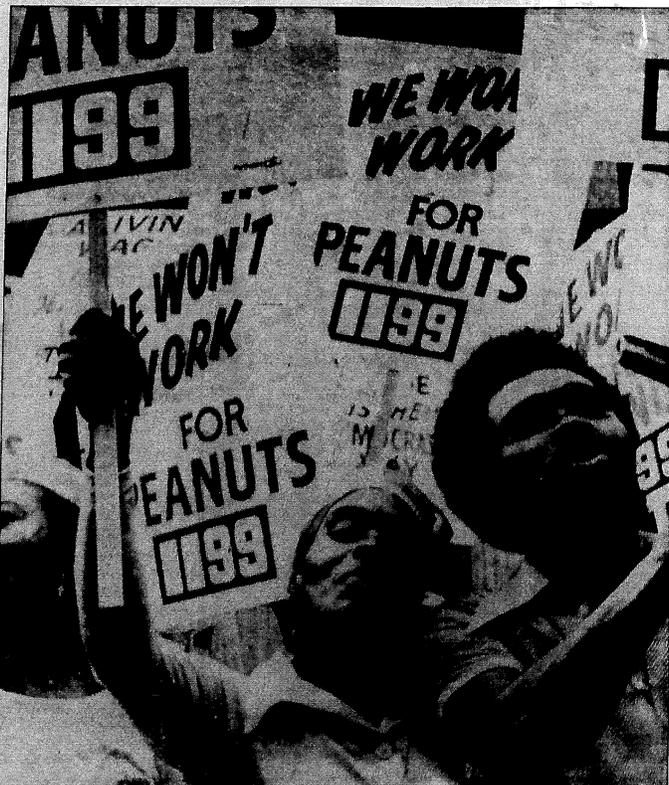


MAY 19 1978

MAY 15-JUNE 14, 1978

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF WISCONSIN

Carter Announces Do-Nothing Program as...



New York hospital workers demonstrate for decent wages.

INFLATION SOARS

BY SUSAN EDMUNDS

On April 11, President Jimmy Carter unveiled a program to fight what he called the nation's number one economic problem — inflation. Two weeks later, the government announced that prices had shot up in April. Consumer prices, particularly for food, housing and clothing, had jumped 0.8 percent in the last month. This increase helped bring the annual inflation rate for the first three months of 1978 up to 9.3 percent.

Working people don't need government statistics to know that inflation is skyrocketing. One look at your paycheck and then another at the prices in the supermarkets make it very clear that the dollar doesn't buy anything near what it used to.

The capitalists' scream about how much wages have gone up in the last 10 years. But government statistics show that real wages of U.S. workers have, on average, stayed the same. In fact, the government always distorts the statistics, and real wages have gone down, particularly those of the most oppressed workers in non-unionized jobs. Meanwhile, for unemployed workers and people on fixed incomes, inflation is pushing them even further into poverty and starvation.

The capitalists are also unhappy about inflation. For them, rising prices in the U.S. mean it's harder to sell their products on the world market. In addition, inflation has an unsettling effect on the economy. It upsets the capitalists' plans and un-

(Continued on page 4)

ZIMBABWE

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE FIGHT FOR LIBERATION

BY PAUL BENJAMIN

On March 5, Prime Minister Ian Smith signed an "Internal settlement" with three Black politicians in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). This deal allows the white capitalist ruling class to hide behind Black politicians, while it continues to control the country. But after only six weeks, Smith and company are facing a full-scale political crisis.

On April 28, the Executive Committee of Smith's transitional government sacked the Black minister of justice, Byron Hove. Hove is a supporter of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, one of the key signers of the "internal settlement." Smith removed Hove for criticizing the racism in the

Rhodesian bureaucracy and demanding the upgrading of Black members of the civil service and police. Muzorewa has threatened to resign over the incident. Since he is the most popular Black signatory of the "internal settlement" his resignation would wreck the deal. But even if Muzorewa stays in, this will not save the internal settlement.

On April 30, 1,500 people demonstrated in front of his headquarters shouting, "to hell with the internal settlement" and demanding Hove's reinstatement. Smith's removal of Hove is helping to teach the people of Zimbabwe that they cannot win their freedom by making deals with the white ruling class. To take control of their country and gain independence they must wage a determined armed struggle to drive out the white colonialists.

There is a Zimbabwean organization which has condemned the internal settlement, and has vowed to keep

fighting; this is the Patriotic Front. Revolutionaries should support the Patriotic Front in its struggle against the phony transitional government of Smith and Muzorewa. But they must also understand what the Patrio-

tic Front represents and what it is fighting for.

The Patriotic Front is a shaky coalition of two groups. One is the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo. The other is the

Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe.

Nkomo has been a leader in the Zimbabwean nationalist movement for over 20 years. Throughout his ca-

(Continued on page 14)



Zimbabwean marchers demand independence.

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**our
readers
write...**

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

Support the RSL fund drive!

There is one month left in our drive to raise \$20,000 by June 15. So far, \$10,935 has been collected and additional money has been pledged. However, we will not reach our goal unless **Torch** readers send in additional contributions quickly.

This money is needed to continue the recent expansion of our work in several areas. In the last year:

- We have expanded the **Torch/La Antorcha** from 20 pages to 24, more than doubling the size of **La Antorcha**.

- We have greatly increased our international work. We have established fraternal relations with the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica and greatly expanded discussions with revolutionary individuals and groups in Africa, Latin America and Europe.

- We have expanded our work with prisoners. Today we are sending more than four times as many free **Torch/La Antorcha** subscriptions to prisoners as we did a year ago. We are also involved in several Marxist study classes with prisoners, for which we supply rev-

olutionary literature.

- We led the defense of two Black lesbians victimized for defending themselves against an attack by their anti-gay landlady. We have organized committees in Detroit and Chicago to fight Nazi and KKK terror. And we have continued to organize against South African apartheid and to fight the reactionary labor bureaucracy through our work in the unions.

- We have established a Los Angeles branch of the RSL.

Right now, the RSL is facing its most serious financial crisis ever. While the number of our members and supporters has grown over the past year, this alone has not kept up with our increased expenses. Unless we reach our \$20,000 target by June 15, we will have to begin to cut back several of these important areas of work. We appeal to all friends to help us overcome this crisis. Please make a donation of whatever amount you can afford. Checks or money orders should be made payable to the RSL or **Torch/La Antorcha**, Box 562 NY, NY 10036.

Jamaican prisoner writes on Manley, Machel and Castro

The following is a letter from a prisoner in Jamaica. The comrade is responding to an article that appeared in a recent issue of the **Torch/La Antorcha** on Jamaica's Prime Minister Manley. The article, reprinted from **Forward**, included our analysis of the state-capitalist leaders Machel of Mozambique and Castro of Cuba. The comrade discusses his disagreements with this analysis.

Dear Comrades,

Please receive my most noble regards to you and all comrades of RSL. I was very happy and highly appreciate hearing from you.

I am much thankful for the **Torch** papers and do love the wide area the publication covered. There are a lot of brothers who would like to write to **Torch** after reading those you sent to me. Thanks again.

I should have given my opinion on the Southern Africa pamphlet you have sent but I have not finished reading it because of the amount of books I am going through presently. But I will discuss some points on an article in the January 15-February 14 issue. One by **Forward**—released by Jamaican comrades of RML "Manley Tramples Workers' Rights."

On certain points in this article some comrades do not agree. For myself, I do agree that President Machel's line of development in the post-revolutionary period of Mozambique is very much contrary to Marxist Socialism even when I do admire him a lot. Might be because of the fact that he is greatly a self-taught person as myself. I must in fact put aside this admiration and be genuinely objective on these matters as a Marxist Revolutionary.

The over-centralization of political power and the nature of nationalization in Mozambique do leave the people without any power or major decision-making on very important issues. Every important nationalization was claimed to be state property instead of the property of society to serve society. What I strongly believe about this polarization of power in the hands of the leaders or central committee, it is to keep a very close and tight grip on the country in its present reality. Even

when I am not well up-to-date on recent developments in Mozambique, I also believe it is too early to say that Machel really or merely represents the interest of a radical middle class. Think about the economical problems, the cultural reality, and the years of colonial history under Portugal. Do these really explain anything? I do not believe it is easy to eradicate those characteristics left behind by the colonial Master.

One more point I do agree with RML comrades on is that Machel and Fidel have seriously betrayed and compromised their revolutionary experiences of class war to overthrow capitalism by calling Manley revolutionary socialist. I am yet to agree that they are all in the same boat. Manley is too much of a hypocrite.

Manley really does not accept the destruction of the two parties' parliamentarian system and to have it replaced by peoples' power. In other words, a workers' government. He has played up on the people's minds with his political gimmicks about socialism and hypocritical anti-imperialist slogans. If the stabilization programme of the IMF and what it demands of a country borrowing money is carefully studied and a careful reflection is being made on the many aspects of Jamaican economy in trades, investments and local borrowing, there can be no doubt that the Manley government has bowed to imperialism.

Manley is a political dema-

agogue who really pays lip service to socialism to lull working people into producing more within the capitalist economic framework, while not a thing is being seriously done about the hundreds and thousands of people—working class people—who are being laid off by the capitalists. The masses are now suffering from the squeeze of the imperialist IMF's international techniques of economic sabotage.

I am in 100 percent agreement with what the article said about Manley the fake socialist carrying out capitalist reforms to suit the capitalist first. I am to some extent agreed with what is said about Fidel and Machel on their local politics. I also respect the line along which the comrades view Lenin's revolutionary principles in relation to fake socialists as Manley. It is true that when we fight the imperialist side by side with the Manley government, it is done because of our commitment to the workers' movement, we do not sacrifice nor compromise any revolutionary principle when fighting in this case, we do not integrate our principle on class struggle with reformist principles, our revolutionary concept is aimed at the ultimate eradication of the capitalist life style in every way....

Anyway, keep up the good work of assisting the incarcerated comrades, they are of great importance to the revolution.

From a comrade with Love,
(Name withheld)

Rastafarians: Join the struggle

Dear Comrades,

It was brought to my attention here by another comrade, that a "revolutionary vanguard party" has been established in Jamaica (Yard); known as the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML). I have been deeply impressed by the RML's founding congress that was held in October of last year, and the mutual and fraternal relationship that has been developed by the RSL/RML.

I am in complete agreement with the resolution adopted at the founding congress of the RML. Therefore, I would like you to take back to the comrades at home that we, as a minority group here in the "beast" captivity, are rastafarian comrades who are calling upon all other rastafarian comrades to support the RSL/RML in the fight for total freedom to all workers and oppressed people. Join the struggle now!!

I support the RML/RSL speaking tour to a full extent. I believe this is a step

taken on achieving working class unity and internationalism. It is an honorary step that will eventually deepen the ideological struggle among the revolutionary movement in the U.S. and other countries of the world.

This tour to us comrades is highly important. Our visiting comrade can have the opportunity to speak of the bitter bondage holding our people in Jamaica. The imperialist forces that hold our nation by this so-called democracy is nothing but a fake, it deforms our people from boiling up their grievances against their capitalist masters.

I can now see the intense situation that exists inside Jamaica, where the workers, peasants, and oppressed youths are uniting, swearing to take up arms to smash Manley and his cadres, including the smashing of his fake socialism. The notorious Gun Court that unconstitutional existed in the country was not built for the embezzlers, extortionists, oh no! It was for oppressed youths who have no political leadership. There has been no political group in Jamaica who has ever called for the abolishment of the Gun Court Act, but one, the Revolutionary Marxist League. That is why I and other comrades here believe that the RML is the only movement that can carry this task out.

Nevertheless, they cannot do this alone, they need our support, both locally and internationally. That is why this tour is necessary to demonstrate the necessity of internationalism. The RSL/RML fraternally are two political parties who need the support of the masses, so as to implement the struggle on Marxist-Leninist guidelines. Revolutionarily Yours,
CD

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REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

P.O. Box 502, Times Square Station, New York, New York 10036

May 15, 1978

Dear Friend:

This is an urgent letter.

The RSL is in a severe financial crisis unless we receive immediate contributions from torch/La Antorcha readers and other friends of the RSL. We will have to make serious cutbacks in our current activities.

In March 15, we launched a direct-mail drive aimed to raise \$20,000. With only one month left to the drive, we have collected just under \$11,000. We are in need of your help in order to continue without help from you, so we need your

subback on our ability to provide financial information, the scriptures and other materials to the masses for their education. This service is essential to our work as we prepare the prisoners to receive revolutionary propaganda.

Send us the money by check or cash. Let us know your address and we will send you a copy of the Revolutionary Socialist League in America and Europe.

Thank you for your help. We are sure that you will help us in our struggle against the capitalist system. We are sure that you will help us in our struggle against the capitalist system. We are sure that you will help us in our struggle against the capitalist system.

Yours truly,
Rev. John Thomas
Secretary



Italian workers reject bosses' cutbacks.

16, the BRs were trying to strike a blow against the hated capitalist regime. They were also lashing out against the latest betrayal by the Italian Communist Party (PCI). On March 8, the PCI had formally joined the governing capitalist coalition in parliament. We shed no tears for Moro. Moro was the most influential leader of the DC and a man very close to the Vatican. He was one of the people most responsible for Italian capitalism's filthy history of oppression and brutal exploitation over the past 30 years.

State of siege

Moro's kidnapping and execution are a disguised blessing for Italy's capitalists. Claiming to be waging a "battle against terrorism," they are moving at breakneck speed to strengthen and streamline their repressive government apparatus. Since Moro's seizure, Italy has been placed under a virtual state of siege. Police armed with submachine guns have set up roadblocks everywhere. Cops roam city streets in full force. Houses, apartments, offices and whole neighborhoods are searched without warrants. In Rome, 50,000 cops and troops are combing the work-

they cooked up charges against 42 of them. Not one of the 119 belonged to the BRs. Similar roundups have occurred throughout the country.

Since Moro's seizure, the Italian Communist Party has launched its own crusade against "terrorism." The PCI has called for the suppression not only of the BRs, but of all "political criminality." These code words refer to those leftists who reject the PCI's "historic compromise" with the capitalist government. The PCI is particularly eager to smash the forces of **Autonomia Operaia** (Workers' Autonomy), a mass movement of revolutionary youth. It has already tried to link this movement with the BRs and has called for a witch-hunt to drive its militants out of the trade unions. To win the support of the workers for this reactionary crusade, the PCI has been pushing its own version of the bourgeoisie's international conspiracy theory. According to the PCI, the BRs are getting help from international forces which want to de-stabilize the Italian government and throw a monkey wrench in its new cooperation with the PCI. There is not a shred of evidence to support this "theory."

The so-called ultra-left has not been much better than the PCI. Like most groups,

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Jamaican Revolutionary Speaks in U.S.

The rising wave of class struggle in Jamaica has been the theme of a speaking tour by comrade John Thomas, a leading member of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) of Jamaica. The tour, sponsored by the RSL, includes speaking engagements in New York City, Detroit, East Lansing (Michigan), Los Angeles and Chicago.

In his talks to date, Thomas analyzed the economic and social forces behind the deepening crisis in Jamaican society. He stressed the tremendous growth of the struggles of workers, youth, and small farmers in recent months against the worsening conditions the U.S. and Jamaican capitalists are

forcing on them. The Italian working class, supported by the peasants and other oppressed people, must rise in an armed insurrection. The workers must conquer state power and smash the capitalist state. They must then set up their own state based on workers' councils, factory and neighborhood committees, committees of poor peasants and other democratic institutions. They must take over the factories,

understand that they are the class who must take the lead in the struggle against the capitalists. They must learn to rely only on themselves—not on some elite—to save themselves from the horrors of decaying capitalism. An organized, united and class-conscious Italian working class can mobilize the masses of Italian people behind them and put capitalism and its agents out of their misery for good. The strategy of individual terrorism adopted by the Red Brigades and other organizations will not further the revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, it will hold it back. Terrorism does not and cannot organize the workers. All the time, money and talent spent preparing kidnappings and other commando raids could be used for revolutionary working work within the working class. Instead it is wasted in spectacular but futile actions completely isolated from the working class. But terrorism does more than waste precious resources (including the lives of dedicated revolutionaries). It also actively disorganizes the working class. Bolsheviks work to build the confidence of the working class, to show the workers that they can fight back. In contrast, individual terrorism tells the workers that they can't and shouldn't do anything to win their freedom. The individual terrorists—an elite—will do all the fighting for them. This reinforces the lack of confidence and the passivity that the capitalists pound into the

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On March 15, we launched a three-month fund drive to raise \$20,000. With only one month left in the drive, we have raised just under \$11,000. We are in real danger of not meeting our goal. Without help from you, we will have to:

- * Cut back on our ability to provide Torch/La Antorchita subscriptions and other literature to prisoners for free. This service is making it possible for hundreds of prisoners to receive revolutionary literature.
- * Reduce the money we can allocate to international work. In the last year, this work has increased greatly. We have established fraternal relations with the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica (w.i.) and greatly expanded discussions with revolutionary individuals and groups in Africa, Latin America and Europe.
- * Postpone planned improvements in the Torch/La Antorchita, and make cutbacks in other areas of our work.

The number of our friends and supporters has grown in the last year, but our expenses have grown much more quickly. Unless we reach our \$20,000 target, we will soon run out of money to meet our current expenses.

Please help. Send your contribution today to: RSL or Torch/La Antorchita, Box 562, Times Square Station, New York, NY 10036.

Revolutionary greetings,
Ron Taber
Ron Taber
National Secretary



Italian workers reject bosses' cutbacks.

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The strategy of individual terrorism adopted by the Red Brigades and other organizations will not further the revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, it will hold it back. Terrorism does not and cannot organize the workers. All the time, money and talent spent preparing kidnappings and other commando raids could be used for revolutionary working work within the working class. Instead it is wasted in spectacular but futile actions completely isolated from the working class.

But terrorism does more than waste precious resources (including the lives of dedicated revolutionaries). It also actively disorganizes the working class. Bolsheviks work to build the confidence of the working class, to show the workers that they can fight back. In contrast, individual terrorism tells the workers that they can't and shouldn't do anything to win their freedom. The individual terrorists—an elite—will do all the fighting for them. This reinforces the lack of confidence and the passivity that the capitalists pound into the



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Italy: No Tears for Moro

BY TONY CURZO

On May 9, Italy's leading politician, Aldo Moro, was killed by the Red Brigades (BRs) after 54 days of captivity. Moro was president of the main capitalist party, Christian Democracy (DC), and had been the leading candidate for president of Italy.

After a people's trial and a long series of maneuvers and press statements, the BRs announced on April 24 that they would exchange Moro for 13 political prisoners, 12 of them members of the BRs and other urban guerrilla groups. But the Christian Democratic politicians—Moro's lifelong colleagues—abandoned him.

In seizing Moro on March

ing-class quarters. This is the first time in post-war Italy that the army has been used to uphold "law and order."

Within five days of the kidnapping, the Italian cabinet approved a so-called law decree which greatly increases the power of the state to arrest, detain, imprison and torture revolutionaries and working-class militants. The capitalists have also launched a national witch-hunt against leftists and revolutionaries. On April 3 the cops in Rome carried out a Nazi-style roundup of the left. Searching countless houses and apartments in the middle of the night, they arrested 119 comrades and held them for hours without charges. Eventually

Lotta Continua (Continuous Struggle) has tried to carve out a neutral place for itself with the slogan, "Not with the state and not with the BRs." But its "neutrality" isn't all that neutral. The group is giving strong backing to the capitalists' international conspiracy theory in its newspaper.

Proletarian Democracy is an "ultra-left" group which specializes in capitulating to the PCI. On March 30 its newspaper, *Workers' Daily*, criticized the inefficiency of the cops in pursuing the BRs. This amounts to a call for a more efficient repressive apparatus.

Now that Moro is dead, we can expect these forces to capitulate even more to the PCI's attacks on the BRs and the revolutionary left. These leftists, who openly or not-so-openly call for the suppression of the Red Brigades, are giving political support to the capitalists' campaign to strengthen the repressive state apparatus. In so doing, they are only setting themselves up and betraying the working class.

Defend the BRs

The Red Brigades must be defended from the capitalist state. The BRs' only "crime" is that of attacking the hated capitalists and their system. The Italian bourgeoisie has no right to judge them. Its hands are covered with the blood of countless workers, peasants and youth who have been killed by the police and the fascists over the years. We demand full freedom for all imprisoned BRs and for all other Italian political prisoners.



A. Franceschini (left) and M. Ferrari, BRs on trial in Turin.

The strategy of individual terrorism adopted by the Red Brigades will not further the revolutionary struggle.

While the RSL defends the Red Brigades from the state, we strongly oppose the BRs' tactics of individual terrorism. This position does not flow from any aversion to violence. Our opposition to the BRs' tactics flows from the fact that such tactics won't work.

The only way to defeat Italian capitalism is through a working-class socialist revolution. The Italian working class, supported by the peasants and other oppressed people, must rise in an armed insurrection. The workers must conquer state power and smash the capitalist state. They must then set up their own state based on workers' councils, factory and neighborhood committees, committees of poor peasants and other democratic institutions. They must take over the factories,

mines, mills, means of transportation and communication and run the economy in their own interest. Only through this kind of revolution can Italian capitalism be overthrown and replaced by a progressive society—socialism.

To carry out such a revolution, the Italian workers must become organized and class conscious. They must understand that they are the class who must take the lead in the struggle against the capitalists. They must learn to rely only on themselves—not on some elite—to save themselves from the horrors of decaying capitalism. An organized, united and class-conscious Italian working class can mobilize the masses of Italian people behind them and put capitalism and its agents out of their misery for good.

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The so-called ultra-left has not been much better than the PCI. Like most groups,



Jamaican Revolutionary Speaks in U.S.

The rising wave of class struggle in Jamaica has been the theme of a speaking tour by comrade John Thomas, a leading member of the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML) of Jamaica. The tour, sponsored by the RSL, includes speaking engagements in New York City, Detroit, East Lansing (Michigan), Los Angeles and Chicago.

In his talks to date, Thomas analyzed the economic and social forces behind the deepening crisis in Jamaica's society. He stressed the tremendous growth of the struggles of workers, youth, and small farmers in recent months against the worsening conditions the U.S. and Jamaican capitalists are

forcing on them. Thomas also discussed the work the RML is doing to build a revolutionary party which can unite these struggles and lead them to victory through socialist revolution. He emphasized the need to spread a successful Jamaican revolution to other countries as the main way to defend its gains. Overall, the discussions in the meetings were lively and productive.

In New York and L.A. where there are large Caribbean communities, many Jamaicans came to hear the talks. Discussions with these sisters and brothers revealed widespread distrust of both capitalist parties in Jamaica. Most important is a

(Continued on page 11)

Carter Announces Do-Nothing Program as . . .

INFLATION SOARS

(Continued from page 1)
dermines the confidence of investors. Finally, if it gets out of hand, inflation can choke off a business upturn and bring on a recession.

Carter's anti-inflation program takes no strong measures. It is primarily designed to create a climate for stepping up the capitalists' efforts to make the workers pay for the economic crisis. The key parts of the program call for:

- Holding down the federal budget deficit, including threatening a presidential veto of any legislation that would increase it beyond the projected \$60 billion.

This means that social-service programs may be slashed. Health care, welfare, aid to the cities, jobs programs and similar services are threatened under the provision:

- Limiting pay increases for federal employees to 5.5 percent this year. In addition, Carter asked that governors and mayors take a hard line to hold down wage increases for state and city workers.

Carter had already promised federal workers a six percent increase, which wouldn't have even kept up with inflation. Now Carter wants to cut even that.

- Voluntary wage and price restraints. What this means was shown in 1971 when Nixon imposed wage/price controls. Wages were held down, while prices and profits merrily continued to rise.

- An anti-inflation director to oversee the whole program. Carter appointed Robert Strauss, a Texas millionaire with close ties to big business. This is mostly a public relations gimmick to make the capitalists believe that Carter is serious about fighting inflation.

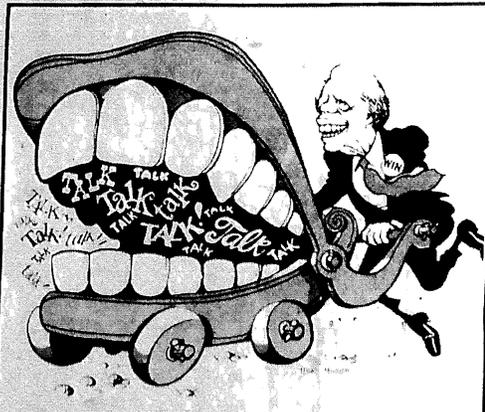
Capitalists cause inflation

The capitalists like to claim that inflation is caused by increases in workers' wages. This is a lie. In fact, wages generally lag behind the rate of inflation. The real cause of inflation is built into the capitalist system itself.

For example, the ruling class spends billions of dollars a year on arms and the military to be able to loot other countries and to stave off the threat of working-class revolt. But arms production is waste—and a net drain on the economy. This waste production is financed by government borrowing and tax increases. This in turn leads to higher prices.

The growth of debt, both public and private, also contributes to inflation. Deficit spending by the government for example, leads to an increase in the supply of money without a proportionate increase in real goods and services. This sends prices up.

Another cause of inflation



Carter's Anti-Inflation Program

is speculation by the capitalists. As machinery and technology become more sophisticated and more expensive, the capitalists have a harder time getting a satisfactory rate of profit on their investments. So instead of plowing money back into modern-

izing plant and machinery, they speculate with it—play the stock market, buy and sell commodities and currency, put money into real estate, etc.

Meanwhile, the industrial plant and machinery become older and more delapidated—that is, more inefficient. The cost of this inefficiency is also passed on in the form of higher prices.

Carter's program pleases no one

Most workers were not taken in by Carter's program. Federal workers were furious at this attack on their living standards. And even labor sellouts like George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, and Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters union, were forced to denounce Carter's restraints. Meany, for example, issued a statement that the AFL-CIO opposed wage restraints, saying: "Wage increases are an attempt to catch up and stay even. They do not start the inflation cycle."

But Carter's program pleased the capitalists about as little as it did the workers.

Business Week, a leading capitalist journal, reported that many top business executives object even to the idea of pressuring them to keep prices down. The capitalists want stronger measures against the workers.

Carter, who is not known

for his decisiveness, could only come out with something wishy-washy. The reason? He is terrified of a showdown with the workers. When Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley Act against the miners' strike, the miners said "screw you." They continued the strike, and Carter came out of it with egg all over his face. And he doesn't want to lose any more support from the workers and labor bureaucrats than he already has.

Make the bosses pay!

Skyrocketing inflation is a symptom of a diseased and dying system trying to stay alive. While Carter's program is mild, the capitalists will unleash more vicious attacks as their system further decays.

To fight off the capitalists' attacks, workers must begin to organize now to bust Carter's wage restraints. Workers must demand wage increases to make up ground already lost. They must also demand full cost-of-living escalators to keep up with inflation. The working class must also oppose any cuts in social-service programs, and must fight to extend these programs.

The capitalists want the workers to pay for their crisis. We say: Make the bosses pay! □

HOSTOS STUDENTS SEIZE BUILDING

Bilingual Education at Stake

FLASH—On May 11, 500 students marched from Koch's Village apartment to City Hall to fight cutbacks in education. A large number of Hostos students were a part of the militant demonstration. The struggle continues.

On March 31, students at Hostos Community College in New York City began an occupation of the "500 building." This building, across the street from the college, was planned as an addition to the school. It was bought four years ago as a result of a struggle by the students at Hostos, but it has never been made available to the students.

The students, most of whom are Latin, have two main demands—that the city government come up with the funds to open the 500 building, and that childcare be provided for all students at Hostos who need it.

The fight for more space and for childcare is a fight to keep Hostos Community College open and able to provide education. Hostos is the only bilingual college east of El Paso, Texas. It is the only school in New York where the many Spanish-speaking, working-class people have an opportunity for the kind of education that is usually denied to them.

The city government, however, isn't interested in the educational needs of Spanish-speaking people. The government has been planning to "merge" Hostos with the nearby Bronx Community College. This would, in fact, not be a merger but an elimination of bilingual education.

As it is, Hostos can't serve



Hostos students march to NY mayor's mansion to demand funds, April 26.

the needs of Spanish-speaking people who try to get a decent education. This school year, 500 students were turned away for lack of space. Classes are overcrowded. There is no cafeteria and no gymnasium. By opening the 500 building, at least these immediate problems would be solved.

The need for childcare at Hostos is as important as the need for more space. Three-quarters of the students at Hostos are women. Many of these women are mothers. They are forced into having to choose between trying to care for their children during their classes or staying home.

At first, Mayor Koch and the rest of his gang tried to

ignore the struggle at Hostos. The students, however, didn't let Koch get away with this. On April 14, the students held a rally at City Hall to demand that the Board of Higher Education allocate money for Hostos. And on April 26, the Hostos students and supporters from the community marched on Gracie Mansion with the same demand.

To try to take the heat off of themselves, the city rulers then changed their strategy from pretending that Hostos didn't exist, to making a lot of vague promises. Deputy Mayor Herman Badillo visited Hostos on the day of the march to Gracie Mansion and told the students that money for Hostos would be

included in the Master Plan for City Universities. The catch is that this plan gets submitted on June 1, after the close of the school year!

Working-class and oppressed people need to recognize that the enemies in battles like the one at Hostos are the Koches, the Badillos and the capitalist system that pays them to lie to us. Working and oppressed people need to organize themselves to smash these enemies.

The struggle at Hostos will go on. The students have been fighting for their needs for years now, and they will continue to fight.

Victory to the Hostos Students!

Justice Dept. Tries to Cool Anger Over Killer Cops



Cops manhandle Mexican-American marchers in Houston.

BY NICK MALLOY

On April 5, the U.S. Justice Department filed a complaint against Federal Judge Ross M. Sterling. Sterling was criticized for giving three Houston police officers illegally light sentences after they were convicted of murdering Mexican-American Joe Compos Torres. This is the latest in a series of attempts by the Justice Department to cover for the racism of the Houston courts.

Torres was murdered by the cops on May 5, 1977. Following a barroom brawl, the three cops handcuffed Torres and beat him to a pulp. Later that same night the cops threw Torres, still handcuffed, into the Buffalo Bayou where he drowned.

The cops were brought to trial on murder charges in Houston. They were found guilty, but the judge let them off with suspended sentences and \$1 fines. Blacks and Mexican-Americans in Houston protested this rac-

ist outrage. In response to this protest movement, the Justice Department filed charges against the cops for violating Torres' civil rights. The cops were retried and the jury again found the three guilty of murder. But Sterling still only gave the cops one year in jail with 10 year suspended sentences.

By filing the charges against the cops, the Justice Department hoped that it could convince people in Houston that the justice system works. But Sterling blew it by giving the cops what amounted to a slap on the wrist. So the government was forced to step in again to file the complaint

Not an isolated case

The federal government's intervention in the Torres murder is not an isolated case. It is part of a strategy the Justice Department has developed to make themselves look like watchdogs—appearing to administer justice in cases where the local authorities will not. In New York, for instance, the Justice Department filed charges against officer Robert Torsney, Torsney murdered a Black youth, Randolph Evans, but was found not guilty by a New York City jury. The murder and the jury's verdict were so obviously racist that the Justice Department again stepped in. Federal cases are also

pending against other killer cops in New York City, Houston and around the country.

The capitalists are afraid that if the cops are allowed to kill at will, workers will organize their own defense against the cops. It is no accident that these cases are coming up in cities where people have organized to fight against racist cops and courts that protect them. In Houston, Blacks and Latins have held several demonstrations against the racism and the brutality of the cops. In Brooklyn, New York, hundreds of people attended public meetings to protest the murder of Randolph Evans. And the week before Christmas a boycott was organized against all stores in downtown Brooklyn to demand justice for Evans.

There is another reason behind the federal government's phony concern for justice. The U.S. govern-

ment wants to prove that it fights for "human rights" in the U.S. as well as elsewhere. It's hard to point the finger at the rest of the world when trigger-happy cops are roaming the streets shooting Black and Latin youth, while the courts are letting the pigs go free.

It is suicide to rely on the government to stop the killer cops. The cops, the courts and the federal government are all parts of the capitalist state. They are all part of this tool the capitalists use to keep the workers down.

To stop the cops from killing off the youth of our communities, the workers and other oppressed people should organize workers defense guards. The only people who will really gain from stopping the cops are the workers and oppressed people themselves. Only if they organize to defend themselves can the attacks by the cops be stopped.

Mexican-American People Rise Up Against Houston Police

On May 7, thousands of Mexican-American youth in Houston, Texas, rose up against the racist harassment of Houston cops. It was no accident that the rebellion occurred on the first anniversary of the murder of Joe Compos Torres. Torres was killed by Houston cops on May 5, 1977 (See accom-

panying article.)

The rebellion occurred after a celebration of Cinco de Mayo (Mexican Independence Day). On the afternoon of May 7, thousands of people gathered in Moody Park, in the Mexican-American community on the north side of Houston. The park was crawling with cops who were harassing people throughout the celebration. Angered by the cops, hundreds of young Mexican-Americans took to the streets.

All down Fulton Street one of the main streets in the community, store windows were shattered. A number of stores were sent up in flames. Chants of "Justice for Torres" were shouted by numbers of people as the rebellion went on. The "city fathers" called in 350 cops to try to suppress the rebellion. As a result of the rebellion, four cops were hospitalized. Eight or more community people were hurt and 30 people were arrested.

Justice for Torres!

The local authorities are scared. They claim to have no idea why people rose up against them. Mayor Jim McConn's theory is that "there were outside people" who were responsible for the rebellion. The local police chief attributes the mass revolt to "some drunks." This is typical of capitalist politicians—when the cops murder working people, that's "business as usual." But when people rise up against murder, oppression and brutality, "that can't be happening here."

All of the explanations of the big shots miss the real reason for the rebellion—the reason that is explained in large white letters on the wall of a burned-down bakery—JUSTICE FOR TORRES!

TWO GAY RIGHTS LAWS REPEALED DEFEND GAY RIGHTS!

Gay rights laws were repealed by public referendums in two major cities during the last two weeks. In Wichita, Kansas, a law banning discrimination based on "sexual or affectional preferences" was overturned on May 9 by a vote of five to one. And in St. Paul, Minnesota, a similar law that had been on the books for four years was repealed by a two to one margin on April 25. These defeats are the result of a growing right-wing attack on homosexuals and the few legal rights they have been able to win over the years.

This anti-gay movement began last year in Dade County, Florida, where Anita Bryant's Save Our Children organization opened the crusade against gay rights. Since that time, Concerned Citizens for Community Standards was organized in Wichita. In St. Paul, the group was named Citizens Alert for Morality. And the list could go on.

Most of these groups are endorsed by Anita Bryant and all claim that laws protecting homosexuals condone immoral behavior and corrupt the youth. Basically, they are characterized by a fundamentalist religious approach and a right-wing political mentality. Many groups are directly led by Bible-thumping Baptist

preachers. In Seattle, the anti-gay group called Save Our Moral Ethics is led by two cops.

Attacks on more than legislation

These bigots are not only responsible for the attack on gay rights legislation. While complaining that the laws condone immorality, these right-wingers, along with the cops, have been taking new initiative in harassing, beating and murdering gays. In March and April, over 100 gay men were entrapped by undercover police in the Boston Public Library. The

repeal of the gay rights ordinance in Dade County directly led to the killing of three gays by sexist thugs. In McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary in Washington, three gay prisoners have been murdered in the last year alone.

These physical attacks on gays make it clear that we cannot rely on the laws and the courts to protect gay people. And it is not accidental that physical attacks are being stepped up at the same time as attacks on gay rights laws. The right-wingers, including scum like the Nazis and the KKK, are dead set on driving gays back into the closet—one way or the other.



Hundreds marched for gay rights in Milwaukee last month.

To defeat these attacks we must organize a militant working-class struggle against the right wing. All laws and ordinances that are not backed up by a militant movement will be taken away at the first opportunity. This is what the recent anti-gay referendums are about.

But these attacks on gays are not isolated. The entire capitalist system is falling apart. The capitalists are forcing poor and working people to shoulder the burden of the growing crisis through inflation and unemployment. More and more people are getting frightened and are looking for something to hold on to. Many are looking to the family, religion and patriotism to save them. These people become easy prey for right-wingers. They are ready to believe that the problem with society is gays or women or Blacks or Latins. The right wing then mobilizes these demoralized people to attack the rights of working-class and other oppressed people.

This means that the struggle to defend gay rights and the rights of all working-class and oppressed people must be united in the fight to smash the capitalist system itself. We have to destroy this system that is slowly gringing people into the dirt and teaching them to destroy each other.



Free Jomo!

In the early morning hours of April 4, cops stopped Dalou Asahi (Mariano Gonzalez) and Jomo (Cleveland McKinley Davis) on the streets of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn, New York. In the confrontation, the cops began firing on the two men. A shoot-out took place and Dalou was murdered by the pigs. Jomo was severely injured, but was able to get into his car and drive eight blocks before he blacked out. Two pigs were also killed in the shoot-out.

The state has no explanation about why the cops started firing, or even about why Dalou and Jomo were stopped in the first place. But explanations don't worry the local rulers.

After the shoot-out, the police were given a free hand to go through the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, intimidating and harassing people. The local capitalist newspapers were busy printing stories about how Dalou and Jomo were "tied to the PLO" (Palestine Liberation Organization). This is supposed to mean that the two men were "terrorists." Both men were active in the Attica rebellion in September 1971, and this could have been the reason that the cops were after them. Jomo is now being charged with the deaths of the two cops and Dalou! And the shoot-out is being used to whip up support for reinstating the death penalty in New York State.

This whole campaign by the press, and the charges against Jomo, are nothing but a cover for killer cops. Jomo must be freed!

Gay Task Force meets with Carlson

After a meeting with representatives of the National Gay Task Force (NGTF), Norman Carlson, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, issued a new policy statement to all members of prison staff. The statement prohibits the use of the term "homosexual rape" in describing acts of rape in the prisons.

The statement says that the description of rape and assault in the prisons should no longer give the public the mistaken impression that homosexuals are responsible for rape. A further meeting is to be held between the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the National Gay Task Force to discuss specific complaints of lesbian and gay male prisoners.

The NGTF is busy telling people what a great change this represents. Revolutionaries are certainly for educating working and oppressed people that it is not gay people in the prisons who are the rapists. But we are for far more. We stand for ending the rape that goes on in the prisons. And all of the meetings between Carlson and the NGTF will not do this. Prisoners have to organize themselves to end rape.

In fact, Carlson and the other butchers who run the prisons stand in the way of prisoners organizing for the rights of gay people. Prison authorities continually ban gay publications. Prison keepers have been banning *Off Our Backs*, a feminist newspaper, for "glorification of lesbianism." And prison authorities ban any revolutionary newspaper that points out the need to organize.

Gay prisoners shouldn't be fooled by Carlson and his gang or by the claims of the NGTF. Only by tearing apart the society that needs gay oppression and prisons will we put an end to the oppression of gay prisoners.

Lucasville 14 renounce citizenship

Richard X. Armstrong and David L. Cattano are members of a group of prisoners known as the Lucasville 14. They are being held in administrative segregation at Ohio State Penitentiary in Lucasville. This is the result of a struggle that began last August. At that time, these prisoners renounced their U.S. citizenship, and demanded to be sent to the country of their choice. But the U.S. State Department refused to recognize the renunciations, stating that no U.S. citizen could renounce their citizenship while within the borders of the U.S.

In response to this, the prisoners went on a hunger strike and wrote 7,500 letters of protest to government officials. They said that their human rights were being denied. These actions got no more response from the State Department pigs than the initial renunciation of citizenship.

Since November 1977, four prisoners, Armstrong and Cattano among them, have been cutting off their fingers and sending them to various government big shots. They resorted to self-mutilation in order to get a hearing from the outside. However, the prison keepers have only come down on them harder. They have been beaten, thrown into strip cells and solitary confinement. And now, Armstrong and Cattano are being denied their right to talk to the press.

We defend the Lucasville brothers in their fight against the barbaric system that drives people like these prisoners to acts of self-mutilation. But we oppose self-mutilation, and don't believe it's any kind of strategy to fight the ruling class. The rulers of this country build the prisons to mutilate our bodies and minds. No working-class or oppressed person should be helping the capitalist system to destroy us.

—FH

State Tries Again

Stop the Railroad of Yusuf Abdul Alim!

Yusuf Abdul Alim (a/k/a Albert McQueen), a Sunni Muslim prisoner at the Green Haven Correctional Facility in New York State, is facing attempted murder charges in the stabbing of a prison guard, Bertrand Ross, on April 12, 1978. The keepers are saying that Ross was stabbed in the corridor at 9:05 a.m. There are numerous witnesses to the fact that Alim was locked in his cell at that time for a disciplinary violation.

The current charges against Alim are only the latest in a long series of acts of harassment, intimidation, and brutality by the prison system against Alim.

In 1976, Alim was at Attica prison, where he was the Imam (spiritual leader) of the Sunni Muslim population there. Alim attempted to organize the prisoners against harassment and mistreatment by the guards. Also, since he is a knowledgeable jail-house lawyer, Alim filed grievances and civil suits related to the abuse heaped on prisoners by the guards and prison administration.

Because of these things, the guards targeted Alim for particular persecution. On July 12, 1976, guards entered Alim's cell. They attempted to take away his Holy Koran. When Alim protested, the guards brutally beat and maced him. Alim suffered a broken jaw and lacerations all over his face and body.

Prisoners who saw what the guards had done to Alim retaliated several hours later by rising up against the guards, sending four to the hospital. When the second Attica Rebellion broke out in August of '76, many prisoners pointed to the beating of Alim as one of the causes.

The state convened a grand jury to investigate



Yusuf Abdul Alim.

Alim on charges of assault, inciting a riot and similar bullshit. Because of the publicity Alim's case received, the grand jury was forced to hand down no indictment and cleared him of the charges. Despite this, prison commissioner Benjamin Ward put Alim in punitive segregation and took one year's good time away from him. Ward claimed that as far as the department was concerned, Alim was guilty! (Alim has filed a \$200,000 damages suit for the beating at Attica.)

Since that time, the prison keepers have continued their campaign of harassment against Alim. He has been transferred from one prison to another. In one case, Alim had filed complaints of criminal conspiracy against various judges, lawyers, etc. The district attorney buried these charges and had Alim transferred to another pris-

fusing to lie down in the face of oppression. His only "crime" is fighting back against the system that harasses, torments and brutalizes prisoners. His only "crime" is trying to expose the conditions in the prisons, which the authorities want to keep secret.

To defeat the state's railroad attempt, Alim is going

Comrades:

Please take notice that here in Green Haven Camp a beloved comrade, Pedro Juan Arroyo, was murdered by the Administration on May 3, 1978. We learn that he died from being poorly fed, which resulted in malnutrition.

Can you imagine prisoners dying from malnutrition here in the U.S.A., "the richest country in the world"? It's obvious because of the degrading conditions that we are subjected to in prison camps throughout the U.S. We know that the brother was a revolutionary who stood up against injustice and capitalist exploitation; we also know that he is another fallen victim of the imperialist society like so many other poor and oppressed people. Under the conditions that we as political prisoners live here in Green Haven and other camps throughout the state, it is a miracle for one to survive.

Concerned Comrades in Struggle, Green Haven

on—Green Haven Correctional Facility, where he is now. In addition, he has been refused access to postage stamps to send out his legal mail.

And now Alim faces years more added on to his sentence for the attempted murder charges. The state is trying to railroad Alim through a fast trial. But Alim's only "crime" is re-

to need support. He has no money to hire a lawyer, and must go with a state-appointed attorney for the time being. Contributions are needed for his defense.

Contributions and letters protesting the railroad of Alim can be sent to: Yusuf Abdul Alim Defense Fund, PO Box 524, New York, NY 10036.

WHY DOES ALABAMA WANT LIZZIE WILLIAMS?

Lizzie Williams is a 60-year-old Black woman who preaches on street corners in Detroit. The state of Alabama says she's a fugitive from justice. She escaped from one of their prison farms in 1951 after serving nine years of a 218-year sentence. What kind of justice condemned her to 218 years in prison? What crime did she commit?

In 1942, when she was 24 years old, Lizzie Williams lied to the cops to keep her lover from going to jail. He told her he'd stolen some chickens, and she testified that he'd been with her at the time. So they arrested her as an accomplice. She had three trials in two days. An all-white jury found her guilty as an accomplice to unarmed robbery and sentenced her to three consecutive terms of 20 years, 99 years and 99 years—218 years in jail!

In 1942, when Lizzie Williams was railroaded, no Blacks were allowed to serve on juries in Alabama. In the civil rights struggles of the '50s and '60s, Blacks all over the South won the right to vote and to serve on juries. But things haven't changed that much. Governor George Wallace of Alabama still

wants to put Lizzie Williams back in jail even though he knows she was railroaded. He doesn't give a damn what kind of jury sentenced her or for what. She escaped, and if she gets a day free, that sets a "bad" example for other prisoners.

But the state of Michigan won't extradite her. Black people in Detroit rallied to Williams' defense and pressured Governor Milliken into granting her sanctuary. As long as she stays in Michigan she's safe. But if she leaves the state for any reason, she can still be arrested as a fugitive and extradited to Alabama.

The ruling class decrees that a fugitive is an outlaw to be hunted like an animal or be shot on sight. If you help a prisoner get away, you can be arrested and jailed yourself. But if you turn him or her in, you can collect a reward.

The capitalists need prisoners—and the cops and courts that send people to prison—to enforce their rule over the working class. Lizzie Williams got away. But hundreds of thousands of prisoners won't until we, the workers, take power and open the doors of all the prisons.

DETROIT:

Liberals Undermine Anti-Nazi Fight

On April 11 the Nazis were evicted from their headquarters on Vernor Street in Detroit. This was a victory for the working class. But the Nazis in Detroit, Chicago and throughout the U.S. are still organizing. We need a long-term strategy to crush them.

An effective strategy to defeat the Nazis consists of two inter-related tasks. First, we must organize workers' defense groups. These groups must organize workers and oppressed people to defend their organizations

The workers, therefore, have a crucial interest in fighting the Nazis. And they have the power, through their numbers, through their potential control over production and through their mass organizations, to completely wipe out the Nazis.

In the U.S. today, the main organizations of the working class are the trade unions. These organizations, which embrace millions of workers, would have tremendous power if they were led by people willing to wage a militant struggle against the

death that the workers will take matters into their own hands. Above all, they want the workers to trust in the law and the so-called democratic process to solve their problems. They fear that once the workers see the state for what it is—a tool of the capitalist class—they will begin to struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. For this reason, Boatman wants to use the coalition as a means of keeping the anti-Nazi struggle in peaceful, legal, and pro-capitalist channels.

bounds. They fight to keep the workers divided and weak, rather than united and strong. They support the capitalists' attack on the workers. They only talk militant to hide their treacherous role. They are not interested in the kind of militant struggle it will take to stop the Nazis. When the anti-Nazi movement develops in a mass, militant direction, the liberals, religious leaders and labor bureaucrats will try to sabotage it. If the workers have illusions in these sell-outs, they will get stabbed in the back.

Boatman's sleazy role was revealed in an incident reported in last month's *Torch/La Antorcha*. When the RSL introduced a motion congratulating the working people of St. Louis who attacked a Nazi march with bottles and stones and drove them off the streets, Boatman ruled it out of order. To justify this, he said the coalition believes in "peaceful methods" of struggle. He later claimed that the working-class, anti-Nazi action in St. Louis only made the Nazis stronger!

Most left groups have gone along with Boatman. They have opposed an explicitly pro-working-class strategy. They tell other people to tone down their militancy so as not to offend the rabbis, council members and other liberals.

From the beginning of the Detroit anti-Nazi coalition, the RSL has fought within it for a militant, working-class strategy to fight the Nazis. We have fought for independent and militant mobilizations against the Nazis. We have proposed that the

The workers have the power, through their numbers, their potential control over production and their mass organizations, to completely wipe out the Nazis.



and communities from physical assault by the Nazis. They must also close down the Nazis' bookstores and break up their meetings. They must be prepared to drive the Nazis off the streets wherever and whenever they appear. The Nazis thrive on cheap victories. To beat

capitalists. To unleash this power we must work to expose the labor bureaucrats. At the same time, we must fight to bring the trade unions into the struggle against the Nazis. If the labor movement were to throw its united weight behind the militant anti-Nazi

Central to Boatman's strategy is to make the coalition "respectable," that is, to get religious leaders, liberal politicians and other trade-union bureaucrats into it. To get these "respectable leaders," such as Mayor Coleman Young, City Councilwoman Erma Henderson and UAW President Doug Fraser to join and/or support the coalition, Boatman wants to make the coalition as "comfortable" for them as possible. Thus, while he has used the left organizations to do the leg work for the coalition, he has also put a lot of pressure on them to keep their politics to themselves. Boatman thinks that if the left keeps quiet, the liberals won't be scared off.

Boatman says this is necessary to build the broadest possible unity of anti-Nazi forces. But this kind of unity—unity with the capitalists and pro-capitalist forces—is a disaster for the working class. While it may win some easy, short-term victories, it sets the workers up for a long-term defeat. If the workers are to win, they must rely only on themselves, on their own organization and unity. They must clearly understand who their friends are and who their enemies are.

Liberals stab workers in the back

If the workers think that liberal politicians like Coleman Young, and labor bureaucrats like Douglas Fraser, will defend their interests, they are seriously mistaken. The workers' interest is to smash capitalism and set up a socialist society. The liberals and labor bureaucrats, however, want to save capitalism. They will work overtime to keep the workers' struggle within capitalist

coalition take defense work seriously. And we have exposed the dangers of relying on the politicians, the cops and the courts to fight the Nazis.

Because we have exposed his rotten role, Boatman has tried to throw us out of the coalition. He has interrupted several meetings with hysterical name-calling rambles, calling the RSL "jackasses," "agents of the enemy," "friends of the Nazis," and similar slanders. This hypocrite says he is for "peaceful methods." But several times he has threatened violence against the RSL and Workers Defense Committee (WDC). Boatman's method: peaceful actions against the Nazis, violence against revolutionaries. That's a "labor leader" for you.

Fight to win!

At the April 24 meeting, Boatman wanted to have us expelled but did not get enough support. At the meeting on May 8, less than 20 people showed up. Again lacking enough support to throw us out, Boatman pretended to be friendly and retreated. The attempt to expel the RSL/WDC is a message to the left: "Keep your politics hidden. Don't say anything that might offend the liberals. If you do, we'll kick you out." This kind of "unity"—unity with the liberals—can't defeat the Nazis. Time and time again this strategy has led to the defeat of the workers. If the workers want to fight to win, they must reject Boatman's class-collaborationist approach.

The way forward is to reject the attempts to expel the RSL and WDC, and to build a militant struggle based on the independent organization and mobilization of the working class. □

PLP Hits Nazi Meeting

On the night of April 7, members and friends of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) went to the Nazi office in Chicago's Marquette Park area and busted up their meeting. Two women knocked on the door of the Nazi office to be admitted to the meeting. When the door opened, 20 men and women armed with bats and pipes rushed in and started beating the Nazis. They were out again before the Nazis could call their friends, the cops.

Like the defeat of the Nazis in St. Louis on March 12, this is an example of the kind of action necessary to smash the Nazis. In spite of our many political differences with PLP, we applaud their action.

them we must deny them any victories.

Second, we must organize a militant struggle for jobs, housing, schools and other things people need. The Nazis try to appeal to white workers and middle-class people, who are being ground down by the economic crisis and who see no way out of the situation they are in. The Nazis point to Black people and say: "These people are taking your jobs, ruining your neighborhoods and schools." To undermine the Nazis, we must build a movement that fights the capitalists for the things we need.

The only force with the power and the interest to wage this kind of fight is the working class. As Nazi Germany showed, the real purpose of the Nazis is to attack the working class, to smash the trade unions and other workers' organizations, cut wages, and reduce the workers to the position of slaves.

strategy we propose, we could drive the Nazis off the streets and destroy their movement.

A step in this direction was taken when an anti-Nazi coalition was formed in Detroit several months ago. This coalition, called the Labor-Community-Interfaith Council Against the Nazis, could have provided the core for a militant fight against the Nazis. However, because of the policy of the coalition's leaders, the potential of the group has been wasted. Rather than organizing for a militant fight against the Nazis, the leader of the coalition, Paul Boatman, a former union bureaucrat at Ford River Rouge, has done the opposite. Instead of organizing the workers to drive the Nazis off the streets, Boatman wants to build an organization that will pressure the government, the courts and the police to get rid of the Nazis. He and his liberal allies are scared to

Armed March in Tupelo; Blacks Fight Racism

On May 6, over 1,600 Black people marched in Tupelo, Mississippi. They were protesting police brutality, and the fact that the white-controlled town and its white-owned businesses refuse to hire Black people. Many of the demonstrators were armed with rifles and clubs to protect the march from a threatened Ku Klux Klan attack.

The Klan was forced to back down on its threat to the march, but held a racist counter-demonstration. Most of the Tupelo cops, including the chief of police, attended the rally. Tupelo's mayor also showed up and got a standing ovation from the racist white crowd.

Black residents in and around Tupelo have marched eight weekends in a row against the racist climate. And they have boycotted local businesses for the last six weeks.

The protest has been organized by the United League of Mississippi. The league has been fighting for improvements in the school system, including the hiring of more Blacks in all positions. Right now there are no Black principals and few Black teachers. They are also protesting the racist ripoff of the Black community by businesses that gladly take Blacks' dollars, but will not hire Black workers.

Organize to smash the right wing

Black people in Tupelo are showing that it is necessary to wage a militant fight. The few gains won through the mass struggles of the '60s are being wiped out. All across the country, the Nazis, the Klan, and other right-wing forces are organizing and gaining strength. The working-class and oppressed people must also be organizing—to smash the right wing and fight for the things people need for a decent life.

NEW YORK: TWU HACKS RIG CONTRACT VOTE

NEW YORK CITY—Just hours before the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 contract ratification ballots were to be counted, John Lawe, president of the local, voided the entire vote. Had the ballots been counted, and "no" votes been in the majority, a citywide transit strike could have followed, shutting down the city's bus and subway system.

Lawe's action on April 25 was a result of a suit filed by the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers (CCTW), which charged the union bureaucrats with rigging the mail-in vote. According to the CCTW: 1) The TWU bureaucrats mailed ballots to ineligible members, but not to many active members. 2) The bureaucrats were going to count unreturned ballots as votes in favor of the contract. 3) The bureaucrats printed ballots that offered TWU members the choice of a "yes" vote, or "I reject and vote to strike." TWU bureaucrats hoped that this wording would intimidate the transit workers from turning down the rotten settlement. To top it off, the bureaucrats mailed out letters to union members saying that a strike would mean financial disaster

for the city and would lead to the downfall of the union!

Following the voiding of the ballots, the TWU hacks announced that it would take at least a month to print and distribute new ballots, vote again, and count the results. These bureaucrats want to allow as much time as possible for transit workers' fury at the contract sellout to cool off.

The TWU contract was the opening shot in the latest campaign between New York City workers and the bosses. The whole U.S. ruling class is uniting behind its henchman, Mayor Ed Koch, to beat down the city workers' wages, lay off thousands of city workers, and cut desperately needed social services.

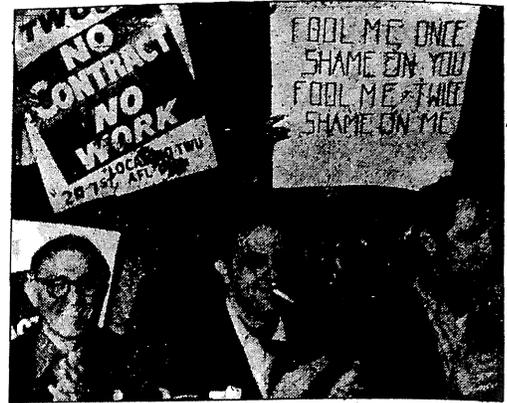
The TWU bureaucrats agreed to a contract that handed the transit workers up to Koch on a silver platter. It provided for a six-percent wage increase over two years. This comes nowhere near making up ground lost by the transit workers since their last contract. Cost-of-living increases would be completely tied to productivity gains. And part-time work would be permitted for the first time in the history of the union. This would make it

easier for the city to cut the number of full-time workers and weaken the union.

Angry opposition to the proposed TWU settlement erupted as soon as it was announced. Transit workers in Brooklyn held demonstrations and public meetings in protest. Locals in Queens and Staten Island, which tend to be conservative, voted it down. Newspaper surveys reported that it was hard to find a transit worker in the city who was for the proposed settlement.

Knowing this, the TWU bureaucrats turned to intimidation and fraud in the hope of slipping the contract past the ranks. But the militancy of the rank-and-file transit workers stopped the bureaucrats' plan.

Unfortunately, there were no opposition forces in the union that were prepared to mobilize the rank and file for militant action. Instead, the leadership of the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers appealed to the capitalist courts to void the balloting. Rather than going to court, rank-and-file transit workers could have fought within the union against the bureaucrats' trickery. They could have demanded a special meeting to set up a commit-



NY transit workers cheer March strike vote.

tee of rank-and-file workers to oversee a new election. If this didn't work, the ranks could have staged job actions and wildcats to back up their demand.

The leaders of the CCTW have no interest, however, in this kind of militant rank-and-file struggle. They aren't even for a strike! Henry Lewis, Jr., a leader of the CCTW, said right before the suit was filed: "We are not in any way, shape or form calling for a strike."

In fact, the leaders of the CCTW have a long history of using the courts to satisfy their own desires to become the new bureaucrats. Many of the leaders date back to the Transit Rank and File group, which had a union-

busting scheme to get the courts to decertify the TWU in the early '70s. This suit is now pending before the State Supreme Court.

Transit workers must not let the vote delay become a cooling-off time. Instead they must use the time to organize for a resounding "no" vote. A rejection of the transit pact would be a rallying point for all city workers, whose contracts their own sellout leaders are now negotiating. A citywide strike of all city workers would be a smashing defeat for the bureaucrats who time and again have sold out the ranks. It would also strike a tremendous blow against the capitalists' plans to drive down the living standards of New York's working class.

LABOR IN STRUGGLE



Detroit autoworker acquitted

Robert Smith, a Black autoworker in Detroit, has been acquitted of "assault with intent to kill" charges. Smith, a crane operator at Chevy Forge, shot his foreman last October. On April 21, the jury found him "innocent by reason of temporary insanity."

Smith was driven to violence by years of hell-hole working conditions and by endless harassment and abuse from his foreman, Jimmy Gaston. The company forced Smith to work 10 hours a day, six to seven days a week. The furnaces in the plant caused the heat in his crane cab to reach 200 degrees in the summer. He has gaseous ulcers and headaches from industrial fumes.

The last straw came when Gaston started riding him without mercy. After weeks of holding up his paychecks and hiding Smith's time card every day, Gaston suspended him for two weeks for "not punching in his time card." Smith shot Gaston later that same day, October 12.

After Smith was arrested, his fellow workers at Chevy Forge organized the Robert Smith Defense Committee. The committee was key to winning Smith's freedom through publicizing the case, raising funds for legal defense, and picketing outside the courtroom during the trial.

Asbestos killing millions

The government recently announced that between eight and 11 million U.S. workers have been exposed to asbestos since the beginning of World War II. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano stated that between 42 percent and 51 percent of these workers will die of various kinds of cancer caused by breathing asbestos dust. That comes to between three and six million people who are on their way to the graveyard.

This is yet another example of the butchery that goes on every day in capitalist industry. Workers are

maimed by machinery, disfigured by chemicals, and sentenced to lingering deaths from silicosis, emphysema, Black Lung and a thousand other industrial diseases. Thousands of workers are killed outright: buried alive in mine cave-ins, burned alive in coke ovens, electrocuted, crushed, impaled—the list is endless.

Only when workers control society will industry be used to improve our lives. Until then, our lives will be sacrificed to capitalist industry in order to enrich the few who own and control it.

Construction co. murders 51

Fifty-one construction workers building a concrete cooling tower in West Virginia were killed on April 27. The workers were 170 feet in the air when their scaffold collapsed, hurling them to the ground. The scaffold was a platform that was moved upward as each new layer of concrete was poured. As the men were hoisting up the next batch of cement, the bolts holding the scaffold to the tower tore loose.

There were no survivors. One man lost 10 members of his family, including four sons.

One worker at the site said: "I picked up some of the stuff that fell! You could just crumble it in your hand." Workers said that the company, Research-Cotrell, didn't allow enough time for the concrete to set for it to support the scaffold. They were pushing the job to save money.

Since construction at the power plant site began in 1976, there have been at least three so-called accidental deaths. But as this incident proves, Research-Cotrell management is guilty of murder, pure and simple.

The slaughter in construction and the rest of U.S. industry is systematic. There is nothing accidental about it. Capitalist production is run to make profits. Safety is an obstacle to this. It is much cheaper for the capitalists to bypass safety and replace the dead and wounded workers from the

ranks of the unemployed.

Research-Cotrell will never be charged with murder, however. Capitalist law recognizes hazards and accident levels considered "normal" for every industry. Since it is committed by the capitalist class in its quest for higher profits, mass industrial murder is perfectly legal.

Stearns strike under attack

With the national coal strike over, the Blue Diamond Coal Company and the Kentucky state government are accelerating their attacks on the Stearns strikers. For two years, about 100 miners have been fighting Blue Diamond for union recognition (in the United Mine Workers) and a contract at the small mine. The struggle has been bitter, with miners and security guards often getting into gunfights. Both sides have dug entrenchments near the mine entrance.

On April 20, a scab working at the mine was shot and killed. He was one of 32 scabs doing maintenance work (no coal has been mined at Stearns for months because of the picket). The police used this shooting as an excuse to come down on the miners with house-to-house searches and other intimidation tactics.

Three days later, the company began bringing in more scabs. Entering with state police escorts, the scabs have started up actual coal production again. By court order, the police are limiting the miners to four pickets at the entrance.

Rank-and-file UMW members must intensify efforts to aid the Stearns strikers. In the past, roving bands of pickets from other mines and other states have reinforced the Stearns pickets at critical points in the strike. These must be re-activated until the scab production is stopped, and the state police back off. The UMW ranks must also fight to make the Stearns strike part of an all-out organizing drive in eastern Kentucky, southern Ohio and other Appalachian areas where the UMW has lost ground in recent years.

All Unions Conference Bankrupt:

Shorter Workweek Is Workers' Solution to Unemployment

BY PAUL ALDRIDGE

On April 11, the First National All Unions Conference to Shorten the Workweek met in Dearborn, Michigan. Over 700 delegates from 23 states and 25 different international unions gathered to map out a strategy for fighting unemployment. All agreed that a shorter workweek is the key to creating more jobs.

The conference represented a broad cross-section of the union bureaucracy. Delegates were sent by the United Auto Workers (UAW); American Federation of Teachers; United Steel Workers; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; 1199; and the United Electrical Workers, to name a few.

Frank Rannels, the president of UAW Local 22 in Detroit, set the tone of the conference with a militant-sounding speech on why the shorter workweek is important. As the chairman of the committee responsible for organizing the conference, he summed up the tasks of the meeting as building a "national movement to create jobs by reducing the hours of labor through the process of education... legislation and collective bargaining."

Unemployment threatens workers

The conference addressed a crucial problem facing the working class. According to government figures, there are over 10 million unemployed workers in the U.S. and this is just a piece of the picture. The government doesn't even count those workers who have grown tired of looking for work or those who were never able to find a job in the first place.

And this will get worse as the economy continues to decline. Since September of last year, over 12,500 steelworkers have lost their jobs due to plant closures. And 10,000 autoworkers will be laid off this year. The story is the same in every industry.

But while there are all these workers in need of a job, the bosses are beating down employed workers through speedup and back-breaking overtime. One auto plant is shut down to cut inventories, but another plant is working a 48- or 54-hour schedule. Instead of hiring more workers, the bosses are trying to force more production out of fewer workers.

As was stated at the conference, the working-class solution to unemployment and the killing overtime is the sliding scale of hours—a real shorter workweek. This means dividing up all the available work among all people who want a job with no cut in pay. A step in this direction would be a fight for

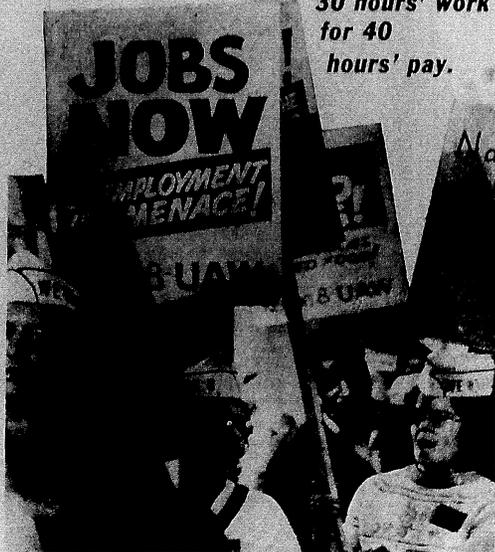
30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay.

Winning the struggle for this demand would accomplish two things. First, and most importantly, it would guarantee every person a productive job. Each time the amount of work was reduced, the hours worked by each individual would be reduced accordingly, but the worker's wages would not go down. It would eliminate the

are afraid of the rank and file. The conference was set up to minimize the number of rank-and-file workers who could attend. Delegates were limited to official representatives of the various unions or workers selected in special elections. The rank and file was effectively shut out of the conference.

This top-down approach was consistent with the three-pronged strategy adop-

The working-class solution to unemployment is the sliding scale of hours. This means dividing up all the available work among all people who want a job with no cut in pay. A step in this direction would be a fight for 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay.



situation where some workers are jobless, while others are being driven like slaves.

Secondly, it would free up more time for workers to enjoy and develop their own interests. Most often workers are pushed to one side or the other. They are either too tired to do anything after work or they are unemployed and can't afford to do anything that they want to do. Not only would every worker have a job, but every worker would have the time to develop outside the job.

Labor bureaucrats will not lead fight

Despite all the fine speeches that were made at the conference, these so-called labor leaders will not organize a real struggle for jobs and a shorter workweek. This was clear from the way that the conference was organized and the decisions that were made.

The struggle to win jobs for all has to draw in the masses of unionized workers. But these bureaucrats

ted by the conference. One side of the strategy is supporting legislation that will shorten the official workweek. John Conyers, a Black congressman from Michigan, was there to promote his bill, H.R. 11784. Basically, the bill would end forced overtime, increase overtime pay to double the regular rate and gradually reduce the workweek to 35 hours after four years.

This bill was the centerpiece of the conference. The one hard decision that was made involved a pledge to collect 250,000 names on petitions in support of the bill by Labor Day. Other than this, delegates were instructed to lobby for "friendly" Democratic Party politicians to win their support for the bill.

In other words, part of the strategy is to beg Congress to cut five hours from the workweek. This is the same Congress that refused to pass the Humphrey-Hawkins bill until it was completely gutted. The bill was called a full-employment act, but Congress amended it so that not one job will be created.

And besides having little chance of becoming law, this strategy keeps workers from organizing their own struggle. Instead of trying to strengthen the workers' organizations, it tells workers to rely on capitalist politicians.

The second part of the conference strategy was put forward by Doug Fraser, the international president of the UAW. He warned the conference against putting all its efforts into trying to pass legislation. In contradiction to Conyers, he claimed: "The battle for the short workweek will be won on the picketlines and not in the halls of Congress."

Of course, he went on to explain, it wouldn't be won by the UAW in the 1979 contract round. After describing the rotten state of the economy, he estimated that it might take as long as 10 years to win a 35-hour week. He pointed to the last national UAW contract as a "step" toward the shorter workweek. This "step" was 12 additional personal days off spread over three years—four 4-day weeks a year! The real motivation for the additional time off was to control absenteeism. And more to the point, not one job has been created as a result of the plan and thousands of autoworkers have already been laid off this year. This strategy boils down to telling workers to sit back while the union bureaucrats wheel and deal for a few extra days off.

When all was said and done, the conference was little more than a forum for boosting the "pro-labor" wing of the Democratic Party. The leaders of the conference had no intention of initiating a real struggle for the shorter workweek. Rannels made this clear: "We're not advocating a 30- or 32- or 35-hour week. We are leaving the various unions the flexibility to do it in a manner that meets their own industry's circumstances... and we don't expect to do it overnight."

Strategy for shorter workweek

The only proposal that was worth anything was the goal of educating the ranks of the union movement on the need for the shorter workweek. All militants must support this and fight in their locals to see that committees are established to educate and organize the union rank and file. At the same time, this education campaign must not become a forum for the bankrupt strategy of the bureaucrats.

The fact that the conference took place provides an opening for militants and revolutionaries to force the fight against unemployment. These bureaucrats claim they are for a shorter work-

week. Although they won't build a serious campaign, their militant talk can be used against them. It gives militants more leverage in beginning to build the kind of fight that will actually win.

Militants should work in the committees to begin to mobilize the unions in the fight for jobs for all through a sliding scale of hours. The trade unions have tremendous power both in terms of their size and resources and through their ability to shut down production. These mass organizations must become the leading force in the fight against unemployment.

Among other tasks, the unions must broaden the struggle to all sections of the working class. There are millions of unorganized and unemployed workers, especially unemployed youth who are willing to fight like hell for a decent job. Trade union militants must work in the neighborhoods and non-union factories and shops to draw these workers into the struggle.

Obviously, this will take time to organize. Local, regional and national demonstrations can be built to start mobilizing support. Militant demonstrations will begin to give workers a sense of their power and organization.

As the movement grows, organized workers can use their power to shut down production to force the capitalists to bow to these demands. Local strikes can be organized as a means of building toward citywide and eventually nationwide strikes.

Workers must rely on themselves

This is the outline of a strategy that has the potential of winning a shorter workweek. It is based on the independent struggle of the working class for its own needs. And it has nothing in common with the strategy put forward at the conference.

In fact, one of the main obstacles to building this kind of campaign is these same bureaucrats. They want to steer the fight for a shorter workweek into reformist channels—begging the capitalists for a few more crumbs. When push comes to shove, they will denounce the struggle and support the capitalists in attacking the movement.

Workers must not be fooled by these fakers. Capitalism is falling apart. Gains workers have won over the years will have to be defended against increasingly heavier attack by the capitalists. New gains, like the shorter workweek, will only be secured by a working class united in struggle. To build this kind of fight, workers must rely on their own power and organization. □

FRANCE: LESSONS OF MAY 1968

BY CLIFF GORDON

In May 1968, the French working class rose up in a mass struggle that stopped French capitalism in its tracks. Close to 10 million workers took part in a general strike that paralyzed France for almost a month. Workers seized and occupied factories across the country.

Massive student upheavals triggered the general strike. On May 3, riot police

and spread the strike to the Renault plant at Flins.

In plant after plant, and town after town, the same scenes were repeated. On May 14, 2,000 workers were on strike. Five days later, the number had swelled to two million. By May 22, the general strike was nearly 10 million strong.

In Nantes, the workers not only occupied the factories. They also took over govern-

ment powers. In addition to controlling the city's industry and power supply, the Central Strike Committee sealed off Nantes with roadblocks. It took over food distribution and out prices. For

several days the committee was the sole authority in the city. At the end of May the leaders of the CGT and the other unions tried to work out a deal with Prime Minister Pompidou to end the strike and sabotage the struggle. Every worker in France was to get a wage increase of at least 35 percent. To the amazement of the Stalinist CGT leadership, the

wanted to use the general strike to bring down the government.

De Gaulle back in power

With the government assembling troops within striking distance of Paris, the threat of civil war was in the air. Yet within two weeks conditions were returning to normal. The strike slowly broke up. In special elections organized at the end of June, the right-wing government of De Gaulle was voted back into power.

PCF betrays general strike

The chance to carry out the socialist revolution slipped through the workers' fingers. Many workers still looked to the huge Communist Party of France (PCF) to live up to its revolutionary-sounding name. They expected the PCF to overthrow the De Gaulle-Pompidou government and take power. But the PCF leadership fought the revolutionary developments among the workers at every turn. After the PCF-CGT leaders failed to bribe the workers into returning to work, the PCF then held back the struggle by concentrating on the upcoming elections. When the PCF made it clear that it would not strike at the De Gaulle government in its hour of

greatest weakness, the workers became demoralized. The government went on the counteroffensive and broke the strike, industry by industry.

Despite the limitations of the struggle, the May events unmasked the so-called Marxists who had written off the working class as a revolutionary force. In the 1960s there were many tendencies putting forward this view. Some like Paul Sweezy of *Monthly Review*, a U.S. publication, openly proclaimed that industrial workers in western imperialist countries were bought off with post-war prosperity. Others, like Ernest Mandel of the fake "Fourth International" (United Secretariat), still paid lip service to working-class revolution. But the essence of Mandel's approach was to look to the middle-class students to lead the revolution in developed countries. The May general strike demolished the arguments of charlatans like Sweezy and Mandel.

The French workers demonstrated that the working class in the developed countries is capable of socialist revolution. Millions strong, they struck, took over factories and other means of production, and stopped the French economy. They failed, however, to get rid of the De Gaulle government. What the workers needed was a revolutionary party. They needed a Bolshevik-type party that could lead them to the successful seizure of state power. □



May 1968: Workers and students denounce police brutality and De Gaulle. Rallies like this one took place all over France.

were ordered onto the Sorbonne campus of the University of Paris to break up a left-wing meeting. They arrested dozens of students. Three days later the students exploded. Large scale street fighting broke out in Paris between police and thousands of students.

This phase of the struggle reached its peak on May 10-11, the "Night of the Barricades." For four hours, thousands of high school and university students fought the police in the Latin Quarter of Paris and 500 students were arrested.

Workers join struggle

The brutality of the police in clearing the Latin Quarter brought the workers into action. On May 13, the CGT (General Confederation of Labor—controlled by the Communist Party and the largest labor organization in France) and other unions called a one-day general strike against government repression. Eight hundred thousand workers and students marched through Paris. In the face of this massive display of power and solidarity, the government tried to retreat. But the younger workers had already become infected with the revolutionary slogans and militant tactics of the students.

On May 14, workers at Sud Aviation, in the city of Nantes, captured the factory, locked up the manager in his office and posted a guard. The next day, workers at the Renault auto plant at Cleon did the same thing

and spread the strike to the Renault plant at Flins. In plant after plant, and town after town, the same scenes were repeated. On May 14, 2,000 workers were on strike. Five days later, the number had swelled to two million. By May 22, the general strike was nearly 10 million strong.

In Nantes, the workers not only occupied the factories. They also took over government powers. In addition to controlling the city's industry and power supply, the Central Strike Committee sealed off Nantes with roadblocks. It took over food distribution and out prices. For

workers at the huge Renault auto plant at Billancourt greeted the offer with whistles and boos. It was the same response everywhere else. The workers wanted more than wages. They gives the state the excuse to beef up its police forces, pass repressive legislation and take decisive measures against the revolutionary forces. This is what is happening in Italy right now. And it will make serious revolutionary work that much harder to carry out. Without the terrorist actions to provide them with an excuse, the capitalists would have to proceed much more slowly and cautiously than they have.

Revolutionaries must reject the strategy of individual terrorism. They must follow the road of the Russian Bolsheviks, who led the workers and peasants in the October Revolution of 1917. The key task of revolutionaries in Italy today is to build a revolutionary party on Leninist principles. They must work in the trade unions, in the working-class communities, among the youth, the unemployed, women and peasants. They must engage in practical struggle among the workers and other oppressed people, helping to organize them and showing them how they can fight back. By joining their struggles and carrying on patient propaganda and agi-

tion, revolutionaries can win over the most class-conscious, most disciplined workers. They can train these people to become professional revolutionaries dedicated to building a party that can lead the workers to overthrow capitalism.

No Tears for Moro

(Continued from page 3) heads of the workers from the day they are born till the day they die.

More than this, the tactics of individual terrorism actively confuse the workers. The majority of the working class does not believe the Red Brigades are fighting for the workers. They see the BRs as another symptom of the decay of Italian capitalism. Because of this, the workers become prey to demagogic appeals. Rather than increase the class consciousness and militancy of the workers, terrorism tends to throw the more backward sections of the working class into the arms of the ruling class.

For example, on April 16 and May 10 the PCI organized general strikes. These were not strikes against the capitalists and their state. They were strikes against the BRs and in support of the capitalist state. In this and other ways the PCI used the Moro kidnapping to build support for the Italian state. Instead of exposing the PCI, the BRs' tactics played right into its hands.

At the same time that individual terrorism disorganizes the workers, it also

gives the state the excuse to beef up its police forces, pass repressive legislation and take decisive measures against the revolutionary forces. This is what is happening in Italy right now. And it will make serious revolutionary work that much harder to carry out. Without the terrorist actions to provide them with an excuse, the capitalists would have to proceed much more slowly and cautiously than they have.

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tation, revolutionaries can win over the most class-conscious, most disciplined workers. They can train these people to become professional revolutionaries dedicated to building a party that can lead the workers to overthrow capitalism.

Today it may appear that the PCI has the working class sewn up. But already millions of young workers, students and unemployed youth are disgusted with the PCI's class-collaborationist policies. Systematic agitation, propaganda and organization among these people can win significant numbers to revolutionary politics.

More than this, the hold of the PCI over the employed and organized workers will become increasingly shaky. Italy is being ground up by the world economic crisis. There are no jobs, inflation is among the highest in Europe and the country is in debt to the tune of \$20 billion. To resolve its problems the bourgeoisie will have to press on with the attack on workers' jobs and living conditions.

Italian workers have repeatedly shown that they don't intend to pay the price to make Italian capitalism

work. In the last 10 years they have launched countless struggles against the bourgeoisie. Through general strikes, plant occupations and other struggles they have brought down a number of Italian governments. Because of the workers' determined resistance, the capitalists have been unable to end their political crisis and have lost the support of important segments of the middle class. As a result, the Christian Democracy has become thoroughly discredited and unable to rule.

It is precisely because of this that the Italian bourgeoisie has had to bring the PCI into its government coalition. The bourgeoisie wants to mask its rule behind the PCI. But directly entering the bourgeois government will place the PCI in a contradiction. On the one hand it will claim to be the party of the working class. On the other, the PCI will emerge more openly as the enemy of the working class that it really is. This will create the objective basis for splitting large sectors of the workers away from the PCI. And this, if revolutionaries do their job properly, will provide the cadres to build a large, powerful revolutionary party. With this party the workers can sweep away the muck that is Italian capitalism and build a truly human society. □

JAMAICA: BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

Jamaican Revolutionary Speaks

(Continued from page 3)
growing disillusionment with the ruling People's National Party. Most people were open to what Thomas had to say on the need for working-class revolution.

In Detroit, however, the Spartacist League (SL) attempted to disrupt the discussion period. The SL showed no interest in the political questions facing the Jamaican working class. After shamelessly dismissing the importance of the workers' and small farmers' struggle, the SL repeated their earlier racist attack calling Jamaica "the lumpen capital of the world." One SL speaker refused to end his remarks after going on for 12 minutes, despite repeated requests by the chair to finish. The chairperson had no choice but to have them ejected from the meeting. The SL protested the ejection, claiming that it was a violation of workers' democracy. However, for these crybabies "workers' democracy" is only a cover for their efforts to sabotage the meetings of other organizations.

The tour has been an important step in educating U.S. workers and revolutionaries about the revolutionary struggle in Jamaica. It is also the beginning of organizing support for the RML/RSL among the Jamaican and West Indian community in the U.S. For information on the remaining speaking engagements, call: (212) 869-9239. □



Demonstration for jobs touched off ghetto rebellion in Kingston, Jamaica, April 17.

Thousands Rebel in West Kingston Ghetto

A FORWARD Reprint

KINGSTON, Jamaica—On April 17, thousands of people from West Kingston's ghettos—especially the youth—turned the streets of that area into a battlefield as they fought soldiers and police, looted stores of some of the things they need and cannot otherwise afford, drove and mashed up the Jamaica Omnibus Service (JOS) buses which they hate, and marched and demonstrated for four hours, demanding work.

At the end of the day, three youths had been killed by police, and six other people injured by gunshots,

including two policemen. Seventeen JOS buses had been damaged.

The events of April 17 were sparked off by police attacks on a 3,000 strong, JLP-led (Jamaica Labour Party) demonstration of West Kingston people, who had blocked several roads in the community as a protest against the filthy conditions in the area, and in support of demands for work. The demonstrators fought the police with bottles and stones, and shots were fired.

The demonstration had been staged by JLP leader Seaga and the JLP to embarrass the People's National Party (PNP) and increase

their own support in West Kingston. But when the battle with the beasts started, their plan backfired. The demonstrators exploded in anger and violence, and began moving on their own. They ignored Seaga's request that they remove the barricades and go home as "the demonstration has served its purpose."

Why the ghetto masses rebelled should be clear. They want jobs, decent housing, skill-training and clean communities. And they want them now! The people in the ghetto are sick and tired of the endless empty promises made to them by the capitalists, middle-class liberals and politicians since the January 9 ceasefire.

Everyday prices are rising, while most ghetto people stay unemployed or earn only \$24 a week as Crash Program workers. And judging from recent announcements by Kingston Mayor George Mason, the liberal-capitalist PNP government is planning to cut or even scrap this program altogether, throwing thousands of people back onto the garbage dump of unemployment. Up to now, workers and oppressed people don't know what further hardship the ruling class and the International Monetary Fund are cooking up for us. But we know they are bringing more hardship, not gifts.

April's ghetto rebellion is

just a sample of many more militant struggles to come as working people defend themselves against the capitalists' vicious attacks. As yet, the mass struggle is still underdeveloped. It remains split up and narrow in its aims, and the thousands of unionized workers are still in the back seat. Most importantly, it lacks a revolutionary leadership.

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

Building this leadership is the most urgent task of all revolutionaries today. To do this we must mobilize, organize and unite the oppressed masses to beat back the price rises, layoffs, police brutality and other attacks of the capitalists and imperialists. We must build a revolutionary movement to fight for socialism.

In the struggle to build the movement, revolutionaries will ruthlessly expose all reformist and fake-socialist trends. We will put forward transitional demands for: nationalization of industry under workers' control; programs of public works paid for by taxing the capitalists to provide employment, rebuild the ghettos and lift living standards; a shorter work week without loss of pay; wage increases to match the rise in the cost of living; and nationalization without compensation of all big landowners' holdings.

Fulfillment of these demands is the only way to solve unemployment and falling living standards—which is what the demonstrators of April 17 and all workers and oppressed want now. By struggling for these demands, we are working to build the broadest, principled working-class unity in struggle against the capitalists and imperialists, and at the same time, fighting for a revolutionary workers' party based on a revolutionary program.

It is in this way that the revolutionaries will be able to prove themselves, isolate the fake-socialists and misleaders, and take the offensive against the reactionaries. It is in this struggle that the revolutionary forces will be able to consolidate themselves, win new layers of class-conscious workers, and lay a solid foundation for the revolutionary workers' party. □

A PRISONER WRITES:

Stand Up and Support the RML

Torch/La Antorcha:
Regarding the WLL's (Workers Liberation League—Ed.) slanders of the Revolutionary Marxist League, I must support the RML if I am to continue to support the world's workers' and oppressed people's struggle for freedom.

Our comrades in Jamaica must not be deceived by the likes of Munro's support of would-be-socialist Manley! They must not be pacified by false revolutionaries such as WLL leader Munro. . . . There is only one path to true freedom: a socialist revolution where the working class rules the state, not the imperialistic pawns of the PNP (People's National Party—Ed.) . . . not the fascist proteges of Manley (i.e., Thompson).

Look to where the "progressive socialist" Manley runs—he goes straight up Carter's rectum to negotiate 63 million dollars aid. Do you think the capitalist parasites "gives" its blood-money away out of generosity?

Look to who the "progressive socialist" Manley appoints as minister of security—whereby several

youths are murdered on the very same day Thompson's appointment is announced. Are the executions of the proletariat Manley's and Thompson's concept of socialism? It's a systematic effort to strike terror in the hearts of all working-class Jamaicans, to discourage a workers' uprising. It's obvious for all to see, that the WLL is supporting a group of capitalistic thugs who are only interested in further exploitation and oppression of workers. And now that they've been thoroughly exposed by the RML and RSL, they've launched an "anti-communist" attack against them in an attempt to underplay the imperialist skeleton that's been found in the WLL's closet. Examine the facts! Manley's initiated nothing less than a police state. The PNP with their \$10 wage guidelines; and the devaluation of the Jamaican dollar; increase in unemployment; increase in violence and crime; Manley's dealings with U.S. imperialism; the PNP and WLL's sellout of the University and Allied Workers' Union.

I find it ironic that the WLL, who profess to be anti-

imperialistic, can support Manley and his band of vampires, who are nothing more than puppets for U.S. imperialism. And when we examine the evolution of **Struggle**, i.e.,—*The Daily News*, i.e.,—International Telephone and Telegraph, the skeleton can be clearly seen. Just as Manley is an extension of U.S. imperialism, so is WLL. The WLL's attacks on the RML and RSL are not only an attempt to cover up their dirt, but also to create confusion and a split between the workers of Jamaica. We must struggle to recognize and resist this plot! Power is in the unity of the people! We must strive for a true socialist revolution, and not be satisfied with anything less.

It's the task of **Torch/La Antorcha** to stay as strong as it's been, and continue to expose the "leaders" that betray the people. It's the task of the people to stand up and support the RSL and RML in whatever manner is possible, so that we can struggle together, for international socialist revolution. **Power to the people, RKG Lewisburg, PA**

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On the surface, the articles and programs about the Holocaust seem to flow from a genuine concern to teach the truth about what happened to the Jews during World War II. In fact, it is part of a subtle but powerful propaganda campaign to build support for Israeli imperialism. The tactic of this campaign is to tell the story of the mass murder of the Jews and then to turn people's horror at the Holocaust into support for Israel. As in all Zionist propaganda, the defense of Israel and the interests of the Jews are assumed to be the same.

But this approach to the Holocaust is profoundly distorted. In particular, it places the blame for the genocide of the Jews on the German people. It denies the guilt of the capitalist system and the capitalist class. And it hides the fact that instead of fighting the Nazis, the Zionist leaders cooperated with them.

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The Holocaust was the culmination of the Nazis' systematic campaign against the Jews. After taking power in 1933, Hitler and his Nazi Party passed a series of racist laws throwing Jews out of jobs in government and industry. They tried to force the Jews out of Germany and stole most of their property. The oppression got worse and

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In addition the Nazis jailed and killed thousands of political opponents—Social Democrats, Stalinists, Trotskyists, as well as bourgeois anti-Nazis. Finally, they murdered millions of civilians in the countries they occupied during World War II. For example, 20 million Russians—soldiers and civilians—were killed during the war.

But the attack on the Jews was special. The center of Nazi ideology was anti-Semitism and the Nazis set out to wipe the Jews from the face of the earth.

The Nazis, however, were not the only criminals in this genocidal campaign. The Allies, the nations which fought against Germany, Italy, and Japan, did nothing to save the Jews from extermination. First, the U.S. imperialists simply refused to take in more than a tiny handful of European Jews—only 166,000 from 1933 to 1943. This was one reason the Nazis didn't just try to expel the Jews and turned to the "Final Solution." Second, the U.S. government did its best to prevent the facts about the Holocaust from being known during the war. Lastly, the U.S. imperialists fought all attempts to rescue the Jews. For example, they refused to bomb the extermination camps in Poland or the railroad lines going to them. Similar crimes were committed by Britain and Russia. In short, the Allied governments were passive partners in the Nazi extermination program.

The liberal anti-Nazis have no explanation of what caused the Holocaust. Scientific socialists know that Nazism, like all forms of racism, has an origin and a purpose. Nazism grows out of and serves the rotting capitalist system.

This can be seen in the rise of Nazism in Germany. Between the end of World War I and 1933 Germany was shaken by mass workers' strikes and a few near-revolutions. The class struggle raged.

Germans. In Germany, half were self-employed and 60 percent were in trade and commerce. Many German workers, peasants and poor saw the Jews as exploiters and oppressors. By fighting the Jews, the Nazi rank and file felt they were fighting capitalism and, at the same time, that as Germans they were "better" than all the so-called inferior non-German "races."

Finally in 1930, Germany was thrown into the Great Depression and millions more became unemployed. While the leaders of the Social-Democratic and the Stalinist Communist parties refused to fight for the socialist revolution, they were forced by their ranks to keep on organizing workers' struggles. The class war became even more bitter. But as a result of the failure of the working-class parties to unite and fight for a revolutionary solution to the crisis of German capitalism, more ruined petty bourgeois swelled the ranks of the Nazis.

This was just what the German capitalists wanted. For the capitalist class to get out of the depression, they had to smash the unions and the workers' parties and drive down the workers' standard of living. Here the fascist movement offered itself for sale to the capitalists. The capitalists protected them and gave them millions. In January 1933, the German capitalists put Hitler and the Nazis in power. Immediately, they began to implement their program. The Nazi leaders used their deluded ranks to smash the workers' parties, trade unions and other organizations. They jailed oppositionists and eliminated all democratic rights. And from their position of power, they raised their campaign against the Jews to a higher, more ferocious level.

The recent U.S. propaganda about the Holocaust hides all this. The television story starts after Hitler has taken power. By doing this it ignores the fact that the German workers fought against Hitler for years. And it hides the fact that the Nazis' main target was the working class, Jewish and non-Jewish. The Nazis were able to isolate and kill the Jews only after they had first defeated the German working class.

Similarly, the "Holocaust studies" hide the class conflict within the Jewish community in its struggle against the Nazis. The television program showed non-Zionist liberal German Jews refusing to fight the Nazis.

Later, leaders in the Jewish ghetto of Warsaw, Poland, are shown giving in to the Nazis. Only the Zionists are seen as fighting the Nazis. The portrait of the liberals is true; that of the Zionists is a lie from beginning to end. The Zionist organizations collaborated with the Nazis.

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The Zionists made this boot-licking appeal because they shared some basic ideas with the Nazis. Like the Nazis, they regarded the Jews as a separate "race." The Jews, they agreed, should not and could not live peacefully with non-Jews. As a result, the Jews should give up the fight for democratic rights in Europe; instead they should emigrate to Palestine and found a new settler nation. Also like the Nazis, the Zionists regarded colonial peoples, such as the Arabs as inferior beings who could be cleared away from any land desired by white Europeans.

In turn, the Nazis were relatively favorable to the Zionist movement. Heydrich, head of the secret police department of the Nazi SS—the main Jew-killing organization—sent out a directive to police offices on January 28, 1935: "The activity of the Zionist-oriented youth organizations lies in the interest of the National Socialist state's leadership." Zionists "are not to be treated with that strictness that it is necessary to apply to the members of the so-called German-Jewish organizations."

THE HOLOCAUST



Who Is to Blame?



World War II: Nazis overrun Europe, claiming to be "master race."

worse until 1941 when the Nazis decided on the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem." This meant genocide, the murder of a whole people. Throughout the new German empire, from occupied France to the Ukraine, Jews were rounded up and sent to special camps in Poland. At these camps, women, men and children were stripped naked and crowded into fake "shower rooms." There they were gassed to death with prussic acid. Their bodies were then burned in huge ovens.

The Jews were not the only group to be exterminated in the Nazis' racist drive for "race purity." First, they killed off 100,000 people—people who were mentally retarded, brain damaged or who were merely held in mental institutions. The Nazis termed them "men-

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The Nazis organized these people from the ruined middle class and unemployed workers to fight the workers' movement. But to do this, the Nazis had to claim to be representing the interests of the masses (their full party name was the National Socialist German Workers Party). They had to direct the hatred of the German masses away from the capitalists onto someone else.

The Jews were available as a target. They were prominently middle class, many of them living better than most

In the newly occupied Eastern Europe, the Nazis Jews into a few areas—ghettos, they appointed councils (Judenrate) to serve in the Jewish community. The councils were called "betrayal of the Jews." The councils were to serve as slave labor for the Germans. The councils decided who would be sent to death camps and who would stay in the ghettos.

In their attitude toward the Jews, the Nazis followed along class lines. The capitalists, on the other hand, were not interested in the Jewish political situation. The capitalists wanted the Jews to work for them. The reformist Jewish parties (the reformist Jewish parties, the Communists, and the Left Labor Zionists) refused to work with the Nazis. There were individual Zionists in several cities, leading the Jews to believe that the Nazis were becoming more humane. This was a lie. The Nazis also set up a police force, which came to be

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Left: One of six million Jews

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In the newly occupied countries of Eastern Europe, the Nazis crowded the Jews into a few areas—ghettos. In the ghettos, they appointed Jewish councils (Judenrate) to serve as their agents in the Jewish community. The Jewish councils were called "Judenverrat," "betrayal of the Jews," by the Jewish masses. The councils rounded up slave labor for the Germans. They decided who would be sent to the death camps and who would live.

In their attitude toward these councils, the Jewish political parties split along class lines. The capitalist parties served on them. This included the General Zionists, which was the largest Zionist party, the Zionist Revisionists and others. The workers' parties (the reformist Jewish Labor Bund, the Communists, and the Right and Left Labor Zionists) refused, although there were individual exceptions. In several cities, leading Zionists served the Nazis by becoming the dictators of the ghetto. This was the case with Rumkowski in Lodz, Merin in Sosnowiec, and Gens in Vilna.

The Nazis also set up a Jewish police force, which came to be hated for its

brutality and corruption. The only party which had many members on the ghetto police was the Zionist Revisionists. (Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin was a member of this party, and the U.S. Jewish Defense League traces its roots to this wing of the Zionist movement.) Here too, the workers' parties did not join.

Warsaw uprising

In April 1943, the Jews of the Warsaw ghetto rose up against the Nazis—the first civilian rebellion in the entire German empire. They held off the German army for weeks until the ghetto was completely destroyed. Contrary to the Zionist lies of the "Holocaust" series, the uprising was not led by classless "Zionists." It was led by the left-wing parties (including Labor Zionists) after their young militants had forced them to act. The Zionist Revisionists were expelled from the Jewish Fighting Organization because of the Revisionists' right-wing politics and connections with Polish fascists.

The Zionist policy also weakened support for the Jews internationally. They sabotaged attempts to rescue the European Jews. Their policy was to oppose spending money on Jews in Europe when it could be spent on the Jewish settler colony in Palestine. They opposed getting Jews out of Europe unless they went to Palestine.

The chairman of the Acting Committee for the Rescue of European Jewry of the Jewish Agency—the key Zionist organization—later wrote: "When they asked me, couldn't you give money out of the United Jewish Appeal funds for the rescue of Jews in Europe, I said, 'NO!'... One should resist this wave which pushes the Zionist activities to secondary importance." This leader in the "Rescue of European Jewry" had a slogan: "One goat in Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel) is more important than an entire (Jewish) community in the Diaspora (anywhere else)."

Zionists select shock troops

In going to Palestine, the Zionist line was "selectivity": to choose only those strong, young refugees who would best be used as shock troops for taking Palestine away from the Arab peasants. At the World Zionist Congress of 1937, Chaim Weizman—later the first president of Israel—declared: "I was asked 'Can you bring six million Jews to Palestine?' I replied, 'No.'... From the depths of the tragedy I want to save two million young people.... The old ones will pass. They will bear their fate or they will not.... They were dust...." So he wrote off four million

Jews. "They were dust." Similarly, Henry Montor, executive vice chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, wrote in 1940: "There could be no more deadly ammunition provided (our) enemies... than if Palestine were to be flooded with very old people or with undesirables.... The Nazis took care of the Jewish "undesirables."

The Zionist and liberal Jewish organizations of today seek to cover up this history of Jewish war criminals who collaborated with the Nazis out of Zionist ideology. But the international workers' movement will not forget. It will remember the anguished cry of the Jewish National Committee in Warsaw to U.S. Jewish organizations, Zionist and non-Zionist, on January 21, 1943: "Brothers—the remaining Jews in Poland live with the awareness that in the most terrible days of our history you did not come to our aid."

As in the 1920s, the world today is again threatened by economic and

than most U.S. workers. The U.S. Nazis will say to the millions of people ruined by the economic crisis: "You think that it is the government and the Blacks which are the cause of your misery, but we say that behind the government, behind the Blacks, is the real enemy, the Jews."

If the Nazis win, Black people will be driven into a new slavery and millions will be worked to death or outright murdered. Unions will be abolished and union leaders and leftists killed. All workers will suffer, including the majority of workers fooled by anti-Black and anti-Semitic racism. As for the Jews, the U.S. Nazis would begin where the German Nazis left off.

Unfortunately, most U.S. Jews are caught in their middle-class illusions. They think that so-called democratic capitalism and Zionism will protect them. But they are wrong. The Zionist leaders showed their true nature during the '30s and '40s. They are showing it



Armed workers' militia in German uprising of 1919.

political crises, including a new Great Depression worse than that of the 1930s. As capitalism crumbles around them, people will be desperately looking for solutions. The fascists will try to win people for their "solution," in the interests of the big capitalists. Already in the U.S., Nazis are playing on the racism of young, white workers and people from the lower middle class. They aim to build a movement like Hitler's and use it to smash the entire working class in the interests of capitalism.

Because of the virulent anti-Black prejudice in this country, Black people will be a major target for the Nazis, as they are for all racists. But this does not mean the Jews will escape. As in Germany in the 1930s, Jews in the U.S. will be a convenient scapegoat to direct mass discontent away from the capitalist class. As in Germany and Poland in the past, U.S. Jews are mostly middle class—white-collar workers, professionals, and owners of small businesses—who live better

today when they use Israeli youth as cannon fodder in their genocidal war against the Palestinians.

As for the U.S. imperialists, these "democratic" capitalists care no more for the Jews than they do for any other oppressed people. They pretend to care for the Jews as long as the capitalists need them and Israel to defend their empire. But when they find that anti-Semitism is even more useful to preserve their rule, they will turn on the Jews just like the German capitalists did. In Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists committed mass murder against the Vietnamese people. Because it was "useful," they supported a dictator, Nguyen Cao Ky, who openly declared his admiration for Hitler. They will do the same in the U.S.

Capitalism and Zionism are the enemies of the Jews. The only way to win security, the only way to prevent another Holocaust, is to destroy the cause of Nazism. The only way to win real freedom is to overthrow capitalism—and replace it with socialism.

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Left: One of six million Jews who died in death camps. Right: Nazi overlords shrank heads to amuse themselves.

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The Nazis organized these people from the ruined middle class and unemployed workers to fight the workers' movement. But to do this, the Nazis had to claim to be representing the interests of the masses (their full party name was the National Socialist German Workers Party). They had to direct the hatred of the German masses away from the capitalists onto someone else.

The Jews were available as a target. They were prominently middle class, many of them living better than most

In the newly occupied Eastern Europe, the Nazis Jews into a few areas—ghettos, they appointed councils (Judenrate) to serve in the Jewish community councils were called "betrayal of the Jews." masses. The councils slave labor for the G decided who would be death camps and who In their attitude toward cis, the Jewish political along class lines. The ca served on them. This General Zionists, which est Zionist party, the sionists and others. The ties (the reformist Jews the Communists, and Left Labor Zionists. there were individual several cities, leading Z the Nazis by becoming t the ghetto. This was t Rumkowski in Lodz, M nowiec, and Gens in Vi the Nazis also set up a force, which came to be

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Left: One of six million Jew

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In the newly occupied countries of Eastern Europe, the Nazis crowded the Jews into a few areas—ghettos. In the ghettos, they appointed Jewish councils (Judenrate) to serve as their agents in the Jewish community. The Jewish councils were called "Judenverrat," "betrayal of the Jews," by the Jewish masses. The councils rounded up slave labor for the Germans. They decided who would be sent to the death camps and who would live.

In their attitude toward these councils, the Jewish political parties split along class lines. The capitalist parties served on them. This included the General Zionists, which was the largest Zionist party, the Zionist Revisionists and others. The workers' parties (the reformist Jewish Labor Bund, the Communists, and the Right and Left Labor Zionists) refused, although there were individual exceptions. In several cities, leading Zionists served the Nazis by becoming the dictators of the ghetto. This was the case with Rumkowski in Lodz, Merin in Sosnowiec, and Gens in Vilna.

The Nazis also set up a Jewish police force, which came to be hated for its

brutality and corruption. The only party which had many members on the ghetto police was the Zionist Revisionists. (Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin was a member of this party, and the U.S. Jewish Defense League traces its roots to this wing of the Zionist movement.) Here too, the workers' parties did not join.

Warsaw uprising

In April 1943, the Jews of the Warsaw ghetto rose up against the Nazis—the first civilian rebellion in the entire German empire. They held off the German army for weeks until the ghetto was completely destroyed. Contrary to the Zionist lies of the "Holocaust" series, the uprising was not led by classless "Zionists." It was led by the left-wing parties (including Labor Zionists) after their young militants had forced them to act. The Zionist Revisionists were expelled from the Jewish Fighting Organization because of the Revisionists' right-wing politics and connections with Polish fascists.

The Zionist policy also weakened support for the Jews internationally. They sabotaged attempts to rescue the European Jews. Their policy was to oppose spending money on Jews in Europe when it could be spent on the Jewish settler colony in Palestine. They opposed getting Jews out of Europe unless they went to Palestine.

The chairman of the Acting Committee for the Rescue of European Jewry of the Jewish Agency—the key Zionist organization—later wrote: "When they asked me, couldn't you give money out of the United Jewish Appeal funds for the rescue of Jews in Europe, I said, 'NO!... One should resist this wave which pushes the Zionist activities to secondary importance.'" This leader in the "Rescue of European Jewry" had a slogan: "One goat in Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel) is more important than an entire (Jewish) community in the Diaspora (anywhere else)."

Zionists select shock troops

In going to Palestine, the Zionist line was "selectivity": to choose only those strong, young refugees who would best be used as shock troops for taking Palestine away from the Arab peasants. At the World Zionist Congress of 1937, Chaim Weizman—later the first president of Israel—declared: "I was asked 'Can you bring six million Jews to Palestine?' I replied, 'No.... From the depths of the tragedy I want to save two million young people.... The old ones will pass. They will bear their fate or they will not.... They were dust....' So he wrote off four million

Jews. "They were dust." Similarly, Henry Montor, executive vice chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, wrote in 1940: "There could be no more deadly ammunition provided (our) enemies... than if Palestine were to be flooded with very old people or with undesirables...." The Nazis took care of the Jewish "undesirables."

The Zionist and liberal Jewish organizations of today seek to cover up this history of Jewish war criminals who collaborated with the Nazis out of Zionist ideology. But the international workers' movement will not forget. It will remember the anguished cry of the Jewish National Committee in Warsaw to U.S. Jewish organizations, Zionist and non-Zionist, on January 21, 1943: "Brothers—the remaining Jews in Poland live with the awareness that in the most terrible days of our history you did not come to our aid."

As in the 1920s, the world today is again threatened by economic and

than most U.S. workers. The U.S. Nazis will say to the millions of people ruined by the economic crisis: "You think that it is the government and the Blacks which are the cause of your misery, but we say that behind the government, behind the Blacks, is the real enemy, the Jews."

If the Nazis win, Black people will be driven into a new slavery and millions will be worked to death or outright murdered. Unions will be abolished and union leaders and leftists killed. All workers will suffer, including the majority of workers fooled by anti-Black and anti-Semitic racism. As for the Jews, the U.S. Nazis would begin where the German Nazis left off.

Unfortunately, most U.S. Jews are caught in their middle-class illusions. They think that so-called democratic capitalism and Zionism will protect them. But they are wrong. The Zionist leaders showed their true nature during the '30s and '40s. They are showing it



Armed workers' militia in German uprising of 1919.

political crises, including a new Great Depression worse than that of the 1930s. As capitalism crumbles around them, people will be desperately looking for solutions. The fascists will try to win people for their "solution," in the interests of the big capitalists. Already in the U.S., Nazis are playing on the racism of young, white workers and people from the lower middle class. They aim to build a movement like Hitler's and use it to smash the entire working class in the interests of capitalism.

Because of the virulent anti-Black prejudice in this country, Black people will be a major target for the Nazis, as they are for all racists. But this does not mean the Jews will escape. As in Germany in the 1930s, Jews in the U.S. will be a convenient scapegoat to direct mass discontent away from the capitalist class. As in Germany and Poland in the past, U.S. Jews are mostly middle class—white-collar workers, professionals, and owners of small businesses—who live better

today when they use Israeli youth as cannon fodder in their genocidal war against the Palestinians.

As for the U.S. imperialists, these "democratic" capitalists care no more for the Jews than they do for any other oppressed people. They pretend to care for the Jews as long as the capitalists need them and Israel to defend their empire. But when they find that anti-Semitism is even more useful to preserve their rule, they will turn on the Jews just like the German capitalists did. In Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists committed mass murder against the Vietnamese people. Because it was "useful," they supported a dictator, Nguyen Cao Ky, who openly declared his admiration for Hitler. They will do the same in the U.S.

Capitalism and Zionism are the enemies of the Jews. The only way to win security, the only way to prevent another Holocaust, is to destroy the cause of Nazism. The only way to win real freedom is to overthrow capitalism—and replace it with socialism. ☐

As capitalism crumbles, people will be desperately looking for solutions. The fascists will try to win people for their "solution." Already in the U.S., Nazis are playing on the racism of young, white workers and people from the lower middle class. They aim to build a movement like Hitler's to smash the working class.



Left: One of six million Jews who died in death camps. Right: Nazi overlords shrank heads to amuse themselves.

PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE FIGHT FOR LIBERATION

(Continued from page 1) reer, he has tried to convince the imperialists in the U.S. and Britain to set up a neo-colonial Black capitalist government in Zimbabwe. In 1976 Nkomo tried to work out his own deal with Smith, but was unable to reach an agreement he could sell to the people of Zimbabwe. It was only after these talks failed that Nkomo joined up with ZANU to form the Patriotic Front

ZANU was formed in 1963 by militants who rejected Nkomo's strategy of negotiating with the white ruling class. ZANU forces began guerrilla operations in 1966. Since then, ZANU has been the real leader of the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

ZANU claims to be a revolutionary socialist organization. In fact, ZANU is not Marxist-Leninist, and its goal is not socialist revolution. To the contrary, ZANU is an organization of middle-class nationalists, whose goal is to become the rulers of a formally independent, capitalist Zimbabwe.

Two-stage revolution: cover for capitalist rule

To disguise their nationalist strategy the ZANU leaders insist that the Zimbabwean revolution must consist of two stages. They say that "... before the achievement of a socialist revolution, a transitional stage of national democratic revolution is necessary."

In other words, the ZANU leaders claim it is possible to drive out imperialism and win political independence without the working class leading an all-out assault to smash capitalist rule in Zimbabwe. But the history of African liberation movements these past 20 years proves that this is an illusion.

Various African countries have won formal independence through armed struggle. As a result, they have gained a greater degree of say over their economy and society than before. But these countries continue to be dominated and controlled by imperialism. In order to run their economy, the nationalist forces have to go to the imperialists for trade, credits and technology. They must compete on the world market, through which the imperialists maintain their plunder and control. And they must lean on the imperialists for arms and matériel to maintain their rule over the workers and peasants.

Socialist revolution can win independence

Only working-class socialist revolution can win true independence for the oppressed nations. Only such revolutions can free the oppressed nations from the stranglehold of imperialism. In southern Africa, a region

wide socialist revolution could set up a socialist federation of southern Africa. With the immense resources of the region—particularly the technology available in South Africa—such a federation could hold out against the imperialists.

Ultimately, the international socialist revolution will smash capitalism and imperialism worldwide. That is the only way that true independence and self-determination can be guaranteed. If the Patriotic Front were to seize power, it might take so-called socialist mea-

don't build workers' defense guards and a workers' army. They don't organize strikes to throw white Rhodesia into chaos.

This is no accident. The Patriotic Front leaders want to ensure that the working class plays no active and conscious role in the liberation struggle. They are building up a peasant army, far from the centers of working-class life. When the Patriotic Front leaders come to power, they will claim that their regime is socialist. But they will disarm the workers. They will outlaw the workers' independent organizations,



Pro-Muzorewa rally, March. Now masses are seeing through phony "internal settlement."

asures, such as nationalizing land and industry, and maintaining a state monopoly of foreign trade. But these measures would not be steps toward socialism. Instead they would aid the formation of a state-capitalist ruling class. This class would exploit the labor of the workers and peasants through its control of the state apparatus.

Such measures would mark a defeat for imperialism, as they would partially limit the imperialists' ability to control Zimbabwe's economy. But the new ruling class would still be dependent on the imperialists for arms, technology and economic aid. In one way or another, a Patriotic Front government would cut a deal with the imperialists and allow them to continue to plunder the wealth of Zimbabwe.

ZANU contends that a victory for the Patriotic Front will be the take-off point for the second stage, the socialist revolution. But the Patriotic Front has absolutely no interest in a working-class, socialist revolution.

This can be seen in their present strategy. Even though the nerve centers of white Rhodesia are the urban areas, the Patriotic Front deliberately limits the fighting to the countryside. They don't organize the Black workers in the shops, mines, and neighborhoods. They

deny the workers their most basic democratic rights, and step up the exploitation. When the workers refuse to knuckle under, the self-styled "Marxist-Leninists" of the Patriotic Front will use the mailed fist of the peasant army to smash them.

The real meaning of the two-stage theory is revealed by how it operated in Angola. Like ZANU, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led an armed struggle for national independence. And like ZANU, the MPLA leaders told the working class that it was necessary to go through stages before achieving socialism.

MPLA attacks working class

The workers of Angola played a key role in bringing the MPLA into power in 1974, they staged a massive rebellion against colonial rule which allowed the MPLA to take control of the cities. But after the MPLA took power it turned on the workers. It dismantled the independent workers' organizations which had sprung up during the liberation struggle. It lengthened working hours and began speedup campaigns in the plants.

In May 1976 workers rose up against the MPLA government. The workers in both the state-owned plants

and in private industry staged a series of strikes and slowdowns demanding higher wages and better working conditions.

The MPLA-controlled paper, *Jornal de Angola*, complained that "some elements within the working masses have shown dissatisfaction with the concept of stages, which must objectively be gone through, and have opened themselves up unthinkingly to all types of ideological subversion—the first step toward even more extreme actions." The MPLA reacted to the workers' demands by smashing the strikes and jailing dozens of worker militants.

Today, the MPLA is actually a capitalist government which has allied with imperialism to crush the working class. It relies on Russian aid and Cuban troops to keep the workers in

nize an underground revolutionary party—a Bolshevik Party—whose goal is a socialist revolution in Zimbabwe. This party must be firmly based in the working class in the cities.

Military alliance with Patriotic Front

From this proletarian base in the cities, the revolutionaries must reach out to the peasants and the agricultural workers on the large plantations. In addition, the workers' organizations should enter into a military alliance with the Patriotic Front. Through this alliance the workers can prove that they will fight side by side with all those who want to drive the imperialists out of Zimbabwe. They will also gain the opportunity to carry out propaganda and agitation among the young men and women fighting under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. Above all, the workers should use this alliance to arm themselves so they can protect themselves from their enemies—present and future.

At the same time, revolutionaries must tell the workers that the Patriotic Front is a short-term ally which will stab the workers in the back at the first opportunity. They must tell militants in Zimbabwe that the way to smash imperialism is to fight for a socialist federation of southern African states.

Workers take the lead

By following this strategy revolutionary workers can take the lead in smashing Smith's internal settlement. They can organize strikes and demonstrations in the cities against the internal settlement. These strikes, supported by a guerrilla offensive in the countryside, can break the back of Smith's government. They will also enable the workers to take over control of the cities. With the economic and political centers of Zimbabwe under their control, the workers' movement will be in position to defeat the Patriotic Front leaders and lead the struggle for socialism in Zimbabwe. □

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MASS STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA

Georgians and Armenians Defend Language Rights

BY LEE RAMIE

On April 14, 20,000 people in the Soviet Republic of Georgia took to the streets to defend their right to speak their own language. They were fighting a new, proposed constitution which would have replaced Georgian as the republic's official state language with Russian. The demonstration was successful and the proposal was withdrawn. Five days later, a similar proposal in Armenia was also withdrawn. These two republics, along with Azerbaijan, are the only nations in Russia today which are allowed the use of their native languages as official state languages.

National oppression has always been an important part of class rule in Russia. Over the centuries, the Rus-

sian kings, the tsars, built their empire by forcibly annexing weaker, neighboring states. By 1900 the majority of people in the Russian Empire were non-Russian (Poles, Jews, Tatars, Ukrainians, etc.), and Russia was known as the "prison house of nations."

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, nationalist movements were built among the oppressed peoples. Fighting for the democratic rights of these oppressed nations was a crucial part of the revolutionary strategy of the Bolshevik Party. As internationalists, the Bolsheviks ideologically fought all forms of nationalism. However, they devoted special efforts to the fight against Great Russian chauvinism—the idea that the Russian people and culture were superior to the con-

quered peoples and their cultures.

Along with this struggle against Great Russian chauvinism, the Bolsheviks fought for full democratic rights for the oppressed nationalities. These rights included the right of nations to self-determination, the right of the oppressed nationalities to separate from Russia and set up independent nations. They also included the right of oppressed peoples within the Russian Empire to their own language and culture.

But the Bolshevik program was never fully realized. After the revolution in October 1917, the Bolsheviks had to wage a bloody civil war against counterrevolutionaries throughout the country. In some cases, the Bolshevik government allowed

(Continued on page 17)



Iran explodes

On May 11 thousands of demonstrators marched in Teheran, the capital of Iran, demanding "Down with the Shah!" It was the third day of rebellion against Shah Mohammad Pahlavi's dictatorship. Since May 9, nine people have been killed in demonstrations which swept Tabriz, Qom and 32 other towns and cities in Iran. The shah was forced to take personal command of the army in an attempt to save his regime.

Some right-wing religious leaders have tried to seize the leadership of this movement. Based on this fact, the capitalist press in the U.S. has claimed that the revolt represents "religious cultural conservatism and Moslem anger over the emancipation of women." The shah himself has pushed this lie to beef up his own reputation as a "modernizing reformer."

But the real reason behind the uprisings is the brutal oppression of the shah's government. The people of Iran live in misery. Prices have skyrocketed at a 30 percent annual rate. Basic foods such as wheat, rice and meat are rationed. Three out of every four children are illiterate. The shah has used enormous U.S. military aid to keep the workers and peasants of Iran in chains. Over 100,000 political prisoners are rotting in the shah's prisons.

Now the people of Iran are rising up. The Iranian working class has played a key role in this movement. Thousands of oil and steel workers in Abadan and Isfahan have gone out in political strikes against the government. The task facing the workers now is to build a revolutionary party which can take the lead in overthrowing the shah and liberating the people of Iran.

Nicaragua: capitalists prepare sellout

The Nicaraguan people are stepping up their efforts to smash President Anastasio Somoza's dictatorship. In the cities, demonstrators are fighting against Somoza's National Guard in the streets. In April, five demonstrators and 12 National Guard troops died in street battles.

Workers and students have occupied schools and churches to demand Somoza's resignation. The occupations began in Masaya on April 5. By April 11, 50,000 students were on strike, shutting down 80 percent of Nicaragua's schools. When the National Guard in Masaya tried to drive out the students on April 20, thousands of demonstrators poured into the streets to protest the attack.

The politicians in the Democratic Liberal Union (UDEL) are afraid the masses may go beyond Somoza to attack capitalist rule in Nicaragua. Last January, when mass resistance began, the UDEL led a general strike against the government. Now they have offered to serve in a coalition government which would include the Liberal Party (Somoza's party) and the National Guard. Their only condition is that Somoza resign.

The UDEL claims to support democracy in Nicaragua. But it is trying to join up with Somoza's political flunkies and the National Guard murderers to smash the mass movement. Workers in Nicaragua must have no faith in these capitalist politicians. Instead, they have to organize themselves to take over the leadership of the struggle and move it toward socialist revolution.

South Africa invades Angola

On May 4, South African troops launched a brutal attack on Namibian refugee camps in Angola. The invasion was an attempt to smash the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), which has led the armed liberation struggle to free Namibia (South-West Africa) from South African rule. SWAPO guerrillas fought heroically against the racist invaders: South African Brigadier General Hannes Botha admitted: "We came up against tough resistance, much stronger than we expected. SWAPO continued fighting until the last breath."

The invasion came nine days after South African Prime Minister John Vorster agreed to a U.S. plan for "independence" in Namibia. The plan calls for elections and formal independence before the end of the year. But it also sets up a joint United Nations-South African transitional administration. It allows white-ruled South Africa to keep 1,500 troops inside the country. It also allows South Africa to maintain its claim to Walvis Bay, the only deep-water port in Namibia.

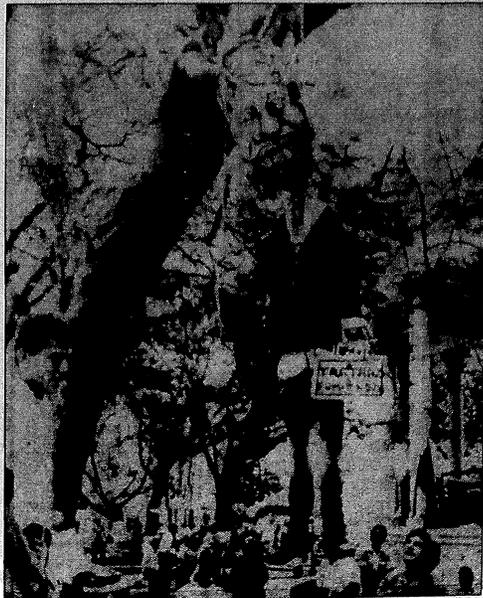
The South African ruling class wants to crush SWAPO before any elections take place. They hope to install a government of Black puppets belonging to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which Vorster organized to oppose SWAPO. These traitors would provide a cover for continued South African rule in Namibia.

The South African invasion has proven that the racist South African rulers have no intention of giving up control of Namibia. Namibia's oppressed masses must continue their armed struggle until they smash the racists and win independence for their country.

—PB

Panamanian People Protest Imperialist Treaty

U.S. OUT OF PANAMA!



Panamanian students hang Carter in effigy.

Seventy-five Panamanian students demonstrated in front of the U.S. Embassy in Panama City on April 17. They were protesting the canal treaty which supposedly turns the canal over to Panama. After the students threw paint on the embassy walls, the National Guard dispersed them with tear gas.

The next day, 500 leftist high school students demonstrated at the Panamanian foreign ministry offices. They demanded that the treaty be rejected by the Panamanian government. On that same day, the U.S. Senate approved the final sections of the treaty. Panama's dictator, General Omar Torrijos, quickly announced that his government would accept the treaty in the version passed by the Senate. The students were right to

denounce the Panama Canal treaty as an imperialist hoax. The treaty appears to give Panama gradual sovereignty over the canal. In reality, the U.S. keeps practical control.

With the new treaty, Panama is expected to collect \$70 million a year in tolls from ships passing through the canal. After 1999, Panama gets formal ownership as well. In the meantime, however, the U.S. will retain control over the canal's administration and will have the right to keep military forces garrisoned in Panama.

Even after 1999, the canal will belong to Panama in name only. The treaty contains explicit provisions giving the U.S. the permanent right to use troops in Panama whenever it sees fit. The troops can be used anywhere in Panama, and the U.S. does not need the permission of the Panamanian gov-

ernment to intervene. Troops can be used to meet what the U.S. considers a threat of "foreign aggression," or to deal with threats to U.S. interests caused by strikes or political unrest in Panama. The sum of the treaty's provisions gives effective "sovereignty" over the canal and the rest of Panama to the United States!

The U.S. and Torrijos hope that the passage of the treaty will reduce anti-U.S. sentiment among the Panamanian masses. Torrijos is also counting on the canal settlement to bolster the economy. Inflation runs close to 10 percent a year, and 90,000 workers out of 600,000 are unemployed. Fears of mass struggle connected with the canal issue have caused investment to fall off, adding to Panama's economic crisis. Torrijos plans to use the canal revenues to start paying off the \$3 billion national debt, much of which is owed to U.S. banks.

The Carter Administration pushed through the canal treaty in its effort to clean up the international image of U.S. imperialism. As with Carter's "Majority Rule" slogan for Africa, and the "human rights" campaign, the canal treaty is designed to make U.S. imperialism appear to be the friend of the world's masses.

But the canal treaty is merely a maneuver to strengthen U.S. imperialism by hiding its most obvious features. The treaty must be opposed! The land for the canal was stolen from Panama by the U.S. in 1903. The Panamanian people have a right to full ownership of the canal with no strings attached.

U.S. imperialism has no right to compensation, and no right to station or land troops anywhere in Panama. Control of the canal, including how it is used and by whom, is for the people of Panama to decide.

Dear Comrades:

We are two ex-members of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) who recently resigned from that organization to join the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). We know there are sincere revolutionary militants in the SLP who deserve an honest explanation of why we quit that organization and joined the RSL.

"As in all revolutionary movements, as in the storming of fortresses, the thing depends on the head of the column, upon that minority that is so intense in its convictions, so soundly based in its principles, so determined in its actions that it carries the masses with it, storms the breastwork and captures the fort. Such a head of the column must our Socialist organization be to the whole column of the American proletariat."

This inspiring statement on the need for a revolutionary vanguard party could well have been written by V.I. Lenin, himself. Actually it was penned by Daniel De Leon (1852-1914). De Leon, one of the foremost American Marxists of his day, led the Socialist Labor Party from 1889 to 1914.

De Leon is probably best known for his advocacy of socialist industrial unionism. De Leon's industrial union program would unite employed with the unemployed, skilled with unskilled, men and women, Black and white into one big nationwide union movement. He counterposed this to the narrow craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which only organized the higher-paid skilled workers.

De Leon waged war on the craft union bureaucrats. It was he who coined the term "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" to describe them. He also carried out continual struggle against socialists supporting liberal-capitalist reform governments.

In 1905, De Leon played a key role in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Because his SLP advocated working-class political action, as well as industrial action, De Leon was expelled by the anarcho-syndicalist leadership of the IWW in 1908.

De Leon opposed racist immigration laws and exposed the capitalist system as a breeder of race prejudice. He fought the racist element in the Socialist Party like Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger who advocated racialist immigration laws. And he denounced the U.S. militarists and the expansionist frenzy, especially during the war to grab the Spanish colonies in 1898. He showed how imperialist wars benefit only the ruling rich and cause increased misery and suffering for the working class.

Unlike the degenerated SLP of today, the SLP of De Leon's time was activist-oriented. It built a base in the labor movement, and was respected by large segments of urban workers.

The SLP of De Leon also had its shortcomings. Two of the most important of these were a tendency toward dual unionism, and a general failure to understand and utilize the united front. After some early efforts to fight the labor bureaucrats within the aristocratic trade unions, De Leon gave up the policy of "boring from within" the existing unions. Instead, he advocated withdrawing SLPers from these organizations in order to build new, industrial unions. It was correct to try to build industrial unions. But giving up the fight within the existing unions left these workers in the clutches of the bureaucrats.

This error was related to a general failure to understand the Leninist tactic of the united front. De Leon did not understand the need to unite with other working-class organizations in struggles around commonly supported issues and demands. He did not understand that it was through an aggressive use of the united front tactic that 1) the workers' struggles could be strengthened, 2) the workers' misleaders could be exposed, and 3) the workers, through these united struggles, could be won to the fight to overthrow capitalism and build a communist society.

Despite De Leon's errors, the SLP under his leadership was a serious or-

ganization that aided the political development of the working-class movement. In contrast, the SLP of today is a crumbling fossil. The degeneration of the SLP began with the dogmatic, sectarian policies of De Leon's later years. But it was greatly accelerated after De Leon's death when Arnold Petersen took the reins of the SLP during World War I.

Petersen turned the party away from the De Leonist tradition of activism in the political and industrial battles of the workers. Instead, he turned the party into an isolated, abstentionist, legalistic, flag-waving sect. Right from the beginning Petersen showed his true colors. In 1919-20, many SLPers, inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution,

could prove their survival depended on it!

Under Petersen and his clique, the SLP took a hands-off view during the great union organizing drives of the 1930s. It abstained from the civil rights and Black liberation struggles in the '50s and '60s so it would not get tainted by "reformism." It also failed to call for the military defeat of the U.S. imperialist ruling class during the Korean War!

During the Vietnam War the SLP claimed there was no difference between the napalmed Vietnamese liberation fighters and the Saigon puppets backed by U.S. imperialism. On October 20, 1967, the SLP took out a full page ad in the imperialist **New York**

"Soviet Russia—Promise or Menace?" published in 1939, the SLP held up Stalin's regime as a model and compared it favorably with the "discipline" existing in the SLP!

In 1940, when it was not so popular to support Russia, the SLP changed its position. Today it calls Russia "bureaucratic state despotism." In a recent series of articles in the **Weekly People**, the SLP not only denounces the Russian regime, but also rails against Lenin, the Bolshevik Party and the great October Revolution itself. The SLP thus supports the favorite theory of the bourgeois opponents of Leninism who claim that Stalinism represents the continuation of Leninism and not its opposite.

Petersen finally retired in 1969, and his long-time hatchetman, Nathan Karp, became national secretary. The expulsions, resignations and old age began to take their toll on the party. In 1974 the SLP moved its headquarters from New York City (Brooklyn) to Palo Alto, California, to retrench a new bureaucracy headed by Nathan Karp—now joined by his sons Stanley and Alan.

SWP: Reformist road

From 1974 to the present, the SLP has changed many of its tactical and theoretical positions. It now accepts work in the existing trade unions as legitimate. It usually gives uncritical support for Stalinist-led national liberation movements against imperialism. It now even claims that socialist industrial unionism is not incompatible with the dictatorship of the proletariat after all. And its members can now attend united front demonstrations.

These changes have virtually all come from the top down. They are a hodge-podge of positions borrowed from other left groups. And they have not stopped the decline of the SLP.

Aware of the coming destruction of the SLP, other organizations are looking to pick up the pieces. The largest of these is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). As part of its phony unity campaign, the SWP is hoping to pick up groups of SLP militants on a dishonest and opportunist basis.

The SWP claims to be Marxist, Leninist and Trotskyist. The reality, however, is far different. Before any SLP militants decide to throw their lot in with the SWP, they should give that organization a very careful look. In doing so, they should carefully examine their own political heritage to see what is valid and should be retained and what should be thrown away.

Despite the negative sides of the SLP politics, most SLPers solidly understand three key revolutionary propositions:

- 1) Although their notion of the revolution is mechanical and legalistic, most SLPers understand that reformism is a dead end for the working class. Trained in De Leon's works, they understand that the solution to the misery of capitalism is not reforming

(Continued on page 17)

Fight for Leninism! Join the RSL!

AN OPEN LETTER TO SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY MILITANTS

jumped over to the newly formed Communist Party. Petersen proclaimed support to the Russian workers' state and hailed Lenin as a great revolutionary leader. But he refused to join the Communist International and unite his forces with the communist movement in the U.S.

More than this, he denied that a revolutionary vanguard party and the dictatorship of the proletariat were needed in the United States. Petersen claimed the U.S. could go directly to stateless, classless communism—peacefully, via the ballot! According to Petersen, the dictatorship of the proletariat applied to underdeveloped nations only.

To cover this pacifist and national chauvinist distortion of Marxism, Petersen and his clique began a wholesale revision of Marx and Engels' theoretical works. In 1923 they conveniently left out a whole paragraph in the SLP translation of Engels' 1895 forward to Marx's **Class Struggles in France (1848-50)**. After Petersen's selective omission Engels appears to deny the right of workers to defend their revolutionary gains through armed struggle. This bogus SLP pamphlet is still sold today under the title "Peaceful Revolution vs. Violence—Can Socialism be Achieved Peacefully?"

Petersen also revised De Leon. In the SLP leaflet "Socialism—Champion of Civilized Principles," Petersen quotes De Leon as advocating socialism "legally" through the U.S. Constitution and in the tradition of the American flag. But his De Leon "quote" hides the fact that what De Leon really was saying was that the red, white, and blue flag and Constitution represented the American bourgeois revolution. De Leon was in fact arguing that the upcoming socialist revolution would be made under the red flag by the working class. The original statement by De Leon can be found in the SLP pamphlet "The Supreme Court—Watchdog of Capitalism" (N.Y. Labor News, 1971).

Petersen's revisionist theory was reflected in the SLP's practice. Claiming to be fighting reformism, the SLP refused to participate in the concrete struggles of the workers and other oppressed people. After 1923, SLPers were forbidden to do work in the existing trade unions, unless they

denouncing those who were massing in the streets to protest the imperialist war against the Vietnamese!

Instead of trying to win the working class to socialism through participating in the class struggle, the SLP under Petersen limited itself to passive propaganda (putting out a newspaper, distributing leaflets, etc.) and running in bourgeois elections.

Bureaucratic regime in SLP

Yet, for all the flag waving and the glorification of bourgeois democracy, Petersen ran the SLP like a police state. During the five decades of Petersen's dictatorial rule, hundreds of SLPers were expelled. Their "crimes?" Demanding to know how much money the national secretary and his national office toadies received; fighting for Marxism inside a "reformist" labor forum; participating openly as an SLP contingent in peace demonstrations, and so on.

This combination of actual support for police-state measures with a public praise of bourgeois democracy is reflected in the SLP's position on Russia. In the late 1930s, the SLP supported Stalinist Russia. The SLP even supported Stalin's bloody purges of Old Bolsheviks. In an SLP pamphlet,

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(Continued from page 15) the oppressed nations to secede and set up separate states. In others, counter-revolutionary forces used the national sentiments to further their efforts to overturn the Soviet power. The Mensheviks, for example, allowed the British and French

Russian workers must unite with the oppressed nationalities in a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the Stalinist state-capitalist ruling class.

to use Georgia as a base for military operations against the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks opposed these separatist movements.

By 1922, the civil war had been won, and the economic reconstruction of the devastated country had begun. But by this time, a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy led by Stalin had developed in the workers' state and Bolshevik Party. This bureaucracy wanted to continue the old tsarist policy against the non-Russian nationalities. Lenin called the bureaucracy

a "bourgeois and tsarist hodgepodge," and referred to the "typical Russian bureaucrat" as a "Great Russian chauvinist. In substance a rascal and a tyrant."

A gross example of this national chauvinism came in late November 1922. The Stalin-sponsored head of the Georgian Soviet, Ordzhonikidze, punched a local Georgian communist leader during discussions over the conditions under which Georgia would become part of the USSR. In December 1922, Lenin began a struggle against the abuses and national chauvinism of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But before this struggle got fully underway, Lenin was incapacitated by a series of strokes in early 1923.

State capitalism means national oppression

Lenin died in 1924. By then the bureaucracy had become large and well-entrenched. Bureaucratism, national oppression and Great Russian chauvinism became the basis of Stalinist policy. The cover for this was Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country." Stalin used this theory to subordinate the interests of the international working class to the interests of the developing state-capitalist

class. The oppression of nationalities was justified under the guise of consolidating "socialism." Where Lenin waged "war to the death" against Great Russian chauvinism, Stalin waged a brutal campaign against "local nationalism" in the various republics.

This campaign was aimed both at actual secessionist movements and at demands of the oppressed nations to have a greater say over policies that affected them. "Overt separatism," that is, any actual effort to secede from the union, was made a criminal offense. This was the cover for the 1934-36 purges in Armenia that resulted in a complete turnover of Armenian party leadership and the expulsion of at

least 8,000 party members. It was the pretext for arresting, exiling and executing several thousand Armenian workers and peasants in the purges of 1937-39. And it was the "crime" for which tens of thousands of Ukrainians were slaughtered in the same period.

Defend right of self-determination

This was a crucial step in the consolidation of the state-capitalist ruling class. In order for the bureaucracy to cohere itself and industrialize the country, the oppressed nations had to be kept in the union, by force if necessary. But where the national movements were strong enough that forceful methods could not destroy them, the bureaucracy had to make concessions on secondary questions. Through their resistance, the peo-

ples of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan won the right to keep their native languages as the official state languages of their territories. It was this right that the Georgians and Armenians successfully defended in April of this year.

Revolutionaries must support the struggles of the oppressed peoples within the new Russian empire, including the right to self-determination. Russian workers must unite with the oppressed nationalities in a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the Stalinist state-capitalist ruling class and establish a workers' state based on the Leninist principle of an association of equals with equal rights. As in 1917, the success of the coming workers' revolution will depend in large part on the ability of the Russian working class to defend the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed nations. □

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I would like more information about the Revolutionary Socialist League.

Fight for Leninism

(Continued from page 16)

capitalism but socialist revolution. They clearly recognize that the bourgeois-liberal politicians are dangerous enemies of the working class. And they know the reformist labor bureaucrats for what they are—labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

2) Many SLPers also understand that the working class needs a political party if it is to seize power. And they know that this party must be a **working-class party**, firmly based in the working class and hostile to liberal politicians and the reformist labor fakery.

3) And many SLP militants understand that socialism means the direct control of society, especially production, by the working class. They know that where the workers do not control production and the entire society, neither workers' governments nor socialism exist.

SLPers looking for more viable organizations to join should look for tendencies which **stand on these points and move them forward**, to truly Leninist positions, and not back toward reformism. SLPers must look for an organization that understands 1) that socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be created through an international socialist **revolution** and not through the ballot box; 2) that what is needed is an international democratic-centralist party, a Leninist international that can expose the workers' misleaders and win the workers to socialism **through the actual class struggle**; and 3) that the so-called socialist countries are in fact capitalist, with internal contradictions similar to capitalism everywhere.

Despite its claims, the SWP does not represent a Leninist alternative to the SLP. Although the SWP claims to stand for revolution, its political prac-

tice is reformist. The word "revolution" hardly appears in the pages of the **Militant**. Instead, socialism is portrayed as the sum total of reforms, a Bill of Rights for Working People. A consistent struggle for democracy and reforms, says the SWP, will "add up" to a struggle for socialism.

As a result, the SWP does not fight to expose bourgeois-liberal politicians. Instead, as in the anti-war movement, it builds coalitions with these representatives of the capitalist class and ties the workers, students and oppressed people to their coat-tails.

It does the same with the labor bureaucrats. While it claims to oppose the labor fakery, the SWP chases after them and does their dirty work. It is positively craven in its adoration of the liberal bureaucrats who claim to be for the workers but are as much the enemies of the workers as the open reactionaries. Check out the SWP's approach to the Sadlowski campaign in the United Steelworkers election in 1976. Where are the criticisms? Where is the exposure?

The SWP also claims to be building a working-class revolutionary party. Yet for years it refused to organize in the working class. SWP militants were expelled from the party for advocating this kind of organizing work.

Today, the SWP is turning toward work in the trade unions. But their goal is not to build a truly working-class party. Instead, they want a mass reformist party that is dominated politically and socially by middle-class intellectuals and trade-union functionaries. While the SWP may develop a working-class base, it will be a base politically and socially dominated by the middle class.

Finally, the SWP claims that it is fighting for a society run by and for the working class. Yet the SWP does not believe that workers' control of produc-

tion and the entire society is necessary in a workers' state. They believe that Russia today is a workers' state, despite the fact that the Russian workers are in chains and have no control over the Russian state or the economy. They believe that China, Cuba, Vietnam and the states of Eastern Europe are also workers' states, even though the workers did not overthrow the ruling classes, and never seized control over the economies of these countries. This revision of Marxism is consistent with the SWP's reliance on the liberal capitalists and reformist bureaucrats instead of the working class.

RSL fights for revolution

Rather than accepting the reformist strategy of the SWP, SLPers who are looking for a serious revolutionary organization should join the Revolutionary Socialist League. The RSL fights for revolution. In contrast to the sedate **Militant**, the RSL newspaper, the **Torch** breathes revolution on every page. The RSL ceaselessly fights to expose the bourgeois liberals and the reformist bureaucrats, liberal and reactionary. Despite its small size, the RSL is fighting to base itself in the working class. Along with the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica, the RSL is struggling to build an international revolutionary **workers' party**. The RSL works in a revolutionary manner inside the trade unions. It is trying to base itself on the most oppressed sectors of the working class, those who have nothing to lose and everything to gain by a socialist revolution.

Finally, the RSL is fighting for a truly communist society. The RSL understands that the only solution to the crisis of capitalism is for the working class to take control of production and society. The RSL understands that where the workers have no control over production, socialism or workers' states do not and cannot exist. The RSL has a Marxist analysis

of the so-called socialist countries. It understands that these countries are state-capitalist societies that must be overthrown by the workers.

In sum, the RSL stands firmly on revolutionary Marxism. In addition, the RSL fights for these policies in a militant and interventionist way. The RSL fights in the factories and the trade unions to organize the workers and to expose the labor fakery, including the left-talking ones. It fights to defend Blacks, women, gays and other oppressed groups against their oppression and attacks by the state. The RSL fights the Nazis, taking them on where they appear and explaining to the workers what the Nazis represent and what must be done to defeat them. The RSL organizes support for the struggles of the Black workers in South Africa, without spreading illusions in the U.S. government, the United Nations, bourgeois liberals and the nationalists. The RSL intervenes in the **class struggle** to convince the workers and other oppressed people that the socialist revolution is the only way out of the poverty, misery and oppression of capitalism.

Join the RSL!

In conclusion, comrades of the SLP, we urge you all to resign from the politically bankrupt SLP. We call upon you to join us in the fighting, revolutionary ranks of the RSL! The SLP, like the bankrupt SWP, is an obstacle in the path to socialist revolution. Both these rotten organizations gave up the class struggle years ago. In the RSL, a relatively new organization, the battle has just begun. We will never surrender to the class enemy and its political and labor stooges. We will keep on fighting until victory for the world working class is won! **COMRADES, IF YOU REALLY WANT REVOLUTION, YOU BELONG IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE!** Comradely yours, Chet O'Neal & Carl Roman