.Y., N.Y. 10036**

Class unity, not class collaboration

The following letter was written by a Chilean comrade in exile. The comrade spent two and a half years in prison following the overthrow of the Allende government on September 11, 1973.

Dear comrades,
I have read your answer... and I am pleased with the frankness with which you have answered me, which means that we can go on with our correspondence, especially on these questions (the strategic problems of Chile's revolution—Editor.)

Whenever I have analyzed the Chilean situation, I have always talked about the unity of the working class, never the unity of the superstructures. In reference to this I want to touch on what I mean by unity of the working

From an African prison

Dear Comrades,
I would be very much pleased to write this letter and inform you that I received your letter dated 29th July 77.

You asked me a very interesting question, how I found *Torch*? In fact one of my friends was sent foodstuff by his family and they wrapped that type of food on a paper. I took it and read it, the name of that paper is *Guardian*, and on it I saw a coupon on how I can order a *Torch*, so without delaying I took an opportunity to order.

I found *Torch* is a unique magazine like I never found before. It's a paper which gives a real picture of how people suffer in prison and also gives us a real picture of apartheid in South Africa and U.S.A.

Upon reading *Torch* I have got a question to ask. Why in all articles which you sent to me, I didn't come across any with Zimbabwe and Namibia activities? Also I would be very pleased if I would be able to get copies of *Forward* through you. I would like to get full information of Solidarity Day which is expected to be held on September 11. And my message to Solidarity Day is "Free all revolutionaries who are imprisoned."

Also would be very much pleased if I would be able to get Autobiography of Malcolm X and Hurricane Carter.

I do hope to get good reply from you soon.

Thanks, Love Sincerely,
A prisoner in Africa

September 11 in Berlin ambiguously put it. "To establish a democratic, revolutionary, and anti-fascist government, to put an end to police control of the lives of Chileans, by abolishing the apparatuses of repression, to recover the mineral wealth of the country, and to implement a program that aims towards the realization of a new historic project."

In other words, to go back to the bourgeois democratic regime in power up to September 11 of 1973, with its sequels of exploitation, hunger, and misery for the people, but with "broad democratic liberties" in which the masses can continue to be entertained and playing the election game, because the struggle for socialism has to be left for a future stage, since socialism "is not possible without the consent of the majority of the people," as the UP declaration that I mentioned above says. This is like saying that all the sacrifices of the workers and of the people, of its thousands of arrested and tortured in fascism's concentration camps, its thousands of missing and dead, its orphans and widows that cover the whole national territory, all this would be to go back to the past.

This we revolutionaries will not permit. If we were to accept it, we would be betraying our principles, the mandate of history, and our 30 thousand dead, and this we will never do.

Comrades, whatever document or book that you might publish on the current situation, please send it to us, and let us know the price.

Fraternally,
Name withheld

"I'm not afraid to stand up"

Dear Brother,

I've received your recent letter dealing with the expectations of a party member. Well I should say that all this is something that I already know and am willing to accept without any conditions on my part. I was always known for the way I stand up both for myself and other people's rights. All my life I've been revolutionary-inclined but never really have any direction in which to channel my thoughts and feelings. Most of the revolutionary education that I have come to learn was right here in this prison. Thanks to some brothers who showed me how to fight wisely and not like the foolish way I was going about fighting the system, because I used to fight them by myself which was without direction.

Yes I'm a Jamaican, was born, schooled, and raised up on the

Gay revolutionaries join the RSL

Dear *Torch*/La Antorcha:

We are the Revolutionary Faction, formerly of the Red Flag Union (RFU), and we would like to tell your readers a little about ourselves, changes we've been going through in recent months, and the part played by the RSL and the *Torch*/La Antorcha in that process.

We have been working together for nearly a year, first as members of RFU (which was then called Lavender & Red Union) where we were brought together as a minority faction over the issue of the class nature of the so-called "socialist" countries. We put forward the view that these were state-capitalist systems, while the L&RU/RFU majority thought they were a form of workers' state.

Other differences developed over how to assess the importance of gay liberation and the question of where and how a revolutionary party is built. Eventually, this led to an open split, and in August the RFU dissolved, with most of the other faction joining the Spartacist League.

Since then, our group has continued to work together, participating in several demonstrations and organizing a study class among some of our comrades here in Los Angeles. We

believe the most important job of revolutionaries is to build a revolutionary party, and toward that goal we have been carrying on political discussions with the RSL to discover how much unity exists between us.

As a result of those discussions, we have recently been accepted as sympathizers of the RSL. This is a major advance in our development as revolutionaries. It means we now have a broader organizational framework in which to place our political practice, a larger group of comrades with whom we work and study, and a whole wealth of experience and knowledge upon which to draw.

We have come to see the RSL as a fighter for working class revolution, in the full sense of that term. We especially respect its working class orientation to party-building, its record of mass work, defense of the oppressed, and the ability of its members to teach the lessons of revolution as part of their everyday work.

The *Torch*/La Antorcha itself had a good deal to do with attracting us to the RSL. It's the kind of paper which, as a friend of ours put it, "not only informs you of events, but makes you want to stand up and do something about it." It's the kind of paper revolutionaries need.

We are pleased with the high level of unity we have found with the comrades of the RSL. We look forward to a growing relationship.

(Former) Revolutionary Faction

Dutch socialist writes

Dear Friends,

During my vacation this year I stayed four weeks in the USA. Among other places I visited New York City and I participated in the Gay Pride March on June 26.

Being a member of the Dutch Gay Liberation Movement (GOC) and the Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP) I was very interested in the way both movements were organized in the U.S. and the ideas they're based upon, as well as the strategies set out to achieve its goals.

Although some weeks is too short a time to be able to get even a superficial impression of what is going on, I was struck by the familiarity of the ideas proposed in a leaflet that was handed to me during the march. The only leaflet stating a relation between the struggles of all oppressed peoples and groups and suggesting the necessity of links that should exist between them. The mentioned ultimate goal being a socialist revolution is the only principle unifying all these groups. This leaflet was written by your League.

I am very interested in getting some more information about your League, especially concerning anti-imperialist activities and initiatives to express the solidarity of parts of the U.S. working class with the exploited peoples of the Third World.

Looking forward to receiving your reaction, with friendly greetings,

FG
Amsterdam, Holland

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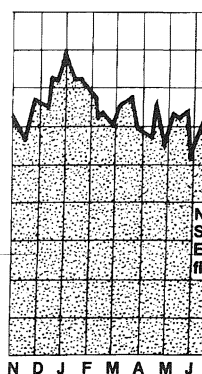
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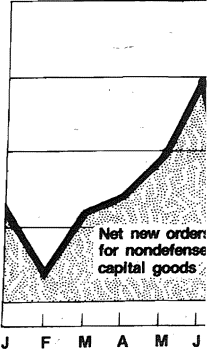
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12-MONTH TREND IN ST



SLUMP IN ORDERS OF CAPITAL GOODS



U.S. Economy Heads Toward Crisis



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In the last few weeks, a wave of layoffs has spread through many basic industries in the U.S. economy. Tens of thousands of steelworkers are on the streets in Youngstown, Ohio, and Johnstown, Pennsylvania. Thousands of copper miners and smelters in Arizona have been laid off. Three of the four major rubber companies—Firestone, Goodyear and Uniroyal—have dismissed over 2,000 workers. Zenith Corporation is planning to lay off about 25 percent of its workers in the next year.

For four months in a row the New York Stock Exchange prices have gone down. The U.S. economy is sliding toward another recession, far worse than the recession of 1974-75. President Carter and some of the bankers and bosses claim the economy is heading up. This is nonsense and they know it. Let's see how an economic recovery happens.

The capitalists make profits by exploiting the working class. They pay us just enough to survive and

keep all the rest. They then take their profits and reinvest them in order to make more profits. When the economy is in an upswing, the amount of goods and profits increases, and the capitalists invest the profits in new production. The volume of goods continues to increase month after month. The capitalists expand production and build new factories. Jobs are created. In a strong recovery, unemployment goes down and the capitalists invest in more modern machinery, new factories and other methods which increase the amount of goods produced.

Capitalists pocket profits; little new investment

What has been actually occurring since 1975, the beginning of the current so-called recovery, is different from what was just described. Instead of investing in new machinery and factories, the capitalists are pocketing what they can get for themselves right now, as the economy heads toward deep trouble.

One of the most important indications of the sickness of the economy is the fall in the price of stock shares on the New York Stock Exchange. The New York Stock Exchange is the place where all the major corporations in the U.S.—such as GM, Ford, Chrysler, U.S. Steel, Exxon—sell and trade their shares of stock. A share of stock in a company entitles its owner to a share of the profits of that company. The prices of most stocks listed on the Exchange have fallen since July. The Dow Jones average of share prices of major industrial companies has fallen by almost 10 percent in three months.

When the large capitalist investors believe that there are years of steady recovery ahead, they are happy to invest large sums of money because they expect to share in the profits of the capitalist corporations. Stock prices fall when the large banks, insurance companies, pension funds and investment companies don't believe that the economy will continue to grow over the next period. They are afraid that the companies whose stock they purchase will not grow and will not make large profits.

If that happens, they are not likely to make a large profit themselves on the money invested in stock. And they won't invest. When banks and investors hold back investment funds, the price of stock shares falls.

Another indication of economic sickness is the large number of workers who can't find jobs. Today, over 7 percent of the entire U.S.

working class don't have jobs. The rate for Black workers is over twice that high—the highest rate for Blacks since the end of World War II. Almost one out of every two Black youths can't find a job. These are official government figures. The real figures are much higher.

Recovery is weak

These statistics are another indication that large corporations do not believe that the economy is in a strong recovery. Companies refuse to hire large numbers of new workers because they are not sure that in four or six months they will be able to sell the additional production. The capitalists are worried about making a large profit. They do not want to have a too-large workforce or goods which they cannot sell.

Instead, companies are trying to squeeze more work out of a smaller number of workers. Those workers who have jobs are expected to work harder and longer while thousands of brothers and sisters have no jobs at all. There are fewer new jobs during this so-called recovery than during any other period of recovery since World War II.

The capitalists are also closing older factories which they are not

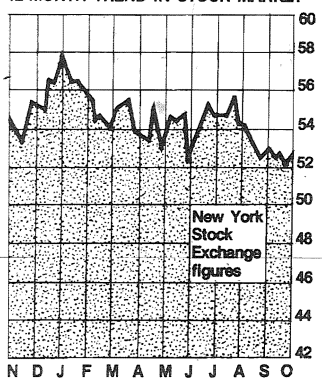
willing to modernize. Uniroyal closed an old plant in Indianapolis, throwing 500 workers out on the street. Goodyear is cutting back at its old factory in Akron, Ohio, and the steel companies are cutting back jobs at many older factories. The closing of old factories and layoffs in heavy industry, particularly steel, show that a sickness exists in the basic industry right at the heart of the economy.

The steel mills are old and falling apart, and few new mills or equipment are being built. No investors or bankers want to put their money into rebuilding the steel industry. The lack of investment in steel is the clearest example of the fact that bankers and factory owners are not willing to invest their profits in new factories or machinery, or in modernizing old factories. Spending on new factories has been low since 1975.

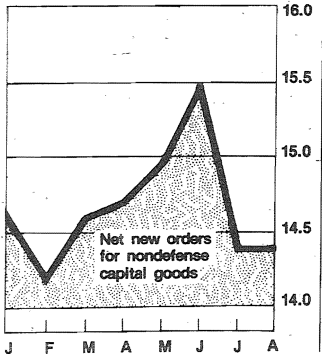
Unlike real recoveries, this so-called recovery is based totally on consumer demand for products, especially for new cars. The auto companies like GM and Ford have made record profits for the first six months of the year—\$2 billion for GM and over \$1 billion for Ford. But the high sales of consumer goods has not helped basic industries like steel,

(Continued on page 16)

12-MONTH TREND IN STOCK MARKET



SLUMP IN ORDERS OF CAPITAL GOODS



Peanuts for the South Bronx

New York City is electing a mayor in November, so the Democrats brought Jimmy Carter down to the South Bronx. He was there to get some votes for their candidate, Ed Koch. They took Carter over to Washington Avenue to see some boarded-up buildings. The area looks like a bombed-out war zone. Carter said he was ashamed of how the place looked. Then he shook hands with the voters. That sounds real nice. But the South Bronx looked like that before he ever heard of it. It won't look any different now that he has seen it.

Carter won't do anything for the workers—in the South Bronx or anywhere else. Things will get better only if we ourselves fight for what we need. We need jobs! We need housing, schools, health care centers, day care centers... you name it. If they taxed the banks and corporations, the government would have the money to build these things, and there would be plenty of jobs.

But don't hold your breath. Capitalist governments don't go around taxing the capitalists to provide for the workers. They put the squeeze on us to provide big profits for the capitalists. Only a powerful mass movement of workers can force the money out of them to give us jobs, to rebuild the cities, to improve our living conditions.

The RSL is fighting to build this kind of movement as part of our fight for socialist revolution. We are organizing in the South Bronx now, to fight for jobs and all the things workers need. Join this movement and fight together with us! For more information on what we are doing, call: (212) 869-9239; write: Revolutionary Socialist League, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

Smash the Nazis!

(Continued from page 1)
were labeled "critically overcrowded." Parents in these neighborhoods now have the choice of sending their children to schools in nearby white areas. These schools are less crowded and conditions are somewhat better. This program is small-scale and only 1,000 children have been bused so far.

Small as the busing plan is, it sent the racists in the community out to do their dirty work. They have exploited the prejudices and racist fears of white parents and youth. They have mobilized hundreds of whites for mob actions.

Bogan High School

Bogan High School is the center of all of this. Bogan itself isn't involved in the busing plan. But the racists try to mobilize the white youth at Bogan to terrorize the Black and Latin children who are bused into nearby elementary schools. This plan is working.

On September 12, hundreds of Bogan students left their classes at noon. They crowded outside to protest the voluntary busing plan. Eddie Marble and Eddie Robinson, two Black men, stopped their car for a traffic light next to the school. Many young whites surrounded and beat on the car, shouting racist filth. The men in the car refused to be intimidated—they did some of their own shouting.

Four men in the mob, who turned out to be plain-clothes cops, saw this and jumped into the car. They arrested Marble and Robinson. The two men were taken to a fire station. The cops maced and beat Robinson. And now the cops are charging Marble and Robinson with disorderly conduct and assault with a deadly weapon.

This is just one of many racist incidents. The night before Marble and Robinson were arrested, more than 1,000 whites held a racist rally in Bogan Park. A few days earlier, a crowd of white women stood in front of Stevenson Elementary School. They threatened and insulted the Black children leaving the school. At the beginning of September, a racist cop gunned down a 13-year-old Black youth.

More recently, on September 26, six white youths jumped Darryl King. King was beaten and pistol-whipped. When he came to, blood was running from his eyes because of internal injuries. King is now in the hospital.

Just northeast of the Bogan area is Marquette Park, where racist violence has been going on for years. Whites in the Marquette Park area are determined to keep Black people out of the area. The Nazi Party (National Socialist White People's Party) has made the Marquette Park area its home.

The Nazis do not yet lead the racist packs at Bogan High School. But now they are making Bogan their first priority. They are trying to get into the Bogan Parents Council—a racist group that is active in the terror campaign against Black and Latin children.

Defense committee formed

The Nazis, and the racists in general, are a big threat to all working people, as well as Black and Latin people. The Nazis grow when

ever they score cheap victories, gang-ing up on an individual or harassing young people. This is why the Revolutionary Socialist League initiated the Black and White Defense Committee.

The RSL does not believe that busing will solve the problems of the rotting inner-city school system. But the RSL completely defends the right of Black and Latin children to go to whatever school they choose. The



Nazis incite racism, anti-Semitism. Today they attack Blacks; tomorrow, all workers.

Black and White Defense Committee was set up to build a united working-class defense to protect these children from racist terror.

On the opening day of school this fall, the Black and White Defense Committee escorted a group of Black children into one of the all-white elementary schools. The Committee was there to make sure there would be no attacks on the young children. The Committee will provide this kind of defense whenever it is necessary.

The Committee has also shown films to educate people on what the Nazis are all about, and why the capitalist system needs racism.

On September 8, the Committee held a streetcorner rally in a Black community on the southwest side. Committee speakers explained that the Committee plans to fight the racist attacks by physically dealing with them whenever they occur.

The Committee is building the fight against the racists by organizing working and oppressed people against the real enemy, the capitalist system. Speakers explained that the capitalist system is falling apart and can't provide decent housing, jobs and education for all. And since the capitalists can't provide it for all, they want sections of the working class to fight each other for the crumbs the capitalists are willing to provide.

As long as this goes on, the Nazis will have an easy time recruiting people to their racist anti-working-class lies. What is needed, speakers at the rally explained, is a movement that fights for the needs of all workers. Such a movement can unite all workers to overthrow capitalism, build socialism and liberate all the people.

All workers and oppressed people who want to fight the racist attacks should join the Committee, take part in its actions and encourage everyone they know to join.

To contact the Black and White Defense Committee, write in care of: Revolutionary Socialist League, PO Box 8062, Chicago, Illinois 60680. □

How to Fight the Nazis

A Revolutionary Strategy

In Chicago and elsewhere around the country, the Nazis and similar racist groups are growing. They are building support among sections of the white working class, as well as the middle class.

The whites in the Chicago neighborhoods where the racist attacks are on the rise are relatively privileged. They are better off than Blacks, Latins, Asians and other oppressed sections of the working class.

These whites are workers and are exploited by the capitalists. But they have been bribed into supporting capitalism. During the post-World War II period, they managed to get a piece of the pie—a decent job, a house, maybe the chance to send their kids to college. In return for their privileges and their white skin badge, they became rabid supporters of capitalism, imperialism and the racist poison that holds it together.

But today, capitalism is falling apart. The system is no longer strong enough to bribe the white workers. To maintain their rotting system, the capitalists are attacking all sections of the working class, not just the more oppressed sections. Unemployment, rising prices, higher taxes and decaying cities are slashing away at the living standards of white workers as well as Black, Latin and Asian workers.

In this situation, the more ignorant white workers, along with sections of the middle class, are starting to panic. They are scared to death that the little piece of the pie they managed to get will be taken away from them. They don't know why it's happening, or what to do about it. In their confusion, they are lashing out at the people they think are their enemies—Blacks, Latins and other oppressed groups.

This is what the Nazis are feeding on. The Nazis play on the worst racist

fears that U.S. capitalism has drilled into the heads of the more backward white workers. The Nazis point their finger at Black and Latin workers and tell the white workers: "Here are the people who are taking your jobs. They are taking your money to pay the welfare rolls. The cities are decay-

nizations and deliver the workers over to the capitalists as slaves.

Today, the Nazis are small. But as capitalism falls apart, they will grow, feeding off the hysteria of middle-class people and sections of the white workers. And as history shows, the Nazis can grow very rapidly in a



1976 march against Nazis in Chicago. Workers must organize to stop racist attacks.

ing. It's all the fault of the Blacks, the Latins, the Asians. Follow us and we'll crush them and wipe them out."

And many white workers, who see no way out of the crisis, believe these lies.

But the white workers who support the Nazis and other racist organizations are cutting their own throats. The Nazis are not just after Blacks, Latins, Asians and other oppressed people. Their program is more than racism and genocide. Their real aim is to smash the entire working class. They want to destroy the trade unions and other working-class orga-

period of economic crisis.

As the Nazis grow, they will look more and more appealing to the capitalists. In response to the capitalists' attack, the workers will step up their struggle. They will organize strikes, demonstrations and other forms of struggle against capitalism. The capitalists will look for a club to beat down the workers. And the Nazis will always be ready to be the capitalists' tool.

When the capitalists are pressed to the wall, they will turn to the Nazis to solve their problems. In a last ditch

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(Continued on page 16)

Native American Women Sterilized

Stop the Genocide!

Native Americans are a people the racist, capitalist government has plundered, murdered and oppressed for years. The Native American people have always fought back. They have fought for their culture. They have fought to hold on to what land they still own and win back what was stolen from them. And they have fought for the right to run their own lives. The Revolutionary Socialist League supports the struggles of the Native American people.

The United States empire was built on the bones of millions upon millions of Native Americans. The government's policy has always been genocide—the murder of an entire people, the Native Americans. There were 13 million Native Americans in the United States in 1800. Today there are less than one million.

Forced sterilization is genocide

This racist policy of genocide goes on today. The government is forcing thousands of Native American wom-



Native Americans fight for land and dignity.

en to have an operation, surgical sterilization, that will prevent them from ever having children.

Native American women are told that they must have this operation or their welfare payments will be cut off. They are forced to have this opera-

tion when they come into the hospital to have a baby, when they are all doped-up from drugs after child-birth, or while they are in labor.

Young women are called "polluters" and sterilized by government doctors because they have children when they are young. One woman was sterilized because her government doctor believes that "Indian women's tissues are different."

Forced sterilization is government policy

Forced sterilization is government policy. Native American women are sterilized by doctors who work for the government.

Here are the facts:

- The U.S. government has a department called the Indian Health Service (IHS). Over 125,000 women between the ages of 15 and 45 go to IHS doctors. At least 25,000—one out of every five—have been sterilized.

- A Native American doctor spoke with 1,000 women who were sterilized. All but one said they had the operation because their IHS doctor ordered it.

- One out of four Native Americans who went to Claremore Hospital in Oklahoma in 1973 were sterilized.

- All women of the Kew Tribe of Oklahoma have been sterilized.

- One U.S. government report says that there won't be any full-blooded Native Americans in 15 years if this continues.

Support Self-Defense for Gay Women

Two Black gay women—Cynthia Rogers and Deborah Posey—will go on trial January 3, 1978. They are charged with felonious assault because they dared to defend themselves against harassment by their anti-gay landlady and her daughters. The harassment included verbal abuse and physical attacks—and had the cooperation of the police.

As reported in last month's Torch-La Antorcha, the landlady had threatened and insulted these two women ever since she found out they were lesbians. On August 24, Deborah Posey found the landlady's daughter throwing bricks at her children and



Minnie Lee Relf (14) and her sister Mary Alice (11), sterilized by the capitalist state.

This racist genocide must be stopped. It is part of an attack on all working-class and poor women.

The Relf sisters, two Black women in Alabama, were forcibly sterilized when one was 12 and the other was 16 years old. Many more young Black women face the same abuse.

In Puerto Rico, nearly half of all women of child-bearing age have been sterilized.

Two million Medicaid sterilizations are now done each year. And just who is sterilized under Medicaid? Working-class women, Native American women, Black women, Latin women, Asian women and poor white women. Unless these attacks are turned back, any poor or working-class woman

could be a victim in the future.

The government has no right to decide who has children and who doesn't. All working-class and oppressed women have the right to have children.

Genocide must stop: Our children are our future

Our children are our future. When the working class and oppressed people rise up and overthrow this rotten capitalist system, our children will be in the front lines with us in the fight for socialism.

**STOP
FORCED STERILIZATIONS!**

dog as they played in the front yard. The daughter then attacked Posey with a butcher knife and sent her to the hospital. When the police found out the victim of this attack is gay, they told her she couldn't press charges.

The next day, another fight started and the landlady's daughters got hurt. This time, the police came right away and arrested Posey and Rogers.

If these women go to jail, it will be a defeat for gay people everywhere. The police gave the landlady a green light to attack Posey and Rogers. If they are convicted for defending themselves, it will encourage bigots everywhere to attack gay people.

We must support these gay sisters who refused to submit to their oppression. In this sexist capitalist society, gay people are expected to be ashamed of their gayness and afraid to fight back. These sisters were not afraid. They stood up for their right to be lesbians. They defended themselves against attack. They fought back.

The RSL and the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee (RAC) have started the Gay Rights Defense Committee, which is building support for Posey and Rogers. All working people—gay and straight—should support them.

The rulers of this society try to divide us by spreading prejudice and pitting one group against another. They spread lies about gay people, Black people, women and all of the victims of capitalism. In this way, they try to prevent the entire working class from uniting against

our common enemy—the capitalist rulers. And they do more than spread lies about us. They systematically oppress us—making life miserable for all working and oppressed people. When we fight back, their police move in to keep us down. To defeat the capitalists, we must support the right of all oppressed people to defend themselves.

Cynthia Rogers and Deborah Posey stood up and defended themselves. Now they need your help. What can you do? First, they need money to pay for a lawyer. They have to raise \$3,000, and these sisters do not have that kind of money. Your contribution is needed. Second, they need people to publicize and build support for their defense. If you can send money or want to work with the Defense Committee, write: Gay Rights Defense Committee, P.O. Box 503, Detroit, Michigan 48221. □

RSL Protests Raids on Gay Bars

On September 24, the Revolutionary Socialist League held a demonstration to protest police raids on gay bars in Chicago. Thirty people, gay and straight, men and women, Black, Latin and white, picketed outside a police building in Chicago. The demonstration called for an end to the raids on gay bars and an end to the harassment of the Mexican and Puerto Rican communities.

In recent weeks, five gay bars in the Chicago area have been raided by the police. This is another step in the growing harassment of gay people all over the country. One of the gains of the gay movement of a few years ago was to get the police out of the gay bars in Chicago and other cities. The ruling class is now moving to take back the small gains that were won.

The police raids are not just attacks on gay people. They are part of an attack on the whole working class and all oppressed people. An incident at El Infierno shows that clearly. On September 13, the police narcotics squad raided El Infierno, a gay bar in a Mexican neighborhood of Chicago. They were supposedly looking for drugs. Gay women and men were shoved up against the wall and searched. Many people were asked to produce "green cards" or citizenship papers.

The working class needs a united movement to defend all workers and oppressed people from the capitalists' attacks.

Detroit Cabaret

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12
9 pm UNTIL ...

(Fund raiser for legal defense of two gay women)

Sponsored by: GAY RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

St. John's Community Hall
14868 Schaefer Road
(South of Chalfonte)

Donation: \$3.00 advance \$3.50 at the door (Food and Set-ups Available)

SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF GAYS TO SELF-DEFENSE!

BYOB



Free Robert L. Lynn!

Robert L. Lynn, a Black man, is imprisoned in the Trenton State Prison in New Jersey. Two years ago, he was convicted of a crime he didn't commit and given a 53- to 60-year sentence.

On November 25, 1974, a bank in North Brunswick, New Jersey, was robbed of \$63,000. During the robbery, Michael Kohut, a cop, was shot.

More than six hours after the robbery, Lynn was picked up, handcuffed and thrown into a cop car. The cops told Lynn he was being held as a "material witness."

On November 27, the state changed its line. Lynn was now supposedly the bank robber. In reality, Lynn never even saw the robbery.

The trial, which began six months later, was a farce. John High, a witness to the shooting, said that Lynn was the robber. But six months before, High had been unable to identify Lynn.

Pat Adams worked at the bank when it was robbed. She stated that the robber wore a full ski-mask and stood 40 feet from her. But she said she knew Lynn was the robber—she claimed she recognized his left eye!

A cop, Walter Seredy, stated that he never saw the robber's face—but he too was sure that Lynn was the robber.

An all-white jury found Lynn guilty of bank robbery, possession of a deadly weapon, and assault with attempt to kill.

Robert Lynn has been in prison for more than two years. He is still fighting for his freedom. He needs your support. Contributions and letters of support can be sent to: **Robert L. Lynn Defense Fund, 205 Williams Street, Rahway, New Jersey 07065.**

Prisoner Fights for Medical Care

On September 19, Juan Garcia, a prisoner at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville, began a hunger strike. He struck in order to get medical treatment that he desperately needs.

Months before, Garcia had a hemorrhoid operation. During the operation, the doctor accidentally cut Garcia's intestines. Because of this, he needs a second operation. The keepers will not allow this.

Garcia's family, although they are very poor, have had to go thousands of dollars into debt in order to get a lawyer. They also had to arrange for a specialist.

But the prison administration will allow nothing to be done for Garcia. They will not negotiate with the lawyer. They will not allow the specialist to do anything. And the prison medical staff has tried to send Garcia to the psychiatry department!

Garcia remains on hunger strike. Letters of support, or requests for more information, should be sent to: **Juan Garcia #124-843, PO Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699.**

Spanish-Speaking Prisoners Win Victory

Spanish-speaking prisoners in the state of Connecticut recently won an important victory. According to a letter sent to the **Torch/La Antorcha** by a prisoner at Somers prison, education for Spanish-speaking prisoners is going to be improved.

The promised improvements are the result of a fight waged by Hector Acosta, a Somers prisoner. Acosta had been exposing the almost non-existent education programs for Spanish-speaking prisoners. He wrote letters to newspapers. He filed complaints with Connecticut's Governor and with the Director of the Department of Corrections.

Because of this, the state has come up with an extra \$3,500 for education for Spanish-speaking prisoners. This is a victory. And it shows that larger victories can be won when prisoners fight for them.

Marion Keepers Withhold TORCH /LA ANTORCHA

The keepers at Marion Federal Prison in Illinois withheld the September 15-October 14 issue of the **Torch/La Antorcha** from prisoners there. The **Torch/La Antorcha** is regularly withheld from prisoners at Marion. In a letter to the **Torch/La Antorcha**, the prison administrators wrote:

"The article on 'Slave Labor at Angola Pen' has as the main theme organization and unity of inmates against correctional institutions. This philosophy guides individual inmates into situations which can cause themselves and other inmates problems with the posted regulations of this institution. Additionally, this type of material on institutions has a tendency to develop an adversary attitude by inmates towards staff, which can cause an unhealthy environment in this institution. This type of attitude is detrimental to the good orderly running of this institution."

In other words, the **Torch/La Antorcha** tells the truth. We tell prisoners and all working and oppressed people that the prisons are tools of the capitalists. The **Torch/La Antorcha** clearly states that prisoners are the brothers and sisters of working and oppressed people outside of the prisons. And we say that prisoners can aid in building the revolutionary party to overthrow capitalism and its prisons. This is what creates an "unhealthy environment" for the keepers at Marion and at all prisons.

The keepers' "concern" with keeping the brothers at Marion from things which may cause them problems is a lot of bullshit. The keepers were not concerned when Hillier "Red" Hayes died because of conditions at the control unit at Marion (see article on Behavior Modification). The keepers' only real concern is to beat prisoners into line. And all the liberal-sounding letters in the world can't hide this fact.

In brief: On September 15, Judge Phillip Pratt postponed sentencing in the trial of Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez. These two Filipino nurses were framed for the deaths of patients in a veterans' hospital in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The judge ordered them sent to Alderson Prison in West Virginia to undergo 90 days of psychiatric testing.

—FH

Prisoners Write: To End Our Oppression— We Must Unite!

It is not enough to just cry: "Unity, UNITY." We have to analyze why there isn't unity, figure out who is responsible for the lack of unity, and ask the people jamming things up to make the necessary changes. We are divided and deformed, and we have lots of work to do among ourselves to undo the terrible damage the system has done to us. It is impossible to talk about liberating ourselves in any degree when we have the state's boot on our necks, and our own boot on our brothers' and sisters' necks, when we are at each others' throats.

White racism must be overcome—white people must reach out to Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Indian sisters and brothers, and our third world sisters and brothers must help. Whites are programmed racists, and in a way our brothers and sisters of the third world are racist in their attitudes towards whites. The latter is a defense-survival program, but nonetheless it is not right, and to get unity we must drop some of our defenses and try to work with each other. Robbing, beating and raping each other because of color is what the system wants within prisons. We as prisoners are all of one class, and we should be together to deal with the only enemy of us all.

White prisoners have long been the biggest allies of the prison administration. The white prisoner must

many white prisoners played active roles as well.

The white guards went over to the white prisoners, who they lock up each night and consider scum, and said: "Hey, what's the beef, what do you want to go along with those niggers for? What do you want? A new job in the commissary, an extra sandwich at night, some letters taken out for you? You don't need this protest, we can give you a softer bit than these niggers can." And then, the threats: "Hey, I thought you wanted to get out on parole. Gee, I hope you weren't planning to get out soon, 'cause the way you're goin', you're gonna wrap up your bit." And then some more racism: "Do you really think these spics and niggers care about you? All they're fighting for is some hair combs for nigger hair. What's wrong with your hair? You don't need that stuff. And I heard that after this thing is over they're gonna stab all the whites anyway. But then again, it's up to you."

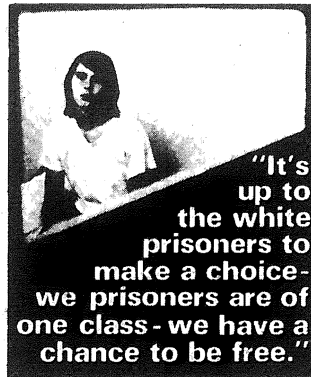
Whites have to make a choice

The guards are right. It's up to the white prisoners to make a choice. We have a chance to break out of the horrible racist traditions of our people. We have a chance to finally stop being the most backward, brain-washed, reactionary group of oppressed people in the world. We have a chance to be free.

We have to build real communities inside these prisons. We have to begin by confronting our racism for what it is, ignorant programming. We must respect each other. We must stop preying on each other and our weak. We talk about respect, and we talk about how bad we hurt each other, but we have to stand up against all this. We have to stand up against the racist bullshit in our midst. We have to stand up against gangsterism in our midst. We have to organize ourselves to protect our weak, to educate ourselves, to deal with the problems in prison, of prison, and to deal with the system that enslaves us all regardless of our color, or strength.

We must not be afraid of each other. We must love each other and help each other do more than survive here. The only way to end our oppression is for us to unite as the one we really are. No one will do it for us.

**Men Against Sexism,
Prisoners Justice Committee,
Washington State Prison**



make a choice. He or she is part of a prison population where things are finally moving in a positive direction, and many third world prisoners are leading the way in that new direction.

During a strike at Deer Island Massachusetts, over 250 guys were out on the ballfield to protest against a long list of horrible conditions. The strike was led by Black prisoners, but

Build the Prisoner Literature Fund!



The Struggle Continues
**PRISONERS'
MESSAGES TO THE
DAY OF SOLIDARITY**
September 11, 1977

We need donations to help us supply revolutionary literature to prisoners. Everyone who sends us a donation or monthly pledge will receive the pamphlet, "Prisoners' Messages to the Day of Solidarity." Help build the revolutionary struggle in the prisons!

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What Is "Behavior Modification?"

Keepers Torture Prisoners

By FRANK HOPKINS

Today, in prisons across the country, thousands of prisoners are subjected to mind-control procedures called behavior modification. All of the latest innovations of psychology and drug technology are used on prisoners.

Prison administrators and psychologists who support behavior modification claim that it is a useful part of "rehabilitating" the people in prison. They claim that it aids in returning prisoners to society outside the prison walls.

In reality, behavior modification plays a useful role only to the prison

previously damaged and which could serve as the focus for episodes of violent behavior" would be surgically removed. To keep prisoners "in line," the keepers are preparing to cut apart their brains and turn them into vegetables.

But the rulers have, so far, been unable to get away with the butcher-shop techniques of mind-control which they want to use. Instead, they use other more "respectable" forms of terror.

A complaint filed by Donald Snook, a prisoner at Walla Walla, shows some of the behavior modification techniques: "In September of 1974, Snook was again placed in bed

make people apprehensive as to the effect it is having."

Tranquilizers are forced on prisoners in such massive amounts, over such a long period of time, that many prisoners have died from liver poisoning due to these drugs. Prolixin also makes people impotent and causes heart attacks.

Other drugs are used for what is called "aversion therapy." In aversion therapy, drugs that create terrifying experiences are given to a prisoner. At the same time, staff members lecture the prisoner on what the prisoner did "wrong."

One drug used for this is apomorphine, which causes violent vomiting. Far worse, however, is the use of massive amounts of a powerful muscle relaxant called anectine. This drug stops a person, from breathing for two or three minutes. This creates the feeling that you are drowning. And while you feel on the edge of death, you get the lecture. The rehabilitation experts think this will convince the prisoner to change his behavior.

The head of the Research Division of the California Department of Corrections defended the use of anectine torture by saying: "If it could be shown empirically that hitting an inmate on the head with a hammer would cure him, I'd do it. You talk about his civil rights. Civil rights for what? To continue to disrupt society?"

The many forms of brainwashing used in their various combinations can often have a devastating effect. On August 8, Hiller "Red" Hayes died in the control unit at Marion Federal Prison in Illinois. Hayes had diabetes, heart trouble and a skin ailment. Still the keepers subjected him to conditions in the unit. Three deaths had happened in the control unit previous to Hayes'. They have all been called suicides.

The techniques used in the behavior modification units are so de-

structive that what is termed suicide is really murder. The Walla Walla Brothers report that early in 1976, Fred Westphal, a prisoner in the Mental Health Unit at Walla Walla, asked one of his keepers, Pete Morgan, for a cigarette. Morgan replied: "I'll give you a cigarette but you better hang yourself or I'll send these attendants to your cell." Twenty minutes later, Westphal was dead. An attendant helped him tie the noose. This was termed a "suicide."

Behavior modification units are the worst torture chambers the capitalists have been able to come up with. But these units are only the most brutal attempt to get people to submit to capitalism. The ruling class does this same kind of thing all throughout this society. As the conditions in the U.S. get worse, the rulers more and more look for ways to force people to submit. For working and oppressed people, society as a whole looks increasingly like it does inside the prisons.

The behavior psychologists and their friends in the ruling class are preparing to unleash their behavior modification techniques on all of society. Dr. James McConnell, a University of Michigan expert on "mental health," has said: "The day has come when we can combine sensory deprivation with the use of drugs, hypnosis and acute manipulation of reward and punishment to gain almost absolute control over an individual's behavior."

"We want to reshape our society drastically, so that all of us will be trained from birth to want to do what society wants us to do."

"Today's behavioral psychologists are the architects and engineers who are shaping the brave new world of tomorrow."

This is what the capitalists have in store for the working and oppressed people of this country and the world. The capitalists' logic is clear. If they have to turn people into vegetables in order to ensure that they stay on top, then people will be turned into vegetables.

We must smash capitalism. We must put behavior modification to death by putting to death the system that needs it. □



keepers and the capitalist rulers of the country.

Dr. William H. Hunter, who has run the "Mental Health" Unit at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, is up-front about his theory of behavior modification. He says: "I have broken horses all my life, and if I can do that, I can break any man."

The purpose of behavior modification is to break prisoners—to force them to accept the rules of this sick society. All the rhetoric about "rehabilitation" can't hide this. Behavior modification is used against revolutionary prisoners, Muslim organizers and all other prisoners who fight against the oppression of imprisonment in any way. Behavior modification has one and only one purpose—to try to beat the fight out of prisoners.

The essence of behavior modification is terror—mental and physical. All are forms of positive and negative reinforcement. If you give in to the keepers, you get positive reinforcement. You get to watch television. You get to help the staff boss the other prisoners in the unit.

But if you don't give in to the keepers, if you continue to fight, then you get negative reinforcement. This comes in many different forms. You get tied up. You get beaten. You get treated to sensory deprivation. You get forced to take mind-destroying drugs. You get framed on charges of "being unable to adjust" and shipped off to mental institutions. There you get electro-shock therapy, which also destroys your brain and scars your body.

The ruling class intends to go a lot further with the brainwashing techniques than they have been able to get so far. In 1971, the press got hold of a letter by the California Director of Prisons requesting \$48,000 for neurosurgical "treatment" of prisoners. The letter stated that the centers of the brain "which had been

restraints and left unattended to the point where it became necessary for him to urinate on himself. An attendant mopped the urine from the floor and wrung it out on Snook's face and body. He was left in restraints for approximately three days."

Prisoners are frequently beaten. In a statement by the Walla Walla Brothers on behavior modification at that prison, they explain: "Any time resident attendants feel that a prisoner is in need of therapeutic discipline, one of their options is to spank him. The victim is placed on a table or chained to a bed while spanked with a belt. Prisoners have been given up to 100 swats, until blood is drawn and they are bruised from the back to the legs."

Donald Snooks' complaint also describes one form of sensory deprivation: "During the month of July 1976, Snook was placed naked in a strip cell, held incommunicado, denied bedding and toilet paper and, at all times, food. He remained this way for nine days, was refused showers, exercise and would be sprayed with a hose for complaining." The idea of sensory deprivation is to take away all physical and mental contact with the outside world in order to make a person extremely open to suggestion.

Because the keepers do not yet have the go-ahead to hack prisoners' brains apart, they use drugs to try to burn out the minds of prisoners.

Powerful tranquilizers like prolixin and thiorazine are shoved down prisoners' throats. These drugs are extremely powerful depressants. The effects of prolixin can last for weeks.

La Raza Unida, a group of Chicano prisoners in California, filed a petition against the use of prolixin. In the petition they stated: "The simple fact that a number of prisoners are walking around the yards of this institution like somnambulists, robots and vegetables as a result of this drug should be reason enough to

"Kill the Monster Before It Kills Us"

Uhuru,

After reading and discussing the *Torch/La Antorcha*, we of the October 30th Revolutionary Collective feel that your newspaper is by far the most revolutionary in the capitalist empire. We had to struggle to receive the *Torch/La Antorcha*, while they let the *Panther*, *Workers World*, *Revolution*, the *Militant*, the *Guardian*, the *Burning Spear* and many other so-called revolutionary newspapers in the prison. We had to really fight to get the *Torch/La Antorcha*. I thank you once again for helping us win the struggle that we could never have won without the support of the Revolutionary Socialist League.

The RSL is the only organization whose aim is to build an international party of the working class, which can lead the struggle for revolution on a world scale. Every true revolutionary should support your activities, should take part in your work.

Oppressed people everywhere must stop letting the capitalists fool them. Black people are now crying about the fact that they put Carter in the White House, about the fact that Carter hasn't and never really planned to do anything for Black and oppressed people. The fact is Carter doesn't run the empire, he could never do all those things he said he would do. They would kill him. Benjamin Hooks, Vernon Jordan, Patten Mitchell and many other Blacks may mean well in getting on Carter's back, but they will get nothing, maybe a small handout, but nothing that will help the masses.

When Carter said he had no apologies to make, he meant it from his dirty heart and we all should have learned from that statement. We should be sick of promises and compromises. This administration like those before it and any future ones will not help the oppressed. You know this and we of the Collective know this. Together we will make the world know it. We must face reality, we must stop talking and begin to change this world, and we can only change this world through revolution.

Why do we need revolution, what will it be like after the revolution? What can you (I mean the masses of oppressed people) do to help the struggle? The RSL has all the answers. We have to make a better world for our children because the children are the flowers of our revolution and the principal reason for our fight. You say you don't want to die—they'll kill you anyway, so join the struggle and let's kill the Monster before it kills us.

Give my regards to everyone and please take care,

With love and unity,
Name withheld,
Ashland Federal Youth Prison

Chrysler and Courts Gang Up On Trenton Strikers

By a WORKER CORRESPONDENT

DETROIT—Chrysler has fired seven autoworkers from its Trenton Engine plant for leading the heat walkout last July. The State of Michigan—acting for Chrysler—is pressing legal charges against these seven workers for contempt of court. This is for failing to obey a court order to stop picketing at the plant.

Judge Feikel used to be Chrysler's lawyer before he started working directly for the state. He is still "working" for Chrysler and has refused the Trenton seven a jury trial. He knows that no jury in Detroit would convict the seven workers, who include one UAW Executive Board member, one chief steward and one alternate chief steward.

Throughout the summer, autoworkers walked out over the heat and vicious working conditions in plants around the country. In Detroit, Chrysler fired 59 militants, but was forced to rehire 52 of the 59. The strongest action—a week-long wildcat strike at the Trenton Engine Plant in Detroit—was met with the

strongest attack by the auto bosses.

Workers around the country have begun to rally in support of the Trenton Seven. Resolutions of support have been passed at union

meetings in Buffalo, New York, and at the Dearborn Stamping Plant unit of Ford Rouge (Local 600) in Detroit.

On September 19, when the hearing of the Seven opened, over 125 supporters packed the courtroom and the hallways. In front of the Federal Building, about 45 workers (including supporters of the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee) had a picket and rally in support of the Trenton workers.

When the Trenton workers walked out and stayed out for a week, they were not aware that they were acting in the interests of every single worker in this country. But their action—which they saw as defending their basic rights—is helping to build the struggle in the auto plants.

The bosses are singling them out and are attacking us through them. The bosses' attack on these seven workers is directed against our organizing attempts and against our ability to make this organization effective. Their attack is directed against our right to strike. If they can throw the Trenton workers in jail for six months and fine them \$1,000 for walking a picket line, they will not hesitate to use these same measures against us.

It is absolutely necessary for workers around the country to support the Trenton Seven. It was united action that forced Chrysler to rehire the 52 workers. We must force them to drop the charges and rehire the Trenton Seven with full back pay! □

Strikers Need Revolutionary Leadership

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

While away for vacation, I spent part of the time visiting strikes and talking to workers.

In one particular instance, a graphics union strike, five weeks old, a union-busting attempt by the company had succeeded in making 44 members resign from the union. These workers then crossed picket lines and went back to work with protection from the sheriff. Even after all this, the majority of workers wanted to stay out and continue the strike.

In another strike, the union leaders told workers to accept the contract that was offered by the company and had succeeded in persuading a good number of workers to accept it. But the contract vote still lost by

a slim margin. The workers who rejected the contract said they would stay out all winter if they had to.

These instances show that people are beginning to fight back.

The strike where the vote lost by a slim margin shows that half those workers are willing, and see the need, to fight, while the rest don't. But these other workers might later be willing to join their brothers and sisters on the picket line if they have the proper leadership.

Both strikes lack revolutionary leadership, without which they will surely fail. This is why the RSL must be built and grow to provide the leadership that the working class needs for victory, socialism, the rule of the working class.

From my own experience with the left, the League is the only group which doesn't lead people on, like groups like the October League (now the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist) and the Revolutionary Communist Party do—by which I mean that the League doesn't hide the fact that they're communists, and they don't work with people and then later spring on them the need for socialism.

The RSL's strike support work doesn't consist of just walking the picket lines for striking workers. They try to spread the strike, raise funds for the strikers, and provide revolutionary leadership and a direction to follow.

This is why I feel the League must be built to achieve the final victory.
A Chicago reader



Death on the Job

One out of every four workers in this country faces death or disease due to health hazards on the job. That was the finding of a federal report released in early October.

Federal safety inspectors visited nearly 5,000 plants between 1972 and 1974. Among other things, they found that 880,000 workers are directly exposed to the 17 cancer-causing agents regulated by the government. The overwhelming majority of these workers get no protective equipment and no medical tests. Thousands of workers die needlessly from cancer every year, because the capitalists refuse to clean up the factories.

Jimmy Carter has said the government will do nothing, because spending money on health and safety would be "inflationary."

Dock Strike Hits East Coast

Over 35,000 dockworkers struck the East Coast ports from Maine to Texas on October 1. The workers are members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The ILA leaders are demanding a guaranteed annual income for all workers in the union regardless of how many hours they work. This is to fight the effects of containerization of cargo, which has cut the workforce by thousands in recent years.

But the top ILA bureaucrats are refusing to put the full power of the union into the fight. They are limiting the strike to ships carrying containerized cargo. This means that in New York, for example, 50 percent of the ILA members are still working.

Militant ILA workers in New Orleans are defying the bureaucrats' ineffective "partial strike." Over 50 ships are stranded in the New Orleans harbor, because the dockworkers there refuse to unload anything. The racist

ILA leaders maintain segregated locals in New Orleans, but Black and white workers have united to build a militant strike in opposition to the union leadership. Dockworkers in New Orleans are encouraging ILA members in other ports to follow their lead and shut down all East Coast shipping.

Canadian dockworkers are supporting the ILA strike by refusing to handle any cargo sent to Canada from the struck ports. Also, the ILA has sent pickets to the West Coast to hit East Coast shipping companies which also work the Pacific coast. Members of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (the separate West Coast union) are honoring the ILA picket lines and refusing to unload container ships.

Scabs Join Star Strikers

WARREN, Michigan—The five-month-long strike at Star Meat is gaining strength. Some of the scabs have walked out and joined the strikers. Most of the scabs were unemployed, foreign-born workers who thought they could get a good job by taking the jobs of striking workers. But intolerable working conditions, lack of adequate medical care and safety precautions, and other abuses have convinced some of the workers to join the struggle for a decent contract.

The union leadership (Amalgamated Meat Cutters) has done little to aid the Star strike. They wouldn't even authorize the strike until it was three months old. The Star workers themselves have battled cops and security guards, have gone to jail and to the hospital in order to stop the trucks and scabs from going in.

Some strikers, along with supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee, formed the Star Strike Support Committee. This Committee has passed out "Support the Star Strike" leaflets to meat workers in other plants and

fought at the August union meeting to get help from other meat workers in Local 26. The Committee also held a mass picket on August 31, which was the first time the strike got publicity on Detroit's television and radio stations.

The strikers can now wage an organized, militant strike. They recently stopped a car-full of scabs from going in. To win, the most militant and conscious strikers must force the union leadership to fight. And they must convince the other strikers to build daily mass pickets to stop the trucks and scabs completely.

Essex Workers Fight On

Workers at Essex International Wire Corporation in Ellwood, Indiana, voted on September 24 to reject the company's latest union-busting offer and to continue their strike. The Essex workers, members of UAW Local 1663, have been striking since April 6, 1977, when they rejected the bosses' offer of a 62 cent wage increase spread over three years. Eighty-five percent of the 220 strikers are women. They now make \$2.76 an hour.

The giant conglomerate, United Technologies, which owns Essex, is famous for union-busting. They have brought scabs into the struck plant and have repeatedly organized armed attacks on the picket lines. The company goons shot one striker, Carol Frye, in the back. Today, she is partially paralyzed with a bullet imbedded forever in her spinal cord.

The company and their hired goons can't stop the Essex strikers. For over seven months, the workers have stood their ground against every form of attack. The Essex strikers recently organized a trip to Detroit to meet with the top leaders of the UAW and to demand more aid for their strike. So far, the UAW leaders have done next to nothing to help the strikers.

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Steel Bosses Close Mills, Slash Jobs



In recent weeks, the big steel companies have hit over 15,000 steelworkers with permanent layoffs. One steel executive stated that the companies expect to throw 96,000 steelworkers out on the street before they're through.

In September, Youngstown Sheet and Tube shut down its Campbell Works mill near Youngstown, Ohio. Five thousand steelworkers lost their jobs. At the same time, U.S. Steel, and Jones and Laughlin, announced a total of 400 layoffs in the same city. All the steel companies in the area plan even deeper cuts in the near future.

In addition, U.S. Steel put thousands of workers on short hours and hundreds on layoff at its South Works mill in Chicago. The company threatens to close that mill, which would cost 6,500 more jobs. All this follows right on the heels of the 7,500 layoffs in August at Bethlehem Steel's Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and Lackawanna, New York, mills.

Behind the closings and the layoffs is the decline of the U.S. steel industry and U.S. capitalism as a whole. Many of the steel mills currently operating in this country were built in the late 1800s. The methods of production are outdated. Based on the strength of U.S. imperialism following World War II, the steel capitalists cruised along making gigantic profits. They didn't put enough money into modernizing the industry.

Instead, the steel bosses relied on regular price hikes to increase their profits. Between 1945 and 1977, they raised steel prices 552 percent, while prices in the U.S. economy as a whole went up 257 percent.

Foreign-made steel

During this same period, the Japanese and European capitalists built up modern and more productive steel industries out of the rubble of World War II. These capitalists have cornered a share of the world steel market the U.S. steel companies used to have. They have also taken over part of the steel market within the United States. Foreign steel companies now supply 15-20 percent of the steel bought inside the U.S.

On top of all this, the world steel market is not expanding—it is shrinking. The international capitalist economy has not recovered from the 1974-75 recession (see article on page 9). And world-wide demand for steel remains low.

World-wide, the steel industries produced only 325 million tons of steel in 1976, even though they have the capacity to produce almost twice as much. The U.S. steel companies

are losing out in the scramble to divide up the shrinking market.

All of this together means that U.S. steel industry profits are down. In 1966, the steel bosses made 12.5 cents on every \$1.00 invested. By 1976, this had fallen to 7.1 cents, and will be lower this year. Bethlehem, the second largest U.S. steel company, just reported losses of \$75 million before taxes for the first half of 1977. And Alan Wood Steel, one of the smaller companies, has already declared bankruptcy.

Steel bosses' "solution"

The steel companies have a "solution" to their problems—squeeze profits out of the steelworkers and the rest of the working class. This is why they are closing mills and laying off workers. They want to close down the older mills to cut production and labor costs. At the same time, the steel capitalists will try to force more production out of the workers who still have jobs. They'll try to speed them up and attack their wages, benefits and working conditions.

The steel companies are also launching a huge scare campaign against foreign-made steel. They claim that Japanese and German steel companies are stealing the U.S. market from the U.S. steel companies and stealing jobs from U.S. workers. To save their share of the market, the steel bosses are demanding tariffs and import quotas to help keep out foreign-made steel.

This is called protectionism. While the steel companies claim that this will really help steelworkers, this ploy is part of the attack on steelworkers and the entire working class. Tariffs and quotas will mean that the steel companies can raise their prices without worrying about losing any more of the steel market. But the higher costs for steel will be passed on to the workers in the form of higher prices for all the things we need.

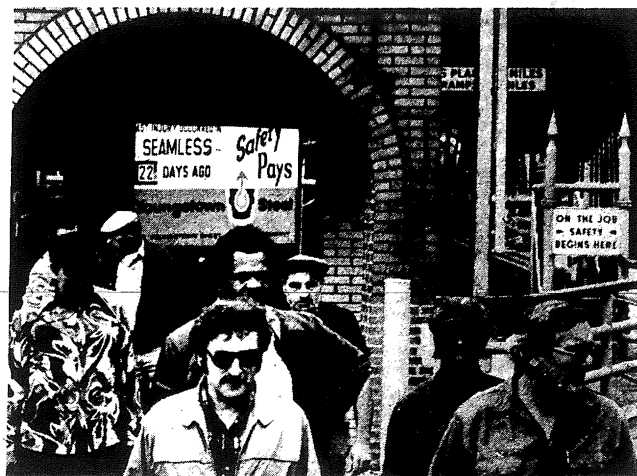
The campaign against foreign-made steel has another, more important purpose. The steel bosses want to convince the steelworkers that their enemies are the Japanese and German steelworkers, rather than the U.S. capitalists. By screaming about how the Japanese and German workers are stealing jobs from U.S. workers, they want the U.S. workers to rally behind the U.S. steel companies. They want to scare the U.S. steelworkers into supporting the steel companies' layoffs and speedup drives. Protectionism won't save jobs. It is part of the steel companies' campaign to eliminate jobs.

In addition to the mill closings,

layoffs, speedup and protectionist campaign, the steel bosses are demanding that the government scrap all environmental controls which apply to steel. Finally, they are demanding more tax breaks than they already have.

The leaders of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are going right along with the capitalists' drive to cut the steelworkers' throats. President Lloyd McBride and the other USWA leaders are marching arm in arm with the steel bosses, screaming for an end to foreign steel imports. They spread the lie that Japanese and European steelworkers are responsible for taking away jobs in the U.S. And they won't raise a finger to fight the layoffs and closings.

To save their jobs, steelworkers must launch an industry-wide fight against the steel companies. All steelworkers, those working and those laid off, must unite their forces. Revolutionaries and union militants must fight to get the union to launch a



Workers leaving Youngstown Sheet Campbell Works after being laid off.

mass campaign to mobilize the entire membership. We must also fight to stop the union bureaucrats from lining up the union behind the companies' racist, protectionist scare campaign.

Steelworkers must organize for a national strike. This would unite the entire membership. And it would bring the issues of the closings and layoffs to the entire working class.

An industry-wide strike, however, cannot be a "traditional" strike. Since the companies are planning to close mills and lay off thousands, they will not think twice about locking the striking steelworkers out

of the mills. To prevent this, the workers should occupy the mills. They should sit down in the mills, the way the auto and rubber workers struck in the 1930s.

Just as the tactics of the strike cannot be "traditional" ones, the demands of the strike cannot be "traditional." Steelworkers must fight for measures that can actually deal with the situation. The steel capitalists have proven that they can't run the industry in the interests of steelworkers or any workers. We say—let the workers run it. Nationalize the steel industry without compensation to the capitalists. Place it under the control of elected committees of steelworkers.

There is no reason why thousands of steelworkers should be laid off. The country needs plenty of steel. We need new railroads, new homes, schools and hospitals. There is plenty of work to be done. There are plenty of people who want to work.

We need a massive public works program to rebuild the country. This would provide jobs for millions of people. And it would provide plenty of demand for steel. As part of this struggle, steelworkers must fight for such a public works program, to be paid for by the capitalists.

The livelihood of all workers is at stake in the struggle in steel. If steel collapses, the entire economy will collapse. And what's now happening in steel will happen all over the country, unless the working class organizes to stop it. Steelworkers must take steps to inform workers in other unions about their struggle. Militant workers in all industries must build support in their unions for the steelworkers.

A mass strike to nationalize the steel industry and set up public works projects can stop the layoffs and create some jobs. But such measures, if carried out under capitalism, will not solve the problems of the steel industry. As long as the capitalists control the banks and the rest of the economy, and as long as they have their state, they will in fact

control the steel industry. The only way to break their stranglehold over the steel industry is to take over the entire economy. The workers must take over all basic industry, the banks, transportation and communication.

And most important, the workers will have to smash the capitalists' state. We'll have to set up our own state, based on democratic organizations of the masses of workers and oppressed people. The only way to fully solve the crisis that is destroying steel and the entire economy is to destroy capitalism and set up a society run by the workers.□

THE RUSSIAN REVOLU

February-October, 1917

By SUSAN EDMUNDS

Sixty years ago, on October 25, 1917, the working class of Russia overthrew the capitalist Provisional Government. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, the workers, supported by the peasants, set up their own government. This government rested on the Soviets—the mass organizations directly elected by the workers, peasants and soldiers of Russia.

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 was the only time in history that workers smashed the rule of the capitalists. Their aim was the creation of a socialist society, run by and for the working class and other oppressed people.

The Bolsheviks hoped that the Russian Revolution would be the spark for revolutions in Europe and throughout the world. They knew that the Revolution would not be able to survive indefinitely without revolutions elsewhere.

But the revolutionary wave that followed the Russian Revolution was defeated. Without revolutions in other countries, Soviet Russia remained an isolated workers' state in a hostile capitalist world.

In the 1930s, the Stalinist bureaucracy wiped out the last remnants of the Russian Revolution and set up a state-capitalist society. Despite its



Workers storming the Winter Palace.

defeat, the Russian Revolution remains a source of inspiration to the workers' movement everywhere. The Revolution is the proof that the working class can overthrow capitalism and set up a workers' state.

The lessons of the Revolution are still powerful today, and guide us in our struggle for socialist revolution.

Before the Revolutions of 1917, Russia was a vast semi-developed country. The majority of the people—peasants—lived on tiny plots of land. Using primitive tools and methods of farming, the peasants worked long back-breaking hours. Constantly in debt, the peasants lived in poverty, barely getting by.

Living in these isolated and backward conditions, the peasants looked to one or another urban class for leadership. The peasants were under the thumb of an oppressive landlord class, which owned much of the land the peasants needed. At the very top of the society was the Tsar. He was the hereditary dictator, and ruled Russia with an iron fist. There was also a small and weak capitalist class.

In addition, there were millions of people (the majority of the Russian Empire) who were members of non-Russian nationalities—Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians and others. The Tsarist regime suppressed their language and culture, and denied them the right to separate from Russia.

In the decades before 1917, European capitalists began investing heavily in Russia. There they found a source of cheap labor and many natural resources. They built huge, modern factories. Peasants from all over Russia moved to the cities to work in these factories.

The working class was highly organized and concentrated. Tens of thousands of people worked in the large factories, and workers' districts sprung up in the big cities.

The working class faced many hardships. Wages were low—barely enough to provide

for the most basic needs. Hours were long—12 hours or more a day. And the housing in the workers' districts was terrible—run-down shacks and tenements, no sewerage, unpaved streets.

Russia was a society in crisis. On the one side, most of the people—the peasants, the masses of the oppressed nationalities and the workers—lived in poverty and were denied all basic rights.

On the other side was the Tsarist regime, which defended the interests of the landlords. It tried to squash any struggle from the masses below. And the whole structure of Tsarism tended to hold back the development of capitalist industry, which threatened the power and privileges of the landlord class.

The capitalists (bourgeoisie) were caught in the middle. They wanted a policy which favored capitalist development, and so wanted some changes from the Tsarist regime. But they were afraid of waging a real struggle against Tsarism. They worried that any struggle would lead to a revolution, which would throw out the capitalists along with the Tsar. So the bourgeoisie weakly criticized the Tsar, while supporting the regime against the masses every time.

With these different class interests at war under Tsarism, many parties formed. The capitalists had their party—the Cadets—which stood for a constitutional and democratic monarchy. There were the Social Revolutionaries, a middle-class party claiming to be for a revolution to divide the land among the peasants.

There was the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. It was divided into two

factions. There were the Mensheviks, who used Marxism as a cover for their reformist, pro-capitalist politics. And there were the Bolsheviks, who used Marxism as a guide for workers' revolution.

World War I

The first World War brought all the problems in Russian society to a head. It brought untold misery to the Russian people, and increased the masses' burning hatred for Tsarism. The war was waged by the imperialist powers for domination of the less developed and colonized nations. It had nothing to do with democracy, and wasn't in the interests of working and oppressed people anywhere.

During the war, millions of people in Russia—mostly peasants—were drafted into the army. Fifty percent of the able-bodied male population was in the army at some point during 1914-17.

The soldiers faced horrible conditions. There wasn't enough food, clothing or uniforms. There weren't even enough boots, so the soldiers had to wear worn-out shoes held together with cardboard and string.

Most important, there weren't enough guns and ammunition. The death and injury toll was enormous. By the end of 1916, over six million soldiers had been killed, injured or taken prisoner.

The officers, drawn from the upper classes, treated the soldiers with contempt. They were allowed to hit or beat the soldiers.

Under these conditions, facing death in a war that could benefit only the imperialists, the soldiers longed to go home. They wanted to get back to their land and help their families grow the crops.

For the peasants, the war made life even more of a hell than it had been. The peasants didn't have enough land to feed themselves. And the land they did have was hard to till with so many of the able-bodied men away at war. It was even harder to pay the crushing taxes the Tsarist government demanded to keep the war going.

Outright starvation, never uncommon before the war, became even more widespread. The peasants desperately needed more land as a way out of their misery. Throughout the war, the demands for land grew louder and more determined.

The imperialist nature of the war pushed to the forefront the question of the rights of oppressed nationalities. In Russia, the nationalities began demanding autonomy and the right to separate from Russia.

For the working class, the war meant longer hours, lower wages and higher prices. Many workers were drafted into the army, increasing the workload for those left in the factories. The economy was falling apart, and the workers went hungry. On the brink of starvation, the workers demanded bread.

With the misery of the soldiers, peasants and workers growing every day, the crisis in Russian society deepened. Russia was ready to explode.

The February Revolution

And explode it did. In February of 1917, a powerful upsurge swept the country and shook the Tsarist regime. The heart of the struggle was Petrograd, the capital and key industrial city of Russia.

A wave of strikes broke out. Then, on February 23 (International Women's Day), a bread riot led to mass demonstrations and a general strike. Hundreds of thousands of workers joined the struggle, demanding: "Down with the Tsar" and "Down with the war!"

The soldiers stationed in Petrograd refused to shoot at the workers' demonstrations, and joined the struggle.

The workers and soldiers occupied the state bank, the treasury and other government institutions. They arrested the Tsar's ministers.

In the course of the struggle, the workers set up a council (Soviet) to coordinate the

struggle. The Soviet was a mass democratic organization. In the factories and the regiments, workers and soldiers voted for their delegates to the Soviet.

As the Revolution spread throughout Russia, Soviets sprung up in the other cities and in the countryside. With Petrograd in the hands of the workers and soldiers, with the tide of revolution sweeping the countryside, the Tsar was forced to abdicate.

Tsarism was dead!
The Soviet became the only real power in Russia. Millions of workers, soldiers and peasants looked to the Petrograd Soviet for leadership.

But while the workers and soldiers were taking over Petrograd, the capitalists, terrified of the mass struggle, tried to pretend that they, too, were for the Revolution. They wanted to gain control of the struggle, and hold it back from going all the way.

They set up a government—the Provisional Government—dominated by representatives of the bourgeoisie and acting in its interests. This capitalist government was recognized and supported by the Petrograd Soviet.

How did it happen that the workers and soldiers overthrew the Tsarist regime, only to have their enemy—the capitalists—take over the government? Why did the Soviet hand the power over to the Provisional Government?

Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries

When the people voted for their delegates to the Soviet, the soldiers and peasants voted mostly for the Social Revolutionaries (SRs). The workers tended to vote for the Mensheviks, with only the most revolutionary workers voting for the Bolsheviks. The Mensheviks and SRs claimed to be for socialism, and against Tsarism and capitalism.

In fact, however, neither of these parties believed that the working class could seize power, smash the capitalist state and set up a workers' government. These fake socialists agreed that, after centuries of Tsarist rule, Russia had to go through a period of capitalist democracy—where the remains of the Tsarist repressive machine would be swept away, and capitalist development could take place. Only then could socialist revolution be on the agenda.

Unfortunately, the masses were politically inexperienced. They took the claims of the Mensheviks and the SRs at face value and voted for them. As a result, the Mensheviks and the SRs won a majority of the Soviet. Under their leadership, the Soviet recognized the authority of the capitalist Provisional Government.

After the February Revolution, the Provisional Government formally held the power in Russia. But it could rule only if

the Soviets (particularly the Petrograd Soviet) gave it their stamp.

This situation was known as a "dual power." But things couldn't remain that way for long.

In Russia, the dual power was not a true dual power. The workers had only one of two enemies—the capitalists and landlords. The Soviets and set up a government to beat down the workers would overthrow the Provisional Government and set up a workers' state.

If the workers were to overthrow the Provisional Government, they would need a revolutionary party. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, were the only party in Russia that provided a clear-cut revolutionary program. The Bolsheviks provided a clear-cut revolutionary program to the pro-capitalist politicians and the SRs.

Under the leadership of Lenin, the Bolsheviks supported the Provisional Government. When Lenin returned to Russia in April, he waged a fight in the Party to put it back on a revolutionary course.

Lenin said the Party should support the Provisional Government. The task was to lead the working class to overthrow the Provisional Government and set up a workers' state based on the Soviets. To do this, the workers had to patiently wait for the Provisional Government to give them what they needed to solve the crisis of the masses, but the workers wanted peace. The Provisional Government was spreading bread. The capitalist Provisional Government wouldn't and couldn't do these things.

All the masses, but especially the workers, wanted peace. The Provisional Government was spreading bread. The capitalist Provisional Government wouldn't and couldn't do these things.

At the same time, Lenin argued that the workers should raise the question of the Soviets. The Soviets were the only mass organizations in Russia that could organize will and power to overthrow the Provisional Government.

A workers' government would be based on the Soviets. The Provisional Government would set up a government of and for the workers. The Provisional Government would set up a government of and for the workers. The Provisional Government would set up a government of and for the workers.

Finally, Lenin argued, the workers' government and the Soviets could be secure only if there were revolutions in the more developed countries. The existence of a workers' state in Russia could be the spark for revolutions in other countries.

Relying on the revolution in other countries, the Provisional Government would set up a government of and for the workers. The Provisional Government would set up a government of and for the workers.

As Lenin had predicted,



Lenin addressing workers at the Putilov Works.

THE REVOLUTION

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This situation was known as **dual power**. But things couldn't remain that way for any length of time.

In Russia, the dual power situation could have only one of two endings. Either the capitalists and landlords would smash the Soviets and set up a counter-revolutionary government to beat down the masses; or the workers would overthrow the Provisional Government and set up a workers' state.

If the workers were to seize power, they needed a revolutionary leadership. There was one truly revolutionary party in Russia: the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin. But during February, Lenin was in exile out of the country. The Bolsheviks did not at first provide a clear-cut revolutionary alternative to the pro-capitalist policies of the Mensheviks and the SRs.

Under the leadership of the Petrograd Committee, led by Joseph Stalin, the Bolsheviks supported the Provisional Government. When Lenin returned to Russia in April, he waged a fight inside the Bolshevik Party to put it back on a revolutionary course.

Lenin said the Party should give no support to the capitalist Provisional Government. The task was to prepare the working class to overthrow the Provisional Government and set up a government based on the Soviets. To do this, the Bolsheviks had to patiently explain to the masses that the Provisional Government wouldn't give them what they needed and couldn't solve the crisis of Russian society.

All the masses, but especially the soldiers, wanted peace. The peasants needed land. The workers were starving and needed bread. The capitalist Provisional Government wouldn't and couldn't provide any of these things.

At the same time, Lenin said, the Bolsheviks should raise the call for all power to the Soviets. The Soviets represented the organized will and power of the working class. All power to the Soviets would mean a government of and for the workers, supported by the peasantry.

A workers' government would pull Russia out of the imperialist war, take away the landlords' land, and grant the rights of the oppressed nationalities, including the right to break away from Russia. And a workers' government would set up workers' control of industry, to assure the production of food and other necessities.

Finally, Lenin argued, the only way a workers' government and the Revolution as a whole could be secure was through revolutions in the more developed countries. The existence of a workers' government in Russia could be the spark for these revolutions.

Relying on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Bolshevik workers, Lenin won the Party to his revolutionary perspective.

As Lenin had predicted, under the

Provisional Government the plight of the masses didn't get better. If anything, things got worse. The government continued the war and launched new offensives. Every day, thousands more soldiers became victims of the imperialist slaughter.

The conditions of the peasants got worse and worse. The landlords and capitalists sabotaged the economy, and millions of people starved. The workers were desperate for bread.

Peace, land, bread. These were what the people needed. But the Provisional Government provided none of these things. Instead, it made promises. It promised to try for a "just" peace—which meant keeping commitments to the imperialist allies. It promised land for the peasants and rights for the nationalities—some time in the future. It promised bread—when the economy got back on its feet.

Masses on the move

As 1917 wore on, the soldiers, peasants and workers started losing faith in the Provisional Government. They started seeing through the parties which supported it—the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries. And they began to take matters into their own hands.

In the army, many regiments mutinied and refused to go into battle. Officers who didn't go along were arrested or shot by the soldiers. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers just picked up and left. If the government wouldn't give them peace, then soldiers were going to make their own peace.

Meanwhile, the peasants also began to move. They refused to pay rent or taxes. They went to the manor houses of the landlords and took everything they could cart away. By the summer, the peasants were burning the houses to the ground.

In the cities, the workers became more and more militant. They formed armed workers' militias (the Red Guard). They organized strikes, demonstrations and mass meetings.

The capitalists tried to stop the workers' struggle. They lowered wages to try to starve the workers into submission. They closed down factories when the workers went on strike. But the workers responded by taking over the factories. They elected factory committees, which took over control of the factories.

The Mensheviks and the SRs, who now controlled the Provisional Government, called the direct action of the masses "anarchy" and "lawlessness." Where was the peasants' respect for the private property of the landlords? Where was the workers' respect for the private property of the capitalists? How dare the soldiers just pick up and leave the army? But the government was powerless to stop the rising struggle.

There was one party which was growing—the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks supported and encouraged the action of the

masses. The Bolsheviks said that it was good that the soldiers were deserting and rebelling, that the peasants were seizing the land, that the workers were occupying the factories.

Everywhere the Bolsheviks went, they explained the capitalist nature of the Provisional Government. They exposed the treacherous role of the Mensheviks and the SRs. Throughout Russia they spread the call for "All Power to the Soviets." They put forward the program of "Peace, Land, Bread" to unite the people in the fight for their needs.

As the masses stepped up their struggles, they listened more and more to the Bolsheviks and less and less to the Mensheviks and SRs. The months of educating and organizing were paying off. The Bolsheviks won the support of the majority of the workers. And the soldiers and peasants who had once been hostile to the Bolshevik Party began to look to the Bolsheviks to lead the country out of the crisis.

Bolsheviks gain upper hand

By September 1917, the Provisional Government had exposed itself in the eyes of the people. It had almost no base of support left. The government parties—the Mensheviks and the SRs—were in a crisis. The Bolsheviks were falling apart. The Social Revolutionary party split into two factions: A left-wing faction formed under the pressure of the peasant revolt, and was moving close to the Bolsheviks.

Meanwhile, the mass struggle surged ahead. The soldiers continued to mutiny and desert the army. The peasants seized land in every province of Russia. In the cities, the workers occupied factories and took them over. More and more power was in the hands of the Soviets, and the Soviets were becoming Bolshevik.

On September 9, after having won a vote calling for the transfer of power to the working class, the Bolsheviks won a majority of seats in the all-important Petrograd Soviet. Trotsky became its president.

All over Russia the picture was the same. The Bolsheviks won majorities in Soviets and in municipal elections. The Provisional Government was powerless. The workers, soldiers and peasants listened only to the Soviets and the Bolshevik Party. All that was needed now was a well-aimed blow and the Provisional Government would be dead. The Bolsheviks turned themselves to plans for this final struggle.

Bolsheviks prepare for insurrection

In early October, the Provisional Government tried to send large numbers of the revolutionary soldiers out of Petrograd. In response, the Soviet formed a committee to stop this—what became known as the Military Revolutionary Committee (MRC). Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the MRC—with Trotsky at its head—became the headquarters for the insurrection.

The Bolsheviks' plan was to overthrow the Provisional Government before the Second All-Russian Congress of the Soviets opened in Petrograd in late October. This was to be a meeting of delegates from Soviets all across Russia, and the Bolsheviks wanted to officially turn all power over to it when it opened.

The Provisional Government, sensing that its end was near, panicked. It stupidly tried to regain control. It removed the Soviet delegates from the regiments, closed down the Bolsheviks' presses and tried to raise the bridges leading from the workers' districts to the heart of Petrograd.

The Military Revolutionary Committee put out a call to the workers and soldiers that no orders were to be followed unless signed by the MRC. Under the leadership of the MRC, the workers repelled the government's attacks. They lowered the bridges and opened the Bolshevik presses, and no troops left Petrograd.

The Soviets were now the only real power

in Russia. All that was left was to seize the key sections of the government apparatus and officially bury the Provisional Government.

During the night of October 24-25, the Red Guard, the armed section of the workers, took over the telegraph office, the post office and the main railroad stations. The next morning, they seized the telephone exchange and the state bank. They accomplished this without hardly firing a shot.

The last task was the seizing of the Winter Palace, the seat of the Provisional Government. When this was done, all power would be in the hands of the working class of Russia.

During the night of October 25-26, the Congress of the Soviets opened, still awaiting word of the seizing of the Winter Palace. A new Executive Committee of the Soviets was elected, giving the Bolsheviks



V.I. Lenin.

a majority. Many Mensheviks and the right wing of the SRs, denouncing the insurrection, walked out of the Congress.

Then, at 2:30 a.m., the announcement came: The Winter Palace had been taken and the ministers arrested. The Provisional Government no longer existed!

The Congress of the Soviets was now the highest power in Russia. The working class, in alliance with all the oppressed, had seized state power and had begun the task of building a socialist society.

As the first two acts of the Soviet government, two decrees were passed by the Congress, making good on the Bolsheviks' call for peace and land.

The first, the Declaration on Peace, called for immediate negotiations for peace—without annexations and without the national and colonial domination of one people by another. It also called for an immediate three-month cease-fire during negotiations. And it said that Russian diplomacy would no longer be conducted behind the backs of the masses—all treaties and pacts would be published.

The second act of the Congress—the Land Decree—abolished all private ownership of the land, without compensation to the landowners, while specifying that the land of the peasants wouldn't be taken away. The land was transferred into the hands of the land committees and peasant Soviets.

In the following months, the Soviet government took steps to solve the economic crisis and provide food for the cities. The workers' state also gave the nationalities the right to determine their own fate, and break away from Russia if they wanted to.

These measures consolidated the support of the soldiers, peasants and the oppressed nationalities behind the workers and the Soviet government. This strengthened it for the battles that lay ahead.

The Russian Revolution was eventually overthrown by the Stalinists. But it is still the only successful workers' revolution in the history of the world—the model for all revolutionaries who want to smash capitalism and build a socialist society.

(Next month, we will discuss the lessons of the Russian Revolution.)

Fight for Socialist Revolution!



Lenin addressing workers at the Putilov Works.



Biko's mourners give the Black Power salute, a symbol of their determination to avenge the fallen leader.

Biko's Murder Fans Flames Of Revolt

(Continued from page 1)

township, 10,000 mourners raised their fists in the Black Power salute. Mourners returning from the funeral stoned two Black cops to death in Mdatsane. Two mourners were seriously wounded by police gunfire.

Tens of thousands of other mourners heading for the funeral from throughout South Africa were pulled off the buses by police. Roadblocks outside Ginsberg turned back any cars or buses containing Blacks.

In Soweto, the cops hauled mourners off the buses and attacked them with clubs. Several hundred were arrested, and several dozen were treated for fractured skulls.

On September 26, 27, and 28 hun-

into the struggle. And this, in turn, has raised more questions about the future of apartheid both inside and outside South Africa.

In the wake of events, a split is developing in the ranks of the Afrikaners, the hard-core white backers of the National Party. In the last few months, a "reform wing" has developed in the National Party and in the Afrikaner establishment. This is represented, for example, by Cabinet ministers like Roelof Botha, Pieter Koornhof, and Connie Mulder. These people are for a program of reforms similar to those put forward by the opposition white liberals in the Progressive Reform Party and the now-dead United Party.

This reform wing of the National Party is in favor of abolishing those aspects of apartheid which are not necessary to maintain white supremacy, but which are a gross slap in the face of Blacks—laws setting up separate public bathrooms, parks, and beaches for Blacks; laws making restaurants, theaters, and hotels off-limits to Blacks; and so on. They are also for "home rule" for Blacks in Black townships like Soweto. And they want to give Blacks a token role in the white capitalist government at the federal and state level.

Reforms preserve apartheid

These reforms seem to imply a general easing of Black oppression. But the heart of the reforms is to blunt the Black movement for revolution and to preserve the essential aspects of apartheid intact.

The limited nature of these reforms can be guessed from the fact that there is no intention of abolishing the Bantustans, those reservations in the desert where half of the country's Blacks are kept in poverty, misery, and starvation. And there is no intention of opening up the white areas to the urban Blacks, who are forced to live in overcrowded and segregated ghettos.

What the reforms would accomplish, if adopted, is the creation of a wider layer of Black pro-capitalist hacks directly in the pay of the apartheid government. These people would become a middle-class buffer between apartheid and the oppressed Black masses. They would be hostile to revolution, and would point to themselves as proof of "progress."

Limited though these reforms would be, they have met with a very hostile response from the dominant

wing of the Afrikaner ruling class, which controls the government. This wing is determined to go to the wall in maintaining the current set-up.

The reform-minded Afrikaners and the opposition liberals have gained the backing of U.S. imperialism and its European allies. The Carter administration has made noises for a long time about "majority rule."

But "majority rule" for Carter doesn't mean Black rule. It means reforms that would bring some token Blacks into the government, so that U.S. imperialism can advertise them

as "progress" towards Black rule. For these reasons, the U.S. is behind the South African liberals and reformers.

U.S. imperialism and its allies realize that the days of the Afrikaners' hard-line segregationist policies are over. But the imperialists can't simply abandon the Afrikaners to their fate, because they are afraid of revolution. A Black revolutionary government in South Africa would almost certainly nationalize Western imperialism's multi-billion dollar empire there.

Imperialists fear Black workers

Even more important, the imperialists fear that the Black working class might take over the leadership of the revolutionary struggle, and then go on to set up a genuine workers' government. Such a government would call for the overthrow of the neo-colonial Black African governments, who front for the imperialists and oppress the African masses (often under the cover of "socialism"). In other words, a workers' government in South Africa would threaten the imperialists' control of all Africa.

With Carter in the lead, the Western powers have put heavy pressure on the Vorster government. To drive home how determined they are, 13 Western governments sent official representatives to Biko's funeral and condemned his murder. Both Britain and the U.S. have raised the threat of

(Continued on next page)

Leftist Youth Take On Italian CP

From all over Italy they came—more than 50,000 young workers and students. They came to Bologna over the weekend of September 25 to express their anger at the Italian Communist Party (PCI), which has betrayed them to make a deal with the government.

They marched before Bologna's city hall, where a handful of PCI bureaucrats came out to confront them. A bureaucrat asked: "What policy do you want us to follow?" A youth answered: "A communist policy."

Another youth put it more directly. "You've given up fighting the system," he said, "you only want to

save it. That's why you're trying to isolate us." That pretty well sums up how the Italian youth feel toward the PCI today.

Italy's youth are being chewed up by the economic crisis and by the government cuts in public spending. It is estimated that more than one million young Italians have finished school but can't find their first job. And this doesn't count the hundreds of thousands who are in college because they have no prospect of getting a job.

The PCI has always posed as the champion of the students and youth,

(Continued on page 16)



Steven Biko's body.

dreds of Black youths rioted in Dimbaza. The youths stoned the cops and set government buildings on fire. One youth was shot and killed, and more than a hundred were arrested.

Apartheid in trouble

The revolutionary upsurge around Biko's death has increased the contradictions inside the apartheid system, and between white South Africa and its imperialist backers. The reasons for this are not hard to see. The official version of Biko's death was so riddled with contradictions that a six-year-old wouldn't believe it. To date, no official autopsy results have been released.

All this has made it harder for the imperialists to cover for the apartheid system on the international scene. Moreover, the murder has brought new layers of the Black population



Young workers and students demonstrate against the class treason of the Italian CP.

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economic sanctions against South Africa if the Vorster government doesn't clean up its act.

Plot against Blacks

In the face of these pressures at home and abroad, the Vorster government has decided to go on the offensive. Vorster has announced a new constitution that abolishes the parliamentary system in favor of a presidential system in which the president would have greatly expanded powers and could rule by decree.

The new constitution also attempts to expand the social base of apartheid by setting up separate puppet parliaments for the two and one-half million so-called "Coloreds" (people of mixed descent) and the one million Asians. These parliaments would be completely under the thumb of the whites. The ploy is to freeze out the Black majority, to bring the "Coloreds" and Asians under the apart-

apartheid system. Nothing but revolution will guarantee "one person, one vote" for the Black majority in South Africa. Nothing but revolution can free the factories, the mines, the land, and all the wealth which a tiny minority has seized for its own benefit. And nothing but revolution can put an end to the capitalist super-exploitation of Black labor, which makes South African capitalism such a powerful magnet for the imperialists the world over.

Socialist revolution

This revolution will have to be a socialist revolution. In other words, it has to be led by the Black workers, under the leadership of a revolutionary party. And it will have to set up a workers' government based on workers' councils, factory committees, and other democratic mass organizations.

If the revolution of the Black masses is not led by the workers, if it



Black students in Soweto have kept up their revolutionary struggle for a year and a half.

heid umbrella, and to preserve all power in the hands of the whites.

Vorster has also scheduled a surprise election for November 30, which he is turning into a referendum on his new constitution. At the same time, he is using the election to go on the offensive against all other reforms, and to smash the opposition liberals. Vorster is likely to win big. This will ensure that his proposed changes go into effect. Revolutionaries do not care whether Vorster or the reform Nationalists or the liberals win out. These are all contradictions in the camp of the enemy.

Nothing but revolution can end the

is led by the middle class, it will not do this. Even though the middle class may march under "socialist" slogans, it cannot and will not end capitalism in South Africa. It will use fake-socialist propaganda to set up state capitalism and make a deal with world imperialism.

In South Africa the working class, together with the semi-proletarian rural masses, makes up the overwhelming majority of the Black population. Its only future lies in seizing control of the government and society in its own name through a socialist revolution. □

World in Revolution



U.S. and Israel Maneuver Over Mideast

On October 11, the Israeli government agreed to a U.S. proposal to come to Geneva and talk with the Palestinians. Israel still refuses to deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). (The PLO is the right wing of the Palestinian guerrilla organizations, and the one the U.S. wants seated at Geneva.) But Israel will sit down with a multinational Arab delegation containing some Palestinians. This was a big Israeli retreat, because it allows the Arab governments to bring in PLO representatives on the sly.

The Palestinian people have been fighting to free their country, which the Zionists stole to create Israel. They have been a thorn in the side of the U.S. and the Zionists for years.

Since the 1973 war, the U.S. has pushed Israel to make a deal with the Palestinians as part of an overall Arab-Israeli settlement. The deal would set up a Palestinian mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza (the parts of Palestine that Israel stole in 1967). The U.S. is throwing the Palestinians this crumb to get them to abandon the struggle to free all Palestine. But the Israeli Zionists are dead-set against any such deal. That's why they refuse to openly sit down with the PLO. As if to underline their stand, on the eve of the latest compromise, the Zionists announced the creation of seven more Israeli settlements in the West Bank.

The Geneva Conference can easily blow up in U.S. imperialism's face and trigger another Arab-Israeli war. A Geneva failure would also bolster the struggle to smash Zionism and free all Palestine.

Defend the Red Army Fraction!

On September 15, the Red Army Fraction (RAF) kidnapped Hans Martin Schleyer, head of the West German industrialists' association, and killed four bodyguards. The RAF wants to exchange Schleyer for some jailed comrades.

During the Nazi period, Schleyer was the SS swine in charge of Czechoslovakia's economy. He made use of slave labor and ripped off non-German businesses. He spent three years in prison after the war. But that didn't stop him from becoming chairman of Daimler-Benz and other big corporations. This highlights how much the country's industry and government are saturated with old Nazis.

In response to the kidnapping, the West German government has unleashed a campaign of repression and anti-communist hysteria. It is purging all socialists and radicals from public jobs. And it is passing ever more repressive legislation. The government is trying to smash the left and pass laws that can later be used against the workers.

Unfortunately, the Red Army Fraction has been attacked by much of the left. Individual, isolated terrorism does not help the revolutionary movement. What is happening in West Germany shows this. But revolutionaries must defend the RAF against the West German state. The criminal bourgeoisie has no right to judge the RAF, or to imprison its comrades. And anything that the RAF may do to Schleyer will be less than he deserves.

East German Government Steps Up Repression

The state-capitalist government of East Germany is stepping up its repression of political dissidents. Thousands are in jail. A recent case is that of Rudolf Bahro, a factory executive. In an August interview on West German TV, Bahro called for revolt against the East German regime. He branded the government "exploiters of the working class" and called for a return to the communism of Marx. Bahro now faces 15 years in prison for "espionage."

The East German government also exiles persistent critics. This past year, dozens of artists and intellectuals have been kicked out of the country. The best known is singer-poet Wolf Biermann. And the government sells political prisoners to West Germany for up to \$30,000 a head. Over 1,000 people a year are expelled this way.

Many East Germans are serving time for trying to leave the country without permits. Some 200,000 people have applied to leave, but less than 10 percent got exit permits. The rest are fired from work and harassed. Often they are charged with "incitement hostile to the state" and with "economic sabotage." When convicted, their property is taken away. And their children can be put up for adoption or kept out of college.

France: No Unity Among Reformists

With the March 1978 elections around the corner, the French Union of the Left has fallen apart. On the surface, the differences are over the Communist Party's demand that the Union's Common Program be revised to include the nationalization of 729 enterprises, against the 227 proposed by the Socialists (along with other less important changes). The Communist Party (CP) put this forward at the Union's meeting in September. The Left Radical Movement, the Union's tiny middle-class third party, walked out. The Socialist Party (SP) refused to continue the negotiations without the Radicals.

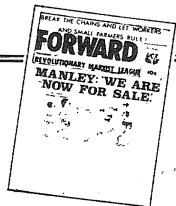
Under the cover of the bitter public debate between the CP and SP over the nationalizations, the CP is trying to ease itself out of the coalition. Since the Union of the Left was formed, the CP has lost a lot of support to the SP. It fears that this trend will continue. Furthermore, the CP doesn't want to get caught as the junior partner in an SP-dominated government. Because of France's economic crisis, such a government is bound to impose some kind of austerity program on the French working class, which is the CP's main source of support. That would reduce the CP's support at the polls even further.

In Brief . . .

Last month was the fifth anniversary of Ferdinand Marcos' declaration of martial law in the Philippines. To celebrate the approaching event, a few weeks earlier Marcos attacked a demonstration of 8,000 Manila workers, students and urban poor. Using water cannon and riot sticks, the cops attacked from both ends. Marcos is strongly supported by U.S. imperialism.

—TC

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EDITORIALS

Bakke Case: Attack on All Oppressed

The case of Allan Bakke is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. At stake in the Bakke case is the struggle of Blacks, Latins, women, gays and other oppressed people to fight the racial and sexual discrimination which have kept them at the bottom of this society for centuries. If the Supreme Court rules in favor of Bakke, it will lay the legal groundwork to wipe out quotas, preferential hiring and other gains won by oppressed people in the '50s and '60s.

Bakke is a 37-year-old white engineer. He works for NASA, the federal government's space agency. Some time ago, Bakke decided he would rather be a doctor than an engineer. He tried to get into the University of California's medical school at the Davis campus. After being rejected three times, Bakke went to court and filed suit.

Out of 100 spots available each year for new students at the Davis medical school, 16 are specifically set aside for Black, Latin, Asian and Native American students. These students are selected from among applicants who are qualified for medical school but who did not necessarily have the best college grades and test scores. In this way, a number of students from oppressed groups would be accepted into the medical school.

When Bakke found out that some of these 16 had lower college grades and test scores than he did, Bakke charged that he was being kept out because he is white. Bakke filed his court case on the grounds of the Fourteenth Amendment, which states that all citizens must get equal protection under the law. He claims he is the victim of "reverse discrimination."

The California State Supreme Court upheld Bakke's claim. It declared that the school's quota system was illegal under the Constitution.

If the Supreme Court upholds this ruling, this will be in line with a number of other reactionary rulings it has recently made on issues concerning the rights of Blacks, Latins, Asians, women and gays.

Quotas are not the issue

The issue in the Bakke case is not quotas. The issue is whether oppressed people can have access to educational and other opportunities that this rotten system denies them.

We Urge Our Readers to Write

From this issue on, we are expanding the space in the *Torch/La Antorcha* devoted to letters from our readers. We want our readers to write to us. Write to us about your political ideas, your experiences, what you like and don't like about the paper. We need you to help us make the *Torch/La Antorcha* a better revolutionary newspaper. We need you to help us build a revolutionary party.



The quotas are simply a means—an extremely limited one—to fight the racist and sexist discrimination that oppressed people face throughout capitalist society.

Blacks and other oppressed people are not only discriminated against when they apply for medical school. They are oppressed and discriminated against from the day they are born.

Whites, especially middle-class whites, go to schools which are better staffed, have smaller classrooms, and use better teaching methods. More money is spent on these schools to make them better.

Black parents have to send their children to rat-infested and overcrowded ghetto schools. They often don't have the money to pay for the things a student needs to get ahead. In the face of this, millions of young people have no chance to even get close to medical school.

Bakke wasn't discriminated against at Davis or anywhere else. The only racial discrimination going on at Davis medical school is the same racial oppression that U.S. capitalism is built upon. The 16-seat quota doesn't come close to overcoming the systematic discrimination that oppressed people face. On its own terms, it is pitifully below what is necessary to provide equal opportunities for oppressed people to enter the medical profession.

The 16 spots set aside for oppressed people must be shared by at least four different racial and national groupings. These groups total far more than 16 percent of the population. White males make up 97 percent of the doctors in this country. Blacks, Latins, Native Americans and Asians will never reach equality with whites through programs on this tiny scale.

It is true that Bakke got higher grades and test scores. But this does not prove he is more intelligent or more fit to go to medical school. It only proves that, as a white, he has gotten every break a person can get

to prepare him for college and for entrance exams.

Bakke and his supporters know that the real issue isn't quotas. The so-called disadvantaged quota is not the only quota at Davis. Each year the Board of Regents reserves so many spots for their relatives and friends. In addition, the relatives and friends of wealthy contributors and influential graduates must be taken care of. This quota is for people with big connections—mostly white people.

It's no accident that Bakke didn't go after this quota in his court suit. By keeping his mouth shut about this quota, Bakke and his supporters can claim that he is really fighting against discrimination, not for it.

Bakke has become the rallying cry for racist forces from white liberal Democrats to the far right wing. This is part of an across-the-board attack on oppressed people. Faced with a growing economic crisis, the capitalists are attacking the entire working class. To prevent the workers from fighting back, the capitalists are playing on the divisions in the working

class.

In particular, they are trying to convince white workers that the small progress made by the oppressed is the reason for society's problems, and not the collapse of the capitalist system itself.

They are trying to use the racism of white workers to help them beat down oppressed people. And once they've lined up the white workers, the capitalists will step up their attacks on them as well. It is in the interest of all workers to oppose the Bakke decision and fight the attacks on oppressed people.

Workers must guard against capitalist attacks

The working class must defend the use of quotas and other measures that help to overcome the built-in discrimination against oppressed people. These are necessary tools for the working class to use in abolishing inequality, racism and sexism. We must defend even minimal gains from the onslaught of the capitalists.

But in defending such measures, the workers must also be on guard to prevent the capitalists from using them to attack the unions and further divide the working class.

In the hands of the capitalists, quotas can be a double-edged sword. For example, the capitalists have used affirmative action programs to intervene in the unions and tear up contracts and seniority agreements. In addition, they have granted jobs, promotions, etc., to oppressed people by taking these away from whites.

Finally, workers must not make the mistake of allowing the struggle to stay on the grounds of for or against quotas and affirmative action. The capitalists are attacking all workers, not just members of specially oppressed groups. If workers are to stop the capitalists, they must unite their struggles. If the workers fight each other for pieces of a shrinking pie, the capitalists will walk all over us. We need jobs, schools, housing, hospitals for everybody. The only way to get them is to unite and fight the capitalists.

The struggle to raise the level of the most oppressed up to that of the better-off sections of the working class must be part of a broader struggle to improve conditions for everyone. □

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The ruling class tries to turn U.S. workers against foreign workers, so we'll fight each other over a few lousy jobs, instead of fighting the capitalists.

Defend Undocumented Workers!

By a WORKER CORRESPONDENT

Jimmy Carter is planning a vicious, sneaky attack on undocumented workers. These workers, whom the capitalists call "illegal aliens," are workers who came here from other countries without getting a permit from the U.S. government.

Carter's proposed law would: 1) give resident alien status to workers who can prove they arrived in this country before 1970; 2) give temporary permits (up to five years) to those who came to the U.S. after that date, but before January 1 of this year. These workers wouldn't be allowed to bring their families; 3) require the rest of the undocumented workers to be deported; 4) hire at least 2,000 more guards to patrol the Mexican border, since about 80

percent of undocumented workers come from Mexico; and 5) fine bosses who get caught employing undocumented workers \$1,000 per worker.

Carter's plan doesn't help the workers—it hurts them. His so-called "amnesty" covers only a small number of the millions of undocumented workers. A much larger number will be deported. Not one of the amnestied workers is getting citizenship. All they're getting is the right to live in the U.S. as aliens and work at slave jobs for slave wages.

To get this phony "amnesty," they'll have to report to the immigration authorities to be registered and fingerprinted. The authorities will call them "legal aliens" and give them a card. But they'll still be "aliens" and that means they can be



Yugoslav gypsies arrested for entering U.S. without documents.

deported.

In the meantime, the capitalists will do the best they can to keep other workers who need jobs from coming into the supposedly "free" United States.

Carter's plan is hitting the workers, not the employers. For example, his plan will hurt the whole Latin community. Many a boss will be afraid to hire any Latin workers, because he'd have to pay a fine if they

turned out to be undocumented workers. If "illegals" are caught working, their boss will just pay his fine like any other business expense, but the workers will be deported.

The administration calls the Carter plan a first step in trying to solve the problem of "illegal aliens." But the ruling class can't solve the problem. The Carter gang knows it's impossible to find and deport millions of workers. They know neither how many millions there are, nor how many more will cross the border tomorrow or the next day.

The Republicans tried manhunts; immigration cops terrorized Latin communities by raiding homes and workplaces. People who "looked Latin" were stopped on the streets and asked to show their papers. If they had none, they were arrested on the spot and deported. Last year the Ford administration deported almost 800,000 "illegals."

But the capitalists also need foreign workers. They need them to do the louisiest, dirtiest jobs, mostly as farmworkers or in small sweatshop factories. Their hours are so long, the conditions so bad, the work so hard and the pay so low that nobody on earth should ever have to work like that.

To control workers

Since the capitalists don't really want to eliminate all "alien" workers, and couldn't even if they wanted to, they want to control them. They can't seal off the whole Mexican border, but they can hire more guards to make it harder for workers to get into this country. They can declare a phony amnesty to make some undocumented workers legal. This is to try to split up the undocumented workers and block a united struggle. And the capitalists fill the newspapers with nasty stories about "illegal Mexicans" who sneak across the border in the night to take jobs away from good Americans, in hopes that the U.S. working class will support their attacks.

For years, the U.S. imperialists bought the support of U.S. workers by bribing them with part of the profits they made by robbing the whole world. They gave some U.S. workers the highest living standards and told them that they're superior to the rest of the world. And many workers believed them.

These workers couldn't see that workers of all countries are part of the same working class and have to stick together. Now the ruling class is trying to raise their profits by

(Continued on page 16)

On the Anniversary of the Puerto Rican Rebellion

Free the Nationalist Prisoners!



Chicago mural celebrates heroic struggle of Puerto Rican people.

October 30 marks the 27th anniversary of Puerto Rico's Nationalist Revolt against U.S. imperialism and for Puerto Rican independence. On that date in 1950, Nationalist Party rebels took on the colonial police and National Guard in Penuelas, Arecibo, Jayuya and San Juan.

Jayuya, which was the main objective of the revolt, saw the heaviest fighting. The nationalists took over Jayuya's police station and post office and proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico. They held on for several hours before they were overwhelmed by the National Guard. In San Juan, the colonial governor's palace was attacked by a suicide commando squad. The commandos fought heroically to the last man.

The next day, two Puerto Rican nationalists from New York, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola, launched an attack against Blair House, in Washington, D.C. This was where U.S. imperialist chieftain Harry Truman was living at the time. Torresola was killed and Collazo wounded. Oscar Collazo has been im-

prisoned in U.S. imperialism's prisons ever since.

Unfortunately, the nationalist uprising never had a chance. The insurgents were not socialists and did not have a perspective of involving the working class. Only the working class has the size and the power to take on U.S. imperialism. The rebellion was isolated from the masses. In fact, it was launched more to appeal to world opinion than because of any realistic hope of victory.

Despite this, the October 30 nationalist uprising drove U.S. imperialism into a frenzy. Using the revolt as an excuse, the U.S. government and its local puppets arrested more than a thousand Puerto Rican men and women. Many of them had had nothing to do with the revolt. They were arrested solely for the "crime" of being for an independent Puerto Rico.

All the island's labor leaders who were pro-independence were arrested. They were not affiliated with the Nationalist Party and had not taken part in the revolt. Many of the

island's independentistas were framed. Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos, the leader of the Nationalist Party, was sentenced to 53 years in prison.

The attacks on the nationalists continued over the next few years. They were stepped up even further in 1954, after four nationalists—Lolita Lebrón, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irving Flores—launched an attack on U.S. imperialism's House of Representatives. The four youths were sentenced to the longest possible sentences. Together with Oscar Collazo, they are still in prison. This is perhaps the longest political imprisonment in the Western hemisphere, if not in the world. (As of this writing, October 6, Carter has released Andrés Figueroa Cordero because of terminal cancer.)

Using the attack on the House as their excuse, U.S. imperialism moved to smash the nationalist movement. On October 26, 1954, the imperialists framed 13 Puerto Rican nationalists on charges of conspiring to overthrow U.S. imperialism. Three days later they arrested nine more activists in New York and Chicago.

These nine activists were convicted on trumped-up charges of conspiring to assassinate Eisenhower and Puerto Rico's puppet governor, Luis Muñoz Marín. Within six months of the attack on the House, the U.S. government carried out no fewer than 27 frame-ups. This devastated the nationalist movement.

The anniversary of the October 30 revolt is a time for U.S. workers to remind themselves of the many bloody crimes perpetrated by U.S. imperialism against the Puerto Rican people. We must demand immediate and unconditional independence for the island nation. We must fight for the release of the remaining nationalist prisoners, who are guilty of nothing more than fighting to free their country from imperialist rule. □

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Just guard Capitalist attacks

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Italian Youth. . .

(Continued from page 12)

and has always enjoyed their broad support. But in the last few years, the true face of the PCI has become more and more obvious. Since 1973—and especially since the most recent elections—the PCI has made no bones about its loyalty to capitalism and its desire to enter the government of the Christian Democrats.

It has come out for a "historic compromise" between the workers and the capitalist government. It has openly rejected Marxism and Leninism (which one leading PCI hack recently called "a dead branch"). This year it has joined with its French and Spanish counterparts to spearhead the so-called Eurocommunist trend in Western Europe. In an effort to prove their reliability to Western imperialism, the Eurocommunists are edging away from Russian imperialism and have come out in favor of NATO. Also this year, the PCI has backed the Italian government's economic attacks on the workers—attacks designed to make the workers pay for the capitalist crisis.

What infuriates Italy's workers, students and youth the most is that the PCI has the power to stop these attacks. Without its backing in parliament, the Christian Democratic government couldn't survive.

Choosing Bologna for the three-day demonstration was no accident. The city has been ruled by the PCI for 32 years. Now the capitalist parties are so weak that the PCI runs just about every major Italian city, alone or in coalition. It brags about its "efficiency" in upholding the capi-

talist order. In particular, the PCI likes to put forward Bologna as a model of what its policies can do.

But when a student leader of Lotta Continua—Francesco Lorusso—was killed by the cops in Bologna last March, the fake-communist mayor called in army tanks and soldiers. That touched off a student rebellion of unprecedented proportions throughout the country. In Bologna and Rome, tens of thousands of

Fight the Nazis. . .

(Continued from page 4)

effort to save their system, they'll try to put the Nazis in power and use them to smash the working class.

In every country where the Nazis have taken over, such as Germany and Italy, the Nazis smashed the unions, slaughtered the workers' leaders, murdered millions of oppressed people and reduced the wages of the rest of the workers to starvation levels.

But the Nazis can be beaten. The workers must build an anti-Nazi struggle to smash them while they are still small. The Nazis thrive on cheap victories. They are cowards who attack children or isolated men and women. They run when they are confronted with equal force. If we act decisively now, the Nazis can be sent reeling.

There are two parts to a successful

students and youth heroically fought repeated battles with the cops.

Fearing a repeat of the March events, the PCI this time opened the doors of the city and tried to put the best possible face on things. All the same, the PCI was alarmed by this threat to its cozy relationship with the capitalists. Party chairman Enrico Berlinguer accused the youth of regarding "the Communist Party as the enemy to be defeated."

Italy's youth do feel this way, and they couldn't be more right! Said one of them at Bologna: "What we need now is organization. We've already shown we can fight." Italy's youth will play a key role in the building of a revolutionary working-class party that can lead the workers past the PCI and on to revolution. □

strategy to beat the Nazis. The first is to build workers' defense guards to protect school children and all other people under attack by the Nazis. We must organize in the communities to find the people who want to fight the Nazis and organize them into militant defense squads. If we can build such squads and plan properly, we can run the Nazis off the streets.

As part of this struggle, we must fight within the unions to get them to take up the fight against the Nazis. The unions are powerful organizations. They have the power to build defense guards. It is in the interest of the entire labor movement to take on the Nazis before the Nazis get too big. We must mobilize the rank and file in the unions to force the unions to act.

But building defense guards is not enough. We need to undercut the Nazis' support among the white workers and middle class. These people are frightened and demoralized. They are looking for a way, any way, out of the crisis. They are looking for strong decisive leadership, and they think the Nazis can provide it. But many will follow any force that appears to offer a way out.

If the working-class movement launched a powerful struggle for the needs of all workers and oppressed people, many of the Nazis' supporters could be won away from them. We must build a movement that fights for jobs, housing, schools and other things people need. We need a movement that can unite the people against their enemies, the capitalists, instead of letting them fight each other. We must fight in all working-class organizations, especially the trade unions, to get them to take up the struggle for our needs.

Revolutionary movement

But such a movement cannot limit itself to a struggle within the limits of capitalism. To really beat the Nazis, we need to build a revolutionary workers' movement. A fighting revolutionary movement that proves it is serious about the struggle against capitalism can win over the confused people who may look to the Nazis to solve their problems.

Only a workers' socialist revolution can do away with the Nazis once and for all. The Nazis thrive on the economic crisis. But the cause of the crisis is rotting capitalism. To destroy the Nazis, we have to get rid of the system that breeds them. We need to overthrow capitalism and build a system, socialism, run by and for the working class and its allies. □

Undocumented Workers. . .

(Continued from page 15)

beating down the wages and conditions of U.S. workers. They're attacking "illegal aliens," but U.S. workers had better realize that the blow is aimed at all of us.

Carter's attack on undocumented workers is part of a campaign of terror and repression against the whole working class. He's proposed an ID card for all workers, so a boss would know for sure he's not hiring "illegals." But any ID card, for citizens or "aliens," is a police-state measure—it makes it easy for the cops to keep an eye on militant workers and revolutionaries.

The ruling class knows they can't beat down a united working class, so they use unemployment to divide us. They blame it on "illegal aliens." They turn U.S. workers against foreign workers, Blacks against whites, so we'll fight each other over a few lousy jobs, instead of fighting the capitalists.

How can we beat back the ruling class attack? By building a movement to fight for jobs and decent living conditions. We have to demand public works projects to provide jobs for the unemployed at union wages, to rebuild the cities, build housing, schools, hospitals, all the things workers need.

Workers in many industries are forced to put in a 60-hour week, while millions are unemployed. Capitalism makes more profits by laying off half the workers and sweating the other half twice as hard. The fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay can unite employed and unemployed workers. And a movement for jobs for all can unite U.S. and foreign workers.

We have to fight for the right of all workers to cross any border to look for work, without restrictions, without any kind of passport. Wherever people find work, they must have full rights, with no differences between any workers—the right to join a union, the right to strike, the right to live near their job and bring their families with them, the right to all social services.

U.S. imperialism wants to keep all borders closed, so they can exploit workers on both sides of the border. U.S. firms have plants in countries where they can pay pennies to the workers, where dictators shoot down workers who go on strike. U.S. aid keeps these dictators in power, and U.S. immigration laws make sure the workers can't leave to escape their conditions.

As long as they can pay workers in Mexico or South Africa a couple of dollars a week, they can threaten to close plants here if we don't take a pay cut. We have to fight in our unions to make them truly international unions—unions that will organize workers in other countries to get rid of sweatshop conditions and starvation wages. We need an international movement to fight imperialism, to fight for jobs, for better pay and against the terror of border cops or any other cops.

A mass movement can win jobs for some of the unemployed under capitalism. Strikes can win better conditions for some sections of the working class. But these are partial victories. The ruling class will attack us again and again. They have to, to ensure their profits.

We have to build a revolutionary party to lead all our struggles, so we can rid the world of the system that condemns part of the working class to slave labor and the rest to unemployment and slow starvation. □

U.S. Economy. . .

(Continued from page 3)

which rely on increased orders from thousands of large corporations and not primarily on purchases by auto companies and workers. As the demand for new cars begins to slow, the economy will have nothing else to hold it up and it will move rapidly toward a recession.

Finally, the sickness in the U.S. economy is one part of a sickness which exists throughout the world. The world economy is stagnating. Unemployment is high in all the capitalist countries. In Japan, unemployment is 2 percent, the highest level in six years. In most of Europe, unemployment is over 4 percent. In the U.S. and Canada, the rate is between 7 and 8 percent. For the rest of the world—Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America—the number of jobless workers is much higher.

In most of the world, inflation is over 9 percent a year and beginning to increase. And most importantly, economic growth has been falling off for almost a year now, after nine months of weak recovery from the recession of 1974-75.

The economic crisis of Europe, Africa and Asia will push the U.S. economy closer to a recession. The U.S. corporations receive billions of dollars per year in profits from companies which they own in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. They make billions each year on goods

which they export to other countries. And they make billions on the goods they import from other countries where they are made more cheaply.

Finally, U.S. banks, which lend billions to foreign governments, make huge profits on these loans in the form of interest. All these sources of profit for U.S. companies dry up when the economies of other countries go into a recession. This in turn moves the U.S. economy closer to a recession.

Every indicator in the world today points toward an economic crisis. The years of prosperity in the U.S., Germany and Japan are over. The problems of the weaker and less industrial countries are becoming more serious.

In the U.S. and elsewhere, workers cannot find jobs. Housing, schools, health care are rotting. Capitalism cannot provide for our needs as working people. Capitalism is rotting all around us and threatens to destroy us all. The capitalists are showing, once again, that they can't run society.

The workers and all oppressed people can reorganize society. If we rule, we can provide jobs, housing, education and human dignity. We must organize to destroy capitalism through the socialist revolution.

**Workers of the World Unite!
We Have Nothing to Lose
But Our Chains!**

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In August, over 40 members of the Revolutionary Marxist Collective (RMC) joined the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at the Socialist Workers Party's 29th Convention. Both groups claim that the merger represents a significant event in the building of a revolutionary party in the United States. In fact, it is nothing but a maneuver on the part of the SWP to build its prestige among middle-class liberals and radicals.

The RMC and SWP claim that both groups are in agreement on all basic questions, except the Russian Question. The RMC recognizes that Russia, China, Cuba and the other so-called socialist countries are state-capitalist. The SWP believes that these state-capitalist countries are workers' states.

Both groups declare that the difference is no obstacle to the RMC joining the SWP. At the same time, the SWP states that the Russian Question involves basic questions of Marxist theory and practice. This contradiction helps reveal the true meaning of this supposed fusion of tendencies.

The Russian Question

Behind the Russian Question lies the essence of Marxism. Marx and Engels declared that the emancipation of the working class can only be the work of the working class itself. Only the working class can destroy rotting capitalism, establish workers' states and build communism.

But the SWP rejects this. It believes that workers' rule is not necessary for there to be a workers' government. It calls Russia a workers' state, even though the workers there are completely frozen out of power in society. And it believes that the workers are not necessary to have a proletarian revolution that smashes capitalism.

For example, it calls the state-capitalist countries in Eastern Europe "workers' states" even though the workers of Eastern Europe never rose up to kick out the capitalists. They never smashed the capitalist states, nor did they set up their own states based on workers' councils, factory committees, and other democratic mass organizations. Instead, the Russian army and the local Stalinist parties expropriated the old Eastern European capitalists and created new state-capitalist ruling classes.

State capitalism

To do this the Russians and their Stalinist puppets smashed the workers and destroyed their independent organizations. Today the workers in these countries are an exploited and oppressed class, which is deprived of the most basic rights, such as the right to strike and organize unions, freedom of speech, and so on. The workers in all state-capitalist countries are wage slaves, who sell their labor power in return for wages.

The SWP's position on the Russian Question shows that it sees the working class as a class which cannot rule in its own name. It sees it as a class which is herded about by other, supposedly more dynamic social forces. The SWP's view of the workers is the view of the middle and upper classes, who feel that they ought to be the rulers over the working class. This view infects and corrupts the SWP's entire political practice.

If an organization believes that other classes, particularly middle-class forces, can overthrow capitalism and establish more progressive societies, it will work to saddle the workers with a variety of pro-capitalist leaderships.

A real Marxist organization will fight to raise the consciousness and political independence of the working class. It will try to show the workers that they can and must overthrow capitalism and build a truly free and just society. And it will show the workers and all the oppressed people that the liberal politicians, the trade union bureaucrats and other middle-class forces are deadly enemies of the working class and all oppressed people.

Middle-class "socialism"

The SWP's approach is the very opposite of this. For years, it completely ignored the working class. Instead, it concentrated its efforts on the middle-class movements. Within these movements the SWP did not fight for the program of revolutionary socialism. It didn't try to expose the liberal politicians and other people who misled the masses. On the contrary, in these

MIDDLE-CLASS "SOCIALISTS" JOIN FORCES

RMC Dissolves Into SWP

movements the SWP built a base for liberal capitalist politicians. It built their authority and prestige.

The SWP believed they were using the liberals to build the movement. But in fact, the liberals used the SWP to build their own base in these movements, and to eventually take them over.

SWP supports hacks

Today, the SWP is playing the same treasonous role in the trade unions. For example, they built Ed Sadlow's campaign in the United Steelworkers Union without ever explaining to the workers that he is an agent of the capitalists. If the SWP gets its way in the labor movement, it will help build the base of the liberal bureaucrats, who will then use this power to crush the workers.

This is the logic, in practice, of the SWP's position on the Russian Question.

The RMC agrees with the political practice of the SWP. Despite its formal position on the class nature of the state-capitalist countries, the RMC stands on the same middle-class program. But the people who make up the RMC did not always stand on a middle-class program.

About half the RMC membership, and all its leaders, used to be members of the Revolutionary Socialist League. Some of them were part of the RSL at its founding. And they participated in discussions of our political program, particularly our analysis of state capitalism. Throughout all this, they claimed to want to build a working-class revolutionary party. And they claimed to agree with our analysis of the SWP.

The RSL, however, was founded in a period of lull in the class struggle. The workers were in retreat and the influence of the left was at a low point. In 1974, under this pressure, the future RMC leaders got demoralized. They began to question whether they wanted to undertake the hard struggle to build a truly revolutionary working-class party. When our perspective

was to develop all sides of revolutionary work—developing theory, building a revolutionary newspaper, and rooting ourselves in the working class—the RMC leaders proposed that we devote ourselves exclusively to study and theoretical work.

To fight for their strategy, they formed a faction, and resigned from their posts in the RSL. A few weeks before our convention in early 1975, they resigned from the organization. From the time they quit the RSL until March of this year, the RMC studied and published a large body of theory. They apparently believed that this theoretical work, by itself, would build the RMC as a political tendency.

During this period, the RMC gave in further to the reactionary pressures of U.S. capitalism. They swung politically way to the right. By March of this year, the RMC realized that theory, without practice, could not build a political organization. And they also realized that, with the exception of the Russian Question, they were in agreement with the reformist politics of the SWP.

At their convention in March, the RMC decided to seek fusion with the SWP. In August, the RMC dissolved into the SWP. The evolution of the RMC shows that in its politics it is a middle-class tendency.

To us, the Russian Question involves the very nature of socialism, the proletarian revolution and the strategy for building a revolutionary party. To the RMC leaders—like all middle-class intellectuals who fail to break with their class background—the Russian Question is of little importance to the real struggle. The RMC's middle-class outlook was more than enough to overcome their theoretical differences with the SWP.

Why fusion?

But why is the SWP interested in the RMC, with its state-capitalist analysis? And why has it made such a big deal about this fusion? First, through the merger, the SWP gains over 40 new members, including some talented intellectuals. But there is

something more important.

In the present period, the opportunist left organizations are growing. The more left-wing tendencies are relatively isolated. In this situation, the SWP is trying to build its influence among middle-class liberals and trade union bureaucrats. It is also trying to establish itself as the place where all radicals belong.

For example, the SWP is fishing for the growing number of people in the Socialist Labor Party who are disturbed by the bureaucratic and abstentionist policies of that organization. The SWP leaders want to convince all these people that they will be welcome in and around the SWP. But the SWP has a problem. All these people disagree with the SWP's position on Russia. The liberals and bureaucrats are anti-communist. And the SLP militants recognize that Russia, China, Cuba and the other state-capitalist countries are not workers' states.

SWP maneuver

The SWP leaders figure that if they can lure the RMC, with its state-capitalist position, into joining the SWP, this will encourage other people with doubts about the SWP to support and join their party. As part of this maneuver, the SWP leaders gave the RMC leaders high positions and are promising a democratic discussion of the Russian Question.

For all this, the SWP risks nothing. Despite the RMC leaders' positions, the SWP leadership has nothing to fear. There is no internal democracy in the SWP, and the SWP leadership will make sure that the RMC leaders have no independent power or authority. In the meantime, the RMC rank and file will be isolated and split up into eight cities to weaken their impact. If despite this the RMC appears to be winning supporters to their position on the Russian Question, or anything else, the SWP leadership will come up with some excuse to expel the "disloyal" members.

Phony debate

Finally, the SWP majority cannot lose the debate on Russia. The people recruited to the SWP do not look at the world from the point of view of the working class. They don't believe the working class can run society. It will be impossible for the RMC to convince such people that the state-capitalist countries are not workers' states. Besides, the RMC has already given up too much ground to make an effective fight for the state-capitalist position.

Despite the hurrahs of the SWP and RMC, this fusion is no victory for the working class. It represents, instead, a consolidation of middle-class, anti-working-class forces.

But the fusion has its positive side. It helps clear the air. As the RMC dissolves and the other fake revolutionary organizations to the left of the SWP disintegrate, it will become ever clearer that there are two fundamental perspectives facing the working class. These are: 1) middle-class radicalism, best represented by the SWP and the Communist Party, which means the destruction of the socialist revolution; or 2) Bolshevism, represented by the RSL, which stands for the victory of the international working class and the construction of socialist society run by and for the masses of working people. □

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