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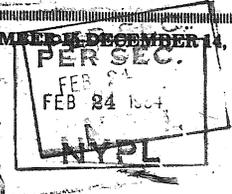


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Crisis in China Deepens

MAO'S SUPPORTERS PURGED

By Jack Gregory and Ron Taber

Ten years after their defeat and disgrace in the Cultural Revolution, the "capitalist roaders" have had their revenge. Acting swiftly and decisively in early October, the so-called moderate faction of China's ruling class, including many former lieutenants of "arch-revisionist" Liu Shao-chi, swept from power four leading "radicals." The "radicals," now known as the "gang of four," had been Mao's closest collaborators since the start of the Cultural Revolution.

On October 22, Mao's suc-

cessor, Hua Kuo-feng, announced the arrests of:

• Chiang Ching, Mao's wife and the leader of the "radical" faction. Chiang has been the person most hated by the "moderates."

• Yao Wen-yuan, the leading party theoretician. It was Yao's review of the play "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office" that triggered the Cultural Revolution in November 1965. He had been the ideological backbone of the "anti-rightist" campaign of the past year, which resulted in last spring's

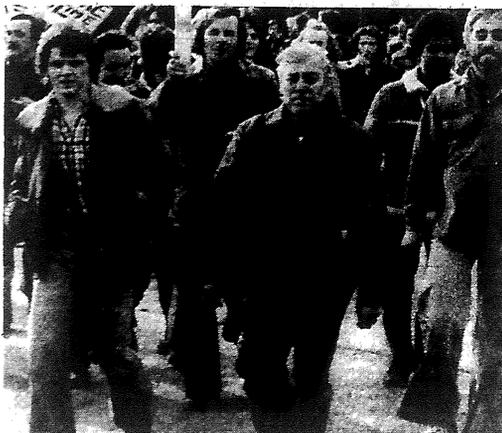
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Canton poster shows "Gang of Four," leaders of the recently purged "radical" faction.

Walkout Despite Settlement; GM Contract Next

CHRYSLER WORKERS WILDCAT



Chrysler workers walk out in Windsor, Ontario.

Ten minutes before the November 5, 6:00 p.m., strike deadline at Chrysler, UAW President Woodcock and Vice President Fraser reached across the bargaining table and shook hands with Chrysler management. They then emerged to announce to the press that a strike had been averted and a settlement reached.

Meanwhile, thousands of Chrysler workers were pouring out of the plants, on strike. Earlier in the day, 9,000 Canadian Chrysler workers had walked out after receiving their paychecks. Forty-five hundred first-shift assemblers at the Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck, Michigan, had also left their

jobs. There were reports of early walkouts at the Jefferson Avenue plant, and at Sherwood Truck Assembly.

An hour and a half before a settlement was reached, workers at Dodge Truck and Warren Stamping plants walked off their jobs. By 6:00 p.m., they were joined by workers at Mound Road Engine, Lynch Road Assembly and Mack Stamping. This began the largest auto wildcat in recent history.

While most Chrysler workers walked out and went home, local picket lines went up at the Trenton Engine plant and at the Windsor, Ontario, Chrysler complex. At the Brownstown parts depot (a Chrysler warehouse

in the Detroit suburbs), over 150 pickets attempted to stop all traffic on Friday night. The cops moved against the picket line and arrested nine workers.

At Warren Stamping, a section of the local leadership was forced to organize the wildcat. Warren workers were angry over the large number of safety violations which had resulted in serious injuries, as well as over a long summer of forced overtime and management harassment. When Warren workers set up their picket lines, the top UAW leadership moved quickly to break them. On Saturday morning, Woodcock sent in one of his

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Fight Racist Terror!.....page 10

Terror Campaign Against Left

Military Rules in Thailand



Troops of Thai dictators guard students arrested after Thammasat University massacre.

The military junta which seized power in Thailand on October 6 is now consolidating its power. A right-wing Prime Minister has been appointed, a new constitution drafted and free elections banned for "at least" 16 years.

Since the coup by the 24-man National Administrative Reform Council (NARC), over 4,000 leftists (including students, intellectuals, journalists and trade unionists) have been arrested. A terror campaign has been launched in the countryside in an effort to smash the Thai Communist Party.

THREE YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Why was the military able to overthrow the democratic government of Prime Minister Seni Pramoj? The answer lies in the events in Thailand over the last three years.

Inside...

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In October 1973 the students and workers led a revolt that overthrew the military dictatorship of Thanom Kittikachorn and Prapas Charusathira. Since that time the political situation has been unstable; a series of coalition governments have held power, balancing between a powerful right wing headed by the military and a militant, but less well-organized, left.

The governments tried to pursue a reform course. Unions were free to organize; the workers won major wage concessions. Freedom of the press was won. The student left forced the government to expel U.S. troops, and negotiations were opened with Laos and Cambodia.

The military opposed most of these reforms, but did not act openly against them. Instead, it sponsored right-wing paramilitary organizations (Red Gaur and Navapol). These groups engaged in street fighting with the students, claimed responsibility for close to 100 assassinations of leftists in the last two years, and played a major role in the October 6 coup.

CRISIS LEADS TO COUP

The political crisis that paved the way for the coup occurred when Prapas and Thanom each tried to return from exile. Prapas was expelled under pressure from the student left, but Thanom was allowed to remain as a Buddhist monk. As the students increased their protests the government was unable to act decisively against either Thanom or the left.

Both the right and left wing mounted mass demonstrations during September, which led to bloody, armed conflict between them. The government was paralyzed. On October 6, students staged a mass sit-in at Thammasat University in Bangkok. The military and police then moved, launching a vicious assault in which 41 students were killed (four by burning and two by lynching).

The National Administrative Reform Council declared martial law, suspended the constitution and abolished the elected government. The military now has firm control of the government and is proceeding to attack the workers' movement.

WEAKNESSES OF THE LEFT

The Thai left paid a heavy price for failing to develop a revolutionary strategy over the last three years. This applies particularly to three

groups: the National Student Center (NSCT), the Socialist Party of Thailand (SPT), and the Thai Communist Party (CPT).

The NSCT was the main center of left-wing student activity. As a militant, broad-based, "anti-imperialist" student movement, its agitation was heavily responsible for the 1973 fall of the Thanom dictatorship. The NSCT built ties with the unions and, last January, helped build the first general strike in Thailand's history.

While the NSCT conducted a militant and often heroic struggle against the rightists, it did not set as its goal, and organize for, a working class overthrow of the coalition government. This allowed the right wing to seize the initiative and smash the radical student movement.

The Socialist Party was a major force in both the student and trade union movements. But it never broke with a purely electoral strategy. Since the SPT was not large enough to be a coalition "partner," it attempted to win enough seats to a power to be negotiated with.

The SPT's growth over the last three years caused it to face increasing terror. As of April, 35 of its leading cadre had been assassinated, the latest being the party's Secretary-General. The SPT was unable to defend itself, and the terror drove

some of the best young cadre out of the country. Others were demoralized and quit the SPT to join the CPT.

The Communist Party of Thailand is the only party on the left that stayed out of parliament. It took the position, however, that there was no essential difference between the democracy and the dictatorship. This meant that the CPT did not fight to defend the democratic gains made by the workers' movement, and thus was not in a position to link the democratic struggles to a revolutionary strategy.

The CPT is organized mainly in the hills of the northern border and in the far south. It has no orientation to the working class, and follows a classical Maoist strategy of war in the countryside to surround the cities. It will most likely be unable to take up the revolutionary tasks of this period.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The urgent need in Thailand is for a revolutionary party to lead the struggle for a workers' and peasants' government. The failure to build this party has been paid for in blood. Now the task is much more difficult.

Revolutionaries must plan to return to the cities as soon as possible and build cadre in the working class. Underground agitation and propaganda networks must be built and strong links with the peasantry developed. Revolutionaries must take advantage of any relaxation in the laws of the dictatorship and exploit every opening. For now, the work must be done secretly and the risks are great. But there is no other road. □

Britain Whips Up Racist Hysteria

Over 1.5 million Third World workers in Britain face a growing campaign of racist terror. This campaign exploded on August 30 when police attacked over 100,000 spectators at a Caribbean festival in London's Notting Hill district, sending 121 to the hospital.

This "riot" was deliberately provoked by police. Community leaders, citing several cases of police harassment of Black people in the district, had asked the cops to stay out of sight. Instead, police headquarters sent 1,598 cops to the festival, seven times the number present the year before. On the second day of the festival, this army charged the crowd, shouting: "Let's go! Get the bastards!"

About 1,700,000 British workers are first or second generation immigrants. Most come from Britain's former colonies in Asia and the West Indies. Over 700,000 were born in Britain. But in the past 10 years over 600,000 have come into the country.

In the 1960s, Britain had a labor shortage. Special companies were set up to recruit Third World workers for low-paying jobs in British light industry and domestic service.

Now Britain's economy is falling apart. British capitalism has no further use for the immigrants. Instead, it uses them as scapegoats for a crisis it is unable to solve. British newspapers blame Third World workers for almost every crime committed and run scare stories about "illegal immigrants." The Labour Party and the Conservative Party, Britain's two major political parties, have sworn to limit further immigration.

The National Front and the National Party, Britain's two fascist groups, have fattened on this policy. They tell



Youth injured by police at London Carnival.

workers looking for jobs that the way to get jobs is to throw out the "Asians." They take advantage of workers' disgust with the Labour Party by posing as "the radical political alternative for the working man."

Mostly they issue sheer racist filth. The National Front promotes slogans like: "Get the nigs-nogs back to the jungle" and "Kill the wogs, Kill the blacks, Kill them all." The National Party declares: "If they're white, they're all right, If they're black, send them back, If they're red, shoot them dead."

One of the most dangerous elements of the fascist upsurge is that they are gaining support in working class areas with these slogans. This is particularly true in England's old decaying industrial cities and suburbs.

Too many workers are repeating sentiments like that of a Leicester worker who stated: "There are far too many people in Leicester and far too many Asians. It looks like India on a Saturday afternoon. Have you seen

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Canadian General Strike Demands an End to Government's Wage Controls

Over one million Canadian workers stayed off their jobs October 14 in support of the "Day of Protest" organized by the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC). 27,000 UAW members in Canada shut the auto industry down tight in solidarity with the strike call. Support was also strong among steel, post office, construction, electrical and non-medical health care workers. The protest was the first nationwide general strike in Canadian history.

The strike was organized to demand an end to wage controls imposed by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's Liberal government.

The Canadian ruling class tried to nip the strike action in the bud. Trudeau openly condemned the strike and threatened legal action against any government worker supporting the protest. In Ontario, the Labor Relations Board granted Domglas Ltd. an injunction to stop members of the United Glass and Ceramic Workers from supporting the strike.

It is not yet clear whether or not the bosses will take further steps against the strikers, but what is clear is that the CLC must be backed up by an organized rank and file ready to counter the bosses' attacks with strike action, if necessary.

While defending the CLC against the bosses' government and courts, Canadian workers cannot afford to have any illusions in what the CLC represents. Although the recent protest was against wage controls by the

Liberal government, the CLC leadership is not opposed to controls across the board—they only want to see that they are applied effectively. Thus, the CLC has proposed a tripartite board consisting of representatives of business, labor and government. The CLC would see that the controls are applied "equally" to profits and wages.

U.S. workers can testify as to what this will mean. The participation of U.S. labor leaders on Nixon's Wage Control Board meant continued attacks on the living standard of the working class. By sitting on the



Canadian workers march in Windsor, Ontario, during October 14 general strike.

Torch photo/Paul Aldridge

board, the labor traitors helped to hide the anti-working class character of the controls.

Despite the intentions of the CLC leadership, the one-day general strike was an important step by the Cana-

dian labor movement. Rank and file anger and militancy forced the CLC leaders to call the action. The task now is to build a movement which can stop the Trudeau government's wage control plans altogether. □

Chrysler Workers Wildcat...

(Continued from page 1)

hatchet men to tell the pickets to clear out.

Most of the striking auto workers didn't know they were bucking the International leadership, but thought they were just pushing the deadline a little. For a week, Chrysler workers had been kept in the dark about what was going on in the negotiations, and no one knew whether a strike would be called. By the time the second shift reported to work on Friday, it was assumed that no agreement would be reached. Thus, word of the agreement brought most workers back to the plants on the following Monday.

But this does not mean that Chrysler

workers were satisfied with their contract. The Chrysler contract was patterned after the recent sellout agreement at Ford. Several locals, including Dodge Truck (Local 140), had voted to condemn the Ford contract. A similar motion got strong support in other locals. Chrysler workers, as their wildcat shows, were eager to strike for real gains. But, in the absence of a rank and file movement with the coherence and organization necessary to coordinate a strike over the opposition of the UAW leadership, Chrysler workers felt powerless.

The Chrysler settlement is every bit as rotten as the Ford agreement. (See last month's Torch for the details.) Moreover, on the issue most important at Chrysler, the union took it on the chin. Chrysler workers' SUB payments were cut off in 1975 when the fund ran dry with 51,000 workers on layoff. Thus, the union had initially demanded an extra \$37 million for the Chrysler fund to build it up and prepare for future layoffs. When Chrysler said no, the union dropped its request to only \$4 million! But the contract itself is even worse. While the 9,000 UAW-represented salaried workers get some extra money, the settlement leaves production and skilled workers out in the cold. They got nothing more than the Ford pattern, which means that in the next serious wave of layoffs the Chrysler SUB fund will again go dry.

Clearly, the Chrysler contract does nothing to meet Chrysler workers' real needs. Chrysler has eliminated 12,000

jobs in the last three years through speedup. Many of these jobs were eliminated in the Detroit area, where unemployment is pushing 180,000. As Detroit's largest employer, Chrysler must be forced to provide jobs. Divide up all the available work—30 hours at full pay! Further, the speedup, harassment and discrimination must be stopped through union control of working conditions.

If the Chrysler Corporation has its way, conditions in the plants will continue to get worse. More workers will be laid off, more jobs eliminated. The present UAW leadership will continue to keep the lid on the Chrysler workers' struggles, as they did when the contract expired. But the wildcats indicate that discontent is growing in the plants, although it is still unorganized. An unorganized, spontaneous, city-wide walkout shut down Chrysler plants throughout Detroit. When this sentiment becomes organized, auto workers' power will be multiplied.

Chrysler and the UAW bureaucrats still face serious problems in pushing the contract through. The local agreements expired along with the national agreement on November 5. As we go to press, only 27 of the 69 local agreements have been signed. Of the major assembly and parts plants, only Dodge Truck has settled. A local strike at a stamping plant or forge could shut down all of Chrysler assembly operations in a matter of days.

But most important, the ratification meetings and votes are just underway. There is a real possibility that Chrysler workers will reject the settlement. Militants must concentrate on organizing to turn it down. Out of the rejection could come the beginnings of a rank and file opposition in the UAW.

At Ford, the contract was ratified by a slim majority. It won approval largely because many Ford workers did not feel strong enough to continue the strike when they knew their union leaders would stab them in the back.

Chrysler workers may ratify for the same reason as Ford workers did. But even a sizable no vote will show that Ford and Chrysler workers are beginning to flex their muscles. This must be built on. The General Motors strike deadline is November 18. It is still possible for GM, Ford and Chrysler workers to unite their forces and turn back all three of Woodcock's sellout contracts. Militants must organize to make this happen. □

Ford Canada Shut Down

Auto Workers Need Unity

NOVEMBER 7—Canadian auto workers ended a five-day strike against Ford Motor of Canada. The new contract, which covers 14,500 UAW members, was ratified by a 60 percent margin among skilled and production workers. Although the specifics of the agreement are not available, it is reportedly patterned after the UAW pact with U.S. Ford.

A tentative settlement was reached on November 4 at 7 p.m., 33 hours after the official strike deadline. Canadian UAW negotiators' plans to settle without a strike were disrupted by wildcatting workers in three Ontario assembly plants.

On November 3, the day before the official strike deadline, 2,700 day-shift workers at two Oakville plants did not return to work after lunch. The same day, 1,500 members of Local 1520 walked off the job at the St. Thomas Ford plant. The president of Local 1520, Bert Rovers, went on radio in an attempt to get St. Thomas workers back on the job. He was ignored. Instead, 100 auto workers blocked the plant gates with their cars and turned back 1,100 night-shift workers.

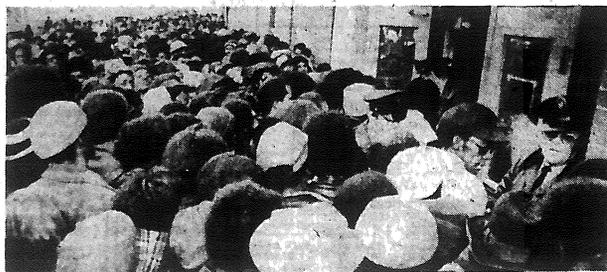
The attitude of the UAW bureaucracy was made clear by Dennis McDermott, Canadian director, who branded the wildcats "a conscious and deliberate act of sabotage against the union." He threatened: "Workers don't walk out unsolicited and, by God, we'll find out who started this."

The bureaucrats' attempt to police the ranks of the union for the company further unmasked UAW President Leonard Woodcock's claim

that the UAW was firmly behind the Canadian Ford workers. The Woodcock leadership seriously weakened the chances for a decent settlement by failing to strike Ford of Canada at the same time as the U.S. operations were down.

Canadian and U.S. Ford workers must join together in organizing to force a reopening of the contract. A united struggle opens the possibility of winning a contract that meets the real needs of all auto workers. This fight will have to be built in spite of traitors like Woodcock and McDermott. □

NEED A JOB?



In Detroit, over 5,000 people showed up for one when they heard Cadillac was hiring. Wrapped in blankets, many waited all night in the bitter cold. How many were hired? NONE! Cadillac had no intention of hiring; as a spokesman explained: "Our applications had been depleted." One woman had her application ripped out of her hand. Others were sold, bringing as much as \$30. No one was hired.

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The Fight at Republic Steel Local 1033

A Militant Steelworker Reports

I'm writing to inform Torch readers of the latest developments in my union Local, USWA Local 1033 (Republic Steel, South Chicago). At the last three union meetings the rank and file has shown itself ready, willing, and able to take on the bureaucrats.

During the August 24 meeting, one militant reintroduced a proposal for a union publicity campaign on the East Side against the racist attacks on Black workers that have taken place there. This was one of a series of motions, originally introduced in late June by the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, which called for: 1) a Local 1033 Defense Guard, open to all members, to patrol the East Side and protect union members from racist attacks; 2) official union support and participation in the anti-Nazi fight in Marquette Park; and 3) a union-funded anti-racism publicity campaign in the neighborhood.

There was much support for the motion for an educational campaign, but the Vice President, Ernest Hayes, ruled it out of order. Several militant steelworkers attacked him sharply.

Hayes' ruling was appealed to the meeting and the appeal gained the support of at least one-third of those present. This was a significant increase in support from the month before.

Right after this fight came the reading of the finances, and several of us discovered a \$5,000 discrepancy in the Financial Secretary's report. Since both financial officers were absent, many members argued that we could not change or approve the reports—that we only could table them to the next meeting. We beat the bureaucrats decisively on this vote.

Behind the discrepancy in this report is the fact that the Guzzo

machine (Frank Guzzo, President of Republic Local 1033—Editor) is going itself on our dues and exhausting our resources. Last year the bureaucrats voted themselves fat raises, which averaged 75 percent. They had a tough time getting these increases approved and had to promise that if it became clear that the Local couldn't afford it, the increases would be rolled back. That promise, of course, was just a trick.

Since then, the Local has been running several thousand dollars in the red virtually every month. But the bureaucrats have made it clear that they have no intention to abandon the raises. Our victory on the financial report meant that no statement was sent to the International for the month of August. Since the bureaucrats have been given two financial warnings by the International, this

was a very serious defeat for the Guzzo machine.

The Local 1033 bureaucrats were understandably concerned about the next meeting, held on September 28. Among other things, there was the unresolved question of the Local's finances. By now the bureaucrats had split right down the middle, because they hadn't been able to come up with a unified strategy for dealing with an increasingly angry rank and file.

Guzzo was unprepared to deal with us and sought any pretext to sabotage this meeting. That pretext came over the question of a resolution—approved in July—to make all Executive Board meetings open to all union members, as observers without voice or vote. As we proceeded to discuss this issue, Guzzo moved to cut off discussion. The meeting, however, decided to continue the discussion by a vote of more than 3 to 2.

A motion was made to vote again to open EB meetings; Guzzo ruled it out of order, knowing he would lose the vote.

When Guzzo ignored a motion to appeal the chair's ruling, I and several other militants went for the mike. Guzzo cut off the mike and moved on with the agenda. This was blatantly undemocratic, since we had just voted to continue the discussion. At this point the hall was in an uproar. Without further ado, Guzzo adjourned the meeting before any union business could be transacted.

IMPORTANT LESSONS LEARNED

These events have taught us important lessons. Steelworkers are growing increasingly fed up with the business-as-usual wheeling and dealing of the bureaucrats. The ranks want something done about pressing problems, such as the layoffs, safety and health, company harassment, and the grievance and arbitration fraud—to list just a few. They have had it with the constant sellouts and will not stand idly by while the machine tries to bulldoze the opposition into silence. Blatant violations of union democracy have served only to rally former Guzzo supporters to the side of the opposition.

Guzzo has been able to stay afloat so far only because his machine is organized while the opposition is not. There are many excellent militants who are fed up with the unspeakable conditions in our mills. Some are active in the union. Others are so cynical about the union leadership that they don't see the importance of fighting within the union for a program that can take care of our needs.

What we need most of all is to build a united front organization made up initially of all the best fighters and organizers in the Local—a united front based on a program that can tackle our pressing needs, whether it be a shorter workweek, the right to strike, safety and health, or anything else. With the International elections and the contract coming up, an organization of militants based on a fighting program is more necessary than ever. The Revolutionary Steelworkers' Caucus (RSC) in the union has such a program, and together with other militants from Local 1033 we are working hard to build just such a rank and file organization in time for the upcoming events. □

Defend Markley and Suares!

Two Massachusetts trade unionists, Alex Markley and Tony Suares, face up to 60 years in prison on a trumped-up conspiracy charge. Markley, an organizer for the United Electrical Workers (UE), and Suares, a militant from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), helped to lead the 11-week UE strike against Worthington Compression Corporation in Holyoke, Massachusetts.

During the strike in September of 1975, the U.S. Treasury Department planted one of their agents from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau (ATF) in the strike support committee. This undercover spy repeatedly approached Markley and Suares, asking for explosives to blow up scab trucks. Nothing came of it at the time, but eight months later ATF agents arrested Markley and Suares, charging them with handing out homemade bombs and "conspiring" to blow up the trucks.

When Markley was arrested, the ATF agents held him in their office for 12 hours and tried to force him into turning informer on other unions in the area. Markley refused to cooperate with their scheme and workers from Massachusetts and elsewhere are now building the Markley-Suares Defense Committee.

The UE has a militant history and has recently organized a number of plants in Massachusetts. In response, the bosses have decided to add undercover finks and informers to their usual arsenal of cops, courts and strike-breakers.

On October 30, the Markley-Suares Defense Committee held a demonstration of over 200 workers in Springfield, Massachusetts to protest the frame-up. Members of UE Local 262 in Cambridge (who have been striking Cambion Corporation for six months) supported the demonstration. Also attending, as a featured speaker, was Eugene O'Sullivan, a Washington Post pressman who faces a 41-year jail term from the bitter Post strike.

Fitzsimmons Ready for Deal at UPS

The East coast UPS strike by 17,000 Teamsters is now entering its third month. The strikers are holding out and refusing to accept the company's demand to replace thousands of full-time workers with part-timers. The UPS bosses have already put this into effect in most other parts of the country, making the battle on the East coast of major importance to all UPS workers.

Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons has now entered the negotiations directly. Fitzsimmons, who accepted the shift to part-timers in the other UPS contracts, apparently hopes to work out a compromise deal to end the strike. Indications are that he will agree

to the company's demand for part-timers, but put some upper limit on just how many. UPS workers must be on guard against a "compromise" which would open the door to a complete shift to part-timers inside the terminals in the near future.

The strike is hurting UPS—it has already cut deeply into their Christmas business. Even if the walkout ended immediately, the company would not be able to get anything close to its usual share of Christmas shipments. Consequently, UPS management is threatening to allow the strike to continue through December in hopes of starving out the UPS workers.

The only reason the UPS bosses can even consider trying to wait out the strikers is because they are continuing to rake in profits from their major East coast terminal—New York City—and from the rest of their terminals around the country. If UPS workers just shut down the two biggest terminals—New York City and Chicago—the company would have to give in. And if the Teamsters shut down UPS nationwide, they could force a reopening of the other UPS contracts, which have allowed part-timers to replace full-timers.

Sadlowski Takes USWA to Court

Ed Sadlowski, candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), is taking his union to court. Joseph Rauh, Sadlowski's attorney, filed charges in early November, alleging that the present leaders of the union (I.W. Abel and friends) are carrying out reprisals against Sadlowski supporters.

The charges are true. Abel dismissed one of Sadlowski's running mates, Ignacio Rodriguez, from his job as president of USWA Local 1549 at the American Can Company plant in Los Angeles. The company closed the plant in July, and Rodriguez continued as president to complete the inactive local's remaining business. Abel did nothing until Sadlowski announced his slate, which included Rodriguez. Then Abel moved to "cancel the local" and fire Rodriguez.

This is a small example of the kind of repression Abel is using against Sadlowski supporters and other militants in the union. Abel's thugs beat up one Sadlowski supporter at the recent USWA convention. Another militant was shot in Houston while handing out Sadlowski campaign literature.

There is only one way to fight back: steelworkers must mobilize to defend their democratic rights and take over their union. The bosses' courts are the workers' enemy. They must be kept out of the union.

The ruling class uses every opportunity to step into the unions and increase its control over the workers. Sadlowski and Rauh open the doors. This is one more indication of whose interests Sadlowski really defends.

—BA

Bureaucracy Split

MINERS ON THE MOVE

By Bob Anderson

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) held its 47th convention in Cincinnati at the end of September. Meeting at a time of severe crisis in the union, the convention was the latest battleground in the struggle between rank and file miners and the UMWA bureaucracy.

Three major forces collided at the convention. The bureaucracy itself is deeply divided into two major factions. On one side is the group supporting UMWA President Arnold Miller. On the other side is the right wing of the UMWA bureaucracy, including many supporters of ex-President and gangster Tony Boyle. This grouping, led by Mike Trbovich, the union vice-president who ran with Miller in 1972, and Lee Roy Patterson, a long-time Boyle supporter and declared candidate in next summer's union elections, believes that Miller is too "soft" on rank and file militants. The right-wing faction used its majority on the UMWA Executive Board to call the convention earlier than is normal in the hopes that they could dump Miller or, at a minimum, drastically undermine his position.

Opposing the Miller and Trbovich-Patterson factions are the miners themselves, who have been pressing forward their struggle for a fighting union through a series of militant wildcat strikes. Their strength was revealed in last summer's powerful wildcat strike by over 100,000 miners. For more than three weeks in July and August, the miners fought the courts, coal companies and their own union leadership to protest the constant stream of court injunctions, fines and jailings they have faced. This wildcat, which ended in partial victory, was only the latest in a wave of wildcats which has swept the coal fields in recent years.

The Miller leadership has been unable to crush the independent power of rank and file miners. This has only increased the right-wing faction's hostility toward Miller, causing it to step up its calls for decisive action against the wildcats. At the same time, Miller's position has grown weaker as his allies in the bureaucracy have dwindled and the ranks themselves have grown disgusted with his attacks on their struggles.

To understand how the struggle in the UMWA reached its present stage and how the miners' movement can move forward, we must look at the recent history of struggle in the union.

Throughout the mid-to-late 1960s, miners organized against the unsafe

conditions and the increasing number of deaths in the mines, and against Black Lung and the complete lack of benefits for victims of the dreaded disease. They also fought to salvage the UMWA pension fund—which was not paying out to disabled and retired miners because the Boyle gang was stealing the money.

On the basis of the growing opposition in the ranks of the union, Jock Yablonski, a UMWA official from Pennsylvania (Director of District 5), decided to run against Boyle in the 1969 union election. Boyle rigged the election returns and claimed a narrow victory. He then settled accounts with Yablonski. In early January 1970, Yablonski, his wife and daughter were brutally murdered.

Rather than stopping the struggle of the miners, Boyle's crime spurred it on. Militant union members from throughout the country united to form the Miners for Democracy (MFD) after Yablonski's death.

The MFD was a coalition of the rank and file groups that had developed around the Black Lung Movement, the fight for safe mines, the Yablonski campaign, and other struggles by the miners. When the courts ruled the 1969 election invalid, the MFD nominated Arnold Miller, a retired miner and an activist in the Black Lung Movement, to run against Boyle in elections set for 1972.

THE MILLER CAMPAIGN

Miller built his campaign around union democracy, the fight for safe mines and reform of the pension funds. He tried to appeal to miners who were struggling to improve their conditions. This meant that he not only talked a militant line, but also supported, or appeared to support, the immediate struggles the miners were waging.

He directed his major campaign slogan at the question of mine safety, the first concern of the miners: "If coal can't be mined safely, it won't be mined at all." In short, to get elected, Miller had to place himself at the head of the movement of fighting rank and file miners.

In a series of wildcats during the campaign, miners began to enforce the central campaign slogan. They demanded safe mines and the right to strike over any unsafe conditions. They believed Miller was with them, and they fought to elect him.

Miller had another base of support in addition to militant rank and file miners. This support came from a group of liberals in the Democratic

Party. These forces were led by Joseph Rauh, Jr., who is today intervening in the steelworkers' union through his support to reform candidate Ed Sadlowski. Rauh's forces have been active in the UMWA since the Yablonski campaign, which they advised. Rauh, Yablonski's two sons (both lawyers), and a group of ex-student radicals have been behind Arnold Miller right from the start. This coalition helped to organize the MFD and to mastermind Miller's election campaign.

The UMWA was about to explode and it was clearly in the bosses' interests to back a safe "reform" candidate who could put the lid on the struggle. Thus, under Rauh's guidance, Miller called in the Labor Department and the bosses' courts to oversee the election and ensure his victory. The government was happy to do its part since the Rauh forces had assured the ruling class as a whole that Miller would control the mine workers and bring "order" to the coal fields. Miller used the courts as a substitute for increasing the strength of the miner's movement—which would make his job easier once in office.

"REFORM" CANDIDATE

Miller was and is a reformist. He accepted the coal bosses' view that the well-being of coal miners depends on the well-being of the coal industry. The coal companies demanded uninterrupted production and the continued use of worn-out, unsafe equipment in order to increase their profits. Miller accepted these demands in the belief that some of these profits would trickle down to the benefit of coal miners. In other words, he made his first commitment to "making capitalism work better."

Miller tried to balance between the interests of the mine owners and the liberals on the one hand, and the interests of the mine workers on the other. Miller called on the miners to continue their struggle for safe working conditions, while promising the liberals that he would bring the miners' struggle to a halt.

Miller's ties to capitalism mean that he can only end up attacking and betraying the interests of the miners. But militant miners neither saw nor accepted this at the time of the UMWA elections. Thus, at that time, the Revolutionary Socialist League, then the Revolutionary Tendency in the International Socialists, urged a policy of critical support for Miller in the election contest against Boyle.



Top: Arnold Miller. Bottom: Mike Trbovich.



Miller stood at the head of a mass movement of rank and file miners. And these miners had tremendous illusions in Miller. The question was how to destroy these illusions and prove to the miners that they need a revolutionary leadership. We argued that it was absolutely necessary to explain to miners exactly what Miller represented and to make it clear that we believed he would sell out the miners. But the truth of this contention would have to be proved to the miners through their own experiences. As a result, we urged the miners to place him, as opposed to Boyle, in office where, pressed by the rank and file movement that elected him, he would be forced to reveal his true colors. At the same time, Miller's election would weaken the Boyle forces, open up the union for struggle and encourage the rank and file movement.

The events since the election have proved the correctness of this course.

CAUGHT IN A VISE

The contradictions between Miller's promises to miners, and those he made to the ruling class began to haunt Miller immediately after the election. On the one hand, he had to consolidate his own power in the union. This meant cleaning out the Boyle forces who still controlled much of the union machinery. To do this, Miller had to have the continued support of the rank and file miners who elected him. On the other hand, Miller had to come through on his pledge to the liberals and the coal companies to maintain "peace in the coal fields." This meant Miller had to move against that same rank and file. If he mobilized the ranks to fight the Boyle forces, it would be more difficult to fulfill his promises to the liberals. And if he fulfilled his promises to the liberals, he undercut his ability to deal with the Boyle forces.

Faced with this dilemma, Miller decided not to take the offensive against the Boyle forces. Instead, he cautiously began to move against the ranks, while keeping his verbal commitment to safety in the mines.

Beginning by disbanding the MFD, Miller began an attack on the wild-

(Continued on page 18)



March in Harlan, Kentucky, 1974, to support Brookside miners' bitter strike against Duke Power Co. for union recognition. Miller now attacks militancy that won crucial battles.

Torch photo



Judge Steps Down in Carter/Artis Frame-Up

Jury selection in the trial of Rubin (Hurricane) Carter and John Artis began on October 12. It was finally completed on November 5. Carter and Artis are being tried for a second time for the 1966 slaying of three whites in a bar in Paterson, New Jersey.

Passaic County Judge William Marchese was forced to disqualify himself from the trial on October 19 when defense lawyers stated they plan to call the judge as a defense witness.

Marchese may be called to testify because official court records show that a police lieutenant intervened with Marchese in the sentencing of Alfred Bello in a burglary case.

The prosecution's entire case against Carter and Artis hinges on Bello's testimony. Bello has admitted that the testimony he gave against Carter and Artis in their first trial was false. Bello now claims that Carter and Artis were at the bar at the time of the shooting but were not the gunmen.

Defense lawyers have also found that police testimony at the first trial contradicts official police records. At the trial, the police claimed that shells found in Carter's car after the killing were immediately turned over to the property clerk. Official records show the shells were turned in five days later. The facts contradict police testimony. They do not contradict Carter's allegations that the gun shells were planted in his car.

In another revelation, Carolyn Kelley, a former close associate of Carter, stated on October 13 that the Passaic County Prosecutors Office tried to pressure her into giving false testimony against Carter and Artis. Among other things, the prosecutors wanted Kelley to say that Carter owned a shotgun previous to the 1966 slayings. (A shotgun was used in the incident.)

With all the secret workings of the state being brought to light, the new Judge, Bruno Leopizzi, has been trying to keep as much of the trial as he can from the public. On October 22, he barred the press and the public from the jury selection, with the excuse that a jury would be selected quicker this way. Clearly, this move is part of the state's realization that its only hope for a frame-up conviction of Carter and Artis is to keep the rest of the trial proceedings out of the public eye.

Petitions, Demos Demand Gary Tyler Be Freed

On October 7, the People's Defense Coalition to Free Gary Tyler and the Southern Conference Educational Fund confronted Louisiana's Governor Edwards with petitions signed by 92,000 people. The petitions demanded that Gary Tyler be freed. Demonstrations were held across the country during the first two weeks of November.

Tyler's lawyers have appealed to the Louisiana Supreme Court for a new trial. The appeal is scheduled to be heard on November 10.

Tyler is a victim of U.S. racism. In November 1974 a white racist youth died during an attack on a New Orleans school bus carrying Black students home from school. Although it was obvious that the youth had been accidentally shot by one of the racist crowd, and that the Black students had no arms with which to defend themselves, the police used the occasion to attack the school bus. During the attack, Tyler protested when a racist pig held a gun to a Black youth's head. For this, Tyler was arrested on charges of "obstructing justice." Since that time all the machinery of Jimmy Carter's "New South" has been used to railroad Tyler for the death of the white racist.

It is the mass movement that has thus far kept Gary Tyler from going to the electric chair for a crime he never committed. We will continue to build this movement so that Tyler can be freed.

Prisoner Briefs . . .

On October 28, Lureida Torres was released from the Metropolitan Correctional Center after being imprisoned for over four months. She had been jailed for her refusal to testify before a grand jury, which was supposedly probing bombings attributed to the Armed Forces for National Liberation of Puerto Rico (FALN). In reality, this grand jury was used to harass the entire Puerto Rican independence movement.

At her welcoming rally, Torres stated that she would "continue to make whatever sacrifices were necessary to fight for the independence of Puerto Rico."

* * *

Anti-war activist Susan Saxe won a mistrial on October 13. Prosecuting attorneys are now seeking a new trial on the same murder and bank robbery charges. Saxe's defense attorney plans to move that a fair trial be declared impossible due to all the publicity the case has received.

* * *

On October 21, H. Rap Brown, former Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, was paroled from Green Haven prison in New York. He was to be sent to New Orleans for trial on a 1968 weapons charge, but the state decided to drop its eight-year-old frame-up charge.

-FH

Avenge Scottsboro!

Pardon Is 45 Years Too Late

Clarence "Willie" Norris has received a full pardon from the State of Alabama, ending his 30 years as a fugitive. Norris was one of the "Scottsboro Boys," nine Black teenagers who were framed on a rape charge in the 1930s.

Norris spent 15 years in prison—five of them on Death Row. Although the case of the Scottsboro Boys has long since been exposed as one of the most blatant racist frame-ups in U.S. history, Norris is receiving his pardon only today—45 years after he was arrested!

Norris's ordeal began on March 25, 1931, at the height of the Depression, when unemployed men and women were riding freight trains all over the country, looking for work. Norris was one of nine Black youths yanked off a freight by a posse at Paint Rock, Alabama. Two white women who had been on the same train were afraid of going to jail for hoboing, so they yelled "rape" and accused the nine Black youths.

The trial started on April 6 in Scottsboro, Alabama, the county seat. In a courthouse crawling with state militia and bristling with guns, the two women told a lurid story of being ravished on the train at knifepoint by all nine youths. The defendants had two lawyers: one was senile, the other drunk throughout the trial.

Based on the women's story, and with this "defense," eight Black teenagers were sentenced to death. The jury could muster only seven votes for death for the last defendant—who was only 13 years old at the time of his

that the whole story was a lie. The jury said "guilty" and sentenced Patterson to die.

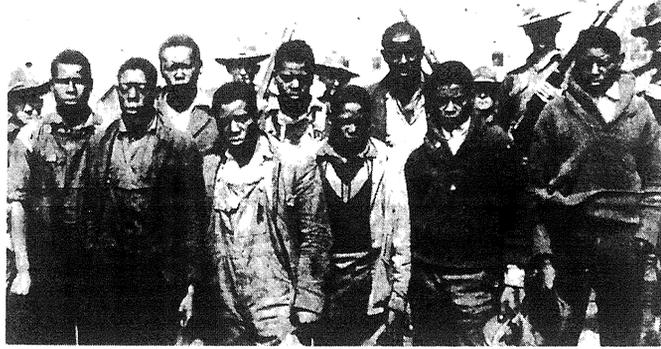
Judge Horton set aside the verdict and wrote a lengthy opinion that proved that the nine were innocent. Outraged white voters proceeded to defeat Horton at the polls.

The state then found a hanging judge to retry the case. In the third trial, Patterson (for the third time) and Norris (for the second) were sentenced to death on the same flimsy evidence.

In April 1935 the U.S. Supreme Court overturned these convictions on the grounds that no Blacks had been on the juries that indicted and tried the nine. In November, a grand jury with one Black man sitting on it indicted all nine youths on the same rape charge.

In his fourth trial, in January 1936, Patterson was again found guilty and received a 75-year sentence. Massive protest demonstrations were held worldwide. As a result, the state was forced to agree to a compromise. In July 1937, Norris was sentenced to death, but the Governor commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. Three other defendants received sentences ranging up to 99 years. Charges against the remaining four were dropped for lack of evidence.

Clarence Norris is reported to be the only one of the Scottsboro Boys who is still alive today. He was paroled in 1946 and fled from Alabama, remaining a fugitive until now. Patterson escaped from Atmore Prison Farm—which he called "the Southernmost



Scottsboro Boys surrounded by National Guardsmen. Clarence Norris is first on left.

arrest. For this reason he was granted a mistrial.

The day after sentencing, the International Labor Defense (ILD) stepped into the case. The ILD was set up by the Communist Party in 1925 to defend working class victims of the capitalist courts. It had led the defense of anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, labor organizers Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, and many other class war prisoners. The ILD hired legal help and organized a mass campaign to "Free the Scottsboro Boys," holding demonstrations and fund raising rallies all over the U.S. and Europe.

Legal appeals were filed, first with the Alabama Supreme Court and then the U.S. Supreme Court. The state court upheld the convictions, but the U.S. Supreme Court declared a mistrial.

The next round of trials began in March 1933. Haywood Patterson, the most outspoken of the defendants, went on trial first. One of his two accusers, Ruby Bates, testified under oath that she had never been raped and

portion of Hell"—in 1948 and fled to Michigan. Thrown in jail after a barroom fight, he died of cancer in prison in 1952. The others have reportedly died over the years.

Today, 45 years after his arrest, Clarence Norris has finally received a pardon. But is this supposed to pay the state's debt to nine innocent Black men? What about Norris's 15 years in Alabama prisons and his 30 years of hiding? What about the other defendants—all dead before their time because of years spent rotting in Alabama's prisons? What can repay these men or their families for what they have endured?

It was the mass movement, protests staged around the world, which kept the racist U.S. bourgeoisie from executing the Scottsboro Boys. Even at that, there has been no justice for any of the nine. Today, we must build a stronger movement—one whose aim is the overthrow of U.S. capitalism itself—in order to avenge the injustice, degradation and oppression which the case of the nine Scottsboro Boys symbolizes. □

NAT
Nov.

Nat Turner, slave, was hanged in Virginia, on November 30, 1831. He was murdered by a mob of whites. Most heroic in American history.

Turner's real name was Augustus Turner. He had with him four hours of labor grown to a four-day period, at least on its path.

Turner believed he encountered a white insurrectionist. Others would have called it the federal arsenal which to arm.

The strategy of white slave-masters was to fear of slave revolt.

Turner and his followers, because, as in the U.S., the heroism was vastly outnumbered.

Because slavery was a Black resistance.

Wh

Carl Osborne, a Black man on Death Row in the state of Lucasville, Ohio, has been reinstated. Osborne may be paroled to the Supreme Court. We support his fight.

The ruling class will keep Black people in poverty whether through "legal" means or through the way the rulers prevent Black people from getting an education against the capitalist system of unemployment and racism. The American people must support his fight.

The ruling class will keep Black people in poverty whether through "legal" means or through the way the rulers prevent Black people from getting an education against the capitalist system of unemployment and racism. The American people must support his fight.

From top to bottom, the case is typical of the American system. It is Osborne's case.

On December 15, 1976, a Black man named Hermaleo Ross, while parking his car in a lot of 100 miles to a condemned prison, was shot and killed. The scene of the crime (the parking lot) was a police station. A police officer found a pistol, and one of the officers was seen to be carrying a shell casing.

As the police investigation, they questioned the man. She testified that she did not see him. The next woman to be questioned was the man's wife. She testified that she did not see him. When she was questioned, they were completely different answers as any "eye-witness" could give.

Next, at my trial, I called alibi witnesses to prove that I was not at home that morning. Either were with

Osborne!

Too Late

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Norris is first on left.

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NAT TURNER Nov. 11, 1831

Nat Turner, a Black man and a slave, was hanged in Jerusalem, Virginia, on November 11, 1831. He was murdered for leading one of the most heroic slave revolts in U.S. history.

Turner's rebellion began on the night of August 21, 1831. At the start he had with him only six men; twenty-four hours later the rebellion had grown to a force of 70. When it finally ended, at least 57 whites lay dead in its path.

Turner believed that if all whites encountered at the beginning of the insurrection were put to death, the others would flee in panic and the insurrectionists would gain control of the federal arsenal in Jerusalem. The arsenal would then provide guns with which to arm other slaves.

The strategy was sound since the white slave-masters lived in constant fear of slave uprisings.

Turner and his comrades failed because, as in other slave revolts in the U.S., the heroic insurrectionists were vastly outnumbered and outgunned.

Because slaveholders so feared any Black resistance whatsoever, the re-



action to Turner's rebellion was swift and brutal. When, on the morning of August 24, hundreds of militia and volunteers finally put the revolt down, a massacre began. In the two months that Turner eluded his pursuers, whites murdered hundreds of slaves.

At his "trial" on November 5, 1831, Turner pleaded not guilty. He said he didn't feel guilty, that he had committed no crime.

To this day Turner symbolizes the courage of the American slaves in their struggle for freedom. □

Inmates at Somers Resist Repression

The administration at Somers prison in Connecticut has launched a terror campaign against prisoners who are demanding their rights.

On September 11, in response to the beating of a prisoner, 175 prisoners refused to go to their cell blocks. The protest, was led by the Somers Multinational Prisoners' Collective (SMPC), a group of radical prisoners, whose activities are regularly reported on in The Call, newspaper of the October League.

In response to the protest, guards went on a midnight raid about a week later. Eight members of the SMPC were thrown in segregation.

A prisoner wrote the Torch: "The very next day, 68 men refused to go to their cells and were brought in after a few beatings by officers and state police in riot gear. The men were fighting brutality, for contact visits, minimum wages for all, and inmate representation within the institution."

The prisoners' fight for basic human rights has been met with swift repression. Prisoners were thrown in segregation, tried for "conspiracy to commit riot," lost mail privileges, and had good time up to 90 days taken away. ("Good time" represents days taken off a prisoner's sentence, usually one for every three, for "good behavior.")

Both The Call and the Torch are now being withheld from prisoners.

In spite of this repression, resistance has continued. On October 1, 60 prisoners held a one-day hunger strike to protest the "conspiracy" trials.

The prisoners have pointed out in words and deeds that the only conspiracy that exists at Somers is the conspiracy of the administrators to take away every last vestige of prisoner rights.

**END REPRESSION AT SOMERS!
POWER TO THE PRISONERS!**

Why Is the Ruling Class Planning to Kill Carl Osborne?

Carl Osborne, a Black man, is on Death Row in Ohio State Penitentiary at Lucasville. Since the ruling class has reinstated the death penalty, Osborne may become one of the Supreme Court's first victims unless we support his struggle for freedom.

The ruling class has always tried to keep Black people living in fear—whether through Klan attacks or through "legal" lynchings. In this way the rulers of the country hope to prevent Blacks from standing up against the capitalist system and its unemployment, war, prisons and racism. The attempt to murder Osborne is part of this plan.

The ruling class tries to justify the murder of Blacks through racist lies. "Blacks are criminals, Blacks are the reason that there is crime," they preach in their newspapers and on their television shows. In the case of Carl Osborne, the cops, the courts and the media would have us believe that Osborne is a murderer. This is one more racist lie to cover up this more racist frame-up.

From top to bottom, Carl Osborne's case is typical of U.S. "justice." Here is Osborne's case in his own words:

On December 15, 1974, a woman, Hermalee Ross, was abducted from the parking lot of a store, taken several miles to a condemned schoolhouse, led inside and shot several times. At the scene of the abduction (the store parking lot) the only evidence the police found was the broken grip of a pistol, and one of the woman's earrings. There was no physical evidence at the scene of the killing except the spent shell casings.

As the police began their investigation, they questioned two people. One of them was a woman who was doing laundry in the area of the parking lot. She testified at my trial that at no time did she see me in the area of the crime. The next woman was one who saw two men take the woman into the schoolhouse. When she described the two men, they were both described as completely different than me. So, as far as any "eye-witnesses," there were none.

Next, at my trial I presented five alibi witnesses who knew I was at home that morning. These people either were with me or had called me

about the time the woman was killed.

Before the start of my trial there were over sixty newspaper accounts of the crime, and constantly referred to me as a "hit-man," "cold blooded killer," "executioner" and other things that had absolutely no merit. In these articles they also mentioned evidence that the prosecutor was going to introduce, but when the trial came about, this evidence was never introduced. I was also the subject of numerous television news accounts.

The two main "witnesses" for the state were both people that the prosecutor had pulled out of jail or prison, offered them parole or probation for testifying against me, and told them exactly what to say. And, after the prosecutor failed to live up to the deals he had made, these two made it public that they were given deals for their testimony. The disgusting part about this is that the two snitches' lies were the only concrete evidence they had against me. And, the jury (all-white) believed them over the five people who testified that I was at home.

When I asked for a change of venue

because of all the publicity, the judge refused, saying he felt I'd get a "fair chance" in Columbus where all the publicity came from. Also, one of the women on the jury knew the victim, but the judge refused to remove her.

My appeal is now in the Ohio Supreme Court, after being turned down by the Court of Appeals in my county. In the appeal brief there is listed four U.S. constitutional errors (5th, 6th, 8th and 14th amendments) that occurred during my trial. The basic right of remaining silent was even taken away from me. When I refused to cooperate with the prosecutor, and remained silent, he made it a point to remind the jury how "suspicious" this sounded. Your fifth amendment says that a defendant can remain silent and it cannot be commented on by the prosecutor during the trial. I counted no less than five times that he mentioned it. He also brought up my life in general... involvement with drugs, times I had been charged with crimes (but never convicted), both of these things wrong actions. He mentioned several times that a year prior to the hearing, I was questioned about

a killing, making it look as if I had slipped through the fingers of the law, so it was the only right thing to do to send me to the chair for this....

Even after they sent me to death row, they have continually kept me in their disgusting papers. About once a month they will give the people a "progress report" to let them know that I am slowly inching my way to the chair... slowly, but still inching that way. The most disgusting and sickening thing about this is that it has caused my family much grief and problems. My father died of a heart attack three days before my trial as a result of the pressure the media was putting on the family. Then two weeks ago (in early October) my mother also suffered a heart attack. She is recovering and the best medicine she could get would be to see that there is someone who wants to help. My sister has been turned away from job after job when the people find out that she is Carl Osborne's sister. She receives threatening phone calls, has been run off the road in her car, been assaulted, and the police refuse to take any action even though she made an identification of the guy, and is constantly approached by reporters who ask how it feels to have a brother who is going to the chair.

The Supreme Court has given the green light to legal lynchings—Carl Osborne may be one of its first victims. But Osborne's case is not the isolated case of one individual. Change a fact here and a detail there and his case is no different from those of the many brothers and sisters who sit in America's prisons. Osborne's case is the case of all those railroaded by the American legal lynch system. He and they must be freed!

In order to win his case, Carl Osborne needs support. To keep his appeal going, and to expose the lies of the state, he needs financial help. Contributions may be sent to:

*Carl T. Wolfram, Attorney at Law
IBM Building, Suite 1060
140 East Town St.
Columbus, Ohio 43215*

*For further information write:
Carl Osborne #142-532
P.O. Box 787, Death Row
Lucasville, Ohio 45648*

Political Prisoners Harassed at Walla Walla

Authorities at Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla are singling out the prison's political prisoners for special harassment. The administration's actions are designed to prevent Walla Walla prisoners from organizing, and to keep political consciousness among prisoners from spreading. The plight of one inmate, Ed Mead, makes the prison authorities' objectives clear.

On August 10, Mead was removed from his cell and thrown into the "control unit" (a row of 6' by 8' cells where prisoners are kept 23 hours a day). There were no charges brought against Mead and no hearing of any kind. He was whisked away from the rest of the prison population in an attempt to silence him. Why?

Ed Mead is in prison for being a member of the George Jackson Brigade (GJB), a group which claimed responsibility for an unsuccessful expropriation of a Seattle bank. Regardless of whether or not Mead is actually a member of the GJB, or whether he in fact participated in the expropriation attempt, Mead was jailed for being a revolutionary. Now that he is in jail, he continues to face ruling class repression for his politics.

Even behind bars, Mead and other revolutionaries scare the capitalist class. Thus, police-state-like rule is used to attempt to isolate and demoralize these prisoners in particular.

Ed Mead is not the only example. The list of those thrown into the control unit for just the suspicion that they may have revolutionary politics is lengthy. Prisoners at Walla Walla have been fighting back against the terror regime for years. They need your support.

(For further information on repression at Walla Walla, see the letter on page 17 of this issue.)

Capitalism and Apartheid—Inseparably Linked

SOUTH AFRICA: REFORM OR REVOLUTION?



Sharpeville Massacre, March 21, 1960. South African police machine-gunned peaceful demonstration, killing 72.

In the last six months, the struggle of the Black masses of Azania against the racist South African government has reached magnificent heights. General strikes by Black workers have paralyzed Johannesburg and Cape Town. In these and hundreds of mass demonstrations, marches and clashes with police, the Black people of Azania have shaken the South African racist dictatorship to its foundations. At least 375 Blacks (and probably many more) have laid down their lives in battle against the white oppressors. Thousands have been imprisoned. Yet the struggle goes on.

What is the real nature of this struggle? What must the Black masses do to secure their victory? To answer these questions, we must understand the nature of South Africa, its strategic position in world imperialism and the crucial role of white supremacy in supporting South African capitalism. These are the themes of this article.

South Africa is an integral part of U.S. imperialism. It is the world's largest producer of gold and diamonds outside of Russia. Along with Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), it supplies most of the western world's chrome. These products are vital for industrial production, including the production of arms, and for the world monetary system, central to the world capitalist economy.

In addition, South Africa is tied to the American imperialist economy through trade (over \$4 billion a year in imports from the U.S., Britain, West Germany and Japan) and investments. Direct investments in South Africa by U.S., British and West German capitalist firms total \$15 billion; the U.S. share is about \$2 billion. GM, Ford and Chrysler all have plants in South Africa, along with major European and Japanese firms such as Toyota. U.S. banks like Chase Manhattan and Citibank, oil firms like Standard Vacuum and Caltex, communications giants like IBM, and hundreds of other giant U.S. corporations have branches in South Africa. These capitalists make billions of dollars off the exploitation of the Black African workers.

Aside from these economic inter-

ests, South Africa is vital to the U.S. domination of Africa as a whole. South Africa's economic power dominates all the nearby countries—which helps to keep all Black Africa under the thumb of the U.S.

Finally, South Africa is in a key strategic position for the imperialist control of the sea lanes of the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans. This is crucial for the imperialists' economic and military domination of the world.

In short, the U.S. imperialists, along with their Western European junior partners, have a gigantic economic and political stake in South Africa. And they do not intend to give it up easily.

Profits from Racism

South African capitalism is completely tied up with white supremacy. Apartheid is not an obsolete carry-over from colonial days. It is the very heart of the economic, social and political system of South Africa.

To see this, it is necessary to look briefly at the economic basis of South African capitalism.

The strength of the South African economy rests on the extraordinary degree of exploitation of the Black proletariat. By keeping the Black workers in a state of near-slavery, controlling their movements and forcing them to live on virtually nothing, the South African and imperialist capitalists can extract a tremendous amount of surplus value out of the Black workers. A few examples:

Six hundred thousand Blacks risk injury, disease and death in South Africa's coal, gold and diamond mines. In 1971, their average wage was under \$30 a month. This is one-eighth that of white miners, who have a legal monopoly on skilled jobs. Another 600,000 Blacks work in manufacturing at a wage (in 1971) of \$90 a month—one-fifth to one-sixth the average for whites. Blacks form the vast majority of workers in all branches of the economy. Everywhere, they are kept in the least skilled, most back-breaking jobs, earning wages which are at or below the level of bare subsistence.

In addition to paying starvation wages, the capitalists cut spending on social services (which are a form of

indirect wages) to near zero. The Black township of Soweto, for example, has a population of about one million. Yet it has only one hospital. For Black people's education, the racist government spends only one-seventeenth the amount per pupil that it spends for the whites.

Moreover, the position of Black people in South Africa has grown worse over the years. In 1911, white miners' wages were 12 times higher than were the wages of Black miners. Today, they are 17 or 18 times higher. After allowing for changes in prices, the real wages of Black miners did not rise at all from 1911 to 1966—a period of 55 years!

There is one simple purpose to all this. By condemning the Black workers to starvation wages and horrendous conditions, the South African capitalists and the imperialists make stupendous profits.

Foreign investors, for example, average profits of more than 20 percent.

Apartheid and Dictatorship

Central to this tremendous super-exploitation of the Black workers is the white supremacist dictatorship. Without this racist, totalitarian dic-

tatorship, the super-profits that the capitalists crave so much would be impossible. For the purposes of analysis, we can look at this dictatorship from two sides: the political and the social. In fact, these two are completely intertwined.

Basic to the dictatorship are the racist apartheid laws—which are firmly backed up by the police and the army. The "pass laws" under which Blacks cannot change jobs or enter a "white" area without police permission; the denial of the right to vote to Blacks; the laws forbidding employer recognition of Black unions; the police state acts under which all the leaders of the Black workers over the years have been silenced, jailed or killed—all these are designed to deprive the Black proletariat of the right and chance to struggle.

Without rights to speak out, assemble and publish, without the right to organize trade unions or political parties, without the right to go where they want, Black people have absolutely no legal means to organize and fight for improvements in their conditions. The apartheid system, therefore, is not the result of the "whims" of mystical white racists, living in the 19th century. It has a very real purpose: to keep Black people in virtual slavery so that enormous profits can be sucked out of their labor.

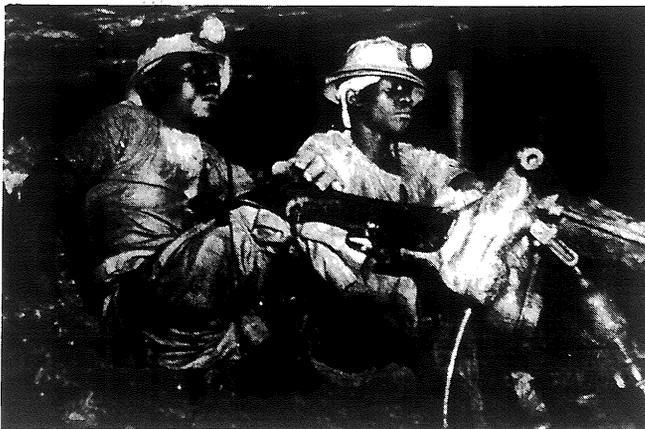
A White Social Base

Backing up the apartheid laws and the state is almost the entirety of the white population of South Africa (some 4.5 million, out of a total population of 25 million people). The whites are the real social base of the South African dictatorship. All these people, even the workers, farmers and the middle class, have tremendous privileges.

Take the white miners for example. Although they are only 12 percent of the mine workforce, they get 70 percent of the wages. These white miners are paid more than the value they produce—they are not even exploited in the scientific sense of the word. Their wages (if you can even call them that) are taken from the surplus value produced by the Black workers who, as we have seen, are paid next to nothing.

Similar conditions hold for other sectors of the white workforce. Over one-half of the white families in the country have servants. All whites are virtually guaranteed jobs. In the last 50 years, no more than 1.6 percent of the white workforce in South Africa has ever been out of work. The unemployment rate for Black workers, however, is at least 10 times greater than this figure! And this counts only those Black workers in the cities; it

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Black miners in South African gold mine.

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does not even include the millions in the "homelands."

This privileged position of the white workers, farmers and middle class has bound them solidly to the South African ruling class and prevented the emergence of even the slightest Black and white solidarity against the capitalists and imperialists. This is particularly true of the white workers. They represent a thoroughly corrupt labor aristocracy bribed by super-profits from the exploitation of Black workers and by their racist social privileges.

The white workers, along with the white farmers, middle class and the capitalists, are part of a colonial-settler population in a Black African country. All are completely dependent on the maintenance of the white dictatorship and support it wholeheartedly. Thus they are a tremendous club in the hands of the South African capitalists and the imperialists against the Black proletariat. Virtually the entire white population of South Africa can be guaranteed to rally to the dictatorship, arms in hand, to defend it from the wrath of the Black masses.

Economy in Crisis

A quick look at the state of the South African economy today will show concretely why South African capitalism and apartheid cannot be separated.

Today, the South African economy is in a crisis. The immediate cause of this crisis is a decline in the price of gold, one of South Africa's most important industries. This fall in gold prices, and a slight increase in the wages of the Black gold miners in the last few years, combined to cut gold mining profits to almost zero. The fall in the price of gold has also reduced the earnings from the sale of gold abroad, which South Africa needs to finance tremendous imports. The result has been a balance of payments crisis that threatens the entire economy. To top this off, the imperialists have been so frightened by the struggle of the Black masses that they have cut back foreign investment in South Africa. For a country where a substantial portion of industry is foreign-owned, this has a serious negative impact on the economy.

This crisis demonstrates clearly that South African capitalism is totally dependent on the super-exploitation of the Black proletariat. If a slight increase in the wages of Black workers caused a recession when it combined with a decline in gold prices, what would happen if there were a significant increase in Black workers' wages? The answer is simple: the bulk of the capitalists' profits would vanish.

If apartheid and the concentration camp conditions of the Black masses were eliminated in South Africa; if the Blacks had political rights, the right to vote, full civil liberties, the right to form trade unions and political parties; if Blacks could even, at the very least, fight for and win higher wages, better working conditions, housing, education and health care—then South African capitalism would virtually collapse.

White Supremacy: Key to Capitalism

Clearly, apartheid is an essential part of South African capitalism, which in turn is a key part of world imperialism. South African capitalism cannot be "cleansed" of apartheid. The whole system, from top to bottom, must be smashed. It must be overthrown and replaced by socialism. This means that the South African

proletariat must take the lead in the fight against apartheid, broadening and deepening it into a struggle to kick out imperialism and destroy capitalism in the entire region.

The South African proletariat has the power and the interest to carry this struggle through to the end. Without the Black workers, the South African economy cannot function; the white skilled workers and supervisors cannot keep the economy going. Moreover, the Black workers have the potential organization, in industry and in the Black townships, to organize and lead all the oppressed masses in struggle. Finally, the only way the proletariat can ensure its victory is by seizing the factories, establishing factory committees, workers' councils and a workers' militia; in short by smashing the bourgeois state and replacing it with its own—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But to carry out these tasks, the proletariat must be organized and conscious of its mission. It must understand that white supremacy is integrally tied to South African capitalism and cannot be liquidated without seizing state power and smashing the capitalist state. It must know how to unite all the oppressed masses, be they Black, "Colored," or Asian, workers or peasants. It must be able to win the support of the oppressed masses in neighboring countries and unite them in struggle against U.S. imperialism and their domestic oppressors. And it must train itself and secure arms for the



Burning hated "passbooks," 1960.

fight against the South African army and police.

To be able to do all this, the South African proletariat must build a revolutionary party, based on the program of Marxism and schooled in the revolutionary tactics of Lenin and Trotsky. This party, comprising the most resolute, dedicated and aware members of the oppressed workers, is absolutely necessary if a victory over South African capitalism and U.S. imperialism is to be won. □

We have shown that apartheid is an essential part of South African capitalism, which is a key part of world imperialism. And we have shown that the struggle against the apartheid system is, in fact, a struggle to overthrow South African capitalism—a struggle for the socialist revolution. These themes will be the subject of further discussion in future Torch articles.



USSR Arrests Strike Organizers

In August, four dock workers in Riga, Latvia, were sentenced to terms in labor camps for organizing a strike to protest meat shortages. This strike, called the "fish day strike," took place last April or May. Only now has news of it leaked through the Russian censorship.

Since last winter, the failure of the Russian government's agricultural policies has led to severe meat shortages. To try to ease the shortage, the government decreed "fish days" on which all restaurants, except those catering to foreigners, are not allowed to serve meat. Despite this, the shortages drove the price of ordinary cuts of meat as high as \$3 a pound.

The Latvian dock workers organized their strike to protest the government's attempt to make the workers bear the brunt of the crisis. For fighting for their rights, the four workers were tried and sentenced to labor camps on charges of "besmirching the Soviet state."

Carvalho Jailed by Portuguese Government

The workers and peasants of Portugal are fighting to halt the efforts of the bourgeoisie to undermine their gains. On October 27, tens of thousands of workers demonstrated in Lisbon to protest the arrest of Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. Carvalho, a radical army officer, was jailed for 20 days for making a speech in violation of a pledge to abstain from political activity.

A few days later, worker delegates to the Socialist Party (SP) convention threw their weight behind a slate opposed to Prime Minister and SP leader Mario Soares. This left-wing opposition called for returning the SP to its "original vocation as a workers' party." The slate received 25 percent of the convention vote.

Following the convention, Soares dumped his Agriculture Minister, a member of the party's left wing. The Minister had resisted moves to kick peasants off seized land and return it to former owners. Afraid of the power of the SP's left wing, Soares didn't dare move against the Agriculture Minister until after the convention. Farm worker unions in central and southern Portugal denounced the move and vowed to defend the peasants' gains.

In addition to trying to undo land reform, Soares is trying to hold down wages, abolish workers' control of the factories, slash union rights and fire thousands of workers. Moreover, he is looking the other way while the military organizes provocations designed to test the water for a possible coup. The arrest of Carvalho, the most serious move yet, was apparently carried out by the Army high command on its own authority.

Irish Workers Expose "Peace" Movement

Thousands of Catholic Irish working class women and teenagers have delivered a well-deserved blow to the so-called Women's Peace Movement in Belfast. The Women's Peace Movement was organized in August by upper-middle-class Protestant and Catholic women for the purpose of mobilizing sentiment against the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

On October 23, the movement marched into a Catholic working class section of Belfast. Thousands of IRA supporters marched up the same route in advance of the "peace" march, calling the people out into the streets. Enraged crowds along the march route hurled mud and rocks at the so-called peace marchers. At their rally site, the IRA marchers prevented the "peace" marchers from entering and sent 16 of them to the hospital. The marchers finally retreated to a safe upper-middle-class Protestant area for their rally. The rally was held under the protection of British troops, who know that the "peace" campaign is a fraud aimed at getting the IRA to give up its fight for Irish freedom.

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— IN CHICAGO —

On December 4th the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid Presents:

"Last Grave at Dimbaza"

A film about South Africa's brutal and racist apartheid system.

Following the film there will be talks and discussion on the building of a movement in the U.S. to aid the struggles of the Azanian people.

Come to the Film!
Build the Struggle!

5615 South Woodlawn, Chicago.
Saturday, December 4, 7:00 p.m.



Martin Luther King Jr. Movement leads march against racist terror in Chicago.

The following article is the conclusion of a two-part statement by the Executive Committee of the Chicago Branch of the Revolutionary Socialist League on the racist violence in Chicago. Part One of this statement (see last month's Torch) discusses how racism is used by the capitalists to divide and weaken the working class. The second and final part of the statement, printed below, presents a strategy for isolating and defeating the terrorists.

Twofold Strategy

To combat the racists, revolutionaries must pursue a twofold strategy.

1) We must mobilize to meet the force of the racist terrorists with the greater force of the workers' movement. This means that mass defense organizations must be built, which are based in the Black community and in the trade unions.

2) At the same time, we must work to overcome the demoralization and fragmentation of the working class by raising the level of economic and political struggle of workers and all oppressed people. In this fight the struggle in the trade unions is especially important.

Mobilizing for Defense

Self-defense is key to building a movement that can combat racist terror—the cops cannot be relied on to defend the Black community from the Nazi-led racists. The Urban League, Jesse Jackson of PUSH, the trade union bureaucrats and others are all calling for the police to stop the attacks. This is a deadly trap for Black people and for the working class as a whole.

The police are the enemy of the oppressed and exploited. They are the armed guards of capitalism—which depends on racism and the special oppression of Blacks to survive. They murdered—IN CHICAGO—Fred Hampton and Mark Clark of the Black Panther Party, as well as untold numbers of other Black people. They have consistently helped enforce segregation and racist terror. How can these capitalist tools defend Blacks?

As long as the movement plays by the rules of the system and doesn't seem too threatening, the police try to stay in the background. They may even pretend to be trying to stop the racist attacks. This pretense is to create the illusion that the "proper channels" actually work and that the movement should not build independent defense forces. In this way the movement is kept weak and helpless, while the police harass and murder the more militant sections of the move-

ment, Black youth, and anyone they call "suspicious."

Relying on the police can only demoralize Black people. It says that Blacks don't have the strength to defend themselves and must depend on their enemies. It says that a real program for struggle and the winning of genuine allies among white workers is impossible. In fact, every defeat that Blacks inflict on the racists strengthens the movement. It builds confidence on the part of Black people and spurs further struggle against the attacks.

The Trade Unions And the Black Community

Today, Chicago has two major areas of violent racial attacks. In each, the building of defense organizations must be approached somewhat differently. One area of frequent attacks is the West Englewood/Marquette Park border area. Here, primarily the Black community must be mobilized to defeat the racists. Allies who are willing to stand together with the Black community must also be enlisted—even if their numbers are not great at the present time.

The community must defend itself—escorting people home from work, guarding houses, patrolling the streets and stopping marauding bands of racist thugs cannot be left to the police. In particular the youth of the community must be organized and politically educated to play a major role in stopping the attacks. Racist hoodlums thrive on cowardly assaults. They will be quickly demoralized if they are met with greater force.

On the southeast side of Chicago the situation is somewhat different. Here Black steelworkers are often attacked on their way to and from work. Republic Steel, for example, is just south of an all-white neighborhood. Blacks who work at Republic cannot avoid passing through it and therefore risk being attacked.

In this area, the key to the struggle is the response of the steelworkers' union, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). A large portion of the rank and file of the union is Black. A number of USWA officials are Black as well. In addition, a small but growing number of the white workers realize that unity between Black, Latin and white workers is essential if anything is to be won from the company. This means that there is the basis to mobilize a sizable segment of the rank and file of the USWA behind a program to stop the racist attacks. It also means that some USWA officials can be pressured into accepting certain measures to defend Blacks.

The Revolutionary Steelworkers

FIGHT RACIST TERROR

A Statement by the Executive Committee of the Chicago Branch of the Revolutionary Socialist League

Caucus (RSC) is now waging a campaign to bring locals of the steelworkers' union into the fight. The gains that already have been made at Republic, Local 1033, indicate that this strategy can be successful. (For details on the RSC campaign in Local 1033, see page 3—Editor.)

Economic Attacks Must Be Fought

The fight to build militant mass self-defense organizations must be linked to a struggle against the underlying conditions that give rise to the racist attacks. The source of these attacks is the companies, the government that serves them and the whole capitalist system. These should be made the target of the workers' anger and struggle. How can this be done?

First, it is important to understand that the lull in the class struggle has demoralized many workers. In particular, this is the result of the refusal of the trade union bureaucrats to fight against the economic attacks of the capitalists. Often these workers react by adopting an "every man for himself" attitude, which plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie's divide and conquer strategy. Without struggle, the need for unity gets lost, white workers become easier prey for racist demagogues, and greater attacks are launched against all workers.

Revolutionaries understand that capitalism and workers' interests are completely opposed to each other. Therefore we base our program on what the working class needs, not on what capitalists can afford or say they can afford.

An approach that takes as its starting point the limits of what the capitalists say they can provide can only divide the working class. This approach winds up seeking to win gains for one particular group of workers, most often at the expense of another group, and sets each group of workers against the others. The goal must be to unite the workers. For this, we need a program that represents the needs of the entire working class. In this way, Black and white workers can be united in struggle against their common enemy.

Unity in Struggle—The Transitional Program

Demands that are real solutions for all workers and that can unite all workers in struggle are the core of the Transitional Program, written by Leon Trotsky in 1938. An example of a transitional demand is the call for a sliding scale of wages and hours. This would shorten the workweek and divide all available work among all workers needing jobs without reducing wages. At the same time, wages would go up the same amount as the cost of living. Supplemented by necessary wage increases and new jobs created through building more housing, hospitals, etc., this demand

would provide a real answer to the problem of unemployment and inflation that is plaguing the working class.

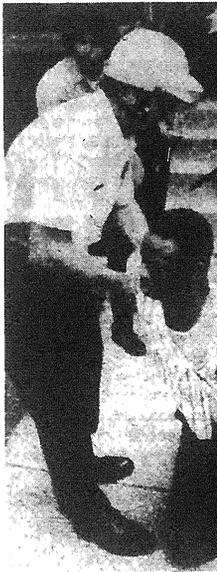
A mass struggle for jobs and decent housing for all will go a long way to ending the conflict between white and Black workers. Competition over jobs and housing can be ended and we can fight the lie that Blacks make gains only at the expense of whites. In turn, white workers must be won to the struggle for equality as the basis of a unified struggle and forget about privileges based on skin color.

For this kind of a fight, the struggle in the trade unions is key: the trade unions are the only mass organizations of the working class in the United States. The trade unions can provide the backbone for mass self-defense organizations. At the same time, they are the central organization for waging the day-to-day struggle against the capitalists.

But the trade unions today are controlled by a reactionary bureaucracy. These misleaders are completely loyal to capitalism—the very system which creates racism. Since they are tied to capitalism and fear any struggle which might get out of their control, the bureaucrats invariably oppose all serious measures for a real fight—whether against the corporations or the racist thugs.

Revolutionaries must fight for a majority and win leadership of the unions so that these reactionary misleaders can no longer suppress the struggle. This means that today, revolutionaries must mobilize rank and file workers to fight in the unions for concrete measures which speak both to the needs of the victims of the racist attacks and to the needs of all workers.

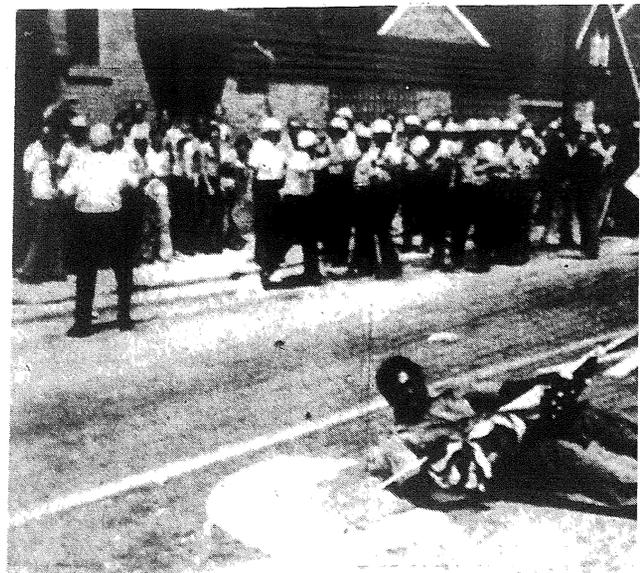
Such mobilization can win concrete gains today as well as build the struggle to kick the bureaucrats out of power altogether.



Cops beat bystander after anti-

In Chicago, the struggle against racist terror has been led by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. The King Movement has led an anti-racist coalition and led repeated efforts to march to Marquette Park, one of Chicago's most dangerous neighborhoods, to protest racist terrorism.

To date, the marches led by the King Movement have been a constant effort to organize a mass movement against the wave of attacks that were being directed against Blacks. These marches have been occurring since June. They have focused attention on the issue and generated discussion among workers and the left about the need for a small layer of rank



Marcher is knocked to ground by rocks hurled by white mob during anti-Nazi march in M

T RACIST TERROR!

Statement by the Executive Committee of the Branch of the Revolutionary Socialist League

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Cops beat bystander after anti-Nazi march.

In Chicago, the struggle against racist terror has been led by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. The King Movement has initiated an anti-racist coalition and has led repeated efforts to march to Marquette Park, one of Chicago's "all-white" neighborhoods, to protest the rising racist terrorism.

To date, the marches led by the King Movement have been the only effort to organize a mass response to the wave of attacks that were launched against Blacks. These marches have been occurring since June. They have focused attention on the issue and generated discussion among Blacks, workers and the left about what to do. A small layer of rank and file

unionists is becoming interested in the struggle. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus and others have found their organizing efforts aided by the interest and attention the marches have received.

While the RSL has differences with the King Movement, we believe that all serious revolutionaries should be participating in these marches. At a time when virtually all "official" Black and trade union forces want to do nothing, and when there is almost no response in the face of escalating racist attacks, revolutionaries must not wait for the struggle to conform to an "ideal strategy" before they join it. True revolutionaries join the struggle and raise their criticisms and fight for their approach while fighting alongside the militants in the struggle.

The leaders of the King Movement have adopted the position of "making the authorities do their job." They proclaim the tactic of "non-violence," and call for police protection. They place heavy emphasis on frequent marches and give little attention to other avenues for building a mass movement. The RSL has serious differences with this approach.

First, the tactic of "non-violence" must be rejected. It leaves Black people at the mercy of the racist thugs and the cops. Further, since police "protection" is such an obvious fraud, particularly among young Blacks, the reliance on the cops has limited and will continue to limit the King Movement's ability to mobilize the Black community. Self-defense—and the building of strong defense organizations—must replace the tactic of "non-violence."

Second, while marches—even frequent ones—can have a specific place in building a movement, they cannot represent the sole strategy. A broader approach is needed. The RSL has urged that the movement mobilize Black people around a program of

defense against racist terror, jobs for all and decent housing for all. This program can attract greater numbers of people than the more limited demand for the "right to march." Further, it can unite Black and white workers in struggle, since these are needs of the entire working class.

The more narrow strategy of marching for "the right to march" is a dead-end. Given the size of the marches, the police have time and again been able to stop them short of their goal (Nazi headquarters in Marquette Park). At other times, the police have allowed the marches to be assaulted by racist gangs. But worse still, all the city has to do is grant a permit for one march, give it police protection, and then say: "There. You've made your point. Go home and stop struggling." But one march will not stop the racist violence or win decent housing, schools and jobs.

Clearly, this approach can only end by weakening the movement and preventing it from winning real gains.

Finally, the RSL has argued that the struggle in the trade unions must be given greater emphasis. The King Movement has formed a Trade Union Committee Against Racist Attacks, but unfortunately its activity has been greatly overshadowed by the marches. As we have discussed earlier, the trade unions are essential to the anti-racist struggle. The Trade Union Committee must be given greater weight.

Today, racist violence is not on the rise only in Chicago. In Houston, St. Louis, Boston, New York, in fact

throughout the country, Blacks and other minorities have been victims of attacks. As we have explained, these attacks must be fought as part of the general struggle of the working class against its oppressors: the capitalist class.

Revolutionaries Must Lead Anti-Nazi Struggle

The struggle against the racists means a struggle for self-defense of the Black community, a fight for self-defense guards in the trade unions, coupled with a struggle to make them effective instruments of class struggle for the interests of all workers. Revolutionaries must take the lead in all aspects of this important work. The working class needs no sideline critics. Nor does it need those who refuse to defend Black people because this would "divide the working class." The working class today is already divided. The question is how to unite it.

This can only be done if revolutionaries fight for a policy of defending the victims of racist attacks combined with united class struggle. Neither the reformist "leaders" of the Black community nor the trade union bureaucrats will defend Black workers or organize and lead the necessary class-wide struggle. The responsibility rests with the revolutionaries—those who understand what is happening and how to move forward. We must not fail. □

Leftists Turn Back Armed Attack

KKK Routed in Houston

In hopes of a cheap victory through a surprise armed attack, the racist-fascist Ku Klux Klan attacked a September 18 memorial meeting for Mao Tse-tung at the Prairie Fire Bookstore in Houston. Instead of gaining a victory, the Klan was routed.

Members of the Veterans for Victory Over Communism, a Klan front group, initially tried to sneak into the memorial meeting, which was attended by the October League and other leftists. After being ejected, the Klansmen returned, shotguns in hand, and attacked the meeting. The meeting defended itself from the racists and, in the ensuing fight, one Klansman, Thomas West, was seriously injured.

Following the fascist attack, a grand jury was set up to harass the left, particularly the October League, under the guise of investigating the shooting of the Klansman. Omar Godinez, a Chicano activist, was jailed for refusing to testify about the events.

In early October the grand jury handed down its indictment. Walter Birdwell, a militant postal worker and participant in the memorial meeting, was indicted for attempted murder for the shooting of the Klansman. Birdwell was indicted even though testimony has clearly shown that West was aiming a shotgun at Birdwell when West was shot. Meanwhile, the Klan itself has admitted that the attack was an attempt to "exterminate" all those in the bookstore.

To cover its actions, the state has also charged two of the Klansmen with misdemeanors: West for "malicious mischief" and Robert Sisente for "making violent threats."

The October League and others in the Houston area have set up the People's Coalition Against Repression (PCAR), which is mobilizing support for the defense of Birdwell. PCAR began a statewide campaign with Bird-



KKK member Thomas West, wounded, flees Houston bookstore after racist attack.

well's arraignment on October 22.

The racist attack in Houston is part of a nationwide racist offensive. The Nazis have assaulted Black people in Chicago. In New York, the homes of Black people have been bombed. In St. Louis, New Orleans and elsewhere, racist terror is on the rise. Now the Klan has crawled out of its sewers and attacked the left in Houston.

We must build a campaign that can free Walter Birdwell, and expose and defeat the Nazis and the KKK. The RSL is prepared to join with the OL, PCAR and all others who are committed to building a defense that will stop the racists by whatever means are necessary. □



Marcher is knocked to ground by rocks hurled by white mob during anti-Nazi march in Marquette Park, Chicago.



Hua Kuo-feng reads eulogy to Mao in September, flanked by three of the "Gang of Four"—Wang, Chang and Chiang Ching.

Mao's Supporters Purged . . .

(Continued from page 1)

purge of "moderate" leader Teng Hsiao-ping.

• Chang Chun-chiao, Senior Deputy Premier and head of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army. Chang was Mao's representative in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution. He was also the bitter personal enemy of Teng Hsiao-ping.

• Wang Hung-wen, Deputy Chairman of the Communist Party. At about 40, Wang was the youngest member of the leadership. He had risen rapidly since emerging in Shanghai as leader of young textile workers during the Cultural Revolution.

The four "radicals" were secretly arrested on October 7. Word of the arrests leaked to the London Times on October 12. On October 18, mass demonstrations in Shanghai denounced the four as an "anti-party clique" seeking to "usurp party and state power."

The successful "moderate"-organized demonstrations in Shanghai, the home town of the "radicals," gave the green light to a national campaign. Quickly, mass rallies were staged in Peking, Canton and Tientsin. Finally, on October 22, the arrests were announced officially.

This same announcement confirmed earlier reports that Hua had been named to fill Mao's position: Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Charges Against "Gang of Four"

Within the next week, a series of charges were hurled at the four fallen leaders. New counts were added daily. Among the most frequently repeated accusations were:

• The "radicals" had tried to enlist Mao's personal guards to forcibly seize power, but had been turned down by Wang Tung-hsing, the guards' commander.

• The "radicals" had used their control of the mass media to distort Mao's final directives.

• Chiang Ching had attempted to build a personality cult around herself.

• Chiang Ching had interfered with the efforts to mechanize agriculture, and the "radicals" had attempted to disrupt production during the "anti-rightist" campaign last spring.

• The "radicals" had "worshipped things foreign and fawned on foreigners, maintained an illicit foreign relationship, betrayed important party and state secrets, and unscrupulously practiced capitulationism and national betrayal." This charge apparently alluded to Chiang Ching's 1972 interview with the American professor and journalist, Roxane Witke, which

reportedly irked Mao. Chiang Ching was also accused of nagging Mao to death.

Rumors circulated that four of Hua's bodyguards had been killed in an abortive October 6 attempt to assassinate Hua, allegedly planned by the "gang of four."

Who Are the Real "Capitalist Roaders?"

To cover their tracks, the "moderates" have tried to link their jailed enemies to Liu Shao-chi—the party leader Mao labelled the "number one capitalist roader." The four "radicals" have repeatedly been called the "real capitalist roaders." But with much less fanfare, Hua has promoted many of Liu's former associates to top posts.

For example, Li Ching-chuan, Szechuan province leader purged by Mao in 1968, is once more a prominent figure. (Some reports name him as a new Politburo appointee.) Yang Cheng-wu, deputy army chief of staff purged in 1968 (and rehabilitated only two years ago), was loudly cheered at an October 24 Peking rally. An Kang, another figure purged during the Cultural Revolution, now runs *People's Daily*. Former leaders purged in the 1960s now run other party and state periodicals. Not surprisingly, the "anti-rightist" campaign has been moved quietly to the background.

Finally, the "moderates" have begun to prepare the Chinese people for the return to power of many of the previously disgraced leaders. Both *People's Daily* and the army newspaper ran an editorial which stated: "Political parties, as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members." This is the position associated with Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping.

The political offensive of the "moderates" has met with little resistance. Whatever base the "radicals" had in the party and state apparatus has been either liquidated or cowed into submission. The "radicals" have been unable to mobilize any significant sector of the population on their behalf. It now appears that support for the "radicals" among the Chinese people was based largely on the personal prestige of Mao. With Mao dead, the "radicals" have been unable to mobilize enough support to defend themselves.

The "moderates" have carried out a surprisingly rapid and effective political coup against their "radical" opponents. In the name of Mao, they appear to have successfully liquidated virtually the entire faction in the

party most closely identified with the deceased leader.

In short, the Cultural Revolution has been reversed. The people surrounding Hua Kuo-feng are the same ones who were with Liu Shao-chi. Mao's collaborators in the Cultural Revolution are behind bars. The "moderate" faction has seized complete control.

This turn of events will have profound implications for China's domestic and foreign policies.

The new leadership is already embracing the strategy of the "moderates." Concretely, this will mean policies similar to those followed by Liu and Teng in the early 1960s: emphasizing the profit motive; "material incentives" to increase production; bonuses for plant managers; directing capital to areas of highest profitability; higher wages and other special privileges to the upper crust of skilled workers (and, as long as the economy allows, small concessions to the middle strata of the proletariat); permitting private plots in agriculture and a private market, both measures that will encourage the growth of a layer of rich peasants; less emphasis on "work-study" and more on formal academic achievement; catering to the scientific-technical-intellectual elite; and relaxing the austere cultural standards imposed by Mao and Chiang Ching.

There will also be fewer ideological campaigns and mass mobilizations, which are viewed by the "moderates" as disruptive to production. The army will gradually be reorganized along classical military lines as its use as an ideological indoctrination force fades. It will be equipped with the modern weaponry professional soldiers have demanded for years.

Internationally, the "self-reliance" policy will be further relaxed. China, searching for the technology it needs to build modern industry, will seek greater trade with the West. U.S. diplomatic recognition of China will soon be sought by U.S.-China trade associations.

Chou's Blueprint Resurrected

This new line began to take shape within a few days of the purge of the "radicals." For example, on October 25, a major editorial carried in China's most influential publications declared that the country would return to Chou En-lai's economic development program. Chou's plan, presented in January of 1975, called for modernizing industry, mechanizing agriculture and increasing foreign trade over the next five years. It also called for proceeding to build a "modern social-

ist economy" by the end of the century.

The plan clearly represents the "moderate" approach and is based on many of their techniques. The person Chou himself selected to carry out this plan was Teng Hsiao-ping, the "arch-revisionist" purged last spring. The plan had been severely criticized by the "radicals" up to the moment of their purge.

An indication of how China's foreign policy will shape up under the new regime came on October 28. On that day, the Ford administration, setting aside several trade and security restrictions, agreed to sell China a sophisticated computer system with military capabilities. The deal was the first major U.S. overture towards the new regime. On the same day, China rejected a note from the USSR extending congratulations on Hua's appointment as Chairman.

Overall, China will move in the direction of Russian-style state capitalism. China will become more openly technocratic and depoliticized. The revolutionary trappings will gradually be put in mothballs.

This transformation will not occur overnight. The Chinese ruling class knows that it must move cautiously. It must not arouse the already suspicious Chinese people. Just as the current foreign policy line has been taking shape for years, so too will the domestic shift be likely to emerge gradually.

The Cultural Revolution: Prelude to a Deal

To understand the latest developments in China, a clear idea of the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath is necessary. The recent events confirm the analysis of the class nature of China and the Cultural Revolution put forward in the *Torch*: Volume 3, Numbers 6, 7 and 9. The Cultural Revolution was a faction fight within the Chinese state-capitalist ruling class. In this fight, the masses were mobilized by one faction.

The real issue in the Cultural Revolution was how best to further the economic and social development of China along state-capitalist lines. Mao emphasized ideological control and

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Chiang Ching hanged in effigy.

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 moral exhortation of the masses. To
 defeat the "moderates," who opposed
 his strategy, Mao mobilized the
 masses (particularly the students).
 Like all ruling class elements forced
 to draw the masses into action, Mao
 and the "radicals" soon saw the lim-
 its of such an approach. The aroused
 students and young workers threat-
 ened to "get out of control"—that is,
 to fight for their own interests and
 power. When this actually began to
 happen, Mao reversed gears. He la-
 beled millions of Red Guards "ultra-
 left" and called in the army to restore
 order. The "moderates" were brought
 back to administer the disintegrating
 economy.

The two ruling class factions thus
 united in the face of the radical-
 izing masses. The "ultra-lefts" were
 exiled to distant border provinces.
 Thousands of purged "moderates"
 were restored to their former posts.
 Mao arranged this compromise
 through Chou En-lai. Basically, the
 "radicals" were given control of the
 cultural departments and the mass
 media. The "moderates" regained
 control of the party and state apparat-
 uses. Mass mobilizations were dis-
 couraged. Both factions, as part of the
 deal, agreed to try to effect an alliance
 with the U.S. against Russia.

This whole deal was actually just a
 truce. The fight between the factions
 was never entirely eliminated. It was
 merely kept within bounds to patch
 together the state-capitalist ruling
 class.

Mao and Chou: Keys to Deal

The key personal factors in this
 truce were Mao and Chou En-lai. Each
 represented one of the factions, but
 both recognized that the state-capital-
 ist class had to unite against the
 masses. As in any compromise situa-
 tion, there were elements in each
 faction who did not accept the truce.
 Some individuals wanted to continue
 the struggle through to the end with-
 out regard for the threat it repre-
 sented to the state-capitalist system
 as a whole. There was also inevitable
 maneuvering for position between the
 factions. One of the chief tasks of Mao
 and Chou, while they were alive, was
 to keep those who wanted to return to
 open factionalism in line. Mao and
 Chou were thus the key to the relative
 political stability in China since the
 end of the Cultural Revolution.

But last January, Chou died. On
 September 9, Mao died. With their
 deaths, the truce fell apart. The po-
 litical struggle began again in earnest.

The rapid and virtually complete
 victory of the "moderates," however,
 exposes the real nature of the Mao-
 Chou deal. Outside of Mao's personal
 prestige, the real control over the
 party and state apparatus had passed
 over to the "moderates." Ideology
 and the campaigns against the "right-
 ists" increasingly became mere cover

for the "moderates" economic course.
 This is why the "moderates" have
 been able to arrest the "radicals" and
 proceed with their plans so easily. The
 actual power of the "radicals" was
 lost a long time ago. Despite the
 claims, the victory of the "capitalist
 roaders" was, at least in part, the
 work of Mao himself.

Problems of Maoism

Today, many revolutionaries and
 working class militants have illusions
 in China and Mao. They think China
 is a socialist country (or at least is on
 its way to becoming one). They think
 Mao was one of the greatest Marxists
 of all time. These illusions in China
 and Mao are the crucial links chaining
 many honest revolutionaries to the
 methods and practice of Stalinism.

What is happening in China today
 may force many of these people to re-
 think important questions. The events
 call into question many of the basic
 tenets of Maoism. As such, the crisis
 in China will have a profound impact
 on the Maoist organizations in the
 U.S. and throughout the world.

The main problem the Maoists will
 face is the following: If the "moder-
 ate" faction fully defeats the "rad-
 icals," consolidates its power and
 implements its program, how can the
 Maoists maintain strict adherence to
 Mao and retain their position that
 China is a socialist society or at least
 moving in that direction?

According to the Maoists, the class
 struggle in China between the work-
 ing class (and its peasant allies) and
 the bourgeoisie is still going on. In
 this view, one of the main, if not the
 main, arenas for this struggle is the
 Chinese Communist Party itself. The
 fight against Liu Shao-chi, the Cul-
 tural Revolution and the various
 "anti-rightist" campaigns are seen by
 the Maoists as part of this struggle.
 And, even though Mao made a truce
 with the "rightist" faction, he con-
 tinued to emphasize that if the "right-
 ists" seized full control and imple-
 mented their program, China would be
 threatened with capitalist restoration.

"Capitalist Roaders" In Command

Today, however, the "rightists" are
 taking over, liquidating the "radical"
 faction entirely. Even though Hua
 Kuo-feng, the new Chairman of the
 Central Committee, was considered to
 be neutral in the fight, there can be no
 question that he has joined forces with
 the "moderates" to carry out the anti-
 "radical" campaign. A consistent
 Maoist analysis will thus have to
 recognize that the "capitalist roaders"
 will soon be in complete control.

But if the "rightists" are in control
 and carrying out their program, where
 will this lead China? To put it differ-
 ently, if the "capitalist roaders" are in
 power and carrying out their program,
 they will be setting China on the "cap-
 italist road." But what is at the end of

the "capitalist road?" A consistent
 Maoist analysis will have to answer:
 "Capitalism is at the end of the capi-
 talist road." If the bourgeoisie within
 the party, as represented by the
 "rightists," triumphs, if it consoli-
 dates its power and implements its
 program, this can only mean that
 China is heading toward capitalism.

Ultimately, to accept the Maoist
 interpretation of the Cultural Revolu-
 tion and the struggle in the party will
 mean recognizing that China is a capi-
 talist society. And for serious Mao-
 ists, this will mean making a political
 break from China—in the name of
 Maoism. Thus, to a consistent Maoist,
 the choice will ultimately be Maoism
 or China. It can't be both.

China Has Always Been On the Capitalist Road

There is a Marxist explanation for
 what is happening in China. As we
 have argued many times, the Chinese



Anti-radical demonstration in Peking.

Revolution was not a proletarian
 revolution, but an anti-imperialist
 revolution, based on the peasants and
 led by middle class elements. The
 organizational methods and ideology
 were adapted from Marxism. The new
 regime was a form of state capitalism,
 which was covered with a proletarian,
 Marxist-Leninist mask.

From this point of view, the
 Cultural Revolution was essentially a
 faction fight within the state-capital-
 ist class and the "moderate" victory
 the triumph of one wing of the
 state-capitalist ruling class over the
 other.

The defeated group, the "radicals,"
 are not left-wingers and certainly not
 proletarian revolutionaries. They
 joined with the "moderates" to crush
 left-moving groups in the Cultural
 Revolution. Behind their rhetoric,
 they called for vicious wage-cutting,
 speedup and other anti-working class
 policies. The Chinese working class

engaged in a massive strike wave
 against these policies last year. In
 fact, the inability of the "radicals" to
 fool the Chinese workers any longer
 was one of the key reasons there has
 been no mass reaction to their
 liquidation.

The struggle going on today does
 not in any way involve the class
 nature of China. There will be no
 "restoration of capitalism" as a result
 of the "moderate" victory. China has
 always been capitalist. Now, however,
 the "proletarian-socialist" disguise of
 the regime is being stripped away.

Any other attempt to explain what
 is happening in China today will lead
 to the total repudiation of Marxism,
 particularly on the nature of the state.
 Any attempt to analyze the events
 while continuing to accept Maoism
 will lead to hopeless contradictions.

We have little doubt that the leader-
 ship of the Maoist organizations will
 come up with some way, no matter
 how twisted, to explain the dilemma

they face. After all, they've already
 explained how a counter-revolution
 occurred in Russia simply through one
 man's death—Stalin's. The same
 sleight-of-hand will be tried on the
 China question.

But what really matters is what
 happens to the serious revolutionaries
 in these organizations, and other
 militants in the working class gener-
 ally. Will they attempt a serious
 study of the events in China and a
 reconsideration of their approach in
 light of them? Or will they be content
 with shoddy analyses and superficial
 arguments?

We must utilize the present circum-
 stances to try to reach out to these
 people and, in a patient and comradely
 way, try to stimulate such study and
 reconsideration, to try to utilize the
 present crisis in China to win such
 revolutionaries to Marxism.

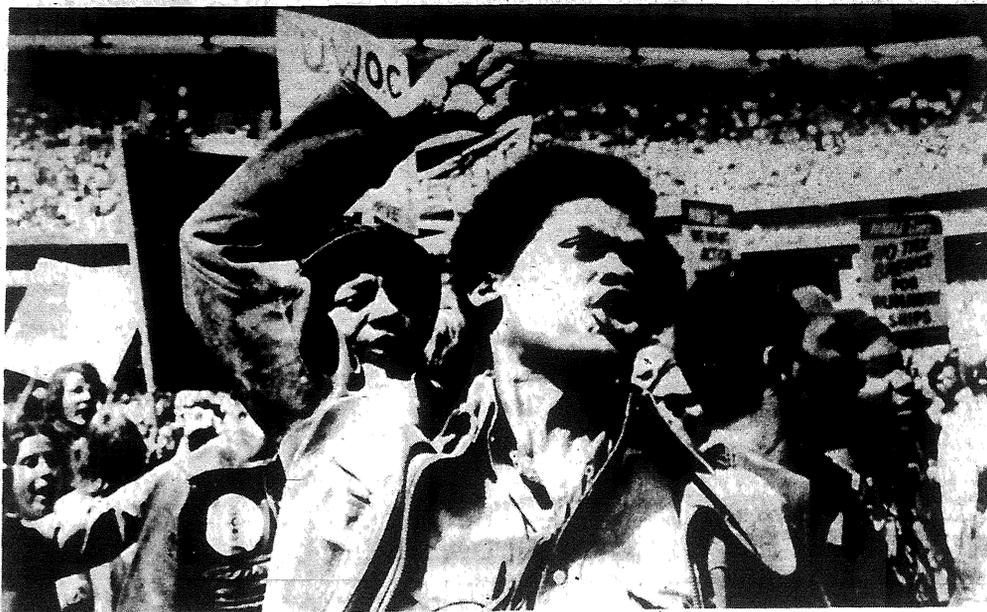
In the long run, the developments
 in China will have a significant impact
 on the Maoist organizations. All will
 be disoriented. Many will be demoral-
 ized and splits are possible. In gen-
 eral, the international impact of the
 Maoist current will be weakened. This
 provides important openings for revo-
 lutionaries. Maoism, as we have noted,
 has long trapped advanced workers
 and revolutionaries in its pseudo-
 Marxist garb. This has made it a
 serious-obstacle to the fight to build
 revolutionary Leninist parties. The
 gradual weakening of Maoism will
 make it easier for greater numbers of
 working class militants to recognize
 that it is Trotskyism which truly
 represents the continuation of Marx-
 ism and Leninism. This can only
 strengthen the fight to reconstruct an
 international revolutionary party—
 the Fourth International. □

Recent developments in China raise
 the following questions:
 What is the real class nature
 of China? Is Maoism a
 revolutionary ideology? These
 two TORCH pamphlets give
 the Marxist answer to these
 and other questions.

Order From: Haymarket Books, Box 8062, Chicago, Ill. 60680

The Fight for Socialism: Labor Party Slogan a Tactic in . . .

BUILDING A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



The voting is over and Jimmy Carter has been elected President of the United States. The contest between Carter and Ford was noteworthy for two things: The race was fought out between two of the biggest political zeroes in the country; and not a single one of the real problems facing the people of the United States was addressed in the campaign.

For the American people, the elections mean business as usual—capitalist business that is.

In the U.S., whatever the specific changes a Carter presidency will mean, workers will face more unemployment and inflation, worsening working conditions and increased attacks on minority peoples, on the trade unions and other organizations of the oppressed.

The only way out of the crisis is to overthrow the system responsible for it. Reforms can, at best, slow the decay only temporarily. The working class must aim at the overthrow of the capitalist class and the destruction of the rotting capitalist system.

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

Capitalist misery must be replaced by socialism—a system which puts the economy firmly under the control of the working class and its allies. Under socialism, the entire economy, with its tremendous achievements in science and technology, could be used to improve the lives of all the people rather than to line the already over-stuffed pockets of a few.

Overthrowing capitalism will be no easy job. The capitalist class in the U.S. will not give up its power and privileges without a fight. This is probably the most cunning and powerful ruling class in history, one which virtually believes it was ordained by God to rule the world. The U.S. capitalist class is prepared to drag the entire human race into barbarism to defend its rule. Therefore, it will take a long and brutal struggle to overthrow capitalism.

The U.S. working class has the strength and fighting spirit to overthrow capitalism. Throughout most of its history, it has been very militant

and combative. It has taken on the capitalists with whatever tools have been available, and has not drawn back from replying to the bosses' violence with violence of its own.

While militancy has rarely been lacking, U.S. workers have extremely limited political consciousness. The class battles U.S. workers have waged have usually been over limited aims. While U.S. workers have been willing to fight and die to raise their wages, improve their working conditions, organize unions, etc., only small numbers have ever recognized that the fight must be aimed at the capitalist class as a whole.

What has been lacking among the U.S. workers is a political understanding of the nature of the system they are fighting and the need to replace it with socialism. They have usually fought to get a "piece of the action"—to find a place for themselves in the system, rather than overthrow it. This low level political consciousness has been reinforced by the ability of U.S. capitalism to come up with concessions to the uppermost sections of the working class. In this century, and particularly after World War II, the major source of these concessions was the wealth U.S. imperialism stole from its worldwide neo-colonial empire.

As long as better-off workers kept their struggles within the bounds of capitalism and did not challenge the U.S. capitalists' world domination, the ruling class was willing to give up a small portion of its super-profits. These sections of the working class were bribed into supporting U.S. imperialism. This has been the material basis for the political conservatism of the U.S. working class.

Today, U.S. imperialism is, slowly but surely, on the decline. With its hold over its worldwide empire weakening, the ability of the U.S. capitalists to buy the loyalty of large sectors of the working class is being undermined. The result will be an increasingly militant struggle by the working class as the ruling class tries to take away the gains the workers have won in the past.

But the gradual elimination of the material base of the conservatism of

U.S. workers does not mean that the working class will automatically become revolutionary. For this to happen, a revolutionary party is necessary.

A revolutionary party consists of the most politically aware, trained and dedicated workers, organized in a strong, highly centralized but democratic, party. Its job is: 1) to organize and train the advanced workers; 2) to organize and lead the struggles of the working class; 3) to break down the prejudices of the workers and unite the working class in struggle; 4) to educate the workers and their allies and prepare them for the struggle to overthrow capitalism. Without a revolutionary party, the working class will spend its energy and fighting spirit in a series of highly militant but disorganized struggles that the better organized capitalist class can isolate and defeat.

The fight to build the revolutionary party, based on the Marxist program and schooled in the revolutionary strategy and tactics of Lenin and Trotsky, is the key task of revolutionaries today.

An essential part of this task is to explain to the working class why it needs such a party. This calls for careful propaganda on the nature of the party, what its program should be, how it should be organized and how it will lead the fight for the seizure of power. Such propaganda is an important part of the work of the Revolutionary Socialist League today.

REACH BROADER LAYERS

While propagandizing for a revolutionary party is essential today, only a relatively small number of workers, the most politically advanced, will be won over by this work. Revolutionaries must reach out to broader layers of workers, workers who do not understand the most basic lessons of Marxism—the class nature of capitalism, the need of the workers to unite to fight capitalism, and the necessity to overthrow capitalism and replace it with socialism. These workers will not be convinced solely through propa-

ganda about the need for a revolutionary party.

Therefore, revolutionaries need additional means to make clear the need for a revolutionary party and lay the basis for it among the broad layers of workers.

LABOR PARTY: CLASS AGAINST CLASS

It is for this reason that revolutionaries raise the slogan of a labor party, based on the revolutionary program. This slogan is a form of "short-hand" for the most basic arguments behind the need for a revolutionary party. It says that the workers should organize as a class against the capitalists, and that they must fight the capitalists in the political sphere. It makes it clear that this requires a political party, independent of the capitalist parties, based on the organizations of the working class. Revolutionaries argue that such a party must be based on the revolutionary program in order to link the call for a labor party to the idea that the goal of an independent party of the working class must be to overthrow capitalism.

The labor party slogan enables revolutionaries to reach many workers with the most basic reasons why such a political party must be organized. It also enables them to launch and help build real struggles in the trade unions and elsewhere for political independence from the capitalist class. Such struggles can make even broader layers receptive to the ideas and program of revolutionaries and build the revolutionary organization itself. In other words, the slogan of a labor party, based on the revolutionary program, helps revolutionaries pose the need for a mass revolutionary party, when no such party yet exists.

The call for a labor party does not replace the call for, and propaganda about, the revolutionary party. This work must go on continually until such a party is constructed. Nor does raising the idea of a labor party necessarily mean that a labor party will come into existence in this country.

The working class need not pass through a labor party "stage" on the road to revolution. A mass revolutionary party may well be built before a labor party is ever formed. Struggles around the labor party slogan may lead to the construction of a revolutionary party without an actual "labor party" ever coming into existence. There may also be times when revolutionaries discard the labor party slogan altogether. For example, in situations where the objective basis for the immediate formation of a revolutionary party exists and the reactionary trade union bureaucrats raise the call for a labor party to try to block this development, revolutionaries would drop the labor party slogan. In situations like these the call for a labor party would impede, rather than further, the building of the revolutionary party.

Under today's conditions, however, the labor party slogan is a useful tool to help explain the need for a revolutionary party and to build mass sentiment for it. Over the next few years, as the class struggle heats up, making broader layers of the working class open to revolutionary propaganda and agitation, the call for a labor party, based on the revolutionary program, will be increasingly important. □

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PNP leader Mich

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ionary organization itself.
ords, the slogan of a labor
ed on the revolutionary
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no such party yet exists.
for a labor party does not
call for, and propaganda
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a that a labor party will
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ng class need not pass
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Right-Wing JLP Provokes New Violence in Jamaica

On the night of November 1, the right-wing Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) provoked a shoot-out with members of the ruling People's National Party (PNP) and burned down a PNP office. The JLP attack was an attempt to spark off a new round of political violence and lay the basis for a right-wing coup.

The attack occurred as the JLP held a pre-election motorcade in Clarendon,

45 miles from Kingston, Jamaica's capital. According to the JLP, the motorcade was fired on as it approached the local PNP office. JLP supporters, "in retaliation," then attacked the office.

This tale, which was parroted by the U.S. bourgeois press, is only a flimsy cover story for a planned provocation. The report by the Jamaica Security Forces makes it clear that



PNP leader Michael Manley.



JLP leader Edward Seaga.

the 20-car JLP caravan launched an attack on the PNP office, ripping PNP posters off the walls, firing guns and hurling rocks and firebombs into the building. Only when the JLP crowd rushed the building did eight PNP members shoot back, wounding nine of the attackers. The JLP crowd then burned the office to the ground.

LONG-STANDING CAMPAIGN

Earlier this year, JLP attacks left 120 people dead, mainly working class youth who supported the PNP. The continuing provocations are part of a long-standing JLP campaign, backed by the CIA. Their plan calls for an increase of violence as prelude to a right-wing coup which would overthrow Prime Minister Michael Manley.

The U.S. imperialists and the Jamaican ruling class, which backs the JLP, have decided to get rid of Manley because he has cut into their profits. He has also shown that he cannot control the struggles of the workers and peasants.

The JLP has to make its move soon. Polls show the PNP will probably win the elections (slated for sometime before February) if they are held. If this happens, the JLP will lose its pretext that the coup is to save Jamaica from "Communist dictatorship."

This is the reason for the latest incident. The JLP and CIA figure that if they can drive JLP and PNP supporters into a new round of party warfare, the army and police will have the excuse to overthrow Manley and unleash terror against the working class and oppressed people.□

Mass Strike in Spain Called to Protest Attacks

The Workers' Commissions in Spain have called for a one-day general strike November 12. The strike is to protest the dictatorship's "austerity" program, a direct attack on the workers' struggle for better conditions.

Spanish workers have fought a series of militant strikes. Madrid bus drivers went on strike October 28 for higher wages and union recognition. To try to smash the strike, Prime Minister Suárez sent in army and police drivers as strike-breakers, arrested eight strike leaders and fired 33 others. The strike continued with the drivers battling scabs and cops at several garages. The strike finally ended in a compromise on November 4.

Spanish workers have been hit hard by economic crisis. Prices are rising 20 percent a year. Unemployment is 6 percent—high for Europe. Now, to create more profitable conditions for the capitalists, Suárez has frozen wages and suspended the no-strike law. The November 12 general strike has been called to fight this latest move by Suárez.

HUNGARY 1956: WORKERS REVOLT

Twenty years ago, in October 1956, the workers of Hungary rose up in revolt against state capitalism and Russian imperialist domination. Hungary in 1956 was an imperialist possession of Russia. Russian troops occupied the country. Through direct investments and unequal trade arrangements, Russia plundered the Hungarian economy. All sections of the population were discontented. The peasants were herded into state-capitalist collective farms; the workers had to endure the most extreme capitalist exploitation. The whole country lived under a police dictatorship.

In October 1956 the country exploded. On October 23, thousands of workers joined a demonstration in Budapest originally organized by writers and students. When police fired on the demonstrators, the workers fought back and began a general uprising. The ranks of the Hungarian army joined the revolt. The Russian troops were forced to withdraw temporarily.

During the revolt, workers throughout the country formed revolutionary committees, or workers' councils. Through these councils, the workers organized and led the struggle against the Russians. They organized military and strike action, fought for political rights for the people and demanded workers' control of production. They seized the factories to carry out their demands.

The workers' councils represented dual power—a parallel government, which challenged the state-capitalist state. For two weeks, the workers themselves held the real power in Hungary; the official government had no authority.

But on November 4, 1956, the revolt was crushed. Fifteen Russian armored divisions, with 6,000 tanks, invaded Hungary. The liberal Stalinist govern-

ment of Imre Nagy, which had been lifted into office by the first wave of revolt, prevented the Hungarian army from making a coordinated resistance.

Nevertheless, the workers fought on for 10 days. Even after Russian tanks captured the last centers of the uprising, the workers heroically maintained a general strike for five weeks. When resistance was finally stamped out, the government of Janos Kadar—which still rules Hungary today—executed all the main leaders of the workers' councils. Imre Nagy and his associates were kidnapped and killed by the Russian government.

The Hungarian Revolution was defeated, but it provides many valuable lessons for today.

The first lesson is that the working class is the only consistent revolutionary class, and the class that must lead the other layers of the people in the struggle against their oppressors. The Hungarian Revolution started as a rising of the whole people. However, the working class quickly took the lead. It gave the rising a revolutionary proletarian character, threatening the very existence of the state-capitalist ruling class. The Hungarian Revolution was an attempt by the proletariat leading the other oppressed classes to seize state power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The second point is that the workers can only rule society by smashing the bourgeois state, its army, its police and its bureaucracy. The embryonic workers state, in the form of the workers' councils, cannot exist indefinitely alongside the bourgeois state power. Either the bourgeoisie or the workers must rule.

This can be seen in Hungary. If Nagy had remained in office, he soon would have smashed the workers' councils in order to restore the state's

control over the economy and society. If the workers were to win they would have had to overthrow Nagy and smash the state apparatus that supported him.

The third lesson of the Hungarian uprising is that the working class needs a revolutionary party in order to make a revolution. A party is needed to organize the most advanced workers, to expose the maneuvers of a politician like Nagy, and to prepare and coordinate the uprising. The absence of a revolutionary party in Hungary meant that the workers trusted Nagy too much and did not clearly see that they must take full power.

Finally, the Hungarian Revolution

shows that the workers' movement, and the revolutionary party that leads it, must be international. The Hungarian workers were up against not only their native rulers, but the Russian army as well. On their own, they could not defeat the armed might of this imperialist giant. A Russian revolutionary party, linked with the revolutionary workers of Hungary in an international party was needed to carry out the work to undermine the Russian army.

The crushing of the Hungarian Revolution was a defeat for all workers. But its lessons, as well its memory, must serve to guide and inspire the struggle of workers throughout the world.□



Hungarian workers surround fallen statue of Stalin, October 1956.

LETTERS

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

Sadlowski: No Gain For USWA Ranks

Dear Editor,

Your October-November issue includes an article on the campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). The article makes the point that Sadlowski wants to prevent the rank and file from taking control of the union. This is certainly the case here in District 31. This is the district where Sadlowski is in the best position to build a militant rank and file organization, but there is no

evidence that Sadlowski is going to do anything more than talk about a movement of steelworkers.

Recently, Sadlowski announced his slate, and it is more proof of the same point. Instead of trying to pull together a force capable of defeating the ENA, Sadlowski—by choosing this slate—is saying to his liberal supporters: "Don't worry about me. I'm not strike-happy. I can be as civilized as I.W. Abel."

Sadlowski's slate consists of Mar-

vin Weinstock for administrative vice-president, Oliver Montgomery for vice-president of human affairs, Ignacio Rodriguez for secretary and Andrew Kmec for treasurer. Sadlowski's slate is widely hailed as an attempt to balance the candidates by race, geography and various groups in the union. The most interesting thing about Sadlowski's slate, though, is not that he attempted to touch all the bases when he chose his running mates, but that he has included on a five-person slate two of Abel's staffers. Both Kmec and Montgomery are firmly established in the USWA bureaucracy. Kmec has been a USWA official for nearly 30 years.

This is Sadlowski saying that he is fundamentally no different than all the USWA presidents who have gone before him. Sadlowski claims he wants to restore the union's viability. Yet he puts on his executive slate men like Kmec who have helped set up the undemocratic policies that Sadlowski is supposedly opposed to. Kmec has worked with Murray, McDonald and Abel.

Sadlowski supporters have been quoted as saying that the appointments of Montgomery and Kmec "will really give Abel heartburn. Now they won't be able to pin the outsider label on Ed anymore." This further indicates how Sadlowski feels about his fight in the union. Sadlowski fights by showing that he can play Abel's game as well as Abel can. Sadlowski forgets that as long as anyone stands for the rights of the ranks and tries to build an organization of steelworkers to fight the sellout policies of the bureaucrats—they will be labelled outsiders.

By appointing Ignacio Rodriguez

Sadlowski hopes to get the vote of Latino and Western voters. By appointing Weinstock he hopes to get the votes of steelworkers further to the East. With Kmec and Montgomery he hopes to get the votes of Blacks and the conservatives who don't want things to change too fast. Sadlowski is also proving that he doesn't know the first thing about building a union capable of standing up to the companies' attacks. That is: the way to build unity in the union is not to put a Black or a Latino in office for show (which incidentally is the same thing Abel attempted to do when he appointed Lynch as vice-president of human affairs), but rather by putting forward a program for all the steelworkers to rally behind. That program will have to be a real fighting program. Sadlowski's problem is that he doesn't represent a fighting alternative, but rather a dressing-up in liberals' clothing of the same policies that have been in the USWA since its founding.

District 31 is overwhelmingly pro-Sadlowski. If Sadlowski were to start to build a fighting organization anywhere it would be here. Up until now he has done nothing of the sort. When asked about this fact Sadlowski and his supporters say: "Wait until after the election, then you'll see what we can do."

A rank-and-file fight would be disastrous from Sadlowski's point of view. He would no longer be able to say that he was a "responsible" union leader.

Thank you for your fine coverage of the steel industry.

N.M.
Chicago

Defense Guard Stops Racists in St. Louis

Dear Torch,

Since last March, a Black family in the Bel-Ridge area of St. Louis County has been harassed by a gang of racists. The family has been insulted and taunted on the street, had a cross burned on their front lawn, bricks thrown through their windows and have been threatened on several occasions. There's nothing unusual about this, since St. Louis County is notorious for racist attacks on black homeowners.

On Saturday, October 30, the racists threatened to fire-bomb the Black family's home. Deciding that they needed help, the family turned to the office of the County Prosecutor. The Prosecutor's Office couldn't help them, but referred them to the State Attorney General's Office, who referred them to the FBI. The FBI was busy (probably keeping tabs on "radicals" and "troublemakers") but told them they could get help from the local Human Relations Office. The Human Relations people told them they should call the ACLU. Finally, someone who had heard of the family's plight called the Black and White Defense Guard.

The Defense Guard is an organization of workers and left groups designed to physically defend working people against racist violence. Within

three hours we had tracked down one of the ringleaders of the racist group and let him know that we weren't going to put up with any more nonsense. That night and the following night, the Defense Guard had several people stationed at the family's home. There was no fire-bombing or any other kind of violence. No one has heard so much as a peep from the racists since the Defense Guard took action.

There's an important lesson in this. No fewer than five powerful and "respectable" agencies (not counting the local police department) couldn't seem to find the time or resources to do anything for the Black family. One group of determined Black and white working people did what the huge apparatus of the local, state and federal governments wouldn't do.

In St. Louis, as elsewhere, the government is busy doing what it is supposed to do—defending the interests of the rich. The Defense Guard will continue to do its job—defending working people from racist attack.

Anyone interested in the work of the Black and White Defense Guard should write in care of Jim Hays, PO Box 3443, St. Louis, Mo. 63143.

In struggle,
J.M.
St. Louis

Renaissance Center: No Jobs for Detroit Workers

Dear Torch,

Your recent article, "Detroit: Police Terrorize Black Community" (Vol. 3, No. 10) made clear that the Detroit ruling class's answer to joblessness and the decay of the city is not new jobs and services but police terror. The story of Detroit's "Renaissance Center" makes it clear just how the capitalists operate.

Over four years ago, the auto bosses promised to bring new life to the city of Detroit. Ford and General Motors announced that they would take the first step by funding a new building, the Renaissance Center, to be built on Detroit's riverfront. The Center was supposed to draw businesses and the white middle class back into the city. The resulting influx of money and business would—the capitalists claimed—create thousands of jobs for unemployed workers in Detroit.

Today the Renaissance Center is almost completed. While there is no money for Detroit's schools, and no jobs for tens of thousands of laid-off auto workers and Black teenagers, GM and Ford found \$337 million for the Renaissance Center. The bulk of that money came from a \$250 million loan from the National Bank of Detroit and several other banks. These same banks were cited last month by the U.S. government for refusing home improvement and home purchase loans to Blacks in Black neighborhoods (a practice called red-lining).

Meanwhile, all the promises of new money and jobs which were made years ago have turned to nothing. The Renaissance Center has not attracted any new industry into the city. Instead, the Center is drawing its tenants from downtown Detroit itself. Lawyers, bankers and merchants who are now afraid to live downtown are being urged to move to the Renaissance Center, where they will be protected by an 80-man private police force.

Despite the claims, the Renaissance Center has brought Detroit workers no benefits. (Just last week a construction worker fell 50 feet to his death because the Center has refused for months to correct safety violations on the construction site.) When the Center is complete, there will be only 1,800 new permanent jobs. Thousands of unemployed workers have stood outside the Center waiting for hours for a chance to apply for one of those jobs. The Center expects to take in over 30,000 applications for these 1,800 jobs. And these do not even begin until next year.

The Renaissance Center highlights the rottenness of capitalism and the arrogance of the capitalist class. The Detroit bosses intend to withdraw behind their private police and gloat over record auto profits while the lives of the workers in Detroit go from bad to worse.

R.C.
Detroit

Just Out!

Attention Workingmen!

MASS-MEETING

TODAY, at 7:30 o'clock.

HAYMARKET, Randolph St. Bldg. Desplacemen and Relat.

Good speakers will be present to discuss the latest news items of the period, the shooting of our namesake worker yesterday afternoon. Workingmen are invited and appear in Full Force! THIS IS REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIENCE!

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LETTERS

Celebrate Anniversary Of Mexican Revolution

Dear Torch,

On November 20 we celebrate the Day of the Mexican Revolution. On that date in 1910 began the struggle that overthrew the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, which was closely tied to capitalism and yankee imperialism. This revolution was one of the greatest mass uprisings of this century—and the greatest and most glorious uprising our hemisphere has seen.

Even before 1910, the workers and peasants had fought heroically against forces much larger than their own. They were defeated many times, but never gave up. The workers battled against capitalism and imperialism in the Rio Branco and Cananea strikes. In Cananea, U.S. troops crossed the border to smash the strike. The workers defended themselves valiantly, without relying on the representatives of their oppressors. They fought with their own forces—in a sense, with a workers' defense guard.

The peasants fought for decades against the big landowners who stole their land. They realized that relying on "legal means" would lead them up a blind alley. Many of them fought with arms, knowing that force was the only language the landowners understood. And many were killed by the bullets of the landowners and their agents. The "lucky" ones were deported to work in the jungles of Quintana Roo.

The Yaqui Indians fought back against the war of extermination that the government and landowners waged to grab their fertile land. The Yaquis were driven out, but their ferocity has not been tamed to this day.

When the revolution broke out in 1910, millions of people rose up in

arms. The peasants—especially those of Morelos, led by Emiliano Zapata—didn't wait for any parliament to decree the division of the land. They began to take the land themselves. Their slogan was "Land and Liberty." In the north, a magnificent peasant army was formed under the leadership of Pancho Villa, and attacked the landowners' forces. Every time the masses began to smash the armies of the oppressors, the liberals such as Carranza and Obregón tried to put themselves at the head of the struggle. But the people always went further than these liberals did.

The revolution was a tremendous blow against imperialism. The forces of Villa and Zapata controlled almost all Mexico for a time. But the lack of a revolutionary party, a party of the working class which would fight for socialism, and to guarantee democratic rights to all the people, left the masses of peasants watching power slip away like water through their hands.

Today the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) proclaims itself heir to the Revolution. But the PRI is a tool of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The workers of Mexico still live in poverty. A revolutionary party is needed to fight for socialist revolution.

We must remember the words of Ricardo Flores Magón: "The working class must emancipate itself"—and of Emiliano Zapata: "When you seek justice from a tyrannical government, don't do it with your hat in your hand, but with a rifle in your fist."

Long Live The Mexican Revolution!
A.S.
Chicago

Walla Walla Prisoners Fight Brutal Treatment

Dear Torch,

Prisoners in the Intensive Security Unit at Walla Walla prison have just been informed of yet another escalation in the level of repression. This latest attack comes in the form of a memorandum, issued by "mad dog" Harvey (Associate Superintendent of Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla—Editor), which states that any protest or resistance on the part of prisoners will be met by immediate placement in the long-outlawed strip cells.

Strip cells are a concrete box with a solid steel door. The only furnishing is a hole in the floor which serves as a toilet. According to theory, the prisoner is stripped and thrown into the box for an indefinite period. What actually happens is that the prisoner is stripped, beaten bloody (the prisoner always "attacks" the ten-man goon squad), and left in the box for an indefinite period.

The courts have repeatedly ruled the rise of strip cells to be cruel and unusual punishment. But the institution would still use them to bury men who resist "treatment" or protest illegal conditions. The strip cells are out of sight from other prisoners so the guards' accounts of beatings

cannot be disputed by anyone other than the victim. There is a man on B tier who is still recovering from the stomping and gassing he received in a strip cell. This prisoner was left bleeding for more than twenty-four hours before he was finally given medical attention, which required hospitalization.

Up until now, the use of strip cells has been associated with some form of organized protest, like the food strike several months back. Now, however, this criminal technique of control is to be used as a matter of out-front policy. And we as prisoners are powerless to stop it.

We need your help as soon as possible if we are to be protected from physical harm and abuse. Stop the use of strip cells. Write letters of protest to the governor, congresspeople, and the attorney general. Demonstrate your support of our struggle for human dignity. Write:
Governor Dan Evans
Olympia, Wash.
and
Slade Gorden, Attorney General
Temple of (in)Justice
Olympia, Washington
Love and struggle,
The Walla Walla Brothers

Bureaucrats Shaft Ford Local 551

Dear Friends,

I have just read your article on Woodcock's sellout at Ford. There's even more to the sellout! Let me tell you about the way things work here at Ford Local 551 (Chicago Assembly Plant—Editor). Our union leaders operate out of the bosses' hip pocket!

First they ram through a 727-602 ratification of the UAW-Ford contract at the October 11 Production Workers Meeting. The voting procedures were disorderly as all hell. We are appealing the vote on the national Agreement and the vote on the local supplemental agreements.

Second, the bosses' buddies in the union bureaucracy busted their asses to get us back to work on Thursday and Friday, October 14-15. They did this without telling us that the new agreement didn't go into effect until October 18!

They tricked us into working without a contract! As a result, the base rate for the two-day paychecks was \$5.43-\$5.58 per hour for most production workers. We found out about this rip-off the day before the checks were

given out. Over a hundred of us signed a petition within a few hours. We demanded a meeting with the Local President, Byron Cooper. We wanted him to explain why he called us back to work with no contract and with no raise (about 38 cents).

We didn't get the meeting. We did get an explanation. A written memo on the UAW Committee Room said: (1) The UAW-Ford Council understood that the contract was effective immediately after the ratification votes on October 12 and 13 BUT (2) the top seven-man Negotiating Committee made a "special agreement" to make the contract effective on Monday, October 18! No one believes this lie.

The UAW leaders were paid off! This "special agreement" probably saved Henry Ford \$24,000 at the Chicago Assembly Plant alone. Nationally, it saved him some \$700,000.

We will not forgive! We will not forget!

Yours,
A Ford Worker

Abortion Bill an Attack on Women

Dear Torch,

In 1967 I, along with millions of other teenage women, had an illegal abortion. This involved travelling to Puerto Rico where, I was told, abortions were legal and easily available. I arrived to find that this was a lie. I was humiliated by the taxi driver who refused to take me directly to the door of the Women's Hospital in Santurce. He dropped me off two blocks away. I then had to pay an "entrance fee" of \$100 to a leering bloodsucker. The doctor himself made sexual advances and was surprised to be turned down. All told, the entire experience was humiliating and emotionally exhausting. I was 17 and pregnant and society forced me to pay the cost. I was lucky that I was not one of the many thousands who ended up dead that year at the hands of butcher abortionists.

There is a new law just passed by Congress (now before Ford) which throws us back to the Dark Ages. It specifically prohibits Medicaid funds from being used for abortions "as a

method of family planning or for emotional or social convenience." Abortions are allowed only if the mother's life is in danger. Mental health is reduced to a "convenience" and reliance on illegal, rip-off quacks for abortions is no longer considered dangerous.

A double standard prevails! Rich women have always been able to obtain an abortion with a minimum amount of hassle. This class privilege must be made into a right for all women by making abortions legal and free.

The abortion issue is being used as a political football with the lives and emotional well-being of millions of women at stake. The Catholic Church is raising millions for its Right-to-Life campaign. Their so-called Right to Life means the guarantee of death to working class and poor women in this country. Nothing less than free and legal abortions and free medical care in general can ensure a safe and decent standard of living for all.

M.L.
Detroit

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nce Center highlights of capitalism and the e capitalist class. The e intend to withdraw ivate police and gloat profits while the lives n Detroit go from bad

Miners on Move . . .

(Continued from page 5)
cats and the miners' movement as a whole. But the miners' struggle could not be snuffed out easily. In his first step Miller got the coal companies to agree to "improve" the grievance procedure to take the place of "unnecessary" wildcats. But the ranks wouldn't swallow it. Hundreds of thousands of miners continued to say: "When your life is on the line, you don't file a grievance and wait for negotiations. You strike!"

RISING STRUGGLE IN THE COAL FIELDS

Since Miller's election, the struggle in the coal fields has escalated dramatically. In the last two years alone, miners have waged over 4,000 wildcats. At the same time, Miller has fought to destroy the growing power of the rank and file.

Miller negotiated his first contract in 1974—it was a disaster. The agreement denied the right to strike and formalized the substitution of the grievance procedure for wildcats. Starting in West Virginia, militant miners formed the Committee to Defend the Right to Strike to organize against the sell-out contract. Forty-four percent of the union membership voted no in 1974. This sealed the split between Miller and the best fighters in the UMWA.

In September 1975, miners in West Virginia wildcatted over the firing of a local president. They were determined to defend the right to strike. Within a few days over 80,000 miners had joined the walkout. The Right to Strike Committee was active in spreading the picket lines.

The coal companies went to their agents in the courts and got the judges to levy \$1.2 million in fines against the striking miners. Miller announced that the union would no longer be responsible for fines incurred by the locals during "unauthorized" strikes.

In March of this year, the miners struck again to demand improved Black Lung benefits. Miller stepped up his offensive against the rank and file movement and centered his attack on the Right to Strike Committee. He suspended two miners from the union; these militants were active in the Right to Strike Committee and had helped to lead the Black Lung wildcat. One miner, Bruce Miller, was jailed during the wildcat for refusing to obey a court injunction against the strike. While Bruce Miller was sitting in the bosses' prison, Arnold Miller began proceedings to suspend him from the union!

Miller hoped that by combining outright repression with the "new and improved" grievance procedure he could stop the wildcats. But the combined forces of the mine owners, the courts and Arnold Miller have not stopped the miners' struggle.

The militant strike this past summer by over 100,000 miners was the most widespread wildcat to date. The walkout began when a federal judge levied huge fines against Local 1759 in West Virginia for striking over an arbitrator's decision. The judge threatened to jail the entire membership of Local 1759 unless they went back to work. But miners across the country walked off the job and forced the judge to back down.

Miller responded to the latest wildcat by threatening to expel the strikers from the union (this would have been nearly half the membership) and to put the striking locals into receivership. But Miller could not carry out his threats. His power in the union had reached low tide.

HEAD-ON COLLISION RESULT: STALEMATE

This situation reached its culmination at September's UMWA convention where the ranks and the two bureaucratic factions collided head-on. The result was a stalemate. Rank and file delegates were mad enough and strong enough to defend themselves against the most explicit attacks of the bureaucrats.

For example, when Miller moved that a two-thirds vote rather than a simple majority of the Executive Board be required to overturn the president, the delegates saw it as a factional move and voted it down. The same thing happened when the right wing proposed that the safety and organizing programs be put under the control of the district leaders (where the right wing is stronger). And when Miller proposed a constitutional amendment providing for fines and suspensions against wildcat leaders, the hall exploded. Miners booed him down and Miller could not get a single delegate to second his motion!

But the ranks revealed their own weaknesses. Political consciousness among miners is extremely mixed. This came out clearly when vice-president Mike Trbovich launched a red-baiting attack on the leaders of the wildcat strikes. In his speech, Trbovich called Miller a "puppet" of "communist outsiders" on his staff. Although delegates hooted and jeered while Trbovich spoke, many rank and file later got sucked into the red-baiting.

Miller responded to Trbovich's

charges by mobilizing his staff (the so-called "communists") to attack reporters from left-wing newspapers who were attending the convention. One reporter from the Call, newspaper of the October League, was beaten and suffered a broken nose. The entire range of left press was forced to leave the convention.

The union bureaucrats skillfully used the red-baiting tactic to take the heat off themselves. Instead of fighting both Miller and Trbovich over their attacks on the wildcats, many delegates allowed themselves to be diverted into attacking left-wingers and other rank and file militants.

The convention clearly revealed Miller's precarious position. Miller owes his office and whatever power he has in the union almost solely to the militant rank and file movement which put him in office. But these same ranks, who formerly had deep illusions in Miller, are now disgusted with him. It is only their deep hatred for the old Boyle gang that keeps Miller in office at all. But if Miller fails to attack the ranks with more vigor than he has already, the hostility of the right wing of the bureaucracy to him will grow. Behind this wing stand the coal companies and the capitalist class in general who are impatient for an end to miner "disorders."

Thus Miller is trapped. His allegiance to capitalism prevents him

from becoming a champion of the rank and file struggle—a struggle which can only win victories at the expense of coal company profits. And at the same time, if Miller goes all the way over to the old Boyle program the question will arise: who needs Arnold Miller?

The stalemated faction fight within the UMWA bureaucracy gives the rank and file the opportunity to organize its forces and press forward its struggle. As long as it is divided, the bureaucracy will have a tough time taking on the ranks. But the stalemate situation in the union cannot last forever.

The ranks must move forward. They must broaden and deepen their struggle. They must build a strong organization that can cohere the ranks and challenge the bureaucrats—liberal and right-wing—for leadership in the union. If they cannot do this, it will only be a matter of time before one or another of the bureaucratic factions seizes firm control of the union and moves to smash the rank and file movement.

The miners' goal must be to place in office a revolutionary leadership, closely tied to the rank and file and committed to leading the struggle of the miners through to victory, without regard for the interests of the capitalists or of capitalism itself. In this way, the miners will place themselves in the forefront of the struggle for the interests of all workers—to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism. □

Racist Hysteria . . .

(Continued from page 2)

how they live, all the dirt in the streets, all the litter. . . If they got rid of them all there'd be money for all we need in this city."

In Britain's last national election, the fascists got over 100,000 votes. British political experts claim that, on the basis of local election results, where the fascists have piled up big votes, they could get as many as one-half million votes if national elections were held now.

The racism of a part of the British working class is the result of economic decay, demoralization and sellout leadership. It can exist and grow because British workers suffer from 300 years of racist indoctrination.

Workers are demoralized because they have been forced to shoulder the burden of the economic crisis. In two and one-half years of Labour Party rule, unemployment has doubled while prices have gone up more than 50 percent. Unemployment passed the 1.5 million mark in August, the highest level in 35 years. Those workers who do have jobs faced first a wage freeze and then wage guidelines (which don't even pretend to keep up with inflation).

Trade union officials have enforced these policies in the working class. When the National Union of Seamen threatened to strike against the wage guidelines, they were threatened with expulsion from Britain's trade union federation.

The depth of the crisis and the magnitude of the sellout have sapped the fighting spirit of the workers. Only two years ago working class militancy brought down the Conservative government and its wage limitation policy. Now that the Labour government is carrying out exactly the same policy, the number of strikes in the first six months of 1976 was the lowest in 23 years.

For decades British politicians have told workers that their jobs and prosperity depended on "keeping the

natives in their place." A number of workers, poisoned by this racist propaganda, find West Indian and Asian workers an easy target.

The vast majority have not bought the racist line. Young West Indian and Asian workers have taken the lead in forming defense guards to protect their communities from fascist thugs. Together with left groups and trade union militants, they have organized counter-marches and demonstrations, often forcing the fascists to slink out of town without so much as showing their faces.

Pressure from militants in the trade unions and Labour Party Youth organizations forced the Labour Party to open a national anti-racist campaign in September. But this campaign specifically forbids Labour Party militants from carrying out the one strategy that has proved effective in combat with the fascists—the organization of counter-marches and demonstrations whenever the fascists show their heads. Instead, the Labour Party wants its supporters to hand out leaflets.

You can't beat fascism with leaflets. You beat it by out-organizing the fascists, out-fighting them and driving them out of the streets.

British workers don't face the immediate threat of a fascist takeover. The capitalists won't resort to calling the fascists to power while they can control the workers through the Labour Party and its trade union supporters.

But they will use the fascists to divide and demoralize the workers. And they will use the Labour Party to strangle any attempt to build a mass workers' movement, like the anti-racist movement.

Militants face the task of uniting those groups in the Asian and West Indian communities, the trade unions, the left groups and the Labour Party youth who are willing to mobilize against the fascists despite the Labour Party's attempt to strangle the anti-racist movement. □

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