

DRIVE IMPERIALISM OUT OF AFRICA!

PER SEC.
FEB 24 1977
NYPL

The forces of revolution are on the march throughout southern Africa. In the space of two years, African workers and peasants have liberated Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, reducing the once mighty Portuguese empire in Africa to nothing more than a bitter memory.

These partial victories of the African masses over imperialism put new confidence into the struggles of the captive peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. The supposedly "invincible" white South African army was given a humiliating defeat in Angola, and the border regions of Angola and Mozambique became available for setting up guerrilla camps to carry the armed struggle into Namibia and Zimbabwe. In early 1976, the revolution turned southwards, and the guerrilla movements in these two countries rapidly grew from a few hundred to thousands

of Black men and women under arms.

Just as the imperialists of the United States and Western Europe finished watching their Portuguese allies being lined up against the wall, they heard the crack of doom sound out for white South Africa itself. The fighting that broke out in the streets of Soweto in June 1976 marked the beginning of a revolutionary wave among Black South Africans which has continued right up to this moment.

This is the development the imperialists fear the most. All of the different plans the Western imperialists have for keeping Africa under their heel depend upon

(Continued on page 12)



Women march in Luanda, Angola, to celebrate independence from Portugal, 1975.

Carter Launches Attacks on Unemployed and Oppressed



Unemployed on line for jobs.

Jimmy Carter is hard at work these days. He is outdoing himself trying to come off as a "man of the people." He speaks at a town hall meeting and sleeps with the "common folk" of Clinton, Massachusetts. He holds the first White House phone-in, "to open himself up to the everyday man in the street." He's against unemployment, we are told, and wants to create jobs.

But there is another side to Jimmy Carter—the real side. In recent weeks, Carter has cut off unemployment benefits for hundreds of thousands of workers. He has also proposed a new minimum wage which sticks a knife in the back of the lowest paid workers in the country. Behind the smoke-screen of fireside chats and populist rhetoric about concern for the "little man," Carter is coordinating the

opening moves in a ruling class attack on the entire working class.

In mid-March, Carter asked Congress to cut back federally financed supplemental unemployment benefits. Regular state benefits run for 39 weeks, but during the worst part of the recent recession the federal government extended those benefits to 65 weeks in states with more than 5 percent unemployment. This special extension ran out on March 31.

Without any new jobs in sight, and with unemployment as high as before, Carter got Congress to cut these emergency benefits back from 65 to 52 weeks for the coming year. Over two million unemployed workers in the U.S. got extended benefits last year—Carter's new legislation will quickly leave many of these workers without any money coming in. To avoid starving, these workers must now go on welfare or take whatever jobs they can find, regardless of pay.

But the legislation goes even further. It requires

workers to accept any job that pays more than the unemployment check, or lose the benefits. In other words, it forces the unemployed to work for the minimum wage. This is a head-on attack on union wage scales and on the workers' standard of living. Carter wants to enlist the reserve army of unemployed workers to scab on the jobs and living standards of the employed. It shows what was really behind Carter's words about creating jobs.

A few months ago Carter got elected president after making "jobs for the unemployed" one of his main campaign pledges. What has he

(Continued on page 4)

sección
en
español

Lenin's April Theses see p. 14

de sus tierras y sus
adania, destruir sus
ormar a cientos de mi-
ros en peones migra-
del marbete de "pa-
s son reservas esteril-
das para esos negros
no pueden explotar
Los jóvenes, los vie-
s, la mayoría de las
esempleados son los
habitar estas áreas.
existencia misma de
liberales apoyan al
ea las tierras y los re-
ros. Quieren sólo dar-
democrática" a la po-
as al ofrecerles a los
n de padecer hambre
o de trabajarse hasta
reas blancas. En nin-
se ataca la política
andes números de ne-
ce lenta en tierras es-
er a la población ne-
iraría racista.
to principal del pro-
la "participación de
todos los niveles del
a palabra "participa-
aniobra. Los negros,
sonas de color y los
asta mayoría de Sud-
io de "una persona,
ría la dominación ra-
una gran sorpresa el
liberales están todos
sición a este principio
entario. Como el edi-
lo hizo claro en un
cualquiera de las re-
que se materialicen
r cualquier prospecto
n por la mayoría ne-
alabras en la Sudáfri-
nua en la página 19)

Working Class Must Lead Fight for Socialism

Remember the Dominican Revolution!

April 24 is the 12th anniversary of the Dominican Revolution of 1965. On that date, the workers of Santo Domingo revolted against U.S. imperialism and its Dominican puppets. For four months they defied 40,000 U.S. Marines. They wrote one of the most heroic pages in the history of Latin American struggle against the monster of the north—U.S. imperialism.

A CENTURY OF DOMINATION

In one hundred years of U.S. domination, the Dominican Republic has been systematically plundered and brutalized. In 1916 U.S. Marines took over the country and ruled it outright until 1924. From 1930 to 1961, U.S. imperialism saddled the country with the barbarous dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo. During this period, Trujillo and U.S. imperialism reduced the Dominican working class and peasantry to the most abject poverty. Mass unemployment, chronic inflation, and bloody suppression became a way of life.

When the masses in neighboring Cuba drove out U.S. imperialism in 1959, the U.S. bourgeoisie began to worry that the same thing might happen in the Dominican Republic. Kennedy ordered Trujillo killed off, because he was turning into a liability for the U.S. The U.S. maneuvered to bring a conservative, pro-U.S. regime to power. Juan Bosch, a liberal bourgeois politician, was elected president in 1962. A mere seven months after the election, a military junta took power in a coup. After a few pious words about democracy, the U.S. recognized the junta.



U.S. soldiers guard a Santo Domingo intersection.

The 1965 Revolution was touched off when a group of junior army officers launched a revolt against this military junta and seized Santo Domingo, the nation's capital. The aim of the officers was to bring back Juan Bosch. They gained the jubilant support of the population.

But the U.S. could not allow Bosch to return to power. The U.S. rulers feared that the long-abused Dominican proletariat and peasantry might use the less repressive atmosphere of a Bosch administration to move against their imperialist set-up in the country. At the urging of the U.S. embassy, right-wing generals attacked rebel-held Santo Domingo.

In response, the rebel officers armed the population. The masses of the *barrios altos*—the working class northern part of the city—mobilized to defend the revolution. In a few days, the 1,300 rebel army troops were joined by 4,000 civilian fighters. The largely working class militia units organized the defense of the rebel zone and took charge of medical and social services for the population.

When the generals' attack on Santo Domingo failed, the U.S. invaded the Dominican Republic. But the heroism and determination of the armed working class prevented a quick U.S. victory. When the Marines broke the truces they had signed and grabbed more territory, the armed working class of Santo Domingo put up a fierce resistance, block by block. U.S. imperialism, already tied down in Vietnam, was reluctant to press the fight to the finish against the armed proletariat of Santo Domingo. It opted for "negotiations" with Col. Francisco Caamaño Deñó, the leader of the insurrection. The U.S. was playing a waiting game, to sap the revolution from within. A few months later, in September, Caamaño capitulated.

Despite its exemplary bravery, the working class of Santo Domingo was badly handicapped, because it had no revolutionary socialist party to lead it in battle. Therefore, it had no revolutionary program or tactics to rally around itself the Dominican workers and peasants outside Santo Domingo. Because of this, it proved relatively easy for U.S. imperialism to isolate the workers of the capital and surround them.

A revolutionary socialist party would have organized workers' committees in the neighborhoods and shops to organize the defense and to

run the city. It would have fought to place all power in an executive of workers' committees, and would have organized a workers' army. A revolutionary socialist party would have called on the rural proletariat and peasantry to seize the land—thereby rallying them to the revolutionary cause.

Such a revolutionary party would have also issued appeals to the soldiers of the reactionary junta and to the U.S. Marines to turn the guns on their own officers, and to join the fight against U.S. imperialism. Finally, such a party would have issued systematic appeals for aid from the international proletariat.

Caamaño and his fellow officers, however brave they might have been, were not willing to pursue this revolutionary strategy. They were products of a bourgeois army, and did not have an outlook that could break with capitalism. This explains why, in spite of the heroism of the workers, the revolution was defeated.

Caamaño saw neither the potential power of the proletariat nor how to organize that power. From the beginning, he concluded that the Dominican masses could not defeat U.S. imperialism, and would have to negotiate. All that remained was for the U.S. to wait out the workers' upsurge; to wait until demoralization could take its toll.

The revolutionary forces were penned in and on the defensive. They were cut off from supplies and in dire straits. As the months passed, victory appeared increasingly remote. In late summer, Caamaño agreed to end the rebellion and accepted the installation

of a pro-U.S. puppet, Héctor García-Godoy. Caamaño told the masses, "The invaders who came to destroy our revolution had...to bend before the courage of our own people.... Elections will be held shortly. Freedom of the individual and human rights will be granted to all Dominicans."

Whether or not Caamaño believed what he was saying, U.S. imperialism soon revealed what it thought of "human rights." With fraud and terror it fixed the 1966 elections and installed Joaquin Balaguer. Under his rule, the Dominican Republic has returned to the terror and plunder of the past. U.S. imperialism is more firmly entrenched than ever.

As the international working class commemorates another anniversary of the Dominican Revolution, there is a central lesson which must be learned: only a proletarian revolution can liberate the working class and oppressed masses from the yoke of imperialism and capitalism. This is because only the working class has no stake in capitalism. The working class, therefore, to liberate itself, must fight to destroy capitalism and all forms of exploitation.

All other classes—however "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" they may appear to be—fundamentally have a capitalist outlook. When the die is cast, their leaderships are unable to break with capitalism. These leaders always fear the imperialists a lot less than they fear the revolutionary proletariat. As a result, they capitulate to imperialism rather than work to mobilize the revolutionary energies and initiative of the proletariat.

Either these people get ground up in the military battle against imperialism, or they get swallowed up in imperialism's economic and political spider's web, before or after coming to power. No matter how radical or "socialist" they seem, at most they can bounce between U.S. imperialism and Russian state capitalism, or change masters.

LEADERS FEAR PROLETARIAT

A break with imperialism requires a working class-led socialist revolution. For this revolution, the workers must organize a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party. Such a party is needed in the Dominican Republic if the next round of the revolution is to succeed. A party of this type incorporates the most revolutionary members of the proletariat, and trains itself in the science of revolution. Thus when the hour of decision strikes, it can guarantee that the struggle is carried through to victory. □



Anti-U.S. demonstration in Santo Domingo.

Inside...

- 2 Dominican revolution
- 3 Auto struggle builds
IBT tops expel militants
- 4 Atlanta sanitation strike
- 5 Free Narciso & Perez
Women's right to self-defense
Attacks on gays
- 6 Puerto Rican militants attacked
Behavioral modification in prisons
- 7 3-day hunger strike at Somers
Somers prisoners' manifesto
- 8 All out for May Day
SCAA reports
- 9 Auto cos. profit from apartheid
SCAA fights SWP reformism
- 10 Apartheid after WW II
- 14 Lenin's April Theses
- 15 Faction fight splits I.S.

FEATURES

- 4 Labor in Struggle
Steel... Philadelphia transit
strike... Markley/Suares
- 6 Break the Chains
Shakur... Walla Walla...
Dupree
- 13 World in Revolution
India... Pakistan... France
- 16 Letters
Sexism on the job... Andrew
Young... Gay rights...
Undocumented workers
harassed.

LA ANTORCHA

Recordemos la revolucion dominicana... Andrew Young:
Testaferrero del imperialismo
estadounidense

Wil

At the
worker
tical p
and th
plant i
to pres
ended

In b
when f
cal uni
fused t
no tim
their r
leaders
and D
compar
as "ille
feat th

The
lis plan
March
against
A foren
ard who
and the
when a
man ba
immedi
The Ch
junction
per gat
lion and
They al
militan
walkout

Doug
hatchet
the UA
break th
workers
more str
ler plan
wildcatt
that cat
UAW h
again fo
contract
went ou
threaten
receivers
the stri
negotiat
firings
strike e
saw no a
that the
turned to
ings and
so the lo
inside th

FREMO

At the
members
March 28
Fremont
Assembly
which ar
worst sp
ment har
Fremont
man Clen
mitteema
sults at t
who was

Soon af
GM mana
committe
tional lea
out as an
gotiations
strikers r
leadership
lie Mays,
fused to k
ship.
The loca

Wildcats Shut Down Fremont and Indianapolis

AUTO STRUGGLE BUILDS

At the end of March, militant autoworkers shut down the Chrysler Electrical plant in Indianapolis, Indiana, and the General Motors assembly plant in Fremont, California. As we go to press, these wildcat strikes have ended in defeat.

In both cases, the strikes began when foremen physically assaulted local union officials. The companies refused to fire the foremen, but wasted no time in firing local union leaders for their role in the walkouts. The UAW leadership, led by Leonard Woodcock and Doug Fraser, did a job for the companies by branding the walkouts as "illegal wildcats" and helping to defeat them.

The 3,200 workers at the Indianapolis plant (Local 1226) walked out on March 18 and held firm for 12 days against a barrage of company attacks. A foreman had assaulted a union steward who was trying to file a grievance, and the strike began three days later when armed cops escorted the foreman back into the plant. The workers immediately set up mass picket lines. The Chrysler bosses quickly got an injunction limiting the pickets to four per gate, sued the union for \$4.5 million and fired 23 local union officials. They also suspended 44 rank and file militants for their active role in the walkout.

Doug Fraser, Woodcock's main hatchet man and the next president of the UAW, went to Indianapolis to break the strike. In the past year, the workers of Local 1226 have waged more strikes than in any other Chrysler plant in the U.S. Local members wildcatted last September to demand that cafeteria workers remain in the UAW bargaining unit. They struck again for 17 days in January over local contract issues. When the workers went out again in March, Fraser threatened to put Local 1226 in receivership. He put all the blame on the striking workers and said that negotiations on the foreman and the firings could only begin after the strike ended. The striking workers saw no alternative to Fraser's demand that they surrender, and most returned to work by March 30. The firings and suspensions remain in effect, so the local has no working leadership inside the plant.

FREMONT WORKERS WALK OUT

At the Fremont plant, the 5,000 members of Local 1364 walked out on March 28 and stayed out for four days. Fremont is one of the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plants, which are notorious for having the worst speedup and the most management harassment in the GM empire. Fremont workers got fed up when foreman Clem Holquist assaulted a committeeman and then yelled racist insults at the assistant committeeman who was with him.

Soon after the workers walked out, GM management fired the entire shop committee. Again, the UAW International leadership denounced the walkout as an "illegal wildcat," and said negotiations were impossible until the strikers returned to work. The local leadership, led by shop chairman Earle Mays, limited the picketing and refused to buck the Woodcock leadership.

The local leaders ended the strike

when the company lifted the firings—Mays got a 30-day disciplinary layoff and the rest of the shop committee got 14 days. This means the local leaders are only one or two steps away from being fired—the company may try to axe them for any minor infraction. Meanwhile, Holquist, the racist foreman, remains on the job. The GM bosses gave their worthless "word" that their foremen would stop assaulting union members.

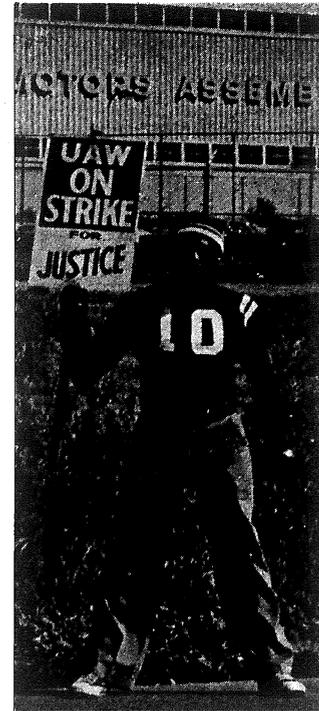
RANKS FORCED LEADERS TO STRIKE

It was only the militant response by the rank and file to the company attacks that forced the local union leaders to call these walkouts. The local leaders had no intention of leading a serious fight. They refused to build mass picketing, and they did not attempt to spread the strikes to other auto plants or to enlist the support of other sections of the working class. Facing the combined attacks of the auto companies and the top UAW leaders, the local officials caved in and called off the strikes.

These walkouts ended in defeat, but one thing is clear: more and more rank

and file autoworkers are angry and ready to fight. When the company attacked, the workers in Indianapolis and Fremont did not hesitate to strike in defense of their union. Last fall's auto contract was a serious defeat for the autoworkers, and the increasing harassment and speedup that is going on inside the plants now is a direct result of the contract defeat. Woodcock, Fraser and the rest of the International leadership engineered the sellout contract. Now that the struggle is picking up, they are attempting to break local resistance to the companies' attacks.

The issues of company harassment, assaults by the foremen and now the firings and disciplinary layoffs against local union officials are in no way resolved. Autoworkers are going to have to fight to establish their right to strike against open assaults on the union and any other local issues. For now, the workers have suffered defeat, but it is not a final defeat. Autoworkers are beginning to show their determination to fight back—this determination must now be organized in a national rank and file movement. If militant autoworkers organize, they can defend themselves against the com-



Striker at Fremont GM.

pany attacks and they can throw out the Woodcocks, Frasers and other bureaucrats who are strangling the struggle of autoworkers. □

Defend Camarata and Ferdnance!

IBT Tops Expel Militants



Pete Camarata (center) in Detroit demonstration against his expulsion from IBT.

DETROIT—On March 25, the leaders of Teamster Local 299 expelled Pete Camarata and Al Ferdnance from the union. The Local 299 executive board charged Camarata and Ferdnance with violating the union's constitution by leading a car haulers' wildcat last August. The real reason for the expulsion, however, is that Camarata and Ferdnance are leaders of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), a rank and file opposition group which is challenging the Fitzsimmons machine in the Teamsters Union.

The Teamster bureaucrats have been after Camarata since the union's 1976 convention in Las Vegas. Camarata got more votes for delegate to the convention than any other candidate

in Local 299. And at the convention, Camarata called for a limit on the outrageous salaries of the Teamster bureaucrats, as well as casting a single vote opposing Fitzsimmons' reelection as president. The union hacks responded with a goon squad attack which put Camarata and a supporter in the hospital.

The TDU is organizing to fight the expulsions. On April 2, the TDU rallied 80 supporters outside the Local 299 union hall to demand that Camarata and Ferdnance be reinstated. And on April 6, TDU-supporters and others demonstrated for the same purpose outside the emergency meeting of Teamster officers and local union heads in Washington, D.C. Fitzsimmons called the special

meeting to reassert his control over the union and to deny rumors that he might resign under pressure from the U.S. government, which is investigating Teamster pension fund violations. Fitzsimmons has already been forced to resign from the board which controls the pension funds, because he was knee deep in various loan scandals which squandered away the money that rank and file Teamsters had paid in for their pensions.

Fitzsimmons is clearly feeling the heat, and this is one reason the Teamster bureaucrats have chosen this time to move against the TDU.

Rank and file Teamsters and other workers must organize to defend Camarata and Ferdnance against the Fitzsimmons gang. But we have to use different methods than the TDU. While the TDU has organized demonstrations against the expulsions, they are also appealing to the bosses' courts. TDU has gone to court asking for a restraining order against the expulsions. It is suing Local 299 for \$30,000 in damages. These actions expose the union itself to danger—especially right now.

The government and the courts are already trying to increase their control over the union through the pension funds scandal, and the TDU is simply giving them one more opportunity to get their hands on the union. The government and the courts will not defend Camarata and Ferdnance, but they will try to weaken the union.

Rank and file Teamsters have to mobilize their forces to defend Camarata and Ferdnance and to dump Fitzsimmons and his whole crew. This mobilization should also be directed at driving the government and the courts out of the union. □

ion!

bet, Héctor García told the masses, so came to destroy ... to bend before their own people... held shortly. Free- idual and human ited to all Domin-

Caamaño believed U.S. imperialism at it thought of With fraud and 1966 elections and alaguer. Under his an Republic has or and plunder of perialism is more han ever.

onal working class her anniversary of olution, there is a must be learned: a revolution can g class and op the yoke of pitalism. This is rking class has no n. The working berate itself, must apitalism and all n.

—however "pro- imperialist" they e—fundamentally rtlook. When the erships are unable apitalism. These the imperialists a ar the revolution- result, they capi- rather than work utionary energies e proletariat.

le get ground up against imperial- allowed up in im- ic and political or after coming to how radical or m, at most they a U.S. imperial- te capitalism, or

PROLETARIAT

rialism requires a ialist revolution. the workers must .Trotskyist van- party is needed in ublic if the next ion is to succeed.

incorporates the members of the ins itself in the . Thus when the es, it can guaran- ggle is carried □



Carter Attacks. . .

(Continued from page 1)

done? Official figures put unemployment at nearly 8 percent—over seven million workers out of work. In other words, nothing has changed. These figures do not even include the millions of workers who have given up looking for work altogether, and millions more who are working only a few hours a week. The youth unemployment rate continues to rise. It is now close to 20 percent. In many of the largest cities, over 50 percent of the Black and Latin youth are unemployed.

Carter has talked about a few thousand public works jobs, but this won't even be a drop in the bucket. Carter's real plan for attacking unemployment is to attack the unemployed. As we saw, Carter is cutting unemployment benefits in order to force workers to take jobs at the minimum wage.

To go along with this, Carter is moving to keep the minimum wage far below the poverty level, so his forced labor scheme will be very profitable for the capitalist class. The current minimum wage is \$2.30 per hour. The AFL-CIO proposed a two-stage increase to \$3.00 per hour. This is measly enough. But Carter attacked the AFL-CIO proposal as "inflationary" and offered a miserable 20-cent increase!

This is an increase of just 8.5 percent. It won't even cover one year's rise in inflation. But the current minimum wage rate was set three years ago. Carter's increase amounts to a real wage cut of well over 20 percent for the three million workers who are struggling to survive on the minimum wage. Yet in the last few days, the Carter government has re-

leased figures which indicate that inflation is skyrocketing again, and, at current rates, it will exceed 13 percent by March of next year.

Carter has launched the attack. Congress (controlled by the Democratic Party, the so-called friends of labor) and state governments across the country are following his lead. They are carrying out massive cuts in welfare benefits, medicare, food stamps, education, aid to the handicapped and the aged and nearly all social services.

Carter is spearheading an assault on the entire working class by attacking the weakest sectors first—the old, the young, the disabled and the unemployed. The working class cannot allow this attack to pass. Today's attacks on the weaker sectors are the economic and political groundwork for a bourgeois assault on the jobs and income of all workers.

Capitalism is in crisis all over the world. With more stagnation and an eventual depression ahead, there is no way that Carter or any other capitalist politician can reverse the downward slide. The government can't provide jobs, stop inflation, halt the decay of the cities, or reverse the cuts in social services. On the contrary. The capitalist crisis means that all these trends will accelerate, and that the government will have to step up its attacks on the working class.

Carter knows that the U.S. economy is on the skids. So, as a capitalist politician, he does what comes naturally: he tries to prevent or slow down the crisis for the bourgeoisie by intensifying the crisis for the working class. He wants the proletariat to pay to keep the system afloat.

So long as the working class has friends like Carter and the Democrats, it doesn't need enemies. What the workers need is a program that can deal with massive unemployment and runaway inflation: 1) Jobs for all through massive public works, at union wages, to rebuild the cities. 2) A shorter workweek without a cut in pay, to provide jobs for the millions who want to work. And 3) a halt to inflation's ravages through a sliding scale of wages, tied to a price index computed by trade union committees.

To put it another way, it must not be the working class which pays for the crisis caused by the bourgeoisie and its government.

But U.S. capitalism is incapable of implementing any such program. The only way out of the capitalist mess is for workers to organize to overthrow the whole system. The alternatives are simple: socialism or capitalist misery. Carter represents nothing but continued capitalist misery. The road forward is socialist revolution. □

Liberal Union Busters Attack Atlanta Sanitation Strike

On March 28, 1,024 sanitation and water workers in Atlanta went out on strike, demanding a 60-cent wage increase and improved benefits. The workers, over 80 percent Black, are members of Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). They earn poverty-level wages, starting out at less than \$6,500 per year, and they have not had any wage increase in over 30 months.

As soon as the strike began, the liberal Black mayor of Atlanta, Maynard Jackson, moved to try to break it. The Democratic mayor sent a letter to every striking worker, saying that he or she had to return to work by April 2 or be fired. On April 2, Jackson began taking applications to recruit an all-scab workforce to replace the strikers. The mayor called on Atlanta residents to take their garbage to designated pick-up points, where scab workers backed by the police were trying to move it.

Jackson is getting aid in his efforts

to break the strike. Martin Luther King, Sr., an early and prominent supporter of Jimmy Carter, joined the anti-union chorus at a press conference on April 5, the ninth anniversary of the death of his son, Martin Luther King, Jr. King denounced the strikers and urged the mayor to fire every one of them.

Against these attacks, the sanitation and water workers are standing their ground. They have voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike and they are expanding their picket lines to cover Jackson's scab pick-up points.

For the Atlanta workers to win, they are going to have to break with liberals like Maynard Jackson, and with the union bureaucrats who support these Democrats. The striking workers must go straight to the Black community and the entire working class for support. If working people stand with the Atlanta strikers, they can defeat the liberal union-busters. □

LABOR IN STRUGGLE



Workers Lose in Steel Contract

On April 9, the leadership of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) negotiated a new contract covering 370,000 steelworkers. The contract is so bad that USWA local presidents rejected it on the first vote by 148 to 143. But USWA President Abel got up and reminded the local leaders that under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), a rejected contract goes to binding arbitration where the results might be even worse. The local presidents fell into line and accepted the sellout agreement on the second vote by a 193 to 99 margin.

Abel's contract extends the ENA, a pro-company deal which gave up the right to strike through 1980. All of Abel's promises about "lifetime job security" came down to this: if you have 20 years in the steel mills, you get one single extra year of Supplemental Unemployment Benefits after a layoff! And worse still, 20-year workers aren't the ones who are facing massive layoffs. Younger workers who are hit by layoffs get no help in the new contract.

The Abel contract provides an 80-cent wage increase over three years—40 cents the first year, 20 cents in the second and third years. But the ENA already guarantees automatic raises of 3 percent a year, so there is almost no new money involved. There are no gains on health and safety for coke oven and blast furnace workers, no improvement in the grievance procedure, nothing on ending discrimination against minority workers in hiring and upgrading and no real

improvements on layoffs and jobs.

The steel bosses should be very pleased with Abel and the ENA. For rank and file steelworkers, the struggle is now concentrated at the local level, where the possibility of salvaging some gains out of the defeat engineered by the union bureaucrats still exists.

Transit Strike in Philadelphia

5,000 Philadelphia transit workers have been striking since March 23. The leaders of Local 234 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) originally tried to push through a rotten contract, but the rank and file organized to reject it by a margin of nearly two to one. Militant transport workers went from depot to depot to protest the union's secret negotiations and to mobilize for the rejection vote once the proposed agreement was announced.

The strike will probably be a long one. Frank Rizzo, the reactionary mayor of Philadelphia, has vowed that the transit workers won't get "another dime," no matter how long they strike. And Rizzo, along with the ruling class newspapers and TV stations, is trying to whip the citizens of Philadelphia into a frenzy against the "greedy" transit workers. The mayor has already threatened a big fare increase if the transit workers win any of their demands.

Rank and file transit workers have been fighting back by urging that the working people of Philadelphia unite to fight for no fare increase, for

the full restoration of transit services and for the just demands of the strikers.

Markley and Soares Railroaded

Alex Markley and Tony Soares, trade union militants from Massachusetts, were convicted March 26 on eight counts of possessing and transferring explosives. The ninth charge, conspiracy to blow up scab trucks during the United Electrical Workers (UE) strike against the Worthington Compressor Company in the fall of 1975, was dropped for lack of evidence.

The main witness against Markley and Soares was Thomas O'Reilly, an undercover labor spy from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau of the U.S. Treasury Department. The federal government used the fink and informer, O'Reilly, to entrap Markley and Soares in an attempt to stop the UE organizing drive in Massachusetts.

The ruling class is using undercover spies to entrap and imprison union organizers. When federal agents first arrested Markley, they offered him his freedom if he would agree to inform on the rest of the labor movement. Markley refused, and the government went ahead with its frame-up.

Markley and Soares will be sentenced on April 14. If the convictions hold, they face up to 60 years in prison. Defense attorneys will appeal the convictions, and Markley and Soares have pledged to continue mobilizing working people to fight this attack.

—BA

Suicid

DETR
Filipina
Perez is
selection
the court
indicate
being fra

The tw
with mur
Ann Arb
Hospital
that cau
March 1
ported th
suicide n
the death

Jakim
nursing
guilt and
to the
Neuropsy
Arbor. I
tal, she r
her guilt

Because
is unlike
made co
legally
situation
the FBI

At one
Jakim w

On Jun
scheduled
efforts by
recently
The fight
test of
rights fo
that, if s
anti-gay

Spearch

Anita Br

"Miss FL

vision c

worked s

Citrus Co

of the cit

tive of th

them kee

groves. (

has only

groves.)

appearanc

mentalist

a private

nates aga

In Janu

Commissi

ning discr

uals in c

public ac

county. It

37 cities.

minute l

Church,

Council, t

tion and

Children

Bryant an

swung inf

signatures

(number)

referendum

Bryant

becomes la

ica "as F

Gomorrhah

appeal to h

threat of

In a full-pa

she claims

Suicide Note Exposes Frame-Up

Free Narciso and Perez!

DETROIT, April 9—The trial of Filipina "P.I." Narciso and Leonora Perez is in its sixth week. Jury selection is still in progress. Outside the courtroom, much has happened to indicate that Narciso and Perez are being framed.

The two Filipino nurses are charged with murdering several patients at the Ann Arbor Veterans Administration Hospital in 1975 by injecting a drug that caused breathing failures. On March 13, the Detroit Free Press reported that Mrs. Betty Jakim left a suicide note taking responsibility for the deaths.

Jakim was Narciso and Perez's nursing supervisor. Suffering from guilt and depression, she was confined to the University of Michigan's Neuropsychiatric Institute in Ann Arbor. During her stay in the hospital, she made repeated confessions of her guilt.

Because of Jakim's state of mind, it is unlikely that any statement she made could stand up in court as a legally valid confession. But this situation is another indication of how the FBI handled the case.

At one point in the investigation, Jakim was on the suspect list. As a

supervisor, she had unquestioned access to every part of the hospital. She was one of two people with access to the pharmacy. Narciso and Perez had no way of obtaining the drug.

Jakim made statements to FBI investigators referring to the Intensive Care Unit as "my vegetable patch." She questioned the use of emergency lifesaving measures on critically ill patients. Jakim herself was suffering from terminal cancer. She received treatments with a cancer-fighting drug that caused severe changes in her mood and mental state.

It is not known how thoroughly the FBI investigated her, but she, a supervisor, was dropped as a suspect in

favor of the two Filipinas. The hospital administration encouraged Narciso and Perez to cooperate with the FBI. In doing this, the administration wound up protecting one of its own.

The protection of a dead supervisor has not stopped there. The FBI did not hand over documents about Jakim's possible role in the case to the defense. The administration of the Neuropsychiatric Institute has also refused to hand over Jakim's records. In addition, Henry Bryant, a psychiatric care worker at the Neuropsychiatric Institute who spoke to reporters about Jakim's confessions, has been fired.

This has gone on under the pretext

of "protecting confidentiality." But who is being protected? Those who do the dirty work for the ruling class will cover for their own kind. They will blame workers and other oppressed people for their own problems. The hospital administration told Narciso and Perez to cooperate with the FBI. Filipino workers get framed. Their friends in the Neuropsychiatric Institute administration across the street withhold records. A worker, who speaks the truth, gets fired.

The jury will never know this. It has gone on behind the scenes. The judge will see to it that only what he considers "tangible evidence" is presented to the jury. He refuses to dismiss the case, although what has gone on is unjust. He is not interested in justice. He will perpetuate what the racist, capitalist system tries to pass off as justice. The capitalist courts have no right to try Narciso and Perez. It is in the interests of all workers and oppressed peoples that Narciso and Perez go free. □

Attack Strike

Martin Luther and prominent leader, joined the press conference on the 10th anniversary of the strike. Martin Luther urged the strikers to fire every one

of the scabs, the sanitarians are standing. They have voted over the strike. They are picketing their picket line. They are scab pick-up

workers to win, they are to break with the union. Jackson, and the bureaucrats who are the rats. The strikers are straight to the point. They are the entire support. If working people in Atlanta strike, they are the liberal union-



and for the

Railroaded

ade union convicted and charged. During the strike against the union in the fall of

by and Suarez labor spy arms Bureau the federal officer, O'Reilly, attempt to Massachusetts.

er spies to. They offered inform on the. They refused, and frame-up.

ced on April up to 60. They will appeal the. They have. They are trying people to

Support Women's Right to Self-Defense

It is more than five and one-half years since Yvonne Wanrow was first arrested and charged with murder for defending herself and her children. The latest delay in freeing her from these charges came in early February,

when the prosecutor requested a reargument of the case before the Washington State Supreme Court.

Wanrow is charged with the shooting death of William Wesler, a known child-molester and rapist. On the night of August 12, 1972, Wesler broke into the home of Wanrow's babysitter, Shirley Hooper. Wesler and another man threatened Wanrow, Hooper and the children. In self-defense, Wanrow shot Wesler.

Wanrow, a 31-year-old Colville Indian, was tried before an all-white jury in May 1973, at the height of nationwide media hysteria over the Wounded Knee occupation. Indians everywhere were being portrayed as dangerous revolutionaries. Wanrow was convicted and sentenced to 25 years in prison. The conviction was later overturned and a new trial ordered. Wanrow now awaits her second trial.

The issues in the Yvonne Wanrow case are similar to those involved in the trial of Inez Garcia, a woman of Cuban and Puerto Rican descent. Garcia was convicted of murder for shooting the man who held her down while another raped her.

Garcia was finally acquitted in a second trial on March 4 of this year—after almost three years of legalistic red tape and sexist and racist maneuvers by the courts of California.

The particulars in the cases of Wanrow and Garcia are different, but the cases are essentially the same. Wanrow defended herself and others from a rapist. The state came down on Wanrow. Garcia taught a well-deserved lesson to her attackers. The state came down on Garcia.

Why does the state try so determinedly to railroad women who act in defense of their right to control their own bodies? For the ruling class, these cases represent the threat of the oppressed people standing up, guns in hand, against their oppressors. And even though the guns are not pointed directly at the capitalists, they are pointed at one of the foundations of the capitalist system.

The capitalists need sexism. The ruling class thinks of women only as property to be used for exploitation, both sexual and economic. Sexism as an ideology is also maintained by the ruling class to keep the working class divided. The more men the ruling class can convince that women are no more than sex objects and housekeepers, the stronger is the social base

for the capitalists. This keeps the rulers sitting on top.

Sexual assault is part and parcel of a system in which the capitalists attempt to prevent women from having control over their own lives. For the capitalists, to allow women to defend themselves is signing their own death warrants. It undermines the basic assumptions of the sexist pigs that run the country.

The revolutionary workers' movement defends our sisters' right to fight back. The state has no right to defend the rapist thugs. And the state has no right to try any woman who defends herself from the bourgeoisie's partners in crime.

But we must do more than this to put an end to the exploitation of our



Inez Garcia.

sisters. The "right of self-defense" in words means very little unless it can be implemented in fact. We must demand self-defense training for working class women in schools, communities and the unions. Working class and oppressed women must have access to weapons for defense and be trained to use them. We must ensure that all women are able and prepared to follow the example of Garcia and Wanrow.

**Stop the Trial of Wanrow!
Self-Defense Training for Working
Class Women!**

Anita Bryant

Leads Attacks on Gays

On June 7, a special referendum is scheduled in Miami as a result of efforts by right-wing bigots to repeal a recently enacted gay civil rights law. The fight in Miami is shaping up as a test of strength by opponents of rights for homosexuals, who claim that, if successful, they will take their anti-gay crusade nationwide.

Spearheading the Miami effort is Anita Bryant, the pop singer who is "Miss Florida Orange Juice" in television commercials. Bryant has worked since 1968 for the Florida Citrus Commission, the organization of the citrus bosses. As a representative of the growers, Bryant has helped them keep unions out of the orange groves. (The United Farm Workers has only one contract in the Florida groves.) She has also made many appearances with Billy Graham's fundamentalist crusade. She is a member of a private club which openly discriminates against Blacks and Jews.

In January, the Dade County Metro Commission passed an ordinance banning discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing and public accommodation throughout the county. It is similar to existing laws in 37 cities. The bill passed despite last-minute lobbying by the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Rabbinical Council, the Miami Baptist Association and Bryant's group—Save Our Children From Homosexuality, Inc. Bryant and her friends immediately swung into action, collecting 60,000 signatures (far more than the required number) to petition for a special referendum to repeal the ordinance.

Bryant claims that if gay rights becomes law, God will destroy America "as He destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah." Her stock-in-trade is an appeal to hysteria about the supposed threat of homosexuality to children. In a full-page ad in the Miami News, she claims: "Recruitment of our

children is absolutely necessary for the survival and growth of homosexuality—for since homosexuals cannot reproduce, they must recruit, must freshen their ranks. And who qualifies as a likely recruit (better than) a teenage boy or girl who is surging with sexual awareness?"

Numerous scientific studies show that "recruitment" has next to nothing to do with making people homosexual. But this is not really the point. Bryant has a different target: the right of homosexuals to exist publicly. According to Bryant, homosexuals can be "tolerated" providing they "keep their deviate activities to themselves." But Bryant doesn't want homosexuals to become "role models" for the "impressionable," or to give homosexuals "the right to tell all society, including our youth, that homosexuality is not wrong."

But the right to be openly gay is what gay liberation is all about. Homosexuals have the right to be openly, proudly gay and to tell anyone and everyone—including Anita Bryant's children—that homosexuality is not wrong. Anti-discrimination laws can provide partial legal rights for gays, and they should be fought for. But as long as they exist within the framework of capitalism's reactionary attitude toward homosexuality, gays will remain oppressed.

We must work to smash the Bible-crazed sexism which Anita Bryant represents. The Florida referendum campaign is just one battle in this fight—but it is one of national importance. Money, support and the largest possible mass mobilization are needed to stop Anita Bryant in the June referendum. □

(Send messages of support or contributions to the expenses of the referendum campaign to: Dade County Coalition, P.O. Box 414, Miami, Florida 33133.)



State Railroads Shakur

On March 15, an all-white jury found Assata Shakur guilty on charges of murdering a companion and a state trooper, and of wounding a second trooper. Shakur was immediately sentenced to life in prison.

The charges stem from a May 1973 shoot-out on the New Jersey Turnpike. State troopers attacked a car carrying Shakur and two companions. Shakur testified during the trial that she was shot while getting out of the car at the pigs' request. Two doctors corroborated her story. They both stated that the bullet wounds were unexplainable unless Shakur had her arms in the air.

The trial was a frame-up from start to finish. The bourgeois press convicted Shakur before she ever took the stand. Newspapers, TV and radio in the New York-New Jersey area lined up with Detective James Harper's story that Shakur fired the first shot. They faithfully ran Harper's version of the events. They did this even though Harper admitted that part of his original report, claiming Shakur had a gun concealed in her purse, was a lie. (Shakur didn't even have a purse!)

The jury was hand-picked. So well hand-picked, in fact, that most of the jurors admitted before the trial that they already considered Shakur guilty. The conviction in this case means one thing: the bourgeoisie wanted Shakur in prison and did everything it could to put her there.

Shakur denounced the whole rotten frame-up in a statement to the jury: "I am ashamed that I have even taken part in this trial. You abuse the law. I knew it was racist. I knew the judge was unfair. You have convicted a woman who had her hands up in the air."

Guards Shake Down Walla Walla Brothers

For the past few months the Torch has been reporting on the struggles of the Walla Walla Brothers to expose the conditions in the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. Last month we reported that the Walla Walla administrators had launched a general campaign of repression and intimidation. In the course of this campaign, they made wild charges against the prisoners—for example, they claimed that the prisoners on one tier of the Intensive Security Unit were plotting to steal an atom bomb!

New reports indicate that the harassment at Walla Walla is continuing. A letter to the Torch from a Walla Walla Brother states the following:

"I haven't received any paper (Torch) since January. . . . For our petition. . . they came to our cells and strip searched us and used flash lights to look up our asses. Then they tore our cells apart and took our personal property and hygiene items, or threw them away—like coffee, tea, cocoa, stamps, paper, calendars and religious items—soap, shampoo, deodorant, toothpaste, mirrors and shaving soap, etc. Plus pens and carbon paper. Nothing was physical. More is to come, they warned us."

The administrators at Washington State Penitentiary are determined to wage one terror campaign after another in order to assure their absolute control over the lives of the prisoners at Walla Walla. The Walla Walla Brothers need the support of individuals and organizations throughout the country. The conditions at Walla Walla must be exposed.

(For more information write: Morning Due, P.O. Box 22228, Seattle, Washington 98122.)

FLASH—As we go to press, the Torch has received word that prisoners at Walla Walla are under further attack. Last year a prisoner who tried to rape another was stabbed. During the recent trial of two prisoners charged with the stabbing, an explosion went off in the witness waiting room. According to reports, a cigarette lighter was the cause. A prison guard lost four fingers and a thumb. In response, the keepers of Walla Walla launched a more extensive harassment campaign—this one throughout B tier. One prisoner, Mark LaRue, was confined to a strip cell for flushing his toilet! Once again books, legal papers and personal items have been taken. Prisoners are now under 24-hour lock-up.

Further details will be in next month's Torch.

Dupree Wins Acquittal in Second Trial

On March 28, Lewis 17X Dupree won acquittal on murder charges in his second trial. Dupree, according to the state, killed a cop, Phillip Cardillo. Cardillo died during a cop attack on Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 in New York on April 4, 1972. The first trial of Dupree ended in a mistrial.

The state asserted that Dupree took Cardillo's gun and shot him with it. But the state never produced the bullet that killed Cardillo.

The one state witness against Dupree was Foster 2X Thomas, an underworld thug and police informer who has been charged with larceny and forgery. Thomas made it clear during the first trial that he was testifying against Dupree in hopes that the state would go easy on him.

The trials of Dupree clearly demonstrate just how little the ruling class cares for "justice" in its courtrooms and just how much these "trials" are legal disguises for ruling class repression.

This victory for Dupree came because of the support that he received from the Black community and the working class in general.

We welcome this victory.

—FH

Puerto Rican Militants Attacked

End Grand Jury Witch-Hunt

CHICAGO—Myrna Salgado and José López, two Puerto Rican independentista militants from Chicago, are being threatened with imprisonment because they refused to testify before a grand jury. The grand jury was convened because the Chicago police claim to have found an alleged "bomb factory" in an apartment belonging to Alberto Torres, a university student.

The capitalist ruling class is attempting to link Salgado and López to the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional), which is accused of several bombings. Already in New York, Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin have been imprisoned because they refused to testify about the FALN before a grand jury.

What the ruling class is really doing is conducting a witch-hunt. It is a well-known secret that the grand jury system is used as a weapon of repression and harassment against militants, radicals and revolutionaries. The government wants to destroy the substantial base of independentista-oriented people in the Chicago-area Latino community, to which these militants belong. Salgado and López run the Rafael Cancel Miranda High School, an alternative school named for a Puerto Rican national hero,



Raisa Nemikin.

which teaches the true history of Puerto Rico and is involved in the struggles of Chicago's Latino community.

The capitalist government wants to use a few bombings to portray all Puerto Rican militants as isolated terrorists. But José López himself has answered this charge: "The media and the government concentrate on the violence of the people of the colony. The real violence comes from the U.S. government which seized Puerto Rico by force and now exploits the workers on the island, sterilizes women, deports thousands of Puerto Ricans to the mainland, and makes every effort to completely destroy our national identity. We are one of the most oppressed sectors in the U.S. Out of our oppression comes resistance."

Revolutionary workers must defend the rights of these Puerto Rican militants, whom the capitalist class wants to imprison without even a trial. They must be defended because they have courageously refused to testify before a weapon of capitalist repression. We must solidarize ourselves with them in their struggle for independence and for the defense of Puerto Rican rights on the mainland.

The witchhunt is aimed at all activists in the Puerto Rican community who have broken with the bosses' politics. These independentistas must not spend one second in prison. □



Maria Cueto.

Women Prisoners Threatened by Behavior Modification

Authorities in Boston are planning to open a new psychiatric prison unit at the Worcester State Hospital in September. The new unit will be known as the "Intensive Care Unit (ICU) for Emotionally Disturbed Violent Women." Unless prison and mental health officials are stopped, "behavior modification" will have a new outlet.

The method of using psychiatric "care" and "cures" on prisoners is not new. The behavior modification arsenal of electroshock, psychosurgery, drug "therapy" and sensory deprivation has been used for years in other prisons as a way to make prisoners submissive. Women at Worcester now face these same threats of torture.

But opposition to the new prison unit is building. The Coalition to Stop Institutional Violence, made up of women's, prisoner and mental health organizations, has been actively exposing the real role of the planned

ICU. The Coalition has made it clear that these facilities and inhuman techniques will not be used for health purposes, but against women who don't bow to their keepers or easily accept incarceration.

As conditions in the prisons and mental health institutions rot, more and more prisoners are fighting the disgusting treatment they get. As a result the administrators feel the need for some strong means of keeping the angry prisoners in line. The ICUs, with their mind-warping methods, are thus one important weapon used by the administration to crush prisoner resistance. The importance of the unit to prison management can be seen by the fact that Worcester was given \$500,000 for its first six months of operation. This happened in the middle of drastic budget cuts. □

(For more information contact: Coalition to Stop Institutional Violence, Box 1, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.)

Prison
Connecti
at Some
strike be
percent
part in

On th
March 1
of the
outside
was or
Friends
ford Me
Citizens
Justice.

The p
condition
repressio
They we
the perv

Condi
Through
complet
and ven
ble for
prisoner

M
P
S

The f
Prisoner
at Some
shortly
strike be
Manifest
which th
ganizing
prisoner
inform b
and the
their de

Impris
which re
from the
by the v
the perso
tion by
liberty.
aggravat
such a s
prisoner
exclusion
their con
this is o
cent of a
return to

The Co
gross vic
rights. A
struggle
determin
hunger s
1977. As
tional an
fundamer
nized and

Our m
which we
are as fol

Cited a
United N
treatment
details of
routine in
"6. (1) T

Somers Prisoners Wage Three Day Hunger Strike

Prisoners in segregation at the Connecticut Correctional Institution at Somers waged a three-day hunger strike beginning on March 14. Over 80 percent of those in segregation took part in the strike.

On the final day of the strike, March 16, a demonstration in support of the striking prisoners was held outside the prison. The demonstration was organized by the American Friends Service Committee, the Hartford Meeting of Citizens and the Citizens for Humanizing Criminal Justice.

The prisoners struck to protest conditions in the prison and the repression of prisoners by guards. They were also demanding an end to the pervasive racism at Somers.

Conditions at Somers are rotten. Throughout the prison there is a complete lack of adequate lighting and ventilation. There are jobs available for only about half of the prisoners. Even those with jobs

cannot afford the prices at the prison's commissary.

Further, beatings are routine. According to one Somers prisoner: "The beatings are a common thing to us down here, the only thing that comes into our minds is 'who's next?'"

The racism of the prison begins with the composition of the prison population. While Black people are 6 percent and Spanish-speaking people less than 2 percent of the population of the state of Connecticut, Black people make up 45 percent and Spanish-speaking people 10 percent of the prison population.

But once imprisoned, Black and Latin people face special harassment. It is no secret that guards in many prisons are KKKers. Black and Latin prisoners face racist treatment daily—sometimes subtle, sometimes brutal. For example, prisoners at Somers who are Muslims are not even allowed one pork-free meal a day—even though

their religion forbids eating pork. They are not allowed to hold religious services at the times appropriate for those of Muslim faith.

The striking prisoners demanded an end to these and other oppressive conditions at Somers. Right now, the Department of Corrections insists that it will grant none of the prisoners' demands. But in many respects, the strike represented an important gain for prisoners at Somers.

The strong participation in the strike has built prisoners' confidence in their ability to unite and fight for their needs. Further, the prisoners ended the strike having greatly strengthened their organization.

Last September, when Somers prisoners held a peaceful demonstration against these same conditions, the administrators turned their dogs—the prison guards—on the protesting prisoners. Many prisoners were brutally beaten. Sixteen were thrown into

segregation. And the administrators ran a "publicity campaign" in which they claimed the demonstration was entirely the work of "outside agitators."

Having learned a lesson from September's events, the prisoners planned their next action more carefully. Before launching the hunger strike, they sent out copies of the "Manifesto of the Prisoners of the State of Connecticut at Somers" to left organizations, citizens' groups, the news media and others. By letting people outside the prison know what was happening at Somers, the prisoners made it possible to organize a support demonstration on the outside as they waged their fight inside. And because of this, the prison pigs were in a weaker position to use their storm trooper tactics.

The struggle will have to continue and many more actions will have to be held in order to win even the minimal demands that the prisoners put forward during their hunger strike. But it is through unity and organization that the brothers at Somers and all brothers and sisters in the prisons can win concessions from the reactionary administrators who rule over the country's oppressive prison system.

Power to the Prisoners!

Manifesto of the Prisoners at Somers

The following "Manifesto of the Prisoners of the State of Connecticut at Somers" was sent to the Torch shortly before the Somers hunger strike began. (See article above.) The Manifesto explains the demands which the brothers at Somers are organizing and fighting for. The Somers prisoners have used the Manifesto to inform left and community groups and the news media in general of their demands and struggle.

Imprisonment and other measures which result in cutting off an offender from the outside world are afflictive by the very fact of taking away from the person the right of self-determination by depriving them of their liberty. Prison systems should not aggravate the suffering inherent in such a situation. The treatment of prisoners should emphasize not their exclusion from the community, but their continuing part in it. Indeed, this is only rational because 98 percent of all prisoners will eventually return to their communities.

The Connecticut penal system is in gross violation of our basic human rights. As part of our continuing struggle for our human rights we have determined to go on a three-day hunger strike beginning March 14, 1977. As necessary, we will take additional and further actions until our fundamental human rights are recognized and respected.

Our major complaints, areas in which we demand immediate change, are as follows:

Cited are pertinent sections of the United Nations Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, with the details of specific violations which are routine in this prison:

"6. (1) There shall be no discrimina-

tion on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

Black people comprise approximately 6 percent, and Spanish-speaking people less than 2 percent, of the population of the State of Connecticut. Black people comprise over 45 percent, and Spanish-speaking people over 10 percent, of the population of the prisons of Connecticut.

Property is a prime factor in determining who goes to prison. This is natural in a capitalist, imperialist country. The greatest criminals, those who profit by exploiting and oppressing the overwhelming majority, are favored rather than punished, simply because they control the apparatus of violence and coercion that is the state machinery.

Special punishment for those with religious or political beliefs different from those of the ruling capitalist class is routine.

"8. (b) Untried prisoners shall be kept separate from convicted prisoners."

Dozens of prisoners, awaiting trial, have been brought to the prison for confinement in the punitive segregation unit (F-block) in an effort to break their spirits and to induce them to plead guilty. A recent example is the case of Steven Meyers, a young man, 20 years old, who was confined for months in F-block without having been convicted of any crime.

"11. (a) The windows shall be large enough to enable the prisoners to read or work by natural light, and shall be so constructed that they can allow the entrance of fresh air whether or not there is artificial ventilation."

F-block was deliberately constructed in violation of this rule. The windows are designed to prevent natural light from entering, and also to further the policy of sensory

deprivation by preventing prisoners from seeing outside. The one clear glass window in F-block was ordered painted. In addition, the one window that could be opened for fresh air was ordered bolted shut to deprive prisoners of fresh air.

"11. (b) Artificial light shall be provided for the prisoners to read or work without injury to eyesight."

Lights in the cells in F-block are deliberately dim. Special glass is used to diffuse the light still further to keep the cells in a constant poor light. Many prisoners require eyeglasses after several months confinement in F-block.

"21. (2) Every prisoner who is not employed in out-door work shall have at least one hour of suitable exercise in the open air daily if the weather permits."

Prisoners in F-block are routinely kept locked in their cells for the full 24 hours of the day on weekends and holidays. This means for a full one-third of the year prisoners are denied their human right to exercise in the open air for their health. On the

other days they are permitted less than the full hour. In addition, the lowest ranking guard can deprive a prisoner of exercise time on whim. Many prisoners have gone months without their exercise time, suffering damage to their health.

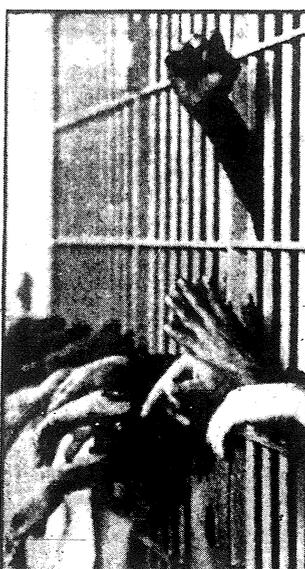
There have been many months of vicious assaults upon prisoners in recent months. The cases of Bennefield and Merrill deserve particular attention. These prisoners were locked in their cells when squads of guards attacked them. The prisoners were sprayed with chemical mace, then guards entered their cells to brutally beat them. In the case of Merrill, ten guards strained and pushed their way into his cell. The men were choked and had their clothes ripped off, before being thrown into strip cells in chains. We demand that such assaults cease immediately.

We demand that every prisoner be provided with a job or an income. It is not our fault that the prison managers maintain only enough jobs for half of the prison population, with most of those being maintenance. We reject the efforts of the prison managers to create competition among prisoners for those few jobs. We demand meaningful jobs for all prisoners, or an equal income for those who have no jobs. We demand that an index of basic commissary prices be kept, with our income rising accordingly to keep pace with rising prices.

We demand an immediate change in the visiting policy to permit contact visits and visits in the evening. Nearly all prisons in the country have instituted these changes and we see no reason why we should be treated differently.

We demand an end to the practice of multi-punishments for violations of petty prison rules. In many cases prisoners are punished in a dozen different ways for a single misconduct report. This includes time spent in the hole, loss of good time, loss of exercise time, exclusion from furlough program, educational program, and telephone program. In addition, minor misconduct reports are reviewed when a prisoner is eligible for parole, thus damaging his chances and possibly resulting in additional years in prison

(Continued on page 17)



ALL OUT FOR MAY DAY!

May Day—May 1—belongs to the international working class. On this day working people around the world honor the historic struggles of our class, our victories and the memory of our martyrs. The celebration of May Day goes back to 1886, when hundreds of thousands of workers in the U.S. went out on a general strike on May 1 to demand the eight-hour day. Since then, revolutionary workers have taken May Day as a time to mobilize their forces and to demonstrate to the world their commitment to the struggle for international socialist revolution.

This year, the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA) are sponsoring May Day demonstrations in New York, Detroit and Chicago. We will be organizing to win new workers to the revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary movement is still small in the U.S. and the masses of working people in this country will not participate in this year's May Day activities. But this is a period of growing struggle by the international working class. Out of that struggle many more workers are looking to the revolutionary movement and beginning to join the



fight to overthrow capitalism.

Today, the center of this struggle and the center of the world revolution is in South Africa. In the face of the most brutal terror and repression, the Black workers and youth are rising up against the racist dictatorship in South Africa. In the last year alone, over 1,000 Black South Africans have laid down their lives in the revolutionary struggle. On May Day the RSL, SCAA and other workers will march in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in South Africa. Their struggle is

an inspiration to workers throughout the world. It strengthens our determination to fight until apartheid, racism and the system which is responsible for them—capitalism—is destroyed in South Africa and throughout the world.

The U.S. ruling class props up and profits from the apartheid system in South Africa. And the U.S. imperialists use South Africa as their main base for controlling other countries on the African continent. The Black

workers and youth of South Africa are, therefore, in the forefront of the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism and the U.S. ruling class. Every blow against U.S. imperialism, every struggle that weakens the U.S. ruling class, is a victory for workers everywhere—including workers in the U.S. The same rulers who oppress and exploit us here are oppressing and helping to slaughter the Black workers and youth of South Africa.

INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM

There is one international struggle against imperialism and capitalism, and that struggle has many fronts. So when the Black workers of South Africa rise up against the white rulers and against U.S. imperialism, workers in the U.S. and around the world gain strength and the international struggle for socialism takes a huge step forward.

The RSL and SCAA are attempting to unite workers in the U.S.—Black, Latin, Asian and white—to support the South African revolution. By building this kind of movement, we can materially aid the Black workers and youth of South Africa and can lay a firm foundation on which to build the fight for socialism in the U.S. For this reason, members and supporters of the RSL and SCAA will be going to the auto plants, the steel plants, other workplaces, to the unemployed youth, the high school students and to the Black and Latin communities to build the May Day actions.

The tasks for workers in the U.S. and around the world are clear—to organize our forces to support the South African revolution and to prepare for the same battles in our own countries. □

SCAA REPORTS

CHICAGO

The Chicago chapter of SCAA is planning a March Against Apartheid in observance of May Day, the annual holiday for the workers of the world. The march will be held on Saturday, April 30, at 12 noon, beginning at the Federal Building and ending with a rally at Haymarket Square, the scene of the events which May Day commemorates.

The SCAA meeting of March 30 endorsed an anti-eviction action in Englewood called by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. The fight of the U.S. Black community for jobs and housing is a part of SCAA's struggle.

The Chicago chapter will also be sending representatives to a demonstration April 15 at the trial of Benny Lenard. Last month's Torch told how Lenard, a worker at the International Harvester plant in Melrose Park, was beaten by police on his way home from work.

The Young Militants Against Apartheid held a fund raising party on March 19. They are also planning a showing of the movie Last Grave at Dimbaza in the Englewood community to help build for the May Day march.

DETROIT

During the last month, Detroit SCAA has been concentrating on winning more workers to the anti-apartheid struggle. This has been done through showing Last Grave at Dimbaza and participating in a demonstration called by the March 26th Anti-Apartheid Coalition (see article on page 9). The next major action organized by the Detroit Solidarity Committee will be a demonstration on

May Day weekend.

The film showings have been an effective method of educating other workers about what is going on in South Africa. Most of the showings have been for autoworkers. They have been held in Committee supporters' living rooms after work, with friends from work invited.

Besides showing the film and organizing for May Day, Detroit SCAA has begun work on a historical pamphlet on the struggle of Black Africans against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. The pamphlet will outline the heroic struggle of our sisters and brothers beginning with the fight against the first white invaders and ending with the struggle now going on. The pamphlet is part of the broader educational work of the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid.

NEW YORK

On March 19, about 50 people joined a New York SCAA-sponsored demonstration in front of South African Airways in Manhattan to commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. The chants and speeches emphasized the need for a Black workers' revolution to smash apartheid in South Africa. The SCAA speaker pointed out that the main lesson of Sharpeville was that there is no possibility for peaceful change in South Africa. The speaker from the RSL discussed the importance of building a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist party in South Africa to lead the fight to overthrow South African capitalism.

New York SCAA has established a Spanish-speaking section to develop work in the large Hispanic community in New York. They have translated the sound track of Last Grave at Dimbaza into Spanish and have begun Spanish-language showings.

The first was held on April 2 at the Amsterdam Tenants Association, and was attended by 30 people. The Spanish-speaking section has also begun educational meetings and is planning more activities, including building a Hispanic contingent for the coming May Day demonstration. □

MARCH ON MAY DAY!

Smash Apartheid!
U.S. Out of Africa!
Victory to the Black Workers' Revolution in South Africa!

Join SCAA and the RSL to celebrate May Day — the holiday of the international working class.

DETROIT	CHICAGO	NEW YORK
Saturday, April 30 12 Noon Picket and rally at Manufacturers Bank (Griswold-Michigan, No. side of Kennedy Square, Downtown): (313) 341-1250	Saturday, April 30 1 p.m. Gather: Federal Bldg. (Jackson-Dearborn) March thru downtown. Rally at Haymarket Square.	Sunday, May 1 2 p.m. Assemble at 112 St. and Amsterdam. March to 106 St. and Broadway. Rally. (212) 942-8043

Auto Companies Make Huge Profits From Apartheid

By a Chrysler Worker

South Africa's apartheid system has one purpose: to provide huge profits by exploiting Black labor. The repressive government keeps Black workers handcuffed—they are totally at the mercy of their employer. For the capitalists, this is an "ideal" system. For Black workers it is a living hell.

In the auto plants in South Africa, Blacks work on the line and whites have all the supervisory and skilled jobs (with a few token exceptions). At one plant, Blacks make an average of \$83 a month; whites make \$560 a month. In other words, Blacks are paid starvation wages. But the wages tell only a small part of the story.

Like other Black workers, Black autoworkers are not allowed to live with their families. They are housed in single-sex barracks—anywhere from eight to 20 workers sharing one room.

There are no recognized Black unions—just "works committees" which do not have the right to strike, to file grievances, or to negotiate a contract. A strike is a crime punishable by three years in jail or a fine of \$1,500 (over a year's pay). The same punishment applies to slowdowns, walkouts or any kind of job action. This leaves Black workers defenseless, and creates a reign of terror on the line.

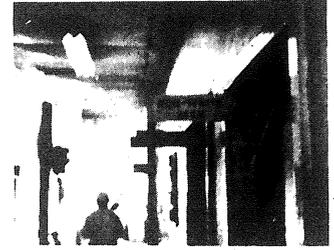
The foreman can fire anyone for any reason—for being sick, or tired, or having a "bad attitude." There is no appealing the foreman's decision. A South African law makes it a crime to curse a foreman or any white person—a worker who does will lose his or her job. Another law lets the companies fire any worker who misses one day of work without an excuse.

It is easy to see why American auto companies are in love with the apartheid system. In the U.S., workers

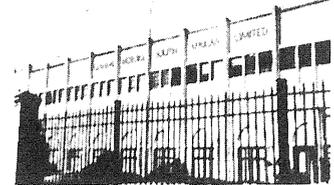
have won some democratic rights which put limits on how far these slave-drivers can go (for example, American workers can join unions and go on strike). In South Africa, there are no limits. The government strips Black workers of all rights. This allows foreign investors, like the American auto companies, to make a higher profit rate than they can in the U.S.

The way the auto companies think was made clear by Chrysler in 1967. At that time, plans were being made for a new engine plant in Detroit. There was a ghetto rebellion in Detroit that summer. Chrysler decided to build its engine plant in South Africa instead, because the workers were kept "under control" there.

GM, Ford, Chrysler and AMC all have plants in South Africa. Their investments are key to the South African auto industry. And the auto industry is key to South Africa's econ-



GM plant in South Africa (above); inside, segregated washroom for workers (below).



omy. It is around auto that the offshoot industries have developed: rubber. (Continued on page 17)

Y!

outh of South Africa n the forefront of the ggle against U.S. imhe U.S. ruling class. inst U.S. imperialism, hat weakens the U.S. a victory for workers luding workers in the ulers who oppress and are oppressing and hter the Black work- of South Africa.

INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM

international struggle lism and capitalism, e has many fronts. So k workers of South gainst the white rulers imperialism, workers around the world gain e international strug- takes a huge step for-

SCAA are attempting in the U.S.—Black, d white—to support ican revolution. By nd of movement, we id the Black workers th Africa and can lay n on which to build alism in the U.S. For abers and supporters CAA will be going to he steel plants, other e unemployed youth, students and to the communities to build tions.

workers in the U.S. world are clear—to ces to support the revolution and to same battles in our

AY
AY!

artheid!

f Africa!

the Black
revolution
ca!

ay—
class.

NEW YORK

Sunday, May 1
2 p.m.
semble at 112 St.
and Amsterdam.
March to 106 St.
and Broadway.
Rally.
(212) 942-8043

SCAA Fights SWP Reformism

On March 26, the Coalition Against Apartheid (CAA) held demonstrations in a number of major cities around the U.S. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the SWP-sponsored National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) issued the call for the demonstrations and organized CAA.

In Detroit, New York and Chicago, the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA) and the Revolutionary Socialist League, along with the Young Militants Against Apartheid (YMAA) in Chicago, organized revolutionary contingents to intervene in the SWP demonstrations. In all three cities, these contingents carried the fight for Black workers' revolution in South Africa into the otherwise reform-oriented actions.

Central to the SWP's strategy is enlisting the support of liberal groups like the NAACP and a line of Democratic Party politicians: Julian Bond, Ron Dellums, etc. CAA built the demonstrations around the demand for majority rule and completely opposed any mention of the fight for revolution in South Africa. The SWP and its supporters want to go to any length to avoid upsetting the Democratic Party hacks.

In the Chicago march, the SCAA-RSL-YMAA contingent chanted:

"What's the word? Johannesburg!
"What are we for? Class war!
"How's it done? With a gun!
"What's the solution? Revolution!"

The pacifists around the SWP got so upset that they tried to surround the revolutionary contingent with their bullhorns and drown out the chant with the liberal plea "Black Majority Rule Now."

In New York the SWP unsuccessfully tried to silence the revolutionary contingent by chanting: "Africans Want Majority Rule." This did not stop the supporters of the RSL and SCAA. The SWP was even further exposed at the end of the rally when two African speakers, one from Zimbabwe and one from South Africa, called for liberation through revolution.

Even liberal NAACP speakers at the New York rally threw out some meaningless rhetoric about revolution in South Africa. But speaker after speaker from the SWP and their

youth groups absolutely refused to mention the fight against capitalism and for revolution and socialism.

The SWP is setting itself up as the policeman of the anti-apartheid movement in this country. With one hand,

the world. Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young are taking up the same line and beginning to include South Africa as well: they want some cosmetic reforms of the apartheid system to derail the revolutionary struggle and to maintain



RSL/SCAA contingent at March 26 CAA demonstration, New York City.

these liberals in revolutionary clothing are trying to silence the revolutionary contingents. And with the other hand, the SWP pleads with capitalist politicians like Percy Sutton—Democratic candidate for mayor of New York—and his Republican opponent to speak at their rally and join their coalition.

The SWP wants to drag the growing anti-apartheid movement into the liberal swamp by tying it to the Democratic Party. Under the guise of "uniting as many people as we can," the SWP is, in fact, providing a left cover for the U.S. imperialists. Look at who else is calling for majority rule in southern Africa. Henry Kissinger and Ian Smith have talked plenty about "majority rule" in Zimbabwe. Their strategy for saving the racist government in Zimbabwe was and is to put a few Black faces in the government to provide a cover of reform for one of the most reactionary regimes in

the bloody system of repression and misery which brings such huge profits to the U.S. corporations.

The SWP and the liberals who surround it are falling right into line behind the imperialist strategy. The leaflet issued on March 26 by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the SWP's main youth group, said it like this: "It's up to us to show Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young that it's not good enough (!) for them to call for 'majority rule' in Zimbabwe while conducting business as usual with John Vorster in South Africa." In other words the SWP wants the anti-apartheid movement to applaud Carter and Young for their counter-revolutionary work in Zimbabwe! These phony revolutionaries want to limit the anti-apartheid movement to begging the imperialists to fully implement their neo-colonial strategy in South Africa.

The SCAA leaflet for the March 26 demonstration said: "CAA wants us to believe in this 'Black Majority

Rule' strategy of Carter and the U.S. ruling class... To build the anti-apartheid movement in this country around the slogan 'Black Majority Rule' means building a base for these liberal capitalist politicians and for their strategy of destroying the revolution in South Africa. It opens the way for these enemies of the revolution to move in and take over our movement. We can have no illusions in these politicians or what they stand for. They must be driven out of our ranks. Our movement must be organized around victory to the revolution in South Africa, and not around false promises of reform."

This is the message that the revolutionary contingents carried into the CAA demonstrations. Members and supporters of SCAA and the RSL—through chants, banners and leaflets—showed that there are two counterposed strategies for building the anti-apartheid movement in this country. The central question is reform or revolution. From the Sharpeville Massacre to the streets of Soweto, the answer is clear: armed socialist revolution, led by the Black working class, is the only road forward for the masses of African people.

A number of independents at the demonstrations, as well as some supporters of other groups, understood these differences and joined the revolutionary contingent in the chants and on the picket line and marches. In Detroit, the RSL-SCAA contingent united with the Red Tide contingent (the youth group of the International Socialists) to break away from the SWP-led rally, set up a picket line at one of the Detroit banks which sells the Krugerrand (gold coins from South Africa) and finally to hold a separate rally.

The revolutionary contingents were smaller than the SWP-led contingents, but what they lacked in size they more than made up for in spirit and determination, based on a revolutionary program. By taking on and exposing the liberal and counter-revolutionary strategy of the SWP, SCAA moved forward in the fight to build a revolutionary wing in the anti-apartheid movement. More workers are joining the fight to support the Black workers' revolution in South Africa. □

Torch Photo/Eugene V. Lee

In the first article in this series, we sketched the development of apartheid up to 1948, the year the Nationalist Party (the right wing of the South African racists) won the elections. We showed how capitalism and apartheid in South Africa developed hand in hand. As the working class grew larger and more powerful, the ruling class moved more and more to suppress the Black people and deprive them of democratic rights. At the same time, white workers were formed into a highly privileged layer, completely bound and loyal to the ruling class. The main purpose of this strategy was to maintain the Black workers (the overwhelming majority of the population) in a state of super-exploitation, producing gigantic profits for the capitalists. It is these profits, made possible by the apartheid system, that enabled South Africa to become a modern, industrial country—the most powerful country in Africa and the chief bulwark of U.S. imperialism in southern Africa.

This second article traces the development of apartheid in the post-World War II period, as South Africa became a completely racist police state. Today South Africa is one huge concentration camp for the Black masses, who are denied the last vestiges of democratic rights they ever had, and are paid barely enough to survive—and sometimes not even that.

By Darryl Clark

Since 1948, South Africa's white rulers have constructed a totalitarian racist dictatorship. Black South Africans have been stripped of every right and virtually enslaved.

The foundations of this racist dictatorship were laid long before 1948;

Part 2 of a series

but since then, the ruling class has made this dictatorship more total than ever before. The Nationalist Party, which has been in office ever since 1948, has constructed a legal system, backed up by powerful police and army, under which Africans can neither live nor work in most of the country without police permission. Every year, over half a million people are jailed for breaking the pass laws. Millions of Blacks are being forcibly evicted from their homes, often being sent to desolate places they have never seen before. Hundreds of thousands of African children die each year, victims of capitalist-bred malnutrition and starvation. Now, the racists are stripping Blacks of their citizenship in their own country.

The Black people of South Africa have waged many militant struggles against the totalitarian offensive of the Nationalists. Their protests have been met with mass arrests and mass murders. Scores were killed at Sharpeville in 1960, hundreds in Pondoland the same year, hundreds more all over South Africa since Soweto exploded last June. The Nationalist government has built the strongest military machine south of the Sahara to back up its bloody rule. But all this has not stopped the struggle. Today, revolution is breaking out and threatens to topple the entire apartheid system.

1948-59: Racist Attack

The first decade of Nationalist rule was a period of racist onslaught against the Black masses, who struggled to win a decent life and equal rights by peaceful methods.

In 1948, the newly elected Nationalist government flaunted its racism to the world by rejecting the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. It also rejected UN supervision of its colony South West Africa (Namibia).

Inside South Africa, the Nationalists enacted law after law to suppress the African population as a whole, and the left in particular, including the small but troublesome white left. In 1950, the Nationalists passed the Suppression of Communism Act. This law defined equality between whites and Blacks as a "Communist aim." It let the government lock up anyone for 10 years for possessing a "Communist" publication. Later, this law was changed to let the government exe-

cute anyone who furthers the "aims of Communism."

Other laws instituted total segregation throughout the country. Under the Group Areas Act of 1950, the government evicted Blacks from land they had occupied for generations. Asians and so-called "Coloureds" (people of mixed descent) were also herded into separate, segregated areas. To back this up, the government enacted a new pass law in 1952. This forced all Black people to carry passes. Previously, a handful of better-educated Black people had been exempt, as were Black women, who had launched successful militant actions against the pass laws. Black women again organized a mass struggle against the new pass law, but this time the government made it stick.

The Bantu Education Act (1953) was designed to enforce African servitude. Most advanced subjects were banned, and teaching was to be in tribal languages rather than English, the language used by most Blacks in the cities. This was part of a deliberate attempt to revive dying tribal divisions. The Minister of Native Affairs (and



Cop checks passbook, Johannesburg.

later Prime Minister) H.F. Verwoerd explained: "There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor." Today, only about half the African children of South Africa get even this inferior education.

Finally, the Nationalists moved to destroy even the token voting rights that Blacks and other oppressed South Africans still possessed. First they moved against the "Coloured" people in the Cape Province, who could still vote in parliamentary elections if they met a property qualification. When the Separate Representation of Voters Act became law in 1956, the "Coloured" people could only elect a few white representatives in special elections. (In 1968, even this was wiped

SOUTH AFRICA: B

Apartheid After World War II

out.) In 1959, the government also abolished the Native Representatives, leaving Blacks without even the most token representation in parliament.

Defiance and Boycotts

As in the past, the Black people fought back continuously and militantly against the racist assault. On May Day and again on Freedom Day—June 26—of 1950, the African National Congress (ANC) and other groups called mass demonstrations and protest strikes against the Nationalists' new laws. On Freedom Day in 1952, the ANC began the Defiance Campaign, aimed at eliminating the apartheid laws by mass civil disobedience.

Thousands of Africans responded to the call to defy unjust laws. Volunteers refused to carry passes, stood in "white" lines at bus stops or tried to enter for-whites-only taxis, and then offered themselves up for arrest. The existing penalties for some of these offenses were fairly light (fines or short jail terms) so the campaign grew. In response, the government pushed through a new law: five years in prison for breaking laws as part of a protest. Armed with this law, the courts stamped out the Defiance Campaign. By the end of 1952, the ANC was forced to call off the Campaign.

But defiance continued. Black people struggled against the Bantu Education Act and against eviction from Sophiatown (an old Black area of Johannesburg) to Meadowlands, part of what is now Soweto. These struggles did not succeed—but they were not forgotten. It was in Soweto, a generation later, that the current battles against apartheid began with a struggle against Bantu Education.

The biggest victory in these bitter years was the Alexandra bus boycott. When the bus fare from the Black suburb of Alexandra to Johannesburg was raised in 1957, the Africans declared a boycott. For nearly three months, tens of thousands of people walked nine miles and more to work. They faced police harassment, arrests and pass checks. But they won. The fare was rolled back.

Political Weaknesses

Militant as the African resistance was, it had important political weaknesses. The weaknesses were mainly due to the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC).

By 1955 the ANC had formed the Congress Alliance—an alliance of the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats (a white

group opposed to apartheid) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (a small union federation opposed to all racial discrimination). All these groups were controlled by the banned Communist Party. The Congress Alliance called the Congress of the People for Freedom Day—June 26, 1955. After months of preparation, thousands of delegates gathered for the Congress under heavy police surveillance.

The Congress adopted the Freedom Charter, a program for change in South Africa. Both the ANC and the South African Communist Party still point to the Freedom Charter as a program for the struggle. The Charter opposes racism and calls for democracy. It calls for the land, banks, monopolies and mines to be put in the hands of the people.

It does not attack and call for the overthrow of capitalism. In fact, it denies that a socialist revolution is necessary to smash apartheid. In other words, the Freedom Charter called for radical democratic reforms without directly challenging the social system and the ruling class that built and maintained apartheid. This reformist program spread illusions among the Black masses that apartheid could be eliminated without the violent revolution that is necessary.

This same strategy led the Communist Party and the ANC to restrain the militancy of the Black masses in order not to alienate the whites. This fruitless attempt to avoid frightening the whites only limited the tactics and militancy of the struggle and played

into the hands of the... Eventually, milit... away from the ANC... Africanist Congress... PAC was not a soc... either, it was a step... itant struggle that o... the Africans" and... by false hopes of... white liberals.

In 1956, 156 ANC... on trial for treason... government tried t... possibility of pea... Though eventually... defendants were a... quittal merely led

1960: The Turning Point

The year 1960 wa... in the history of the... The events of 1960... all to see that the S... ists know no moral... fence of their barba...

In early 1960, Xh... ed against the Na... ment and its appoin... doland, part of the T... ernment brutally st... volt, killing hundre...

But the most sig... event of 1960 was th... sacre. The Pan-Afr... called demonstratio... 1960, against the p... lies were peaceful, w... pared for arrest. S...



Housing in South African miners' compound.

AFRICA: BLACK WORKERS REVOLT

theid After rld War II

opposed to apartheid) and the African Congress of Trade Unions (a small union federation open to all racial discrimination). All groups were controlled by the Communist Party. The Congress Alliance called the Congress of People for Freedom Day—June 1955. After months of preparation, thousands of delegates gathered for a congress under heavy police surveillance.

The Congress adopted the Freedom Charter, a program for change in South Africa. Both the ANC and the African Communist Party still adhere to the Freedom Charter as a program for the struggle. The Charter calls for an end to racial discrimination and calls for democracy, control of the land, banks, monopolies and mines to be put in the hands of the people.

The Charter does not attack and call for the overthrow of capitalism. In fact, it demands that a socialist revolution is necessary to smash apartheid. In the words of the Freedom Charter, the program for radical democratic reforms is to directly challenge the capitalist system and the ruling class that has maintained apartheid. This program spread illusions among the Black masses that apartheid could be eliminated without the need for a revolution that is necessary. The same strategy led the Communist Party and the ANC to restrain militancy of the Black masses in order not to alienate the whites. This attempt to avoid frightening the whites only limited the tactics and intensity of the struggle and played

into the hands of the racist regime.

Eventually, militant Blacks broke away from the ANC to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). While the PAC was not a socialist organization either, it was a step toward a more militant struggle that claimed "Africa for the Africans" and was not held back by false hopes of an alliance with white liberals.

In 1956, 156 ANC leaders were put on trial for treason as the Nationalist government tried to stamp out the possibility of peaceful resistance. Though eventually the Treason Trial defendants were acquitted, the acquittal merely led to tighter laws.

1960: The Turning Point

The year 1960 was a turning point in the history of the apartheid regime. The events of 1960 demonstrated for all to see that the South African racists know no moral bounds in the defense of their barbaric rule.

In early 1960, Xhosa people revolted against the Nationalist government and its appointed chiefs in Pondoland, part of the Transkei. The government brutally suppressed this revolt, killing hundreds of people.

But the most significant political event of 1960 was the Sharpeville massacre. The Pan-Africanist Congress called demonstrations on March 21, 1960, against the pass laws. The rallies were peaceful, with the leaders prepared for arrest. Several thousand

Black protesters massed at Sharpeville, near Johannesburg, in a cheerful mood. Without warning, police opened up with machine guns. Sixty-nine Black people were slaughtered, nearly all shot in the back, and hundreds were wounded. Blacks throughout South Africa were enraged.

Demonstrations and protests swept South Africa. The ANC and PAC cooperated in calling strikes and rallies. All around the world, a wave of shock and protest focused attention on South Africa. For a time, the government seemed to tremble. The pass laws were temporarily suspended.

Foreign investors, afraid of revolution, pulled \$225 million out of South Africa in one year. The economy was in trouble; unemployment rose sharply. But the government soon took the offensive. The pass laws were reinstated and the government cracked down on all protest. The Unlawful Organizations Act was passed, and the ANC and PAC were immediately outlawed. South Africa's imperialist backers jumped in to prop up the government. U.S., U.S.-controlled and European banks poured \$232 million in loans and credit into South Africa in 1961 alone. The economy recovered. And the imperialists demonstrated that they will back up apartheid to the hilt to protect their financial empire.

Soon after Sharpeville, two guerrilla groups began sabotage and attacks against policemen. Umkhonto We Sizwe, the guerrilla arm of the ANC, and Poqo, formed by the PAC, began the armed struggle. But the attacks were isolated and did not seriously disrupt the economy or the government. In 1963, the cops, tipped off by a stool pigeon, raided an ANC central committee meeting at Rivonia, and rooted out most guerrilla activity. Guerrilla struggle has hardly existed from the mid-'60s up until now.

Lull in the Struggle

As visible Black resistance faded in apparent frustration and defeat, money poured into South Africa faster than ever before. In the middle and late 1960s, South Africa experienced an economic boom paced by massive foreign investment. Under the Nationalists, South Africa has become more than a source of minerals and agricultural produce. It is a reservoir of cheap Black labor that attracts investments from all over the world to cash in on the high profits that apartheid makes possible. Today, more than 360 U.S. corporations have nearly \$2 billion invested in apartheid.

But the boom brought more than prosperity to white South Africa. The industrial expansion added hundreds of thousands of Black workers to the Black South African working class, enlarging and strengthening this class. In fostering the growth of this revolutionary class, the economic growth of the 1960s strengthened the potential gravedigger of South African capitalism.

The South African ruling class sensed this. They know how fragile their rule really is and what kind of force the Black working class represents. Accordingly, they hurried to close off the remaining openings for organization, resistance and protest.

In 1968, the Nationalists outlawed

multi-racial political parties, forcing the Liberal Party to disband. With the Sabotage Act (1962), the Terrorism Act (1967), the Affected Organizations Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act (1974), the Internal Security Act (1976), and many more, the racist government has created such a web of totalitarian laws that it is almost impossible for a Black person to move a muscle and not commit a felony. As one lawyer pointed out, a Black person can be sentenced to death on charges of sabotage—for breaking a light bulb! And in case this isn't enough, other laws give the dictatorship the power to lock people up without charging any crime at all.

To back up these laws, the police and army have been beefed up as well. In 1969, the racists created a secret police, the Bureau of State Security (BOSS). This police agency works in countries outside South Africa as well as inside. And it is illegal to know or publish anything about it.

Divide and Conquer

But the capitalists know that force alone cannot make their racist dictatorship secure. They split up Blacks in an attempt to keep them disorganized. Though they need Black labor, they limit the number of Blacks living in "white" territory—even splitting up husbands, wives and children.

The Nationalists' "Bantustan" scheme is the capitalists' main tool to accomplish this. According to the government, Africans are not citizens of South Africa at all. Instead, each African is a citizen of one of the "Bantustans," or "homelands," assigned according to tribe. Africans have no rights whatever in "white" South Africa—though millions of Africans have always lived in urban areas and have never seen their assigned "homelands."

The racists want to swindle Africans into looking to the desolate "Bantustans"—with no cities, no factories, poor land and no jobs—for their future. Last October, one Bantustan, the Transkei, was given a sham "independence." Another, Bophuthatswana, is scheduled for "independence" in December 1977. But this is a fraud. Totally dominated by South Africa, with appointed puppets as rulers, the "Bantustans" are merely glorified concentration camps.

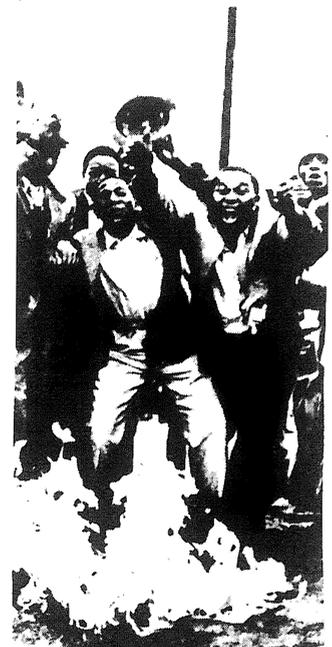
Under the capitalists' plans, only those Africans actually working for the whites are to be allowed in the urban areas. Families of workers are not included—they must live far away in the "Bantustans." Hundreds of thousands of Black people have been deported. Housing once used by Black families is being converted into strictly policed, single-sex hostels.

These workers are given contracts to work for a fixed term—usually a year. When the contract ends, they must scramble for another, or be deported to the "Bantustans." With this migrant labor scheme, the government wants to avoid a permanent Black workforce. They hope to prevent Black workers from organizing, learning, and finding leaders.

Despite the repression, the South African capitalists are not secure. No matter how many Blacks they arrest, jail, torture and kill, they cannot eli-

minate the Black working class. They need the Black workers to mine the diamonds and gold, to harvest the sugar, to grow the crops, to make the cars and trucks and to keep transportation and communication going. They cannot eliminate the very basis of South African capitalism.

They also cannot reform the system, no matter how much they want to (and they don't want to). If they were to do away with apartheid (not merely give it a face-lift) they would



Passbooks blaze in 1952 Defiance Campaign.

destroy the profits that are behind South Africa's prosperity. Give the Black workers the right to speak out, assemble, publish, vote, and form political parties, trade unions and other organizations, and they will, at the least, fight to raise their wages and improve their conditions. But this would mean a severe cut in the capitalists' profits and, in many cases, their complete elimination. This past year, a small rise in wages and a decline in the price of gold sent the economy into a tailspin.

All the capitalists really can do is repress the Black workers and subject them to unspeakable tortures to try to keep them under control. But in doing this, the racist South African ruling class is only constructing a tremendous bomb which will go off in their faces.

The Fuse Is Lit

The latest wave of struggle began with a series of strikes in 1973-74. A demonstration in Durban greeted the victory of FRELIMO against the Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique. The defeat of South African soldiers in Angola in 1976 gave new strength to the Black struggle.

And the struggle that exploded in Soweto in June 1976 has shaken South Africa to its foundations. The fuse is lit. □



ing in South African miners' compound.

DRIVE IMPERIALISM OUT OF AFRICA...

(Continued from page 1)

being able to use white South Africa's political and military muscle, and the advanced economy that lies underneath it.

Revolution in South Africa threatens the imperialists with far more than just the loss of their most valuable piece of property in Africa. Staring them in the face is the threat of socialist revolution. In increasing numbers, the Black workers have been drawn into the struggle in the months that have passed since the first Soweto rebellion. This working class, the largest and most powerful proletariat in all of Africa, has a good chance of leading the growing revolt forward to the overthrow of South African capitalism.

If the Black workers win the revolution, all of South Africa's tremendous wealth and industry will be placed in



Fidel Castro.

the service of spreading socialist revolution throughout southern Africa. There are tens of millions of Black workers and peasants in the other African states who will not hesitate to cast their lot in with the South African revolution, overthrow the Black capitalist regimes which oppress them, and turn all of southern Africa into a vast and powerful revolutionary workers' state.

Should this take place the imperialists know that far more than their interests in Africa would be threatened. The survival of the world capitalist system would be on the line. This is why the U.S. and its Western allies will stop at nothing to crush the revolt of the Black masses.

This is the potential locked inside the present situation in southern Africa. Many events have yet to take place, however, before socialist revolution is imminent. The forces for revolution are just beginning to gather strength. Thus, today, the major capitalist powers still have much room in which to maneuver against the southern African masses and, in the case of the U.S. and Russia, against each other.

In fact, it has been the emerging mass revolutionary struggle in southern Africa which has put Africa at the center of imperialist rivalry between the United States and Russia. The U.S.-controlled imperialist order in Africa has been seriously undermined. As a result, the political situation throughout Africa has been thrown into a state of constant and rapid

change. The U.S. is looking for new ways to keep its grip over Africa, while the Russians hope that out of the confusion they can take over some big pieces of Africa that used to "belong" to the U.S.

This is what is behind the trips of Kissinger, Young, Podgorny and Castro to Africa. All of them are casing the continent to see what is up for sale, and what they can buy. The U.S. and Russia are both shopping for advantages over the other. Both are also limited in how far they can go by their fear of heightening the revolutionary upsurge in the course of their struggle with each other. The African masses constantly worked out calculations of the imperialists.

The imperialist power most threatened by the mass struggle in southern Africa is the United States. Since World War II, the U.S. has been the dominant force in the continent. But the mass upheavals of the past few years have opened up the U.S. position to an imperialist threat from Russia.

Until recently, Russian imperialism had very little influence in Africa. With partial and temporary exceptions, Russian influence did not go much beyond its embassy buildings. The armed struggle in southern Africa, however, is changing this. The Russian state capitalists are wooing the leaders of the national liberation movements in an effort to gain influence and edge out the U.S.

The Russians hope that if they provide money, arms, supplies and diplomatic support to these movements, they can use this to establish a large measure of control over them. If the Russian rulers want to turn up the heat on the U.S., they can pump large quantities of arms and money into the guerrilla movements. If they decide it is to their advantage to strike a deal with the U.S. and stop the armed struggle, they can cut the supplies off. Either way, the Russian rulers will try to use their aid to harness the national liberation forces to the requirements of Russian imperialism.

In an attempt to maintain control, the U.S. is drastically reorganizing its African policy. After its defeat in Vietnam and the setbacks in Angola and Mozambique, the U.S. is trying to avoid openly supporting the white racist regimes and to stay away from directly setting itself against the Black liberation struggle. Instead, it will try to retain control through relying more



Workers march in Tanzania to protest South African apartheid.

on neo-colonial techniques.

The U.S. has learned in the Middle East and elsewhere that when the chips are down, the so-called "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" regimes can be bribed easily enough. All the Black African regimes are in desperate need of outside support to save themselves from the Black masses they rule over and exploit. The U.S. imperialists know that they have more to offer in the way of foreign aid, investment and trade than the Russians. The U.S. is still the dominant imperialist power and has tremendous economic and political leverage.

The U.S. imperialists are hoping that if they mouth certain criticisms of the racist policies of the white supremacists, claim to stand for Black rule and indicate a willingness to strike a deal with the national liberation movements, the U.S. may come out of the present situation with its control somewhat weakened but still intact. This is what was behind the recent imperialist-sponsored talks on Zimbabwe in Geneva. The main purpose of the talks was to try to set up a pro-Western Black government in Zimbabwe. The U.S. rhetoric about "majority rule" in southern Africa serves the identical purpose. To the U.S., "majority rule" means installing Black governments willing to make a deal with U.S. imperialism and willing to allow the U.S. the "right" to keep on exploiting the labor power of the Black masses.

The weak spot for U.S. imperialism is white-ruled South Africa. The U.S. cannot easily drop its support for this reactionary dictatorship. Billions of dollars in investments and trade, crucial sources of raw materials, and military control of the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans are at stake. Ideally, the U.S. would like to solve its problems by establishing a Black pro-Western capitalist government which will remove some or all of the present apartheid laws and find other ways to

maintain the super-exploitation of the Black workers. But achieving this is not so easy.

In the first place, the vast majority of the whites—capitalists, middle class and working class—will not tolerate this. Any serious effort to bring this about will provoke a mass fascist movement and split the capitalist class, throwing the country into a tremendous political crisis.

In the second place, there are no substantial Black capitalist forces that the U.S. could give power to. This is the result of apartheid which, in addition to oppressing and exploiting the Black workers, has also prevented the emergence of any Black capitalists and has stunted the growth of a Black middle class. Without such forces there is no social base for a Black capitalist neo-colonial government.

Third and most important, any effort to significantly modify apartheid threatens to unleash the Black proletariat. If they sense weaknesses and divisions among the whites, the Black workers will most likely seize the time to strike for power. The result could be the elimination of capitalism altogether.

These reasons, particularly the third, are why the U.S. will probably limit itself to calling for minor facilitating changes in apartheid, hoping that such sops can temporarily pacify or disorient the masses, setting them up to be smashed by the racist dictatorship.

The imperialist rivalry offers large opportunities for the revolutionary movement in southern Africa if the masses can correctly exploit them. As we noted above, the Russian state capitalists are anxious to aid the liberation movements, for their own purposes.

The African masses must utilize the splits among the imperialists in order to further their struggle. In particular, they should be willing to take arms, supplies, aid and anything else the Russian state capitalists offer that can further the struggle. And revolutionary forces outside South Africa must not utilize the acceptance of Russian aid as an excuse to deny military support to the national liberation forces in southern Africa.

However, trying to exploit the inter-imperialist rivalry involves great dangers. To paraphrase Lenin, the question is, "Who uses whom?" Can the masses utilize the inter-imperialist conflict to further their struggle? Or will they become tools in the imperialist struggle to redivide Africa?

The biggest danger is to believe that in any serious way the U.S. is the friend of Black people. The maneuvers of Carter, the claims to stand for human rights, the call for majority rule,

(Continued on following page)

(Continued) the slick work of this is de one thing on of U.S. impo imperialism white Sout years, and s Human lives nothing to t masses forg they can be

A second sia. The Rus its hand in o sian rulers tente" with fluence with tional libera a better dea trying to dri For example sian imperia tions about enter a coalit ed by openly exchange fo of the U.S. (f talks, callin rights" circ defined spher in Africa).

The Russ decide to fo could go for weight behi nationalist l drive the U.S. nationalize a ed countries, ist regimes.

Radical na try to utilize political base African racism then to put t talist straitj will set up a ment, which in fact repres in a statifie place of apar tute other r super-exploite ers. While thi national inde such a gover place on the Black worker cialist revolu

Regardless imperialism c gets its way i ers and peasa ers. The nam tem of explo working peop from aparth "Black majo type of supp dirty facts o and misery v ism remains what name i The way f



Zimbabweans dance.

Books from Haymarket

Titles on Southern Africa...

Apartheid Quiz, International Defence and Aid Fund.....	50
Zimbabwe Quiz, International Defence and Aid Fund.....	50
Apartheid Axis, William Pomeroy.....	1.25
For Their Triumph and Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa.....	1.50
From Torment to Triumph in South Africa, Louise Stack and Don Morton.....	2.75
Divide and Rule, International Defence and Aid Fund.....	2.00

To send for these books, or for a complete listing of Haymarket titles, write to:

Haymarket Books
Box 8062, Chicago, Ill., 60680

(Continued from previous page)
 the slick words of Andrew Young—all of this is designed for one thing and one thing only, to preserve the power of U.S. imperialism. This is the same imperialism that has supported the white South African butchers for years, and supports them to this day. Human lives, values, principles mean nothing to these people. If the Black masses forget this for one second, they can be set up to be smashed.

A second danger comes from Russia. The Russian ruling class can play its hand in one of two ways. The Russian rulers can try to prolong "detente" with the U.S. and use their influence with the leadership of the national liberation movements to wring a better deal out of the U.S. without trying to drive the U.S. out of Africa. For example, in Zimbabwe, the Russian imperialists will have few reservations about trying to force ZANU to enter a coalition government dominated by openly neo-colonialist forces, in exchange for concessions on the part of the U.S. (for example, on the SALT talks, calling off Carter's "human rights" circus, or working out well-defined spheres of influence for Russia in Africa).

The Russian ruling class could decide to follow a second course. It could go for broke and throw its full weight behind those sections of the nationalist leadership that want to drive the U.S. out of Africa altogether, nationalize all property in the liberated countries, and set up state capitalist regimes.

Radical nationalists of this type will try to utilize the guerrilla armies as a political base first to beat the South African racists and imperialists, and then to put the workers in a new capitalist straitjacket. If they win, they will set up a state-capitalist government, which claims to be socialist but in fact represents the rule of capitalism in a stratified, streamlined form. In place of apartheid they would substitute other means to maintain the super-exploitation of the Black workers. While this would achieve a limited national independence, the victory of such a government could only take place on the basis of a defeat of the Black workers and would delay the socialist revolution for years.

Regardless of which power—U.S. imperialism or Russian imperialism—gets its way in Africa, the Black workers and peasants will come out the losers. The name the rulers give the system of exploitation that enslaves the working people of Africa may change from apartheid and colonialism to "Black majority rule" or even some type of supposed "socialism," but the dirty facts of day to day oppression and misery will not change. Capitalism remains capitalism, no matter what name it operates under.

The way forward for the working

masses of southern Africa is to take advantage of the conflict between the imperialists to press their struggle forward. This means accepting arms and material support from the Russians to use against the U.S. and its allies. While the Russians at this moment represent a potential menace to the revolutionary movement, it is the United States which still has its foot squarely on southern Africa's neck.

Only a working class leadership can keep the mass movement independent from Russian control while accepting Russian support. The middle-class nationalists who are currently at the head of the guerrilla movements in southern Africa will not and cannot do this. They are willing to sell themselves lock, stock and barrel to the highest bidder. Today, it is the Russians. The Russian imperialists offer the nationalists the means of getting power without developing the full revolutionary energies of the masses. The last thing the nationalists want is for the workers and peasants to start thinking in terms of ruling themselves, instead of having the middle-class nationalists in command over them.

BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

A revolutionary party of the working class is needed to lead the liberation movement in exploiting the openings created by the struggle between the U.S. and Russia, without giving in to one side or the other and throwing away the chances for final victory.

Organized into a single disciplined political party, the revolutionary workers of southern Africa will be able to make sure that the masses as a whole understand that the Russian imperialists are treacherous friends. The party can convince the masses that they must never substitute depending on the Russian ruling class for relying on their own organization and their own fighting abilities to overthrow the colonial prison of U.S. imperialism. The party will prepare the movement for the day when the Russian imperialists will stop the supply of arms because the revolutionary masses have become an obstacle to Russia's ambitions in Africa.

This party does not exist. It is yet to be built. This is the most urgent task facing revolutionaries in southern Africa. With a revolutionary party leading the struggle, the working class and peasantry can confidently use the boldest tactics. Without such a party, the masses will not be able to unite and struggle in their own interests.

This round of the struggle in southern Africa has barely started and it will be several years before it has run its course. The revolutionary party does not exist, but there is still time to build one. □



Indian Voters Throw Gandhi Out

In last month's general elections, India's masses turned Indira Gandhi and her Congress Party out on their ear. They voted against Gandhi's hated state of emergency, against government corruption, a falling standard of living and the government's forced sterilization policy. The voters gave a two-to-one majority to the opposition Janata Party.

But the new government, no less than Gandhi's, is an enemy of the Indian masses. The new prime minister, Morarji Desai, is being described in the Western press as a saintly figure. This "saint" is a longtime leader of the right wing of the Congress Party, which broke off to form a separate party in 1969. Desai, when he was Chief Minister of Bombay 20 years ago, proved how "saintly" he was by ordering the cops to shoot to kill during local riots. Hundreds were shot on his orders.

Desai is the major force behind the Janata Party, a new outfit based on the old Congress right wing and two other right-wing parties. One is the Jana Sangh, a party whose stock in trade has been attacks on India's minorities. Its leader, A.B. Vajpayee, is now Foreign Minister.

The third major party in the ruling coalition is the Bharatiya Lok Dal. This party was another right-wing split-off from the Congress Party. It is based on the landlord class and opposes any distribution of land to the hundreds of millions of landless and land-poor peasants. Its leader, Charan Singh, is Home Minister, which puts him in control of internal security.

These are the dominant parties in the new government. A minister from the Socialist Party has been added to keep the workers directly tied to a government of their enemies. Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram is the leader of another splinter party. Ram bases his strength on India's 85 million "untouchables." His split with Gandhi a few weeks ago played a major role in her eventual defeat.

No party has a parliamentary majority. This means increased political instability for the bourgeoisie. However, this instability gives the workers a chance to gather their forces and to organize a revolutionary socialist party. Only such a party can lead India's masses out of the repression, misery and squalor of bourgeois rule.

Pakistani Masses Protest Election Fraud

Workers and students have been rioting throughout Pakistan since March 7, when President Ali Bhutto declared his Pakistan People's Party the victor in a rigged election.

Bhutto awarded himself 154 out of 200 seats in parliament. According to many different reports, voters were threatened, their votes were recorded alongside their names, and vote counts were falsified to achieve the desired results. In the most blatant fraud of all, the government claimed to have won 107 out of 115 seats in Punjab province, where the opposition is strongest.

The day after the election, the opposition called for mass protests to force a new election. Since then, three general strikes have been held, shutting down factories, offices, small businesses and markets. In Rawalpindi, Lahore, Hyderabad and Karachi, there have been daily demonstrations. At least 150 people have been killed by Bhutto's riot cops. On Saturday, April 9, 19 people were killed in Lahore, and another six on the following Monday, in police gunfire in three cities. Casualties and arrests continue.

The Pakistani opposition is no real alternative to Bhutto. It is a coalition of nine parties, most of them right-wing and super-patriotic. These bourgeois parties are using the masses' hatred for Bhutto's dictatorial regime to force him out of office. So far, the mass protests continue, and Bhutto is in trouble.

French Elections Reveal Swing to the Left

In mid-March France held nation-wide local government elections. The Union of the Left, France's popular front coalition, won 52 percent of the vote. The two parties supporting President Giscard d'Estaing received only 46 percent. The vote gave the Union of the Left control of two-thirds of France's middle-sized and major cities. The Union is now expected to win parliamentary elections which will be held next year.

French workers voted overwhelmingly for the Union of the Left. They are under heavy attack by Giscard. Wages are frozen, but prices are soaring. The vast majority of workers want a change.

But the elections were no victory for the workers. The Communist and Socialist parties don't even pretend to be for a government of workers' parties. On the contrary. They include a small capitalist party and some Gaullists in their coalition. This is how they assure the capitalists that the Union of the Left has no intention of going beyond policies to stabilize capitalism, at the workers' expense.

The CP and SP want to cool the class struggle so that the French bourgeoisie will let them take over the National Assembly next year. For example, right after the elections, Georges Séguy, head of the Communists' trade union federation, promised the capitalists: "It is perfectly possible to carry out union actions in a responsible way, without any provocations." This doubletalk means that Séguy, smelling victory in 1978, will try to hold the workers to the most minimum demands in the coming year.

—CH



Zimbabweans demand independence in Salisbury demonstration last summer.

exploitation of the
 achieving this is

the vast majority
 capitalists, middle
 class—will not
 toluous effort to bring
 a mass fascist
 lit the capitalist
 country into a tre-
 crisis.

ce, there are no sub-
 alist forces that the
 wer to. This is the
 which, in addition
 d exploiting the
 also prevented the
 Black capitalists
 growth of a Black
 hout such forces
 se for a Black capi-
 government.

important, any ef-
 modify apartheid
 h the Black prole-
 weaknesses and di-
 whites, the Black
 likely seize the time
 The result could be
 f capitalism alto-

particularly the
 U.S. will probably
 ng for minor face-
 apartheid, hoping
 temporarily pacify
 sses, setting them
 by the racist dicta-

ivalry offers large
 the revolutionary
 hem Africa if they
 ly exploit them. As
 Russian state cap-
 to aid the libera-
 for their own pur-

ses must utilize the
 imperialists in order
 ggle. In particular,
 ling to take arms,
 anything else the
 italists offer that
 uggle. And revolu-
 side South Africa
 acceptance of Rus-
 se to deny military
 national liberation
 Africa.

to exploit the inter-
 involves great dan-
 see Lenin, the ques-
 s whom?" Can the
 e inter-imperialist
 their struggle? Or
 ools in the imperi-
 al-divide Africa?

nger is to believe
 way the U.S. is the
 ple. The maneuvers
 ms to stand for hu-
 ill for majority rule,
 on following page)

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION



"ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS!"

LENIN'S APRIL THESES

In February 1917, the Russian people, led by the workers of Petrograd, rose up and overthrew Tsar Nicholas II. This revolution ended centuries of autocratic rule and paved the way, just eight months later, for the world's first and only successful socialist revolution.

Although in February the Russian workers and soldiers overthrew the Tsar, the February Revolution did not lead directly to a workers' government. A capitalist government, known as the "Provisional Government," stepped into the power vacuum left by the Tsar's abdication. This government consisted of liberal landlords, capitalist politicians and fake socialists.

But this government was not the only authority in Russia in February 1917. Alongside it were the Soviets, mass democratic institutions of workers and soldiers, created during the February uprising.

While the Provisional Government held the formal reins of power, it could rule only insofar as the Soviets—the Petrograd Soviet in particular—lent their authority to it. And the fake socialists, who led the Soviet, used their position to make sure this happened.

This situation, known as dual power, could not continue indefinitely. Either the capitalists and landlords would smash the Soviets and establish a counter-revolutionary government, or the workers would overthrow the Provisional Government and establish a government of the Soviets, a workers' government. Thus, events in Russia between February and October were a struggle between the workers and peasant masses, on the one hand, and the capitalists, on the other, over who would rule. As we know, the working masses finally triumphed in October, seizing state power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the October Revolution did not occur spontaneously. The workers triumphed because a revolutionary party, the Bolsheviks, pursued a policy designed to break the masses'

illusions in the Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks exposed the fake socialists and organized the workers, peasants and soldiers to overthrow the capitalist government.

But before the Bolsheviks could do this, a struggle had to be carried out within the Bolshevik Party itself. At the time of the February Revolution, the Bolsheviks were not following a revolutionary policy. Lenin was still in exile, as were several other Bolshevik leaders. The Party, led by Leo Kamenev and Joseph Stalin, took a position of support for the Provisional Government. The only truly revolutionary policy was to forthrightly denounce the Provisional Government as capitalist, to refuse to give it any support and to call for all power to be taken by the Soviets.

When Lenin arrived in Russia on April 3, 1917, he had to wage a sharp struggle to turn the Party onto a revolutionary path. This struggle was waged against Stalin and Kamenev, who justified their opportunist policy by claiming they were only following the Bolsheviks' traditional strategy.

Thus the events of April 1917 form a crucial chapter in the history of the Russian Revolution. In order to understand the nature of Lenin's struggle to reorient the party, it is necessary to first look at the pre-1917 debates in the Russian socialist movement on the nature of the Russian Revolution.

Nature of the Russian Revolution

Since 1903, there had been two major factions in the Russian Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP)—the opportunist Mensheviks and the revolutionary Bolsheviks. One of the central differences between them was on the strategy for the Russian Revolution.

At the time of Russia's first Revolution, in 1905, the two factions of the RSDLP shared a view that the Russian Revolution would be bourgeois-democratic, not socialist. This

view flowed from the fact that Russia was a semi-feudal country, ruled by an autocratic Tsar and a feudal landlord class. Because of Russia's economic backwardness, the Russian working class was tiny, while the overwhelming majority of the people were peasants, extremely oppressed by the landlords. To both factions, this meant that Russia was not ready for the socialist revolution. They argued that the first job was to sweep away the legacy of feudalism—the autocracy, the landlords and the web of peasant oppression—and further the capitalist development of the country. To both factions, this meant that the Russian Revolution would be an anti-feudal, bourgeois revolution, not a socialist one.

Bolsheviks and Mensheviks

Within this basic framework, there were crucial differences between the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, and the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks believed that the coming revolution

would establish a Western-style bourgeois democracy, with a capitalist economy and parliamentary institutions. Since the revolution would be bourgeois, the Mensheviks reasoned that it should be led by the capitalist class, particularly its liberal wing. The Mensheviks therefore argued that the job of the workers was to support the bourgeoisie, pushing the capitalists to overthrow the Tsar and establish a capitalist democracy. Thus, in the Menshevik view, the working class should not strive to lead the popular revolutionary forces, nor should it form or enter a revolutionary government.

It is not surprising that with this theory, the majority of the Mensheviks fully supported the bourgeois Provisional Government in 1917.

The Bolsheviks saw the Russian Revolution differently. While they accepted that the Revolution would be bourgeois-democratic (i.e., not socialist), they emphatically denied that the bourgeoisie could, would or should play the leading role in it. On the contrary, they understood that the bourgeoisie would not wage a consistent fight to overthrow the Tsar and the landlords.

The Bolsheviks' recognition that the bourgeoisie could not and would not play a progressive or revolutionary role flowed from their understanding that the central task of the Russian Revolution was to solve the land question. Millions upon millions of peasants barely eked out a living on tiny plots of land, while the landlords and the government bureaucracy lived off the surplus. Although the peasants had been legally freed from serfdom in 1861, the land remained in the hands of the landlords, while the peasants were obligated to pay huge sums to the government over many years before they could actually own the land.

Economic, political and social progress demanded the elimination of this feudal cesspool. Unless the landlord class was eliminated, the development of modern capitalist agriculture and the growth of the industrial working class would be slowed. Moreover, the landlord class was the social support of the autocracy. To overthrow the Tsar and establish political democracy required eliminating the landlords. Thus, the peasants' struggle against the landlords was central

(Continued on next page)



Russian peasants before 1917 revolution.

(Continued to the stru all the othe democratic

The Rus was weak, and tied to the Bolshe geisie wou agrarian re to destroy throw the against the bourge sheviks ar join forces alliance the lishment o sional gove sheviks cal democratic tariat and

The task ocratic dict and the pea the Tsar an the land ar the peasan Assembly nature of t to be establ

Lenin lef would happ democratic some spee plied that a italist dev before a suc could occur cated that i geois-demo directly to socialist re industrializ Europe.

As we ca and the B Although t bourgeois r peasants h against the theory calle lutionary p to strive governmen theory, thi carry out k sures. It is the Februa the Bolshe disoriented.

Theory Perman

In the p Leon Trots two main fa Trotsky wa Mensheviks the questi party. Inst and the Bol build a ha cratic-centr stand abov reconcile th

Trotsky course in p ences with b of the Rus Trotsky wa conception o which he ca lution.

In many of Russian Lenin's. Tro that the ke cratic revol question. H weak bourg and frighter not lead th would inste the Tsar. A alliance of peasants to However,

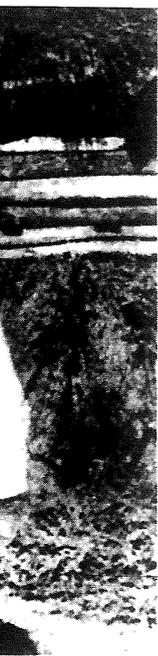
(Continued from previous page)

Western-style bourgeois with a capitalist parliamentary institution. Revolution would be led by the Bolsheviks reasoned by the capital-ly its liberal wing. herefore argued that kers was to support pushing the capi-row the Tsar and ist democracy. Thus, view, the working rive to lead the onary forces, nor enter a revolution-

sing that with this ty of the Menshe-rted the bourgeois nment in 1917. saw the Russian ently. While they Revolution would be atic (i.e., not social-ally denied that the would or should be in it. On the con-ood that the bour- wage a consistent y the Tsar and the

recognition that the not and would not e or revolutionary heir understanding ask of the Russian o solve the land upon millions of ed out a living on hile the landlords t bureaucracy lived ough the peasants ed from serfdom in ined in the hands hile the peasants ay huge sums to ver many years ctually own the

ical and social pro- the elimination of l. Unless the land- nated, the develop- pitalist agriculture of the industrial d be slowed. More- lass was the social otocracy. To over- d establish political d eliminating the e peasants' strug- dlords was central ed on next page)



to the struggle against the Tsar and all the other goals of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The Russian bourgeoisie, however, was weak, frightened of the masses and tied to the landlords. As a result, the Bolsheviks argued that the bourgeoisie would not lead the fight for the agrarian revolution. Instead, the fight to destroy the landlords and overthrow the Tsar would be a fight against the landlords, the Tsar and the bourgeoisie. In this fight, the Bolsheviks argued, the workers should join forces with the peasants in an alliance that would lead to the establishment of a revolutionary provisional government. Lenin and the Bolsheviks called this the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."

The task of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry would be to smash the Tsar and the landlords, nationalize the land and put it at the disposal of the peasants, and call a Constituent Assembly to work out the precise nature of the democratic government to be established.

Lenin left open the question of what would happen after the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship was set up. In some speeches and writings, he implied that a substantial period of capitalist development had to go by before a successful socialist revolution could occur. At other times, he indicated that it was possible for the bourgeois-democratic revolution to lead directly to a socialist revolution, if socialist revolutions broke out in the industrialized countries of Western Europe.

As we can see, the theory of Lenin and the Bolsheviks was ambiguous. Although the revolution was to be a bourgeois revolution, the workers and peasants had to achieve it by fighting against the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the theory called for the RSDLP, the revolutionary party of the working class, to strive to form a revolutionary government—yet, according to the theory, this government could only carry out bourgeois-democratic measures. It is not surprising that when the February Revolution broke out, the Bolshevik leaders were initially disoriented.

Theory of Permanent Revolution

In the period from 1904 to 1917, Leon Trotsky was not in either of the two main factions of the Party. While Trotsky was certainly to the left of the Mensheviks, he did not understand the question of the revolutionary party. Instead of siding with Lenin and the Bolsheviks in their struggle to build a hard and disciplined democratic-centralist party, he tried to stand above the faction fight and reconcile the two groups.

Trotsky followed his mistaken course in part because he had differences with both factions on the nature of the Russian Revolution. By 1905, Trotsky was putting forward his own conception of the Russian Revolution, which he called the Permanent Revolution.

In many ways, Trotsky's analysis of Russian conditions was close to Lenin's. Trotsky, like Lenin, realized that the key to the bourgeois-democratic revolution was the agrarian question. He too understood that the weak bourgeoisie, tied to the landlords and frightened of the workers, would not lead the democratic forces, but would instead vacillate or side with the Tsar. And he also called for an alliance of the workers with the peasants to make the revolution. However, whereas Lenin left the

precise nature of the alliance between proletariat and the peasantry somewhat open, Trotsky recognized that the proletariat would have to lead the peasants in the struggle against the Tsar and the landlords. He saw that the peasant class could not play an independent role in the revolution. Although they were far more numerous than the workers, the peasants were dispersed throughout a vast, backward countryside.

Without education and removed from the centers of modern production, they were incapable of developing a coherent ideology and independent political organizations of their own. As a result, the peasants would have to follow one of the urban classes—either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. To Trotsky, this meant that the proletariat had to lead the peasants and strive to establish a revolutionary government.

A Workers' Government

This government would be a workers' government, supported by the peasants, rather than a government of workers and peasants. In addition, once having been set up, the workers' government could not limit itself to bourgeois-democratic tasks. To weaken its opponents and consolidate its power, the workers' government would have to attack the rights of private property—for example, it would have to combat capitalist sabotage of the economy by seizing the factories and other means of production. Thus it would take definite steps in the direction of socialism. Finally, the workers' government and hence the revolution could not be secure unless



Kerensky, head of provisional government.

the revolution spread to other countries, particularly in Western Europe, whose victorious workers could offer aid to the revolutionary forces in Russia.

Thus, according to Trotsky the Russian Revolution would be permanent in two senses: 1) the revolution would not stop at the bourgeois-democratic "stage," but would become a socialist one; in fact the democratic and socialist "stages" would be completely intertwined. 2) The revolution would not be limited to one country, but would have to become international, if it was to survive and move forward.

Because of Trotsky's opportunist position on the question of the party and his failure to support the Bolsheviks, his theory, which turned out to be correct, was not given a hearing among the Bolsheviks who might have been open to accepting it. As a result, Trotsky remained isolated in

(Continued on page 17)

Demoralization Leads to Crisis

I.S. Faction Fight Ends in Expulsions

For the second time in four years, the International Socialists (IS) has been racked by a severe internal crisis, resulting in the expulsion of a sizeable chunk of its membership. The expelled grouping, a "Left Faction" of about 90 people, took the major portions of the Cincinnati, Seattle, Portland, Louisville and Gary branches. Significantly, many if not most of the IS's newer recruits were expelled with the "Left Faction."

According to some reports, the IS leadership clique is also preparing to expel an additional grouping, the "Political Solution Caucus."

The loss of a significant West Coast presence and a decision on the part of the IS leadership to move the remaining members on both coasts to the Midwest, means that the IS has suffered a drastic loss in size and influence.

NO PRINCIPLED DIFFERENCES

The crisis in the IS is a direct result of demoralization in the organization. This is suggested by the fact that there were no significant differences of political principle between the expelled "Left Faction" and the remaining IS majority. The "Left Faction" has not rejected the opportunist method of the IS. It merely wants to apply the IS opportunism in different arenas and wants a newspaper that is somewhat to the left of the reformist Workers' Power. Perhaps most importantly, the "Left Faction" is reportedly against sending any more members into industry, a thin disguise for cynicism about revolutionary work in the trade unions.

The demoralization in the IS flowed directly from the IS perspectives of the past two and one-half years. In 1975 the IS decided that the next two to three years would witness a worldwide economic crisis that would automatically lead to a mass working class upsurge. The IS leadership deduced from this that the union bureaucrats would move to the right, leaving a leadership vacuum in the working class movement. Based on this analysis, the IS reasoned that if it became the "best builder of rank and file struggle," it would emerge as the leader of the workers' upsurge. Accordingly, the IS threw itself into organizing groups in the unions on a low-level program of trade union reform.

However, the expected workers' upsurge has not taken place, nor has the IS emerged as its leadership. After two years of frenzied efforts which have produced little or nothing, it was natural for whole sections of the IS to be disoriented and demoralized.

The recent split and the continuing crisis of the IS are the result of its entire political method. This method can be summed up in a phrase: **conscious, systematic opportunism.**

One of the central tenets of Marxism is that the emancipation of the proletariat must be the act of the proletariat itself. The working class cannot be freed by middle class reformers and other "condescending saviors." It must free itself. If this is to occur, the working class must understand capitalism and know how to overthrow it and construct a socialist society. The socialist revolu-

tion cannot be won by lying to the working class. The task of Marxists is to tell the workers the truth. This is the purpose of the revolutionary party.

The IS, however, believes a socialist movement can be built and the socialist revolution won by manipulating the working class. Instead of stating clearly what capitalism is and how it can be overthrown, the IS orients toward building so-called "rank and file organizations" (organized and controlled by the IS) limited to a reformist program. Rather than breaking down the illusions of the workers, and exposing the trade union bureaucrats and other misleaders of the working class, the IS adapts itself to the current level of consciousness and "builds the rank and file struggle" on this basis. In other words it refuses, on principle, to fight for revolutionary socialist politics.

The IS approach to building a revolutionary party involves the same opportunist method. Instead of patiently building a strong democratic-centralist organization based on political clarity, tested leadership and programmatic unity, the IS prefers the shortcut of a sloppy organization based on vague politics, bureaucratic leadership and minimal programmatic agreement. The result is an organization of amateurs, dominated by political cliques that agree on little except the need to lie to the working class. This has been the basic IS method since its formation.

REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY FOUGHT FOR MARXISM

Four years ago, the Revolutionary Tendency (now the Revolutionary Socialist League) waged a revolutionary struggle within the IS. We fought to win the IS to a truly revolutionary program and method. We argued that revolutionaries must tell the truth to the working class. We said revolutionaries must fight and expose reformist trade union bureaucrats and other misleaders of the working class, not build a base for them. The key strategic goal is to build a Trotskyist revolutionary party, based on political agreement and democratic centralism. Building this party must be part of building a revolutionary international, a rebuilt Fourth International, to fight for worldwide socialist revolution. All this was the exact opposite of the opportunist "IS method." For waging our fight for the Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist program, we were expelled.

I.S.: ENEMY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

While the IS is not necessarily destined to disintegrate, it will never build a revolutionary party and will never lead the socialist revolution. In fact, the IS can only be an obstacle to building a revolutionary party. It is therefore an enemy of the socialist revolution. The crisis in the IS can only be welcomed by serious revolutionaries. The only tragedy is that the many young, idealistic and revolutionary-minded people who have joined the IS thinking they are building a revolutionary party will be politically miseducated, made cynical and then destroyed. □

LETTERS

Send letters to: TORCH, P.O. Box 562, Times Square Station, New York, N.Y., 10036

Reader Discusses Fight Against Sexism on Job

Dear Torch:

In a letter to the Torch, "Workers Must Fight Sexism on the Job," (Vol. 4, No. 2), the writer tries to deal with the problems of sexism. While I agree that some men relate very poorly to women in the plants, I think there should be an explanation of why. Not as justification for the behavior, but for an understanding that will allow us to deal with sexism politically.

I believe that sexism is a behavior and attitude that says one sex—male—is superior to another—female. Similarly, that homosexuals are inferior to heterosexuals. The same is true of racism. These attitudes did not fall from the sky, nor were human beings born with these ideas. These are learned attitudes taught to the working class by the capitalists and are rooted in their system.

What is taught in capitalist institutions is that women belong in the home, subservient to some male guardian be it husband or father. Males are taught that they are superior to these "pieces of property" and all too willingly use their privileges to oppress the female sex. The position of working class men—beaten down by life in the factory—reinforces this attitude and they go home and beat their wives, or come on to

Gay Rights Law

Doesn't Stop

Court Repression

Dear Torch:

Promises of rights by the bourgeoisie are nothing but hypocrisy. What our rulers offer with one hand, they take back with the other. A recent decision by the Washington State Supreme Court is a glaring example.

In 1975, Washington passed a law legalizing all sexual activity between consenting adults in private. But the State Supreme Court has now ruled that a gay teacher in Tacoma can be fired solely on grounds of his homosexuality.

This was the court's logic: "the fact that sodomy is not a crime" does not "relieve the conduct of its immoral status." In other words, the state's consenting sex law didn't change anything at all! The judges in their wisdom added that their ruling would not apply to "latent homosexuals"—in other words, gay people who stay in the closet. Somehow, hiding your homosexuality is less "immoral" than being open about it!

The teacher, James Gaylord, had 12 years of experience and an outstanding record until his decision not to be a hypocrite cost him his job. He has been fighting for five years for the right to continue in his chosen profession.

JG
Chicago

every woman in the plant. The reason the capitalists teach this garbage is to be able to keep workers divided, fighting each other.

In the plants women get the brunt of the harassment from the bosses. Black women particularly are singled out for this "special" treatment. Some white male workers mimic the bosses with "why aren't you home with the kids," or some such nonsense. A few are worse and treat women as if they were put on earth just for their sexual slanders. But this is not true of the majority of male workers. In most cases men do not know how to behave in front of women because they have a hard time relating to women, period. These men must be educated—not harangued. We must patiently explain where these attitudes come from and why they are wrong and divisive.

As well, we must not lose sight of the fact that some of the most oppressed people can take on the ideas of the capitalists. Working class women who make alliances with

Fight Harassment of Undocumented Workers!

Dear Friends,

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) interferes in the personal lives of workers who apply for Permanent Resident Status (green card) or citizenship. The INS also interferes with the social and political activity of these workers. But most American workers do not understand this.

Many American workers read propaganda articles on "new citizens" supposedly delighted to be sworn in on the Fourth of July. Or they read about deportations. Actually, most workers without citizenship are somewhere in between. And that's just where the INS wants to keep us—in suspense!

Citizenship basically means a better chance to get a job. But the INS uses your hope for a better job (and your fear of deportation) to keep your mouth shut and try to force you to go along with all the rest of the bullshit in this rotten society.

First, take the work visas (Sixth Preference). It is hard to get one. Even if you are lucky enough to get a work visa, the boss can really mess you around. If you are fired or on strike, for example, you can lose your visa. The bosses at Capitol Packaging tried to get a Latino striker deported in 1975. Fortunately, the workers stopped them.

Second, the INS oppresses women. A woman can get citizenship by marrying an American citizen. If a woman lives with a man she can't get along with, often they will split up. But if she doesn't have citizenship papers,

foremen for privileges are not our allies. Women foremen as well are our enemies. We oppose oppression of any kind—but the class line determines who is on our side—not sex, nor race.

An example is a guy I work with who reads "girlie" magazines, shows them around to other men, is a flirt, and thinks that most women are named baby or sugar. However, in a recent struggle this same man came to the defense of a woman in the plant, helped to organize support, treated her with the respect she deserved in helping to lead the struggle—and learned her name in the process. Is he a sexist? Absolutely not!

Finally, I must put to the forefront the solution that the Ford worker implies is of secondary importance. The fight for a working class program of jobs for all who need them, equal pay, and free child care is a fight that the whole class must wage. I don't believe that attitudes will change first and then the struggle will be a united one. It is only in the process of a revolutionary struggle that attitudes will begin to change. When women begin taking a leading role in this struggle men's attitudes will have to change as this is their fight as well. This does not mean we ignore our special oppression. It does mean that we seek to ally with all workers who show through their actions they are ready to join us.

Comradely,
A woman Chrysler worker

Andrew Young: Loyal Servant of Imperialism

Dear Torch:

Your recent article, "Andrew Young: Front Man for U.S. Imperialism," was a good exposé of the role Young plays in propping up U.S. imperialism. But the article didn't say the half of it. At a press conference in Chicago on November 17, 1976, Young came right out and said he was for imperialism in Africa. Young was asked what kind of options the U.S. has in southern Africa. He answered, "... I don't think that the United States has but one option and that's neo-colonialism. As bad as that has been made to sound, neo-colonialism means that the multinational corporations will continue to have major influence in the development and productive capacities of the third world. And they are, whether we like it or not. I don't think any American administration—and I don't think any African administration—has been able to escape from that.... The capital and technology happens to be in the hands of the people who are called neo-colonialists." (Reported in Southern Africa, March 1977.)

As Andrew Young is well aware, neo-colonialism is just another word for modern imperialism. Under the colonialism of the nineteenth century, the European capitalist countries directly owned and ran most of Africa. After the Second World War, the great struggles of the African workers and peasants won political independence for most of Africa—with important exceptions, such as southern Africa. Unfortunately, the imperialists continue to exploit the economies of the African countries, robbing them of their labor and raw materials. They do this with the bought cooperation of the petty-bourgeois traitors—Young's buddies—who run the African governments. That is the neo-colonial "option" that Mr. Young wants to fasten on southern Africa. To hell with Andrew Young and his imperialist schemes!

Fraternally,
WG

RSL Directory

NATIONAL OFFICE

P.O. Box 562
New York, N.Y. 10036

CHICAGO

P.O. Box 8062
Chicago, Ill. 60680

DETROIT

P.O. Box 639
Detroit, Michigan 48221

NEW YORK

P.O. Box 562
New York, N.Y. 10036

©1977
Revolutionary Socialist League

Editor: Rod Miller
Managing Editor: Susan Edmunds
Circulation Manager: Anne Garbo
Production Staff: Maxine
Lee Ramie, Marge Tolson

Address all correspondence to:
Torch
P.O. Box 562
Times Square Station
New York, N.Y. 10036

Subscription rates:
(U.S., Canada, Mexico)
6 issues (introductory) \$1.00
12 issues (one year) \$3.00
Supporting (one year) \$5.00
Libraries and institutions \$5.00
(Foreign)

12 issues (seamail) \$4.50
12 issues (airmail, unsealed) \$10.00

Make checks payable to the Torch.

(Continued from the Social 1917.

The am theory ca When the curred, S claim th policy of Governm Party's th democrati false. How the ortho stage con theory to liberal ca thrust of proletaria sie, not s

By the early Ap revised hi the revolu War I and the major crats—a b tremendous. Under he began dialectics. break out orthodox

In parti ism and V fate of R capitalist tions, he r "weakest chain," a whole cha one link. I and the in possible fo a worldw revolution tions, the able to s socialist re in the ec nations of

By the t he had a nature of t was almos His new p what were

First, L port what: Governmer ing for a the proleta called for "that is, all the worker antry. The would be t imperialist the landlor ers' contro secure the other nee: gued that Russian R only be se successful upsurge.

L
WI
When LE April 3, he f the Provis Party leade

Lenin's April Theses ...

(Continued from page 15)
the Social Democratic movement until 1917.

The ambiguities in the Bolsheviks' theory came home to roost in 1917. When the February Revolution occurred, Stalin and Kamenev tried to claim that their liberal-opportunist policy of support to the Provisional Government was an application of the Party's theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. This was false. However limited Lenin was by the orthodox Social Democratic two-stage conception, he never meant his theory to lead to political support of a liberal capitalist government. The thrust of his position was that the proletariat had to fight the bourgeoisie, not support it.

By the time Lenin reached Russia in early April 1917, he had seriously revised his thinking on the nature of the revolution. The outbreak of World War I and the support for the war by the majority of the Social Democrats—a betrayal of socialism—had a tremendous effect on Lenin's thinking. Under the impact of these events, he began a study of imperialism and dialectics. Through this he began to break out of the framework of orthodox Social Democracy.

In particular, he saw that imperialism and World War I had joined the fate of Russia to that of the entire capitalist world. Under these conditions, he realized that Russia was the "weakest link in the imperialist chain," and that consequently the whole chain might be broken at this one link. In other words, imperialism and the inter-imperialist war made it possible for Russia to lead the way in a worldwide struggle for socialist revolution. Under the right conditions, the Russian workers might be able to seize power and make the socialist revolution before the workers in the economically more advanced nations of the West.

"APRIL THESES"

By the time Lenin reached Russia, he had adopted a position on the nature of the Russian Revolution that was almost identical with Trotsky's. His new position was put forward in what were called the "April Theses."

First, Lenin condemned any support whatsoever to the Provisional Government. Second, instead of calling for a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, Lenin called for "All Power to the Soviets," that is, all power to a government of the workers supported by the peasantry. The tasks of such a government would be to pull Russia out of the imperialist war, to seize the land from the landlords and to establish workers' control of industry in order to secure the production of food and other necessities. Finally, Lenin argued that this government and the Russian Revolution as a whole could only be secure if it were part of a successful worldwide revolutionary upsurge.

LENIN UNITES WITH THE RANKS

When Lenin arrived in Russia on April 3, he found his party supporting the Provisional Government and Party leaders talking a out a regim-

with the Mensheviks. When he first explained his position none of the Bolshevik leaders agreed with him. Indeed, many thought he was mad or had gone over to Trotsky or even the Anarchists! In short, Lenin was politically isolated in his own party.

But, basing himself on the revolutionary instincts of the rank and file of the Bolshevik Party, and trusting that the opportunism and hypocrisy of the Provisional Government would vindicate his point of view, Lenin began a political struggle against the opportunist line of the "Old Bolshevik" leaders. In this struggle, he launched a blistering attack on Kamenev, Stalin and others for leading the Party into supporting the Provisional Government. Lenin wrote:

"The person who now speaks only of a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect gone over to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiques (or, as one might call it, the archive of 'old Bolsheviks')." (Letters on Tactics.)

The rank and file of the Party, the worker-Bolsheviks, supported Lenin. They had been trained in the Bolsheviks' real tradition—uncompromising hostility to the bourgeoisie. In the factories and in the workers' living quarters, support for Lenin soon swelled. The old leadership wavered

under Lenin's attack. Then it broke. By May, Lenin was in full command. The April crisis of the Bolshevik Party was over. The Party's line was once more revolutionary. The theoretical preconditions for the October Revolution were completed.

Though there would be reversals between April and October, the Russian working class now had its revolutionary leadership. Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, who formally joined the Bolsheviks in the summer of 1917, the Bolshevik Party succeeded in leading the Russian working class to the conquest of state power. □

factory in South Africa which builds jeeps similar to the ones used by the U.S. in Vietnam. Ford has set up Philco subsidiaries there which specialize in weapons control systems. Thanks to U.S. corporations, South Africa can produce all the cars, trucks, jeeps and tanks it needs to wage war against its Black population.

U.S. AND SOUTH AFRICA— SAME STRUGGLE

The auto companies are the same in South Africa and in the U.S. Here, they squeeze U.S. workers for all they can get. They speed us up, harass us, make us work dangerous jobs, give us forced overtime and lay us off almost at will. If they could get away with housing us in barracks, paying us \$83 a month, throwing us in jail for three years for striking and firing us for missing a day of work, they would. The only thing that stops them are the organizations of defense—unions—that we have built through years of militant struggle. And much of what they do get away with happens because pro-capitalist leaders like Woodcock and Fraser refuse to wage any kind of a real fight.

BUILD SOLIDARITY

In South Africa today, the struggle against these corporations, and the whole racist apartheid system, is growing: there have been strikes, demonstrations, battles with police. Efforts are going on to organize Black unions in the plants, in defiance of the government's racist laws.

Autoworkers in the U.S. can give valuable aid to the struggle. Apartheid could not long survive without the support of U.S. auto companies and other large corporations. We must expose the role our bosses are playing. We must build a movement that can stop the U.S. ruling class from aiding the racists.

In particular, we must wage a fight in the UAW to get our union to support the Black workers. This will take time, and we will need to educate many of our union brothers and sisters to the importance of this struggle. The UAW bureaucracy will be an active enemy of the Black workers' revolution in South Africa, just as it opposes workers' revolution in the U.S. While we wage this fight inside the union, we must actively involve as many autoworkers and other workers as possible in the activities of the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid and its work to build a revolutionary anti-apartheid movement.

A victory for the Black revolution in South Africa will help all U.S. workers. It will weaken our enemy—the U.S. ruling class, which uses profits from South Africa to increase its power over us. And, in organizing support for our African brothers and sisters, we can also start building the unity we need to build a revolutionary movement in this country.

It will be a long struggle. We must start building for it today. □

Prisoners Manifesto ...

(Continued from page 7)

for a petty offense.

This Manifesto is being sent to the Commissioner of Correction, the Warden of the State Prison, news media, and several organizations and citizens groups, and concerned people, throughout the state.

We will be on this hunger strike March 14, 15, and 16, 1977.

Last September, the requests of prisoners for an airing of complaints was met with brute force. But we will not be stopped by cowards with clubs and pick-ax handles who enjoy attacking unarmed prisoners. The violence of the prison managers and guards did not crush the movement of prisoners for their human rights. We continue to struggle. This hunger strike is only the beginning of a stronger and deeper movement.

Our struggle will continue... □

Auto Companies...

(Continued from page 9)

ber, glass, oil, chrome, etc.

The auto companies protect their investments by supporting the racist government. The clearest example came after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, when investors were pulling millions out of the country and there were calls for an international boycott. GM and Ford helped bail out the government. First, they put full-page ads in business newspapers saying they were confident in the South African government and in their investments there. Second, they bought stock on the South African stock market to keep it from crashing like Wall Street did in 1929. Finally, they poured more money into their South African plants.

Since then, the auto companies

have gone along with every racist scheme the government has come up with. When the South African government asked for factories to be moved away from the big cities (so there would be fewer Blacks near the cities), Chrysler moved its Port Elizabeth plant. In return, the South African government allowed Chrysler to pay even lower wages than it had in Port Elizabeth.

Additionally, the auto companies have gone along with South Africa's desire to be militarily self-sufficient. In case of an effective arms boycott, the government wants to be able to produce its weapons in South Africa. The auto companies have built their plants so as to be easily converted to military production. AMC has a

Subscribe to the TORCH

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

- Prisoners, FREE
- Introductory - 6 issues, \$1.00
- 12 issues, \$3.00
- Supporting, \$5.00
- Libraries and Institutions, \$5.00
- I would like more information about the Revolutionary Socialist League.

Please send this blank and check to:
Torch, P.O. Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

36

ng:

it

m

"Andrew U.S. Impe- sé of the role up U.S. im- didn't say onference in 17, 1976, said he was Young was ns the U.S. e answered, the United and that's as that has -colonialism nal corpora- major influ- and produc- world. And it or not. I an adminis- nk any Afri- been able to capital and in the hands called neoi- Southern

well aware, nother word Under the ath century, t countries t of Africa. d War, the can workers cal indepen- with impor- southern he imperial- economies obbing them terials. They peration of rs—Young's ican govern- colonial "op- ats to fasten hell with imperialist

League
\$1.00
\$3.00
\$5.00
\$5.00
\$4.50
\$10.00
the Torch.