

the TORCH 4

15¢

Newspaper of the
**Revolutionary
Socialist League**

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

VOL 1

July 1-15, 1974

EUROPE'S WEAK LINK

ITALY HEADS FOR COLLAPSE

BY RON TABER

On June 10, Italy's coalition government led by Premier Mariano Rumor fell after only three months in office. After four days of stalemated negotiations over economic measures to deal with Italy's devastating balance of payments deficit and other economic problems, Rumor and the rest of his cabinet tendered resignations to President Giovanni Leone. Leone failed to find a successor to Rumor and refused to accept Rumor's resignation.

On June 19, just nine days after the resignation was submitted, an agreement on measures to deal with the economic situation was reached among the four parties in the coalition.

This "solution" is a fraud, and Italian capitalism continues its headlong plunge toward economic collapse and social disintegration.

BANKRUPTCY

This crisis was not merely a government crisis. The Italian economy faces bankruptcy, and every European politician knows that given the general conditions throughout the continent, Italian capitalism's collapse may spell disaster for European capitalism as a whole.

In this situation, no mere shuffling of capitalist politicians can "solve" this crisis. All the ingredients of the crisis remain, up to the fact that the four parties who made up Rumor's coalition (the Christian Democrats, the Socialists, the Social Democrats and the Republicans) remain in an uneasy embrace.

In order to grasp the seriousness of the present situation in Italy, it is necessary to step back and view the scene in perspective.

Throughout most of the post-war period, the Italian economy achieved a remarkable degree of economic growth based in large measure on the rapid growth of exports, a high rate of invest-

ment and the low wages of the Italian proletariat. After a recession in 1964, the economy experienced a recovery that lasted through most of the rest of the decade.

This recovery, however, was not based on a substantial increase in investment. In fact, it was only in 1969 that the rate of investment re-



Christian Democratic Premier Rumor [top] is presiding over the disintegration of capitalist society in Italy. In the meantime, a revived fascist movement prepares a bloody offensive against the workers. Fascists bombed an anti-fascist march in Brescia [bottom].

gained its 1963 level. Instead, the recovery was based upon the "rationalization" of industry—that is, speedup and layoffs. Productivity increased as fast as it had in the 1950's, only this time

without comparable investment.

1969

By 1969, this recovery, based as it was on the murderous intensification of work, provoked a massive wave of struggles. Discontent over still-high unemployment, rising prices, rotten working conditions, poor transportation facilities and housing, spilled over into a massive strike wave, the largest in Italy's history.

The workers' militancy gave rise to rank and file "base committees" and eventually forced the trade union leadership to place themselves at the head of these struggles in order to offset the growing influence of the left-wing elements. Before the militancy of the Italian workers, the Italian capitalists retreated, granting concessions as they fell back.

Although little was achieved in the way of social reforms (housing, transport,

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Wage Reopeners p 2
Italian Communist Party p 6

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ahora Arthur Burns

Sigue en la p. 11

CANADIAN WORKERS BATTLE FOR WAGE REOPENERS

by Brent Davis

Canadian workers are waging a massive strike wave to defend themselves against inflation. In May, Canada suffered from a yearly inflation rate of over 20 per cent, spearheaded by an inflation rate for food of 36 per cent. Shipping, auto, mining, construction and especially public employment have been riddled with strikes, winning for the Canadian workers wage gains averaging twice as much as workers in this country have been getting.

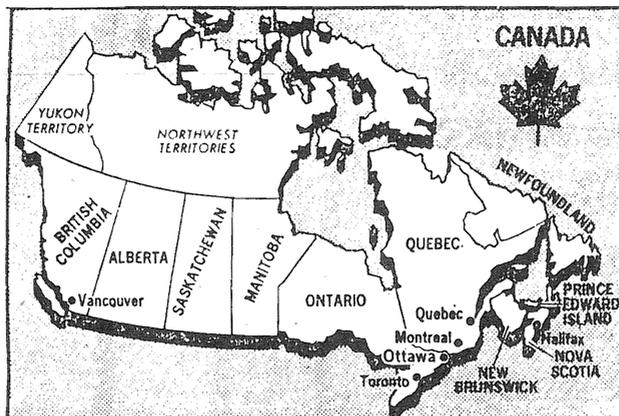
The militancy of the Canadian workers has injected an important weapon into their strike wave—wage reopeners. Just as in this country, the labor bureaucracy and the capitalists have forced a system of multi-year contracts down the throats of the Canadian workers.

With the murderous inflation rate, these contracts have become tools for wage cutting. As the only way to defend their living standards, Canadian workers have been ripping these contracts up and demanding new wage increases in the middle of the contract.

A number of United Steelworkers locals have won wage increases through reopeners. Indalex Limited workers won a seven per cent wage hike six months before their contract expired. In April, 14,000 workers in Local 1005 won a 15 cents an hour raise from the Steel Co. of Canada even though their contract had 15 months more to go.

These reopeners were won without strikes. But in June, Quebec construction workers demanded wage reopeners, backing up that demand with a slowdown. The employers laid-off 15,000 workers to break the slowdown. The response of the construction workers: 70,000 out on strike, shutting down almost all construction in the province with flying squads of pickets to keep the strike solid.

U.S. workers would do well to take a lesson from our Canadian brothers and sisters. They face the same multi-year contracts and the same labor bureaucracy. They hear the same lies from that bureaucracy, which peddles the illusion that if the workers obey the contract, then the bosses will also. But the capitalists showed how much they respect contracts when it is in



their interest to break them: Nixon "reopened" all contracts with his wage-freeze in 1971.

HACKS RETREAT

In the face of inflation and the ranks' growing frustra-

tion, the labor tops have been forced to retreat in words on the question of reopeners. Lynn Williams, Steelworkers Director of District 6 (Western Canada), promised to spread the fight for reopeners throughout his district. Leonard Woodcock, president of the auto workers, made a lot of noise last year about not signing any contract unless it included a yearly wage reopener. But Woodcock has done nothing about reopeners, though his talk makes the idea seem more possible to the rank and file.

The pressure for wage reopeners from the ranks will be growing. Many of the largest



Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau enters Parliament as crowds protest inflation.

unions have recently signed multi-year contracts, and the wage increases in all of them were pitiful. Auto and steel, for example, received only three per cent a year wage hikes. As inflation takes its toll, the hundreds of thousands of workers in these industries will be looking for a way to defend their living standards.

STRIKE TOGETHER

The wage reopener movement spreading across Canada raises the possibility of a co-ordinated wage offensive in this country. Inflation is really wage cutting by the entire capitalist class, directed by the government's economic policies. A successful response requires a unified fight by the entire working class, to see that wage increases in one sector aren't just transferred as higher prices to other workers.

The labor bureaucrats have demonstrated repeatedly that they will not lead this kind of fight. But their statements half-committing them in favor of reopeners indicates the tremendous pressure from the ranks against rising costs. A movement for wage reopeners must demand that the bureaucrats remain true to their

promises, and expose them for the liars that they are when they turn their backs on the struggle.

LEADERSHIP

Meanwhile, militants must begin cohering an alternative leadership to secure the struggle. Such a leadership would begin today to organize a national fight against inflation, beginning with the demand for full cost of living escalator clauses as well as calling for sizeable pay increases to recover what inflation has already eaten away.

To enforce these demands, this leadership would organize work stoppages building to a general strike against inflation and the government and corporations that enforce it. This is a perspective to win—but it is a strategy that will require confronting and defeating the capitalist class as a whole.

Militants cannot abandon this fight. They must organize the struggle around the policies put forward in *The Torch*—the policies of the only kind of leadership capable of cohering and winning the fight against the bosses and their state—a revolutionary leadership.

Cleveland Cops Rescue Pusher

by Paul Aldridge

On May 31, East Cleveland was the scene of the latest attack in the terrorist campaign against the working class currently being waged by the U.S. bourgeoisie. A gun battle which erupted early that Friday morning involved 95 policemen and three alleged

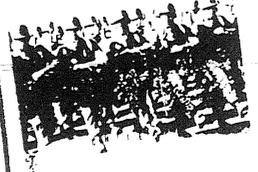
members of the Sunni Muslims. The trio surrendered after a 90-minute exchange in which five cops were wounded, along with two "hostages."

Coming on the heels of the racist "Zebra" manhunt in San Francisco and the brutal slaughter of the SLA members by police in Los Angeles, the Cleveland shootout leaves

no doubt as to the methods which the ruling class will employ in its future confrontations with the proletariat. Racked by recession, rampant inflation, and mounting unemployment, the bosses hope to use terrorism to intimidate militant and revolutionary workers into passively accept-

Cont'd. p. 9

**Chile:
Never Again!**



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The upheavals in Portugal make the lessons of the Chilean coup more important than ever.

Once more, the Communist and Socialist Parties have cast themselves as the workers' leadership. As in Chile, they are doing their best to confine the struggle of the proletariat to reformism and away from socialist revolution. The military is again posing as the defender of the toiling masses.

"Chile: Never Again!" demonstrates decisively how the reformists disarmed the Chilean workers through the Popular Front and paved the way for last September's bloody massacre. Its message—the urgency of repudiating the "peaceful road" and constructing a revolutionary leadership—is essential to preventing the Chilean disaster from recurring on a world scale.

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In the late
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by Rod Miller

The strike of 110,000 garment workers against the men's and boys' clothing industry ended on June 12 when the membership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) ratified a contract that provided for a \$1.00 per hour wage increase over a three-year period and virtually no cost-of-living protection.

The strike, which began on June 1, was the first industry-wide walkout since 1921. Striking cutters, tailors, and sewing machine operators shut down 750 manufacturers in thirty states for ten days while the union leadership negotiated its principal demands of a \$1.10 per hour wage hike, a cost of living clause, and increasing the minimum pension from \$85 a month to \$100 a month.

The industry had offered \$.80 an hour in wages and opposed any cost-of-living increases, so on the surface the contract appeared to be a pretty good one. Indeed, 95 per cent of the membership voted for the pact.

But the fact is that the deal is going to leave garment workers holding the short end of the stick. The wage increase will not keep pace with inflation, even if inflation levels off at the present rate. And the cost of living clause is as good as useless; it provides for no adjustments for the first year of the contract, and a maximum of \$.10 additional wages the following year.

LOWEST PAID

In other words, garment workers are going to remain right where they are—the lowest paid laborers in all of private industry, with many earning as little as \$2.00 per hour. They also have the worst working conditions; piecework is still enforced throughout the industry, and workers must often give up their lunch breaks and even avoid going to the bathroom to try to keep up with inflation.

The overwhelmingly black and Puerto Rican work force has the ACWA leadership to thank for this fix. The rock-bottom wages and sweatshop conditions in the garment industry are the result of decades of control over the ACWA by one of the most blatantly class-collaborationist leaderships in the trade union movement.

The garment industry is made up of many small firms, and the union bureaucrats fear that significantly better wages and working conditions would force wholesale bankruptcy. The ACWA officials see their role as preserving jobs by sacrificing workers' living standards to keep the companies afloat.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's the ACWA chiefs op-

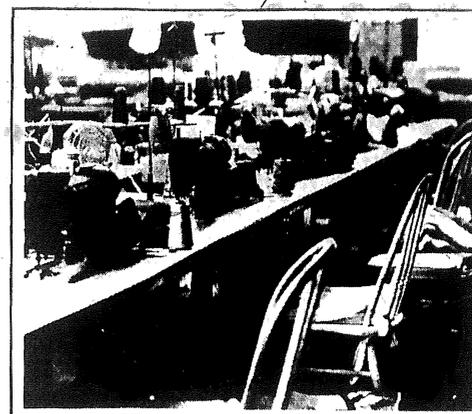
Garment Strike Betrayed

posed increasing the minimum wage despite the fact that many garment workers were paid at the legal minimum.

afraid of a repetition of the rank and file rebellion that greeted the last ACWA contract in 1971. That contract,

motives. "It looks as though Finley and Sheikman are trying to assert their leadership and beat their own

union should demand to see the figures—open the books! If indeed the companies can't afford to establish decent



18th-century working conditions are still the rule for garment workers.



Despite the "new militancy" of their union leaders, garment workers are to remain the lowest paid workers in private industry, with the worst working conditions.

The pattern was set in the 1921 strike, when Amalgamated founder Sidney Hillman accepted a 15 per cent wage cut and a 15 per cent increase in speed-up in return for union recognition.

SORRY TRADITION

Murray Finley and Jacob Sheinkman, the current heads of the ACWA, carry on in this sorry tradition. Amalgamated is perhaps the most vocal advocate of the "Buy America" campaign and of raising tariff barriers, trying to shift the blame for capitalism's economic straits onto foreign workers. The union retains its own "time-motion study" specialists to advise management on the best means to wring more production out of the work-force.

But Finley and Sheinkman did call a national strike, something that Amalgamated leaders haven't done in decades. The *New York Times* called this proof that "fresh winds (are) blowing through the ACWA." Actually, it's just an attempt to sweeten up the same old garbage.

Finley and Sheinkman were

agreed to by the union bureaucrats, sparked wildcats that began in Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley and spread to the huge garment centers of Philadelphia and New York.

Philadelphia's 23,000 ACWA workers shut down the industry for nearly a week, and ACWA Local 4 in New York called a one-day work stoppage in protest against the sell-out pact. As a result of the wildcats, the ancient Jacob Potofsky retired as head of Amalgamated and Finley and Sheinkman took over.

With conditions of the ranks even worse now than they were three years ago, Finley and Sheinkman had no choice but to sanction a strike to maintain any credibility. In Finley's words: "We're not happy to have a strike, but we wouldn't recommend acceptance of management's last offer (80 cents for the three years). I think it would have received an overwhelming vote of no."

FINLEY'S FRIENDS

Clothing manufacturers understood the bureaucracy's

members to the punch," an industry spokesman commented. He added that the new Amalgamated leaders are very able men who could be "good for the industry."

Unfortunately, many garment workers believe that the new ACWA leadership is indeed willing to champion their needs. Many workers told *The Torch* that they thought Finley and Sheinkman were "ready to fight."

NO ILLUSIONS!

Advanced workers can afford no illusions about the new crop of union hacks. They must carefully explain to other workers that this contract will result in real wages falling still farther behind the cost of living. They must show how the acceptance of piecework demonstrates the bureaucrats' willingness to prop up the industry regardless of the effect on workers.

If the union leaders were really "ready to fight," they could use the centralized force of the ACWA to overpower the small garment manufacturers and wrest real gains. If the firms plead poverty, the

living wages and working conditions, that would only underline the need to take production out of the hands of the manufacturers by nationalizing industry under workers' control.

But Finley and Sheinkman will never carry out a fight for this program. Like Hillman and Potofsky, they are supporters of the Social Democrats, U.S.A.—a group which claims to be for socialism at some unknown future date, but meanwhile urges that every possible concession be made to shore up the rocky capitalist system.

WRECK THE HOUSE!

Early in the union's history, when there was a movement to abolish piece-work, Hillman argued against it, whining, "We cannot wreck the house in which we expect to live."

But that house, the house of capitalism, is rotting. It must be destroyed and replaced with a new one constructed on the principles of revolutionary socialism. It will require a union leadership with this perspective to free garment workers from the shackles fashioned by the industry and blessed by the union bureaucracy.

Editorial

"DETENTE" IS A FRAUD

Evidence is mounting that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger took an active part in the wire-tapping of a number of his subordinates in 1969-71. This has extra importance because Kissinger has sworn under oath that he has never done any such thing.

Most interesting of all, however, is the over-all response to this evidence current on Capitol Hill. The same politicians who are insistently demanding the impeachment of Richard Nixon are flocking to the defense of his tarnished Secretary of State.

Why? What is it about Kissinger which endears him to Nixon's ruling-class foes? Why does the ruling class as a whole nod vigorously in agreement when J. W. Fulbright declares Kissinger "a magnificent Secretary of State"?

NOTHING MYSTERIOUS

There is nothing very mysterious, in fact, about this state of affairs.

Of course Kissinger is applauded and celebrated by the ruling class. What else does it have to cheer about? Its economy is collapsing around its ears. The federal government, charged with policing capitalist society and supposed to symbolize the ruling class's claims to honor and integrity, is headed by a President who everyone knows is a liar, a thief, and a petty gangster.

SAXBE

Nixon's latest Attorney General, William Saxbe, is now openly warning the ruling class at large that it now faces "a devastating loss of public confidence." The result, he adds, is a widespread "resentment which will simply bide its time for a chance to be felt."

With its world looking so bleak, how can the ruling class and its advertising men (the newspapers, magazines, and TV) cheer itself up? More important, what can they say to the working-class public that will help raise its confidence in the bourgeoisie's ability to rule?

They point to Kissinger. Kissinger symbolizes progress. Kissinger symbolizes peace. Or, at least, Kissinger symbolizes "detente."

MIDDLE EAST

Kissinger's most recent triumph was the conclusion of a settlement between Israel and Egypt and Syria. According to the State Department and the capitalist press, this settlement is to open a new era of peace in the Middle East. It marks, so the story goes, the beginning of the end of Arab-Israeli and Russian-U.S. conflict in the area.

In fact, this is a pipe-dream. The struggle of the Egyptian, Syrian, and Palestinian peoples for their democratic rights cannot be squelched so easily. The struggle in the Middle East will erupt again, blowing to pieces this new imperialist "settlement."

But this is not all. Even from the point of view of the U.S. and Russian imperialists, the Mid-East

deal is necessarily doomed from the start. Like the other components of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. detente, it rests upon an impossible assumption: that the interests of the two main imperialist rivals can be reconciled.

IMPERIALIST DRIVE

As the national economies of the two main capitalist-imperialist powers move further and further into crisis, the rivalry between them grows apace. Imperialism itself is a product of capitalism's decay, its growing need to increase its wealth through open robbery rather than through raising the productivity of labor. The further capitalism decays—and that decay is now advancing faster than it has in thirty years—the greater becomes the imperialist drive.

The U.S. and U.S.S.R. each need exclusive control over the Middle East, and they know it. The world production of oil is stagnating. This puts a huge premium on grabbing control of the oil that does exist.

The Middle East is the center of that supply. The imperialist power which controls the Middle East controls the life-blood of world capitalism.

DEALS

Deals between the imperialists today are nothing but armed truces. Neither side is really satisfied with the Mid-East deal, but neither is yet ready to force the issue through war.

But the approach of war accelerates nevertheless. Both Washington and Moscow will—must—soon move to monopolize their control. For either side, the loss of the Middle East to its enemy is simply unthinkable.

The imperialist "detente" was doomed from the start. It can last no longer than the crumbling economic system on which it stands.

PENTAGON POLICY

This is why the much-praised Kissinger is only one face of U.S. imperialism's foreign-policy machine. While Kissinger models the halo of peace-maker, his colleagues in the Pentagon proceed to reconstruct the U.S.'s nuclear arsenal on an offensive, first-strike, "counter-force" basis. (See the story in *Torch* No. 11.)

Imperialist strategists, at least, are not taken in by talk of detente. They know that at some point the rival capitalist giants will move from words to arms.

WORLD WAR THREE

If the international bourgeoisie is allowed to remain in power, World War III is inevitable—and simply a matter of time.

It is the duty of revolutionaries to point this out tirelessly to the rest of their class. The socialist revolution is now a life-or-death matter for mankind. Whoever puts his faith in the world's Kissingers is a sheep trotting blindly to the slaughter.

Summer Schedule

The *Torch* will be on a summer schedule in July, August and September. We will be publishing once a month during this period. This will allow the

Torch staff more time to prepare for the Second Convention of the Revolutionary Socialist League, which will be held during September. We will resume bi-weekly publication in October.

LEAGUE FORUM

New York

ARE WE ON THE THRESHOLD OF A DEPRESSION?

THE ROOTS OF THE CAPITALIST CRISIS

SPEAKER: WALTER DAHL
RSL CENTRAL COMMITTEE
MEMBER

FRIDAY, JULY 19, 7:30 P.M.

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Comrade

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LETTERS

Send letters to *The Torch*, Room 200
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Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Your Life or Job

Comrade Editor,

"Workers' Choice: Your Life or Your Job," a story in *Torch* #10, explains why the capitalists must force the Steelworkers at Silver Bay to "choose" between asbestos poisoning, and losing their jobs. A filthy, lousy choice!

In my union, the United Auto Workers, thousands of assembly liners breathe fumes caused by pressurized steam—used to take the wrinkles out of plastic cushions and seat covers. These fumes are from polyvinyl chloride (PVC), the plastic used in the seats.

PVC is made from vinyl chloride—a cancer causing gas whose killer potential has been certified by the world's leading industrial health experts. Even the U.S. Department of Labor has tentatively agreed that no worker should be exposed to any detectable level of vinyl chloride in the

air.

The UAW bureaucrats haven't made a "big deal" of PVC poisoning yet. But the *Torch* article makes it clear that the union hacks will betray us because they accept the limits the capitalist system puts on our struggles. When the auto companies say, "Your life or your job," the bureaucrats will simply give up and come around, lecturing us on how we have to see it from the company's point of view!

The only way we can survive any more is to begin building a revolutionary leadership to lead our struggles. The way to do that today is to read the *Torch*, to get other workers to read it, and to build the Revolutionary Socialist League.

For the World Revolution!
Lee O'Shaughnessy

Grigorenko

To the Editor,

I would like to comment on the discussion of the Soviet dissidents in issue #10 of the *Torch*.

In replying to Myers, comrade Taber gave Grigorenko too much credit. Taber says that Grigorenko is "an honest element," a centrist in subjectively revolutionary opposition to the bureaucracy.

In fact, Grigorenko consciously and explicitly abjures revolution and advocates only legal methods of changing the system. His program is "socialism with a human face" as evidenced by his support for the Dubcek regime in Czechoslovakia.

Despite Myers' pomposity in attacking anyone who might call Grigorenko a "capitalist," the latter remains the reformist supporter of the capitalist state in the Soviet Union. Myers believes that Grigorenko reflects the interest of the proletariat, albeit passively. Myers cruelly misleads and betrays the working class when he says that it is with this reformist current alone that it is possible to discuss and crystallize a Bolshevik tendency.

Grigorenko is a disenchanted liberal opponent of the regime—and Myers is, too, despite the Marxist window-dressing. To rub the point in, we would challenge Myers to prove that Grigorenko has any orientation to the working class.

Myers also objects to calling the dissident movement analogous to the U.S. student movement of the sixties. If anything, this analogy does a disservice to the "new left," since a large section of it was subjectively revolutionary.

Virtually the entire "democratic movement," of which Grigorenko is the left wing, advocates working within the "Soviet system." A student movement in the Soviet Union would quickly see Grigorenko left behind as a subjectively revolutionary wing developed. No doubt Myers would consider such elements "ultra-leftists" rather than

admit that Grigorenko is nothing more than a militant liberal.

Harry Parker

Good History

Dear Sir:

I received the copy of *The Torch*. I read it and passed it around as requested to those interested in our struggle.

The comrades enjoyed the paper very much. The paper stated some good history. To me personally it appears to be good. May Allah (God) bless you for the good that you do.

As-Salaam-Alachum
Respectfully yours,
(Name Withheld) F.O.I.
Missouri State Penitentiary

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Abolish Prisons

Dear Editor:

It has been my pleasure to receive *The Torch* for some time now, and have been so inspired by it that I now seek your assistance.

In the entire history of Parchman Plantation-Prison, the prisoners' minds have been obscured from the public's view. It is with the intent to speak our viewpoint and expose the set-up here that I send you the enclosed article. I need not tell you how important it is for us to establish some form of communication with the outside community in our effort to forestall the forces against us. Please feel free to use my full name, number and address on anything you may print.

More Power to the Prisoner!
Louis X. Holloway
35073, Camp Two
Parchman, Mississippi 38738

It is truly a shame that Parchman plantation-prison, located in Sunflower County, Mississippi, is probably the last such institution in America that still operates on a profit/punishment basis. The politicians and prison officials (the so-called educated, dedicated to public service) who have made a tremendous profit and who were allowed to practice sadism and racism have been the very ones who have vehemently fought against progress here.

With all of the advances of science and technology available and with the increase of available knowledge, there should have been no cause for Federal Judge William C. Keady of Greenville to rule that Parchman was being run unconstitutionally. Until only a few months ago, Parchman operated as a giant plantation, and the prisoners were forced to act as slaves, literally.

Now, two years after the exposure and subsequent court order, we are no longer forced into slavery under the pain of death, but, our conditions are still no better. The state still refuses to pay us any wages for our labor or compensate for it in any way. [Good time is given but, only to help those with short time, and has no influence in earning privileges or release.]

The State does not supply us with stamps, writing paper, envelopes, toothpaste, etc.: and all the items purchased out the canteen must be bought at regular prices, plus tax. The only way we can get money in is through the mail, visitors, or through private enterprises. Believe it or not, prison officials are still trying to get a court order where they can confiscate letters and take all of the money out, and abolish all private enterprises, such as hobby crafts and the selling of coffee & popcorn.

Our food and medical attention is still so poor as to be nonexistent. Our main daily diet consists of surplus foods, canned goods and old meat. All we have to drink is powdered milk, cyclamated tea, and old prison ground coffee. Fresh fruits and ice cream must be bought.

There exist no rehabilitation program, physical education, recreation, or community relations programs available for us prisoners. Anyone participating in any self-help programs are heavily victimized. Prison officials still use discretion in determining parole, work-release or classification. Trustees have no real privileges, and there are no rewards for good merits earned. We don't even have access to a

library.

The administration has completely alienated itself from us prisoners. The inmate Grievance Committee (MPAC) was designed to strengthen relations between the administration and the prisoners, but, was abolished by the new Superintendent. Since its abolishment, the superintendent has refused to visit the camps and listen to our grievances. And the only official who showed an overt concern for prisoners' welfare, former assistant Superintendent Clifford Jennings, was systematically ousted.

Black prisoners make up 70 per cent of the total population here and there are no black officials on the staff, a few in token ineffective positions, one black sgt., and blacks make up about 6 per cent of the security force. There are no black counselors, no black chaplains or any black personnel who can assist in helping with black problems.

We prisoners are still being brutalized, our property still being stolen. The Maximum Security Unit is still a place where torture-terror tactics are carried out, and this is what they call progress!

Judge Keady may have ordered that we be given Equal Justice under the law, but he has done nothing to enforce his ruling. The prison officials have treated all of his rulings with disdain, and all he has done is pat them on the wrist and tell them to be good.

Thus we prisoners have evolved into political pawns, and Parchman has become a circus of political acting. As far back as December, 1972, during the convention of the forty-second American Assembly, which met at Arden House in Harrison, New York, it was disclosed that: (1) "Attempts to provide rehabilitation in American jails and prisons, no matter how well motivated, have failed." (2) "Most correctional institutions are and can be no more than mere warehouses that degrade and brutalize their human baggage." (3) "Within prisons and jails existing programs of vocational training, education and counseling often lack adequate facilities and resources; and they are irrelevant to the needs of offenders and the requirements of society," and (4) "Probation and parole programs have not rehabilitated criminals."

This assembly on prisoners in America, concluded by calling for the deinstitutionalization of all prisons and replacing them with community based Corrections, Probation subsidies and deferring New Correctional Facilities.

With this vast accumulation of facts and findings, one must wonder then why any rational person in 1974 would still advocate profit-punishment incarceration, and the forcing of prisoners to live at the merest subsistence level.

It is time that the real criminal of society be exposed. With crime being the biggest business in America, I urge everyone to stand guard against the falsehood that crime-prevention is being helped by the perpetuation of prisons. Though I have spoken in generalities, anyone seeking further information, should feel free to write me. I'm much concerned with the activating & educating of concerned individuals in the outside communities to the reality of prison life in order to develop future community relationships.

Remember Attica!
Louis X. (Holloway)

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ITALY HEADS FOR COLLAPSE

Cont'd. from p. 1

etc.), wage increases from 1969 to 1973 averaged 50 per cent. In the context of a low rate of industrial investment and stagnating productivity, these wage increases led to intensified inflation; the capitalists raised their prices hoping to make up for the rising costs at the expense of consumers.

With this, the Italian capitalists began to be priced off the world market, making it easier for their international competitors to compete with them both abroad and in Italy itself. With agriculture in a state of decline, with the consumption of the working class increasing, the Italian economy saw a tremendous deterioration in its balance of trade and payments situation. This was the way the Italian capitalists were penalized by international capitalism for their failure to keep their workers in line.

BORROWING

In order to cover their growing deficit—that is, in order to pay their debts to the rest of the international capitalist class without depleting Italy's gold and monetary reserves—the Italian capitalists began to borrow abroad. Since 1972, they have borrowed approximately \$10 billion.

This was the state of affairs when the energy crisis hit with full force last fall. Italy is dependent on imports for over 85 per cent of its oil. As oil prices soared, so did the costs of Italy's oil imports, jumping from \$2.6 billion in 1972 to an estimated \$10 billion this year.

To make matters worse, the

economy which was in a recession during the third quarter of last year has been booming this year. This boom, Importers were required to deposit cash to the amount of 50 per cent of the value of the



Crushed by inflation, a pensioner shows all she can afford for meals.

largely fueled by credit and monetary expansion, has sent the rate of inflation up past 20 per cent, while Italian capitalists have continued their past practice of sending their profits abroad.

RUMOR'S METHODS

In late April, Rumor's government (Italy's thirty-sixth since World War II), sought to deal with the inflation and worsening balance of payments situation by imposing severe restrictions on imports of manufactured

goods to be imported in an interest-free account in the Bank of Italy. Since most importers are short of cash, this measure would under normal circumstances work to seriously limit imports.

This drastic action was taken without consultation with the other member nations of the Common Market and consequently provoked a barrage of charges against the Italian government for violating the rules of the game. At the same time, Rumor sought permission from these part-

ners to restrict imports of meat and threatened to again act unilaterally if permission were not granted.

These measures, however, had no serious impact on the situation and merely worked to aggravate the tensions in the already tension-wracked European "Community."

"AUSTERITY"

In order to cover its growing deficit, estimated to pass \$10 billion this year, the Italian government sought to borrow over one billion dollars from its international creditors. One of the conditions demanded by the International Monetary Fund for this loan, especially when Italy's credit rating has declined rapidly since 1972, was an austerity program, designed to cut the living standards of the Italian people.

Accordingly, the Christian Democrats, the leading party in the four-party coalition government sought to turn the screws on the workers. To "restrain domestic demand", as bourgeois economics describes it, they sought to restrict credit, raise taxes, increase the work day and raise productivity generally, the sum of which would send the Italian economy into a recession and send unemployment way past the presently high rate of five per cent.

Unforeseen difficulties, however, arose. In the past all the other parties in the coalition government deferred to the Christian Democrats. This time, the Socialists hung back.

"SOCIALISTS" BALK

Pressed by May 13th's defeat of the Christian-Demo-

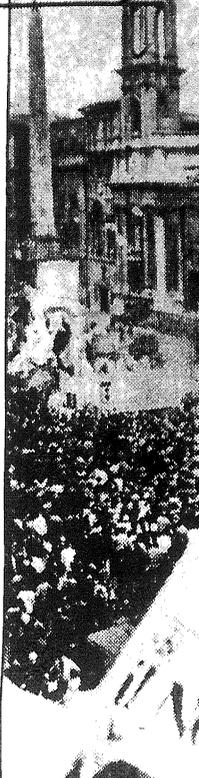
cratic and neo-fascist-sponsored referendum to repeal the divorce law, and by the Socialist labor leaders' under increasing attack from the rank and file, the Socialists balked. They refused to approve measures designed to weaken their political base by sending the economy into a recession and throwing thousands of workers out of work.

It was this display of unprecedented "assertiveness" that sent the government into its recent crisis and forced Rumor to submit his resignation.

As noted above, President Leone searched unsuccessfully for a successor to Rumor. Apparently, none of the daring politicians wanted to take the blame for the unpopular task of disciplining the workers and cutting the Italian people's living standards.

On June 19, an agreement was reached among the parties of the center-left coalition. The agreement called for an austerity program aimed at cutting \$5 billion from "domestic purchasing power." The program will mean higher taxes, higher prices for gasoline (already exorbitant), higher fares for urban transit, increased tariffs for public services and higher prices for all but the most basic consumer goods.

Now the government crisis seems to be resolved, and the coalition government remains in office. The Socialists got what they really wanted, not what they pretended to want. Their opposition to the Christian Democratic-proposed austerity measures has been proven to have been a fraud. They were merely looking for a way to appear to be forced into accepting them. They can



A right-wing mobilization failed. Here, opponents

now appear as patriots, hour, agreeing to their program in the of "national unity" preserve their honor eyes of their capitalists by agreeing to put their necks on the block.

NOTHING CHANGES

But nothing has changed. The international having gotten the program they wanted, Italian capitalists, readily come through

The Communist Party of Italy Presents: "THE ITALIAN ROAD TO SOCIALISM"

by Paul Benjamin

Since 1969 the Italian proletariat has been engaged in a bitter and often bloody struggle against the ruling class in Italy. The massive upsurge in 1969, the struggle against the right-wing Andreotti government in 1972-73, street battles with the growing fascist gangs, the recent strike offensive against the center-left regime of Mariano Rumor are

concrete proofs of the courage and determination of the Italian proletariat.

Despite these heroic struggles the Italian proletariat finds itself locked in a stalemate with the Italian bourgeoisie. The working class lacks a revolutionary leadership which can unite workers, peasants and the oppressed masses behind a program and strategy for seizing power. It

lacks a revolutionary party which can defend and carry out this program; a revolutionary leadership in the struggle against capital.

CLASS TREASON

The Italian Communist Party (PCI) claims to be such a party, claims to uphold the Leninist banner inside the workers' movement. In fact, the PCI's history in the thirty

years since World War II prove that it is a reformist party, using the Leninist banner only to cloak its own capitulation to the capitalist state.

Since the 1930's the PCI has rejected a revolutionary proletarian program in favor of the reformist "Italian Road to Socialism," a program which promises socialism through peaceful parliamen-

tary means.

The PCI has ruthlessly opposed any aspect of the workers' struggle which threatens its own parliamentary maneuvers. In other words, it subordinates the workers' struggle and demands to the bourgeoisie's own version of what is and is not "possible." The PCI has clung to this strategy decade after decade.

World War II ended with the Communist tremendous force in the working class and anti-fascist bands still armed and powerful. Soviets had formed in the course of fascist general strikes and industrial North. The situation was clearly proletarian.

The CP went straight to work—to dis-arm the

COLLAPSE

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A right-wing mobilization to repeal Italy's law permitting divorce failed. Here, opponents of repeal celebrate their victory.

now appear as patriots of the hour, agreeing to "sacrifice" their program in the interest of "national unity." They preserve their honor in the eyes of their capitalist bosses by agreeing to put the workers' necks on the chopping block.

NOTHING CHANGED

But nothing has changed. The international bankers, having gotten the austerity program they wanted from the Italian capitalists, will hurriedly come through with the

much-needed loans. But faced with their own economic problems and an "uppity" working class, they cannot be too generous. Anyway, all the loans in the world cannot heal the diseased Italian economy, which only reflects the cancerous nature of the entire international capitalist system. Italian capitalism will continue to be faced with the economic dilemma of all the Western capitalist economies: rampant inflation, or stagnation and depression.

With either choice the cap-

italists will try to force the workers to bear the costs. But the Italian workers, who have shown their mettle over the last five years, show no signs of submitting to this robbery peacefully.

LAST WEAPONS

Italian capitalism has not used its last weapons. Two remain. Throughout the crisis the Communist Party, excluded from the government since 1947, has been waiting in the wings, angling for a spot in the class-collaborationist coalition.

Right now, the CP is biding its time, asking only to be "consulted" by the government on all major decisions. By manipulating the workers and harnessing their anger and militancy, the Stalinists are hoping to be able to enter the government under terms that will enable them to stamp government policies with their own particular type of class-collaborationist treason.

If the workers move to the left, or (in other words) if the workers see through the betrayals of the Socialists, the Communist Party will be called in to bolster the image of the left-wing of the coalition. Already some Socialist labor leaders have called for a "government of national emergency" to include the CP, to guide the country through its crisis.

The road is being paved for a full-fledged Popular Front government, replete with all ornaments. This road ends in a river of the workers' blood, as in Chile.

FASCISM

The other weapon of the bourgeoisie, fascism, the weapon of last resort, is also being honed. The fascist movement, divided into so-called "respectable" and openly terrorist wings, is growing in size and in daring.



1972: Thousands of farmers march to protest shrinking incomes.

On May 28, an anti-fascist rally in the factory town of Brescia was dispersed by a bomb blast, just the latest in a series linked to fascist terrorist outfits. The blast killed six people and maimed 94 others.

Although Giorgio Almirante, the leader of the "respec-

table" fascist organization (the so-called Italian Social Movement), disclaimed responsibility for the bombing and denounced it as a "horrible crime," Italy knows as well as any land what kind of outrages a movement claiming inspiration from Mussolini's Black Shirts is capable of committing. And the Italian capitalists, as they did in the early 1920's, will turn to these elements in growing numbers if the Popular Front game fails to restrain and corral the workers.

The struggle in Italy is far from over. As the government tries to implement its austerity program, the pressure of the rank and file of the unions will provoke new splits in the bureaucratic apparatus of the reformist Socialist Party. The needs of the trade union tops to appease the membership will increasingly conflict with the needs of the Socialist Ministers committed to retaining their seats in the government by implementing the capitalists' "skin-the-workers" policy.

As the CP ambles closer to a spot in the governing coalition, the opportunities for the revolutionaries to insert themselves between the workers and their traditional sell-out leadership will increase tremendously. As Italian capitalism heads for deeper crises, the struggles of the workers will inevitably break out of the control of the reformist labor leaders, producing crucial opportunities to build a revolutionary leadership committed to struggling through to the end to smashing the fascist scum and the bosses' offensive and to overthrowing the rotting system that is Italian capitalism.

Italy Presents:

ROAD TO BARBARISM

ar II tary means. The PCI has ruthlessly opposed any aspect of the workers' struggle which threatens its own parliamentary maneuvers. In other words, it subordinates the workers' struggle and demands to the bourgeoisie's own version of what is and is not "possible." The PCI has clung to this strategy decade after decade.

World War II ended in Italy with the Communist Party a tremendous force in the working class and anti-fascist partisan bands still armed and powerful. Soviets had been formed in the course of anti-fascist general strikes in the industrial North. The situation was clearly pre-revolutionary.

The CP went straight to work—to dis-arm the prolet-

ariat and deliver it on a platter to the Italian ruling class (and its American senior partner).

It forced the partisans to surrender their arms while the bourgeoisie rebuilt its own regular army and police force. The soviets were speedily dissolved and replaced with "Joint Management Councils" which handed control of worker-occupied factories

back to their capitalist owners.

COVER

In return, the bourgeoisie brought the CP and the Socialist Party (PSI) into the "all-national" Badoglio government—where they gave the ruling class a "proletarian" cover while it attacked

Cont'd. next page



The Italian Communist Party's 13th National Congress, held in 1972. A real revolutionary party must sweep the Stalinists aside.

'ITALIAN ROAD TO BARBARISM'

Cont'd. from p. 7

the proletariat itself.

The PCI gave the ruling class the time it needed to consolidate its own political strength. By 1947 the Italian ruling class, behind the Christian Democratic Party, could dispense with the cloak provided by the PCI. The PCI and the PSI were rudely booted out of the government.

"ECONOMIC MIRACLE"

The new Christian Democratic government began a concerted campaign to rebuild Italian capitalism on the backs of the proletariat. The government introduced a policy of deflation and massive unemployment. Individual employers adopted a policy of mass dismissals to hold down wages and rid themselves of militants. This attack provided the basis of the so-called "Italian economic miracle" which lasted until about 1963.

SACRIFICE

Throughout this period the PCI, in alliance with the PSI, told the workers they must sacrifice the defense of their jobs and living standards on the altar of parliamentary maneuvering.

The PCI allowed the state to wrest control of employment offices from the trade unions. It gave up the fight for trade union participation in decisions concerning layoffs. It abandoned the struggle for higher wages in order to moderate its image in the parliamentary elections.

"TURN TO THE LEFT"

By 1963, the Italian "economic miracle" was running out of steam. The bourgeoisie was forced to institute massive productivity drives to maintain its profits and fend off increasing competition

from foreign capitalists.

Once again the ruling class turned to the workers' parties to cover up its new offensive. The Christian Democratic Party instituted its "Turn to the Left," bringing the PSI into the government.

The PCI faced the danger of political isolation for the first time in the post-war period as a result of the PSI's entrance into the government. The CP's only thought was to prove its loyalty to the new government and thus win a share of power for itself.

LOYAL OPPOSITION

Through its policy of "loyal opposition," the PCI actually legitimized the center-left government in the working class. It supported the government's demands on workers to raise productivity, while slandering those who fought the productivity drives as "maximalists" and "anarcho-syndicalist elements."

MASS STRIKE WAVE

As a result, the PCI was totally unprepared for the strike wave which began in 1967 and culminated in the great mass strikes of 1969-70, the greatest strike wave in Italian labor history.

In 1968, as this strike wave was gathering force, the PCI's Twelfth Party Congress urged the necessity of slowing down the movement, and turning it towards electoral channels in order to form a new parliamentary majority which (it hoped) would include the PCI.

Throughout 1969, the PCI tried to discipline the democratically elected factory delegates and subordinate them to the PCI's hand-picked union bureaucracy.

FRAUD

The PCI abandoned the fight for shorter hours, higher

piece-rates, job security and grading which emerged from the 1969 struggle. Under the fraudulent slogan of "From factory struggles into social struggles," the PCI forced the

ism" has yet to reach its destination. But the end of the road is in sight. As the capitalist crisis in Italy nears its culmination, as the PCI draws closer to its goal of

same time, the Italian military engaged in a series of military "exercises" as they prepare to "preserve democracy" after the fashion of their brother officers in Chile and Greece.



In 1969, Italian workers occupied factories, called massive strikes to back up their demands. The Communist Party responded by sabotaging the workers' offensive.

suspension of strikes during the June, 1969, elections. In 1970, the PCI finished the job of sabotaging the offensive by cancelling the July 7 general strike completely.

CAPITALIST CRISIS

The "Italian Road to Social-

formal alliance with the capitalist and reformist parties in Italy, the mortal threat to the proletariat embodied in the PCI strategy emerges in full view.

The Italian bourgeoisie has now literally bankrupted the economy (see lead article in this issue). The bourgeois democratic institutions which rest on that economy are disintegrating. The PCI and the PSI are increasingly unable to hold the workers' movement in check.

FASCIST THREAT

The ruling class is now looking around for more efficient allies. The recent divorce referendum was in fact a crusade directed against the working class in which the Christian Democracy was openly allied with the fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI).

The MSI used the referendum campaign as an excuse to begin a series of gangster attacks against the workers' movement, culminating in the bombing of a workers' demonstration in Brescia. At the

But the PCI reacted to the Chilean defeat by declaring, "More than ever the communist workers extract from these events the reconfirmation of their line of a democratic advance towards socialism." Now the PCI is openly leading the Italian proletariat down the dead end of the Chilean Popular Front.

TREACHERY

The PCI condemns every attempt of the workers to defend their standard of living, to smash the fascist gangster bands, as "irresponsible." It labels every militant demonstration as the work of "fascist provocateurs."

As the Italian military prepares to crush the workers' movement, the PCI whines that "the workers' movement... firmly rejects any extremist position that would by way of principle set it against the military institutions." As police attack picket lines and fire on demonstrations the PCI votes to increase police and army officers' salaries. This way lies disaster.

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the PCI reacted to the defeat by declaring, "than ever the communists extract from these the reconfirmation of the line of a democratic proletarian towards socialism." The PCI is openly leading the proletarian front at the end of the Chilean Front.

TREACHERY

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Cops Rescue Pusher

Cont'd. from p. 2

ing the accelerating assault on their living standards.

DRUGS

The shootout occurred after five young black men entered the home of Andrew Jackson, a known drug dealer in the Cleveland area, as the first phase in their plan to rid the community of parasitic drug pushers. Jackson was taken to his second house on Euclid Avenue, two men remaining behind. An unknown person tipped off the police, and as Jackson and his captors were leaving the Euclid address, a patrol car arrived. Jackson broke away and jumped into the car.

The three, later identified as Craig Fowler, Larry Johnson, and Charles Jordan, then entered the neighboring house of Catherine O'Brien to get her car. While in the driveway of the Mount Union Avenue home, they were spotted by the police and forced back into the house. It was at this point that the gunfight commenced.

Reinforcements from the Cleveland police arrived, armed with shotguns, automatic weapons, teargas, and an armored riot vehicle. Two dozen teargas cannisters were fired into the O'Brien home. The O'Brien house and the houses on either side were peppered with bullets, and a home two doors down was hit by 25 shots.

BARRAGE OF BULLETS

At no point did the police allow the O'Briens to leave the house. When Catherine O'Brien's sons, Dennis and John, tried to come out, calling, "Hold your fire. We're hostages. We're coming out," they were cut down by a barrage of police bullets.

When questioned about the wounding of the hostages, the officer in charge offered the lame excuses of "noise" and "a single shot," which a reporter on the scene said came from police lines. The truth of the matter is that the police had no intention of taking prisoners. A witness

heard a cop declare, "We'll get those bastards!"

Dennis O'Brien was shot in the chest, both feet, and the right calf. He is listed in poor condition. His brother, John, received wounds in his left side and caught three bullets in his right leg. He was listed in fair condition. He will lose his knee-cap.

The three suspects were arraigned in the East Cleveland Municipal Court later in the day. They were charged with two counts each of kidnapping and seven counts of felonious assault. Bond was set at \$1.2 million each.

VIOLENCE

These events show the increasing trend of the police to meet every form of "unrest" with massive use of violence, and on the other hand, the complete inability of the capitalist state to prevent crime.

As capitalism's rot spreads, the working class will find itself confronted with the ever-greater threat of violence and intimidation. The agents of this violence and intimidation are two. First, the police and their paramilitary allies among the racists, fascists, and employer-paid goons. Second, the vicious parasites of the "underworld" wing of the capitalist class—the big drug-pushers, etc., the criminal gangs who are already the unofficial governments of many cities.

OFFICIAL MYTH

According to the official myth, the police and ganglords are arch-enemies. In fact, they are close friends. Both exercise and expand their power at the expense of the working class. Both stand in defense of "free enterprise." Both seek to break the ability of the working class to resist their own demands.

The Cleveland police force was recently under investigation concerning alleged after-hours cheat spot payoffs to officers in the Fourth District. Although the grand jury which heard these charges said its "findings may be ap-

plicable to other police districts," no indictments were returned. Similar probes have been conducted in other major cities concerning police corruption, with similar results. Of course Jackson made good his escape with the help of the police! It was clear to him who his friends were. Equally aware of this fact was the crowd which gathered at the shoot-out and cheered each time a cop was hit.

NAZIS

But that is not all. This is the same police department which was recently revealed permitting some of its men to wear Nazi tie-clips, while Nazis openly marched through the city's streets last fall. Today the police take payoffs from organized crime—tomorrow they will openly join hands with the Fascist

defenders of capitalism.

Fowler, Johnson, and Jordan were trying to defend their community against the drug-pusher Jackson and filth like him. The response of the so-called "law and order" boys in the police department was predictable—to come down on them and hard.

To defend the working class from marauding police, from the bosses' goons, and from gangster-parasites, The Torch calls for the creation of workers' defense guards by the trade unions. The job of these defense guards would not be to enforce the law of the capitalists and their courts but to defend the interests of the proletariat as the proletariat itself defined them. The tremendous possibilities offered by this idea were only hinted at in the recent workers' defense of the Detroit home of Mrs. Maytroit Richards against racist harassment. (See The Torch No. 11.)

Workers' defense guards, like the trade unions themselves, are defensive organi-

zations of the working class. Neither organization can really do its job correctly without a revolutionary leadership at the helm.

Today, for example, the pro-capitalist trade-union leadership turns the power of the union apparatus against the union members instead of against the corporate bosses. By the same token, workers' defense guards could become—in the hands of pro-capitalist elements—vigilante groups serving as back-up forces for the ruling class's regular police forces, aiding in the oppression of the workers themselves.

Here, therefore, as everywhere else, the construction of a mass revolutionary party to lead the trade unions, defense guards, and other workers' organizations in the fight to impose the workers' interests and the workers' will on society is the major task of the day. Only with such a party can the final answer to capitalism and capitalist rot be given: the socialist revolution.

Police Terror Squad

by Jim Raskin

DETROIT—Less than six months after the Hearst kidnapping, the U.S. government is using publicity about SLA-type terrorism as an excuse to create terrorist squads of its own.

In Michigan, a \$34,000 federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration grant has been given to the Michigan State Police to create an "emergency services division."

"CIVIL DISORDER"

The division's duties include dealing with barricaded gunmen and special arrest activities during "civil disorder." Its members are trained to make quick arrests of agitators while mass disturbances are going on.

This squad consists at present of 25 highly trained police. In addition to performing on their own in teams of five, these commandoes are also trained to direct the operations of larger assault forces.



The ruling class is justifying its huge and growing repressive forces by pointing to the SLA and its small arsenal.

Although the "emergency services division" is billed as a "counter-terror" operation, it is clearly meant as a threat to the state's workers, especially black workers and their families. Michigan has been the scene of some violent strikes and wildcats in recent months.

The ruling class fears that workers' resentment of continuing unemployment, high inflation and miserable working conditions could erupt in a

renewal of the "long, hot summer" ghetto revolts of the 1960's. Significantly, this special unit has been activated for duty in southeastern Michigan, the area around Detroit.

This squad is meant as a warning to young workers to stay in line. As if to emphasize the warning, the division's director, Captain Voight, gloated, "I can assure you that these men are well trained."

CHICAGO DRIVES OUT JUNIOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

by Darryl Clark and Paul Carson

CHICAGO—40,000 students here face an attack on their right to an education. The City College System is introducing tuition of \$60 a term this fall, replacing the old \$20 registration fee.

The introduction of tuition

comes just as blacks have become a majority of the student body for the first time in the system's 60-year history. Because of the higher cost, many students won't return in September.

The students are angry, but fatalistic, as they see their road to a decent job disappear. One of 200 protesters at a

rally on May 7 charged: "Tuition is murder on the poor."

The bourgeoisie views public education as the training of its workforce. The "products" of the public school system must be capable of executing assigned tasks but not able, not prepared to challenge the bourgeoisie's right to rule. So

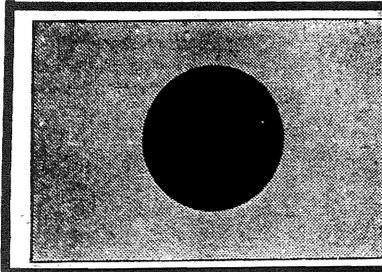
education consists of a bare minimum of practical training, plus heavy doses of patriotism and obedience. And it's topped off with a facade of "opportunity for all"; students are told a good job awaits anyone who studies hard.

A few years ago the capitalists still thought "prosperity"

would go on forever and that they would have the funds to invest in new, sophisticated technology to modernize U.S. capitalism. They therefore favored a big expansion of the junior colleges to make more trained workers available to

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BOOKS



Japanese Imperialism Today

by Jon Halliday
and Gavan McCormack,
Monthly Review Press, \$3.95.

reviewed by Walter Dahl

The rise of Japan from defeat in World War II to the third richest economy in the world today is important for a revolutionary Marxist understanding of modern capitalism.

Unfortunately, the book *Japanese Imperialism Today*, written by two British leftists connected with the magazine *New Left Review*, offers no analysis of Japan's role in world imperialism. In addition, the book's many pages of useful information and statistics are disorganized and incomplete in the absence of a Marxist framework.

LAWS OF MOTION

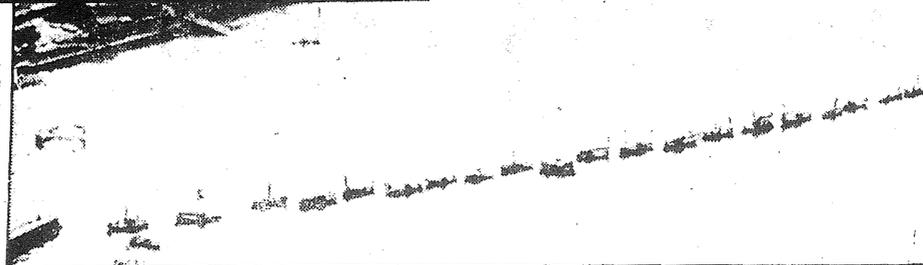
Although the authors claim to be followers of Marx and Lenin, they make no use of Marx's analysis of the laws of motion of capitalism and only passing reference to Lenin's analysis of imperialism as the form which capitalism takes in its epoch of decay.

However, Halliday and McCormack are also followers of Mao Tse-tung, and their Maoism does permeate the book. The Japanese working class itself is not studied, so its revolutionary potential is ignored. In searching for alternative anti-imperialist forces to the proletariat, the authors' support for the national interests of China leads them to rely on "China's revolutionary diplomacy." But since China has, in the authors' own words, "eased up its attacks on the Japanese ruling class" in the interests of a diplomatic alliance, Halliday and McCormack's anti-imperialism turns into a *de facto* capitulation to imperialism.

By "Japanese imperialism," the authors actually mean Japanese foreign policy, especially relations with Southeast Asia and the United States. The domestic face of Japanese capitalism is almost completely ignored. For Marxists, however, imperialism means capitalism as a whole, in the epoch of its decay.

EXPANSION

Japan's tremendous expansion in the last twenty years was built upon the heavy exploitation of the Japanese



Japanese fishermen block Umedo port at Minamata in protest against pollution of the waters by industrial giants.

working class, the high degree of centralization of Japanese industry, and the adoption of the most advanced technology to replace an industrial base destroyed by World War II.

In the period of economic recovery following World War II, Japan's working class suffered under a miserably low standard of living, well below the level of other industrialized countries. By 1963, the average monthly wage was only \$100, after doubling during the previous decade; by 1971, it was up to \$250. The average work week lasted 54 hours during the 1960's, compared to 44 in the U.S.

This high level of exploitation accounts for Japan's capacity to reinvest a major portion of its national product—over 30 per cent, compared with 16 per cent for the U.S. The Japanese rate of reinvestment has been matched elsewhere only by industrially backward state-capitalist countries like China and Cuba.

POST-WAR OCCUPATION

Japan's industrial build-up began under the U.S. occupation following World War II. It was fueled by the American need to create a powerful Asian ally in its inter-imperialist conflict with the Soviet Union and to forestall the spread of anti-imperialist rebellions inspired by the Maoist victory in China in 1949. Japan benefited from sizeable U.S. investments and the use of technology originally developed for the U.S. military.

ZAIBATSU

An important result of the U.S. occupation was the strengthening of the *zaibatsu*, the giant financial-industrial corporations that dominate the Japanese economy.

In theory, the *zaibatsu* were broken up by the American

occupation. But as Halliday and McCormack point out, this anti-trust policy was a farce, especially since the banks at the heart of the *zaibatsu* were left untouched.

The *zaibatsu*, in fact, have improved their pre-war position. The government's use of direct state investment, indirect investment via state loans to banks, and various fiscal and monetary policies has led to a degree of industrial concentration unequalled outside the Stalinist state-capitalist countries.

CONCENTRATION

Economic concentration of this kind is a necessity for capitalism. Under the pressure of the falling rate of profit, capitalists are forced to widen their search for profits in order to amass enough capital to meet the level of investment that modern industry requires. Monopolies, multi-national corporations, imperialist plunder abroad—*together with bankruptcies, unemployment, and greater exploitation of labor*—are the result.

Japanese capitalism in the early post-war years squeezed sufficiently high profits out of its own working class. Japan is now the most densely and heavily industrialized country in the world, at the cost of intense industrial pollution and severe agricultural stagnation. The 15 per cent annual average wage increases that resulted from the expansion, although they have not matched the increase in productivity, have allowed Japanese workers to catch up to and surpass the relative wage levels of all western capitalist countries except the U.S. and West Germany.

As a result, in recent years Japanese capitalism has looked abroad for low-paid

workers—to South Korea, Taiwan, the Middle East, all of Southeast Asia, as well as Latin America and now even Europe and the United States. This foreign expansion of Japanese capitalism is presented in detail by Halliday and McCormack.



Students in Thailand protest growing Japanese domination of the Thai economy.

Central to this expansion has been the search for raw materials. For Japan, importing raw materials is a necessity. Domestic oil production supplies less than one per cent of Japan's needs, domestic timber supplies just over 50 per cent, coal and iron ore just over 15 per cent, copper only 25 per cent.

In all, Japan consumes about 15 per cent of the world's raw materials exports. The oil embargo of the past winter, therefore, hit Japan harder than any other industrialized country.

Threatened with cutbacks in its raw material supplies, the Japanese ruling class can hardly forswear the ultimate tool of imperialism—war. Despite the U.S.-imposed constitutional requirement that

Japan stay disarmed, a sizeable "Self-Defense Force" has been built up, armed with sophisticated weaponry. Halliday and McCormack discuss the Japanese military's capacity for rapid expansion. Japan's recent awakening to its dependence on its former colonies in the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" is bound to lead to the military's expansion.

CRISIS

The oil shortage was only the most recent and most visible evidence of the growing crisis of international capitalism. The crisis has exposed the inter-imperialist rivalries that had earlier been hidden by Japan's subservience to the United States. Japan today faces competition in East Asia and the Pacific from the U.S., as well as from the state-capitalist powers, Russia and China, that Japanese rearmament was originally directed against.

In discussing the four-power rivalry in the Pacific, Halliday and McCormack are at their weakest.

China's breakaway from her dependence on Russia and the erosion of U.S. domination of the "Western bloc" after World War II have weakened the concentration of capitalist

power internationally and have contributed to the crisis of capitalist expansion today. The growth of trade and investment across the ideological boundaries between state-capitalist and "private" capitalist countries is an attempt to overcome the shortage of capital that the crisis signifies.

EVIDENCE

Halliday and McCormack lay out all the evidence that China and Russia are both seeking Japanese capital for the exploitation of their domestic oil fields and other natural resources, but they are unable to cope with China's negotiations with imperialism, especially its willingness to be

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Chemical Companies Poison Workers

by Alice Watts, M.D.

Since mid-March, Dow chemical workers in Midland, Michigan, have been on strike for cost-of-living protection. The bosses have called in the state police to assault and arrest the pickets.

The same workers face an even deadlier threat: many may be sick or dying from exposure to the plastic polyvinyl chloride on their jobs at Dow. Four hundred Midland workers were examined in June for a rare liver cancer, angiosarcoma, caused by exposure to vinyl chloride.

The Dow bosses get the credit for belatedly protecting their workers' lives. One of the HEW doctors called in at Midland called Dow officials very cooperative, and explained, "No one knew that cancer might be an occupational hazard."

THE TRUTH

But the truth is that the deadliness of vinyl chloride has been known for at least 25 years—and has been covered up all that time. The lid blew off only last January, when a

B.F. Goodrich company doctor accidentally discovered four deaths from angiosarcoma at Goodrich's Louisville plant, where polyvinyl chloride (PVC) is manufactured from vinyl chloride gas.

PVC was first manufactured in the 1930's. Beginning in the 1950's, the plastic has been used in more and more products, including floor tiles, shower curtains, aluminum beer can linings, and Saran Wrap. Today, about 6,500 workers in the U.S. are involved in the production of vinyl chloride and PVC, and over 700,000 work in the manufacture of products using PVC.

NO PROTECTION

Until very recently, there were no safety regulations covering vinyl chloride and PVC, except for regulations to prevent explosions caused by excess levels of vinyl chloride in the air. Since it takes a much higher level to cause explosion than to begin medical injuries, workers have had no protection against health hazards caused by vinyl chloride and PVC.

Yet these hazards have been known at least since 1949, when Russian researchers reported that workers were getting inflammation of the liver from exposure to vinyl chloride gas. Other studies have since found that workers making products using PVC—not only those who manufacture PVC—can get severe liver disease.

BONES DISSOLVED

In 1951, French researchers described what happened to the fingers of workers who scraped out the giant polymerization reactor vessels after PVC resin was made. These workers' fingers became numb and clumsy. They developed agonizing pain in their hands from insufficient blood circulation. In some cases, their fingers became deformed as the bones literally dissolved.

The same Louisville Goodrich plant that discovered the four cancer deaths this January had found back in 1964 that five to 10 per cent of polymerization workers had finger abnormalities!

In 1960, two workers in Canada died from the "anaesthetic" effects of vinyl chloride. The gas put their brains to sleep and made their hearts

and lungs stop functioning.

Up to 55 per cent of workers who work near the polymerization reactor vessels suffer from dizziness, euphoria, and headaches almost every day. Sometimes the workers who clean the vessels have to be dragged out unconscious.

And, despite the regulations designed to prevent explosions, an unknown number of workers have been burnt or killed in dozens of explosions due to excess levels of vinyl chloride.

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Even though experiments with vinyl chloride were not begun for over 20 years, scientists had predicted since the 1940's that many of the new chemicals and synthetics introduced into the environment by the chemical industries would cause cancer.

The incubation period for chemicals to cause cancer in humans is about 20 years. Since the major expansion of the chemical industry took place in the 1950's, the body count of chemical workers is only beginning now. Besides angiosarcoma, vinyl chloride workers have a higher rate of cancers of the lungs, the brain, and the lymph and blood systems, including leukemia,

than other workers.

NEEDLESS SUFFERING

This huge toll of deaths and injuries could have been prevented. Laboratory tests on animals would have revealed the toxic effects of vinyl chloride before humans were exposed. Exposure in the manufacturing process could have been prevented by adequate ventilation systems and more careful work practices.

But this would mean higher capital outlays, slower operation, and more personnel—that is, a lower rate of profit for the chemical industry bosses. So industry avoided pre-testing and covered up the known medical information as long as possible, at the cost of many lives and untold agony.

Vinyl chloride is only one of the chemical killers which workers face. Each year, industry introduces over 500 new, almost completely untested chemicals. As stated by John A. Georges, director of environmental affairs for DuPont, the chemical industry rejects any approach that "assumes every product is dangerous until proven otherwise." For the capitalists, workers' lives are cheaper than testing and safety precautions.

Junior Colleges

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employers. Working-class taxpayers, not the bosses, would foot the bill. This expansion was also intended to keep unemployed youth busy in the classrooms and off the streets where they might make trouble.

Some students naturally thought junior college represented a chance at a real education. But the planners didn't want students developing themselves and their understanding of the world—they were just supposed to pick up a skill.

At the national level, for instance, Nixon wrote bills in 1970 putting \$100 million into a "Career Education Program" and \$340 million into

"work-study." Both programs were designed to narrow the scope of junior college education.

Many students who could not get directly into four-year colleges applied to junior colleges, hoping eventually to transfer. But the capitalists have laws to prevent such a "misuse" of the junior colleges, and they are quick to threaten educators who are too sympathetic to the aspirations of these students.

The Illinois Economic and Fiscal Commission's report on junior colleges (January 1973) reminded junior college officials that students who are once screened out of four-year colleges are supposed to stay screened out: "It is not the

intended function of baccalaureate transfer programs to admit students who cannot get into the state universities... the colleges which do not exercise these criteria for admission appear to be violating both the IJCB (Illinois Junior College Board) standards and the Public Junior College Act."

The idea of the junior college was to train a docile workforce for technical jobs—not to give students a bridge to higher education.

IN THEIR PLACE

Actually, the Commission explains, students will be happier if kept in their place: "The student (transferred into a four-year program) would probably have been better off if early counseling had re-

vealed the nature of his qualifications and had directed him toward the appropriate developmental programs or opportunities in the occupational curricula."

CUTBACKS

Today the strategy is changing. Faced with economic crisis, the bourgeoisie can't provide the jobs and narrow job-training—so it is driving a whole layer of students out of junior colleges.

The education cutbacks are one face of a general ruling-class offensive against the workers. The working class must fight for a political alternative to this attack—a revolutionary party of labor with a socialist program for

defending all the workers' needs and aspirations.

Such a labor party would fight for a program of Jobs for All in opposition to the bourgeoisie's program of mass unemployment. It will fight for free, decent education for every worker in response to Nixon's cynical "Career Education Program" cutbacks.

One May 7 protester told the City College Board, "If there is a feeling that there are too many college graduates, it is our position that there are not." But the Commission knows who's boss. "During our telephone survey, of 20 major employers," it declares, "several personnel officers commented that they thought junior college graduates were actually over-educated for the kinds of positions they had available."

Japanese Imperialism

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exploited by Japan and the U.S.

China has seen fit to ignore Chou En-lai's own "Three Principles" on trading with foreign companies (no trade with companies that invest in Taiwan or South Korea, supply arms for the U.S. in Vietnam, or are jointly owned by Americans), and has even

glossed over its own imperialist claim on Taiwan in order to strike a deal with Japan. The authors admit that China complains only about "Japanese militarism," not Japanese imperialism, in order to suggest that Japanese capitalism is essentially subordinate to the U.S. (which is still partly true) and that, if not for its

American dependence, Japan would be peace-loving and not terribly imperialist.

Japan's ruling class has also shown its interest in normal relations with China by unceremoniously ousting ex-Premier Sato and replacing him with Tanaka, when China indicated that this step was necessary. China, in fact, has no qualms at all about making imperialist alliances—which Halliday and McCormack ex-

posed on the grounds that "U.S. imperialism is the number one enemy."

EVEN THE SHAH

Since the book's publication, however, China has declared that the Soviet Union is the main enemy and now looks for an alliance with the U.S. With this in mind, China has come out in support of NATO and the Shah of Iran as bulwarks against Russia, and

Mao is perfectly capable of supporting Japanese rearmament for the same purpose.

None of this is understood by Halliday and McCormack, despite their familiarity with China's great-power maneuvers. In their hope of "making known the activities of Japanese imperialism now, to assist people everywhere to defeat all imperialisms," the authors have taken on a treacherous ally.

CRISIS

oil shortage was only most recent and most evidence of the growth of internationalism. The crisis has exposed the inter-imperialist that had earlier been by Japan's subservience to the United States. Today faces competition Asia and the Pacific U.S., as well as from te-capitalist powers, and China, that Japan-ment was originally against.

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