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NYPL

KKK, NAZIS ON THE MARCH

Chicago Is Scene of Attacks



Rev. Edgar Jackson [right] is arrested as cops stop black march against racist violence.

CHICAGO, JUNE 12—The Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party are on the march in this city, assaulting black people and spreading racist filth. On June 6, several hundred Nazi-organized white racists, mostly youths, invaded southwest Chicago's black community of West Englewood. Bands of whites armed with baseball bats and chains went on a rampage, attacking passing motorists and random individuals in the street. Six black people were injured seriously enough to require hospitalization. Two were children, one was a pregnant woman.

This latest violence follows on the heels of a several-month period of steadily increasing racist activity. The

Nazis have posted Chicago's southwest neighborhoods with placards featuring a skull-and-crossbones, swastika and the words: "Nigger beware." The houses of black people who have moved into white neighborhoods have been firebombed; blacks have been attacked at beaches and other public areas; gangs of white youths roam the streets assaulting and terrorizing black people who are out at night alone.

The June 6 mob attack was organized by the Nazis to prevent a demonstration called by leaders of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. The demonstration was planned to demand an end to the growing racist

(Continued on page 18)



FBI: "Spy, Harass, Destroy"

American capitalism provides freedom and privacy for all, even for its opponents—or so the official story goes. Recent revelations on the activity of U.S. domestic intelligence agencies explode this myth.

The recent Senate investigations provide a mountain of evidence showing that the United States has a secret police apparatus worthy of any totalitarian state—a gigantic bureaucracy set up to spy on, harass and destroy individuals and organizations. And it is used. Here are some of the recent revelations:

- The FBI alone has over 500,000 intelligence files (65,000 of them opened in the single year 1972) on individuals ranging from revolutionaries through occasional protesters to liberal Senators. U.S. Army Intelligence files contain lists of over 100,000 individuals and hundreds of organizations. The CIA photographed 250,000 first-class letters between 1953 and 1973, producing a file of 1.5 million names. Groups like the NAACP were spied on for periods up to 25 years.

- The FBI marked 26,000 individuals for detention in concentration camps in the event of a "national emergency."

- The FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program), the CIA's "Operation Chaos" and similar programs organized over 2,300 separate attempts to infiltrate radical organizations and provoke violent incidents.

- Double agents set up the murder of Chicago Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton. The 1969 warfare between the Panthers and Ron Karenga's militant nationalist group in Los Angeles was similarly set up. Smears and anonymous letters were used to get individuals fired from their

(Continued on page 15)



Fred Hampton's bedroom after murder.

Rubber Workers Still Out

by Sandy Young

JUNE 11—The nationwide rubber strike has reached a critical stage. The strike is now in its eighth week. Rubber workers have refused to back down in the face of an employer drive to break the strike and undermine the union's hold in the industry. Under tremendous pressure from the union's rank and file, United Rubber Workers (URW) President Peter Bommarito called a special convention on May 27 to build the strength of the strike.

Bommarito had hoped to settle the strike within a few weeks, but with the employers and the ranks each refusing to give ground, URW leaders have been forced to dig in for a long strike. Bommarito now predicts the strike may last through July or August.

The rubber companies refuse to budge from their original offer. They are proposing a \$1.15 total wage increase, and cost-of-living protection after a seven-point rise in the cost-of-living index. The outcome of the strike will have a huge impact on millions of workers whose contracts expire this year. Most important will be its impact on the 800,000 auto workers whose contracts expire in September.

The companies are doing everything they can to break the strike. Supplemental Unemployment Benefits for over 1,800 laid off workers were cut off. Court injunctions have been sought and issued against mass picketing. Rubber's "Big Four," Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone and Uniroyal, are counting on being able to starve the strikers, who are getting no strike benefits, back to work. But if they need to, the rubber bosses are prepared to ask the federal government to step in and halt the strike (see box on page 4).

Rank and file rubber workers have other plans. They are determined to win back ground lost as a result of the 1973 contract (real wages declined 10 percent over the three years), and prevent future erosion of wages by gaining a full cost-of-living allowance. They are demanding an immediate \$1.65 "catch-up" increase plus second- and third-year wage increases.

Militancy is extremely high. Mass picketing and turning back scabs continue despite court injunctions and the disapproval of the union leadership. Twenty Goodyear workers were arrested and fired from their jobs in

(Continued on page 4)

China in Crisis: Origins and Roots—p.8

Movement Against S. Africa's Racist Apartheid System Builds

by Chris Hudson

Liberation struggles are escalating throughout southern Africa. In the Republic of South Africa, heartland of imperialism's African empire, the masses have gained new confidence from the recent victories in Angola and Mozambique.



Anti-apartheid demonstration in the 1950s.

On March 14, 16,000 Africans attended a rally in Johannesburg's Soweto area to protest the government's "separate development" policy. The meeting was addressed by Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, a long-time government supporter who has been forced by mass sentiment to become critical of government policy. "The events in Mozambique and Angola and similar impending events in Zimbabwe and Namibia have brought a new sense of National awareness into the hearts and minds of South Africa's Blacks," Buthelezi told the massive crowd.

A few days after the Soweto rally, a protest in Johannesburg against a political trial turned into a four-hour battle with police and whites when 2,000 black workers going to catch trains after work joined the demonstration. On March 21, several thousand Africans attended a rally commemorating the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. A week later, police with dogs and clubs charged several hundred workers massed outside a factory. The workers were protesting the firing of the entire black work force for demanding recognition of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, one of the more militant black unions.

These and similar events threaten to bring into action the most harshly exploited, brutally oppressed and potentially revolutionary population on the African continent—South Africa's black proletariat.

South African capitalism rests on the exploitation of black wage labor. There are nearly 20 million blacks in South Africa and fewer than five million whites. Unlike other African countries, South Africa's black population is 75 percent urban and proletarian. African wage laborers work in the ports and transport system, produce cars, textiles and other industrial goods, hire out as servants for the white upper crust. They are forced to live in huge segregated townships (such as Johannesburg's Soweto, which simply means "Southwest Townships") encircling the white cities. Others, brought by contract from rural areas and countries to the north, sweat by day in the mines and are locked by night in barbed-wire compounds.

THE APARTHEID SYSTEM

This is a working class without rights. Under the system of apartheid (total segregation) wages of blacks average one-fifth those of whites in manufacturing, and one-twentieth in mining. A giant web of segregation

laws controls every movement. Police state laws make every protest, every mass movement, illegal. Current laws allow consecutive three-month sentences for "political prisoners"—anyone who protests in any way—without trial. The Vorster government now seeks to extend the three-month sentences to six months in order to lessen the number of times its officers have to appear in rubber-stamp courts.

Opponents of the regime, when captured, are routinely tortured and killed. But African workers are also subject to jail for the slightest offense. It has been estimated that one in every four black adults is jailed every year.

South Africa's white rulers have for some years been trying to divert criti-

cism of their brutal apartheid system with a so-called "separate development" or "Bantustan" policy. Under the Bantustan policy South Africa's blacks are to be classified by ethnic group and assigned to one of 10 different "homelands." These "homelands" are scraps of land not wanted by white farmers. Blacks will be granted "independence" under the rule of hand-picked lackeys of the Vorster regime. Xhosa Chief Kaiser Matanzima's homeland, Transkei, will become "independent" on October 26—with a white South African minister of finance and a white minister of internal security.

Since Africans will supposedly have full rights in these "homelands," the South African government has introduced a bill to strip all Xhosa of their South African citizenship. The same treatment awaits any other tribal group whose leaders accept the sham of Bantustan "independence." Black South Africans will continue to sweat for their white masters in South Africa's factories and mines, in most cases never seeing their "homelands,"

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Angola Hit by Strikes, Food Shortages

The newly established MPLA regime in Angola faces serious labor unrest. Strikes, slowdowns and other job actions have cut production drastically—in many cases to 50 percent or even 30 percent of normal. Angolan workers are stepping up demands for higher wages and bonuses. In many cases these demands have been granted, but inflation rapidly undercuts the gains, leading to new job actions. In some cases wages have risen from \$50 to \$200 a month. But shortages have pushed food prices up even faster. In one market in Luanda (capital of Angola) the price of cabbage is now \$6 a head. Many foods are unavailable.

MPLA leaders have denounced the strikers as "opportunists." They demand tighter labor discipline and threaten to close unproductive factories. The crisis is so severe that Luanda district elections, scheduled for May 13, were postponed to the end of June. According to the government, "at a time when there is an attempt to paralyze production in Luanda, the election would lose much of its true revolutionary significance." During April, the MPLA also arrested more than 100 left-wing opponents, mainly in Luanda.

The MPLA led the Angolan independence struggle and defeated the U.S. and South Africa's imperialist puppets. This was a great victory for all people struggling against the yoke of imperialist oppression. But despite the many illusions and the claims of opportunist radicals that the MPLA would "end the exploitation of man by man," the MPLA regime is a bourgeois government. The foreign task masters have been expelled, but capital still rules labor in Angola. Now, the class struggle is beginning to unfold. The nature of the MPLA regime will become ever more clear. The progressive future of Angola lies in the hands of its working class. □

Anti-Imperialist Forces Are Gaining Strength in Zimbabwe

Black rebel activity in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) made May the bloodiest month of the three-year-old guerrilla war. During April and May, nationalist guerrillas succeeded in cutting the main road and rail lines to South Africa. Though the lines were reopened, traffic to South Africa now goes under military convoy. Guerrilla attacks have come as close as 32 miles from the capital, Salisbury. According to the London Observer, 3,000 Zimbabwean guerrillas have entered Rhodesia since December and 3,000 more will follow in the next few months. They are part of a force of 12,000 to 20,000 training in Mozambique.

The refusal of the white-minority colonialist government of Ian Smith to make concessions to African demands has temporarily united the African liberation struggle. Zambia's President Kaunda, previously maneuvering for a deal with Smith, now is backing the road of armed struggle. A unified military command has been formed, consisting of leaders of ZANU, the more militant of the two former nationalist groups, and dissidents in the rival group, ZAPU.

The Smith regime commands 13,500 regular and elite troops and a reserve force of over 35,000. It has a big edge

in armaments, including \$88 million worth of combat helicopters delivered in 1975 by South Africa. Smith has just declared an indefinite extension of duty for the army and reservists. His government is rounding up African villagers in the "operational zones" and herding them into "protected" and "consolidated villages"—detention centers under military rule. Africans violating a dusk-to-dawn curfew are being shot on sight.

Despite Smith's present material superiority, his recent moves are signs of weakness, not strength. The white settlers are outnumbered 20 to one. They depend not only on African labor, but even on African troops—half the police and army (but none of the elite anti-guerrilla units) are black. Smith is now reluctantly considering drafting Africans to free more white troops for the anti-guerrilla operations.

The guerrillas are gaining strength. While the broad masses have not yet moved into active struggle, Smith is nevertheless surrounded by a hostile population. In the villages, in the cities, even in Smith's army, every advance of the guerrillas will bring new recruits for the struggle. Though the battle may be long and difficult, victory is certain. □



Zimbabweans lining up to be searched as they return to a "protected village" at nightfall.

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LABOR IN STRUGGLE

Mineworkers' Bureaucracy Deeply Divided



Miners supporting wildcat strike march in Charleston, West Virginia, last August.

On April 28, United Mine Workers (UMW) President Arnold Miller suspended Vice-President Mike Trbovich for 30 days for refusing to carry out an assignment. This act signaled the split of the top-level leaders of the UMW into two openly hostile camps. The union bureaucracy is deeply divided over its response to escalating coal-company and government attacks. While both factions favor policies of surrender they disagree over how fast and how far to retreat and over how to deal with an increasingly militant rank and file.

Miller and Trbovich, leaders of the two opposing factions, were elected to office in 1972 at the head of the Miners

For Democracy movement. The Miners For Democracy (MFD) called for democratizing the union and fighting for health and safety in the mines. Shortly after their election victory, Miller and Trbovich disbanded the MFD. Since that time the International Executive Board (IEB) has been the scene of the in-fighting between bureaucratic cliques.

Trbovich is not worried about the suspension, however. When he broke with Miller, he had the support of a number of other ex-Miller supporters

on the IEB. He also built a bloc with right-wingers left over from the old Boyle machine. As a result, Trbovich now controls almost two-thirds of the IEB. This strength has forced the reinstatement of two other anti-Miller board members. Trbovich is confident that he, too, will get off.

Attacks by the coal companies and the government have sharpened the fight on the IEB. For years, coal companies have been looking for a way to stop the numerous local strikes called by militant miners. They thought they had achieved partial success when UMW leaders agreed to crack down on wildcats as part of the last contract settlement. But the deal didn't work. A wildcat of 80,000 miners last August shut down the mines for a month. Strikers demanded an end to contract violations and called for the local right to strike.

The coal companies turned to the courts for help. They recently won a \$770,000 settlement against the UMW for its failure to prevent wildcat strikes. Millions of dollars in damages against the union are still pending in court. Meanwhile, the companies increasingly disregard the contract and refuse to settle grievances.

How to deal with this situation is what is behind the personal power plays and bureaucratic maneuvers on

the IEB. Trbovich wants to give in to the government and the companies. He is backing off from efforts to organize non-union mines and scrapping the fight for safety and black lung legislation. He hopes that if the leadership cracks down on wildcats, a deal can be made and the heat will be taken off the union.

Miller, pressed by the rank and file, does not want such an outright defeatist policy. If he accepted it, he would be kicked out of office in short order. Who needs Miller if the old Boyle policy is back? In other words, Miller wants to look like he is making a fight in order to keep his job. At the same time, he does not wish to appeal to the ranks for a real fight against the coal companies and Trbovich. He fears that the ranks might take the fight beyond the bounds of "respectable" trade unionism. This is why he voted to crush last summer's wildcat strike and refused to reopen the contract.

With Miller having refused to mobilize the rank and file to fight for their interests, the fight on the IEB is nothing but an intra-bureaucratic squabble. The ranks have no business supporting either grouping. They should use the fight to increase their independent organization and to further the struggle against the coal companies' attacks. □

Food Shortages

Angola faces serious labor actions have cut production even 30 percent of normal. Higher wages and bonuses granted, but inflation rapidly rises. In some cases wages have been pushed food prices up (capital of Angola) the price of rice unavailable.

Leaders as "opportunists." They are slated to close unproductive district elections, scheduled for June. According to reports, the attempt to paralyze production in the name of its true revolutionary leadership also arrested more than 100

The struggle and defeated the imperialist oppression. But opportunist radicals that the MPLA regime is being expelled, but class struggle is beginning to become ever more clear. The interests of its working class. □

Zimbabwe



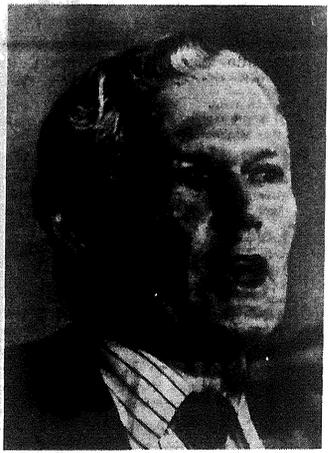
to a "protected village" at nightfall.

UPS Strike Ends; Few Gains Won

Striking United Parcel Service (UPS) workers in the Central States Region returned to work after three weeks without winning any major concessions from the company. UPS is the largest and most profitable freight company in the U.S. The strikers, members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), won limited wage gains patterned after the Master Freight Agreement signed in April. Major demands, such as the elimination of part-time hiring, were dropped. There were no improvements in vacations, working conditions or job security. The only gain from the three-week strike was five "personal time" days—but the union traded away two holidays to win this.

This was the first major authorized strike against UPS. But the strike wasn't called to win a better contract. Teamster officials were worried about growing anger and militancy in the ranks over deteriorating wages and working conditions. The strike was called to take the heat off.

Union officials did everything they could to keep the strike from being effective. Only the Central States Region was called out. Chicago and Indiana, which negotiate separately, stayed on the job, keeping UPS's operations running and preventing a large-scale shutdown. Much of UPS's freight was subcontracted to the Post Office, and the IBT made no appeals to the postal unions to refuse to handle the scab freight. With UPS's profits protected, the company felt no pressure to grant further concessions, and the strike collapsed. □



UMW President Arnold Miller

UMW Launches Attack on Militants

The United Mine Workers bureaucracy has stepped up its attacks on the rank and file. Three miners—Skip Delano, Aubrey Brown and Bruce Miller—are being charged and tried for "organizing wildcat strikes." The UMW tops are no longer content to let the bosses' courts prosecute militants; they have now set up a union court to launch what may become a full-scale witch-hunt.

The three are charged with organizing a wildcat in March to win better black lung benefits. For the union tops, this is bad enough. But the real charge is membership in the Miners Right to Strike Committee. This committee has fought the bureaucrats' sellouts in the past. It organized to try to win the right to strike in the '74 contract, and led a "vote no" campaign against the package Miller proposed. The Committee was instrumental in building last summer's massive wildcat over the right to strike.

Bruce Miller is in jail for defying a court injunction against wildcats. All three now face union charges. The Right to Strike Committee has been viciously red-baited.

A vigorous campaign must be waged by all UMW militants to drop the charges and stop the witch-hunt. □

Textile Unions Merge, Organizing Drive Begins

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers Union of America merged their unions early this month. The founding convention of the new 500,000-member union, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), launched a drive to unionize textile and clothing workers throughout the country, particularly in the South. J.P. Stevens and Co., the nation's second largest textile manufacturer, is the immediate target of this drive.

The merger gives new life to the 11-year effort to organize Stevens, one of the most viciously anti-union firms in the country. Stevens has 89 plants, located mostly in the South. Its work force—largely blacks and women—averages only \$3.20 per hour. Working conditions are deplorable. Ten percent of the workers suffer from Byssinosis (Brown Lung), caused by inhalation of cotton fibers. This disease causes shortness of breath and, in some cases, death. Stevens workers have waged a long and bitter fight against these conditions and for unionization.

Corporate officials at Stevens stop at nothing in their attempts to halt this struggle. Runaway shops, wiretapping of union organizers, firings of union sympathizers and corruption of state officials are standard tactics. The National Labor Relations Board has convicted Stevens of unfair labor practices 13 times. Despite these rulings, Stevens continues to receive \$10 million yearly in contracts from the government.

The union merger and ACTWU's announcement of a nationwide consumer boycott of Stevens' products is an important first step in cracking the southern textile industry. □



Leaders of merged union are sworn in.

Rubber...

(Continued from page 1)

Marysville, Ohio, during mass picketing in the opening days of the strike. In Akron, workers formed mass pickets to stop supervisory personnel from picking up their paychecks. One Akron worker summed up the feeling of many rubber workers, saying: "I don't care if the strike lasts a year—we're not going back without a decent contract."

Tire supplies for the auto industry will run out near the end of June. This is creating pressure on the companies to settle. If the URW can maintain—and extend—a militant strike front, the companies can be forced to surrender. To do this it will be necessary to build a more militant and well-organized strike than the URW officials have led to date.

Right now, the strike is not tapping

the workers' full strength. Only 50 to 60 percent of tire production is shut down. All companies except Goodyear are still making tires, either in non-union plants or in URW-organized plants not covered by the master contract. And supervisory personnel are maintaining limited production at struck plants.

The most serious weakness of the strike is that General Tire—fifth largest tire producer—is still operating. General's contract expired on May 15. A walkout was expected. But in a last-minute deal, Akron Local 9 President Nathan Traschel, head of General Tire negotiations, called off the strike. Traschel agreed to extend the contract on a day-to-day basis. General Tire normally provides 12 percent of tires for the auto industry and can now continue supplying tires throughout the strike.

Bommarito claims he had no ad-

vance knowledge of this move. While the facts are not clear, it appears that Traschel, who has ambitions for the URW presidency, broke ranks to seek a separate settlement. Such a development is possible in the URW because of its highly decentralized bargaining structure.

Traschel's sabotage must be fought. Rubber workers at General have no desire to scab on their union brothers and sisters. An appeal must be made to the ranks, over Traschel's head, to join the strike. Mass pickets should be set up at every General Tire plant to shut down operations.

The Chicago special convention called by Bommarito should have discussed this type of militant strategy. With representatives from all the locals present, the URW was in a position to map out plans for extending the strike, gaining support from the rest of the labor movement and

countering the companies' strike-breaking schemes. Unfortunately, the convention did none of this. Bommarito kept it limited to reports and militant speeches. Behind the peppy rally atmosphere, the convention revealed one of the union's big weaknesses—its inability to maintain a strike fund. Proposals for dues increases on non-striking members were dropped as inadequate, and no other plans for raising money for the strike were made. Strikers have received only \$95 in total strike benefits, and will now get nothing.

The lack of strike benefits is a serious obstacle in the path of a URW victory. An appeal for contributions from the labor movement, particularly from the UAW, should be issued immediately. The outcome of the rubber strike seriously affects the living standards and working conditions of millions of workers. □

Electrical Contracts Expire; Strike Appears Unlikely

Contracts for 200,000 electrical workers expire this month. The pact with the giant General Electric (GE) Corporation ends on June 27; Westinghouse follows on July 11. Thirteen unions are participating in the negotiations with GE. The biggest are the United Electrical, Radio and Chemical Workers (UE) and the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE).

A strike does not appear likely. IUE President Paul Jennings has thus far avoided any mention of a strike. He speaks of a "slow but steady improvement" in the IUE's relationship with GE. David Fitzmaurice, slated to replace the ailing Jennings as IUE President this month, is making similar comments. According to Fitzmaurice: "there has been a remarkable transformation in the company's attitude, and it has gone far enough, we know it is not a ploy. We don't expect the company will roll over in the current negotiations, but we feel it shares an interest in building a still more mature relationship."

A "more mature relationship" means no strike. The IUE leaders hope to win enough small improvements in wages and cost-of-living allowance (COLA) to pacify the ranks without a real fight. GE workers lost 88 cents per hour to inflation over the life of the last contract. This year, they are demanding full COLA. But this and other key issues in the

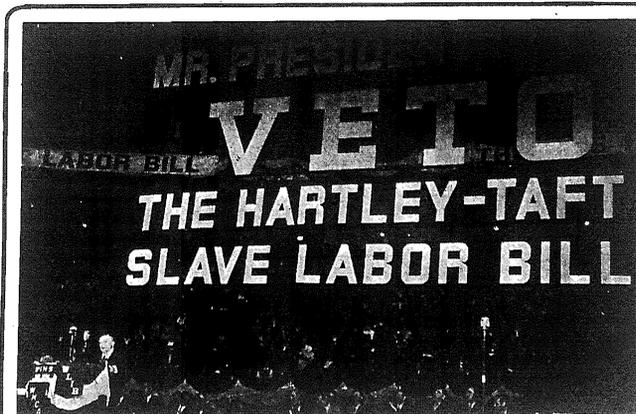
union's bargaining proposal, such as improvement in the company's Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) program (which "supplements" only up to 50 percent of GE workers' wages) and 32 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, will not be fought for by the IUE leaders.

The UE, traditionally a more left-wing union, is too weak on its own to prevent an IUE-led capitulation. Due to the UE's serious efforts to organize southern electrical workers, it is the fastest-growing electrical union. But the UE has never recovered the power it had in the 1930s and '40s, when it was the sole industrial union representing most electrical workers. The UE was seriously weakened following a national strike against GE in 1946 by the combined power of the company and a huge anti-red purge inside the CIO. Following the UE's expulsion from the CIO, the IUE was set up as an explicitly anti-communist, pro-imperialist union to raid the UE. As a result, the union shop was broken, electrical workers were split among 13 different unions and many thousands were left unorganized. UE membership dropped from 300,000 in 1946 to 50,000 in the late '50s.

The divisions and weakness of electrical workers in the '50s and '60s left GE a free hand. GE, always strongly anti-union, adopted a "take it or leave it" policy. GE made one offer and refused to negotiate with the unions. GE was able to carry this out because the divided unions were too weak to refuse.

But in the late 1960s, the weakened but still active UE took the lead in uniting the 13 unions for bargaining purposes. A Coordinated Bargaining Committee (CBC) was established and has represented the various unions ever since. This has greatly increased the ranks' strength. The CBC led the 1969 negotiations. For the first time in 25 years management's "take it or leave it" offer was refused. Over 150,000 GE workers struck for more than 100 days. General Electric did everything it could to break the strike: court injunctions, goon squad attacks and a well-financed back-to-work movement. But the ranks held firm, won concessions and stopped GE's 30-year onslaught. This was a major victory for electrical workers.

The necessity for strike action again this year is clear. GE's 1976 first quarter profits were up 82 percent over the same quarter last year. GE is fully capable of providing wage increases, full COLA, full SUB and



Big Four May Seek Taft-Hartley

The rubber companies may appeal to the government for a Taft-Hartley injunction if they need it to break the strike. Taft-Hartley would order the strikers back to work for an 80-day "cooling-off" period. The "cooling-off" period is designed to break the back of rank and file militancy.

The Taft-Hartley Act was passed during the anti-red hysteria which followed the big post-World War II strike wave in 1946-47. It is one of the more vicious measures in the capitalists' anti-labor arsenal. In addition to the 80-day back-to-work order, Taft-Hartley outlaws the closed shop, secondary boycotts and government employee strikes, and prohibits Communists from holding union office. It has been used to break many militant strikes in the past.

But a Taft-Hartley injunction can be defeated. The ruling class uses Taft-Hartley as rarely as possible because it so clearly exposes the government's willingness to crush workers' struggles. Its use exposes the myth that the state is a "neutral force above all classes"—a myth essential to convincing workers that the government is not on the side of the bosses.

Precisely for this reason, the government is always concerned that the use of Taft-Hartley may backfire. If the state intervenes to crush a strike, the entire labor movement may unite in opposition to the government. Twice in the past, striking miners have ignored Taft-Hartley injunctions, gained the support of the labor movement—and won.

The URW must follow this course. If the union makes it clear that it will not honor Taft-Hartley, that it will not be intimidated by threats of jailings or fines, the government's hand will be weakened. With elections just months away, the Ford administration hopes to avoid taking a step which might provoke massive labor hostility.

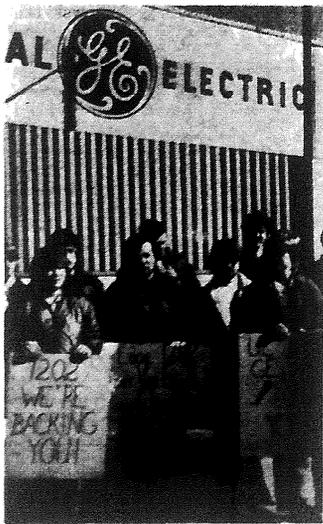
Rank and file rubber workers must be ready to back up a union pledge to ignore Taft-Hartley. They must be ready to step in decisively when union officials start to waver and talk about going back. The efforts of the rubber companies to break the URW strike must be met with rank and file organization and determination to defend the strike and the union. □

other benefits. But GE won't give up a penny if it isn't forced to. Preparations for strike action cannot be left in the hands of the union officials—rank and file strike committees to oversee strike plans need to be set up.

This year's contract is only the beginning of the fight electrical workers must wage to defend their jobs and living standards. Thousands of unorganized electrical workers, particularly in the South, must be brought into the unions. Otherwise, they will be an easy target for attacks by the companies and an avenue for weakening the entire electrical work force.

GE militants need to build for the

merger of electrical workers into one industrial union. This will not be an easy task. The IUE tops have a pro-merger position, but favor it only as a device for destroying the militancy of the UE. This is why they refuse to accept the UE's merger terms, which call for membership votes on all contract proposals and strikes and the elimination of the anti-red clause from the union constitution. Only an organized cross-union movement of rank and file electrical workers can lay the basis for merger into one industrial, democratic, fighting union and return electrical workers to their historic role in the forefront of the class struggle.



UE members back union organizing drive.

Ref

Resu

CHICAGO former Ed Sadowski's victories in (USWA) election Pro-Sadowski in 85 percent important Chicago similar results other districts more than 5,000 gave a big boost to run for Sadowski's machine of Abel in next elections. Abel has retirement agreement to step down bitterly opposed top union official.

The local for Sadowski's file steelworkers were elected vague promises and 'This is Sadowski's Central issue rank and file ignored. Most of any aggressive Abel-negotiated agreement (E negotiating Ag steelworkers weapon—their hands in steel bosses' jobs, wages Anyone serious to defend steel attacks must the ENA the program.

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LOCAL NATIONAL

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Reform Slates Win Gains in Steel Elections

Results Are Big Victory for Sadlowski

CHICAGO—Forces backing reformer Ed Sadlowski won sweeping victories in the United Steelworkers (USWA) elections held in late April. Pro-Sadlowski slates claimed victory in 85 percent of the elections in the important Chicago-Gary district. Similar results were reported in most other districts. The outcome of the more than 5,000 local USWA elections gave a big boost to Sadlowski's plans to run for the USWA presidency. Sadlowski will be challenging the machine of retiring President I.W. Abel in next spring's national elections. Abel has passed the mandatory retirement age and thus will be forced to step down, but he and his machine bitterly oppose Sadlowski's bid for the top union office.

The local elections were a victory for Sadlowski, but not for rank and file steelworkers. Pro-Sadlowski slates were elected on programs which made vague promises about democratic reforms and "progressive unionism." This is Sadlowski's own program. Central issues crucial to the lives of rank and file steelworkers were ignored. Most glaring was the absence of any aggressive opposition to the Abel-negotiated national no-strike agreement (ENA—Experimental Negotiating Agreement). The ENA robs steelworkers of their most powerful weapon—the strike—and has tied their hands in the fight against the steel bosses' relentless drive against jobs, wages and working conditions. Anyone serious about leading a fight to defend steelworkers against these attacks must make the call to tear up the ENA the starting point of his program.

During the elections, Sadlowski supporters hardly mentioned the ENA at all. Nor does Sadlowski. Sadlowski is on record as opposing the ENA, but he doesn't want to make too big a deal about it. When he's working one side of the fence he criticizes the ENA in order to build a militant image. Sadlowski's a real fighter for the ranks, he'd like steelworkers to believe. But Sadlowski is careful not to tie himself to specific promises he has no intention of making good on. Tearing up the ENA, mobilizing the ranks, launching a national strike against layoffs and speedup—all this would unleash a movement that would break far beyond the narrow bounds of "respectable trade unionism"—boundaries Sadlowski has no intention of breaking.

LOCAL 65 MIRRORS NATIONAL PICTURE

The elections in a key Chicago local, Local 65, U.S. Steel South Works (Sadlowski's home local), mirrored the situation across the country. Frank Mirocha, incumbent and Abel supporter, was decisively defeated by John Chico, former Sadlowski campaign manager. The vote was 2,228 to 1,304. Chico's running mates on the Membership Committee Caucus slate won eight of 10 other Executive Board positions. Abel took a personal hand in campaigning for Mirocha and the results represented a clear-cut Sadlowski victory. Mirocha backed Abel's no-strike agreement, talked about Mom and apple pie and viciously red-baited his opponents. Chico called for more union democracy.

But the Local 65 elections revealed another significant part of the Sadlowski program. Days before the election, Chico's lawyers went into federal

court for a temporary restraining order to halt the elections. Chico claimed that Mirocha was operating with an undemocratically selected election committee. The restraining order was issued, and the elections were conducted under the supervision of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Chico's actions were part of a pattern. Sadlowski forces in a number of locals made similar appeals to the government for help. Government intervention aided Sadlowski's election gains. This intervention represents a deadly threat to steelworkers. The government is not in any sense a "neutral institution"—the capitalist state is a weapon in the hands of the ruling class. The bosses use the government in a variety of ways to maintain their profits and beat back workers' struggles. The trade unions, on the other hand, are the workers' main organizations of defense; they are the workers' own organizations and their chief weapon to wage the class struggle. Inviting the government into the unions, allowing the bosses' state to arbitrate internal union disputes or make decisions regarding union policy, is nothing but opening up the trade unions to the very people the unions have been built to defend against. Government run unions are no unions at all.

SADLOWSKI'S ROLE

The calling in of the government by John Chico may seem minor by itself, but it is not. Not only does it represent a dangerous first step, but it also contains an important warning about Sadlowski and his allies. Calling on the government to intervene in the union is the proof that Sadlowski and Chico's talk about fighting for "democratic unionism" is nothing but a sham. To fight Abel, Sadlowski and Company do not turn to the ranks—which is what democratic unionism is all about—but instead appeal to the government. When Sadlowski's opponent is an angry and militant rank and file, there can be no doubt that Sadlowski will once again turn to the

government to help him crush it. "Union democracy" is just a campaign slogan for Sadlowski and friends. Nowhere is he calling on the ranks to join in a fight to build a real movement, to put the USWA in the hands of rank and file steelworkers and make the union fight for them.

-RSC BUILDING REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Virtually every organized group in Local 65 lined up with either Mirocha or Chico—with either Abel or Sadlowski. In Local 65, as elsewhere, pro-Sadlowski slates received strong backing from leftists in the union, including many who describe themselves as socialists and revolutionaries. The largest group working for a Sadlowski victory was the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, a caucus supported by the Communist Party. CP supporters were uncritical cheerleaders for Sadlowski and limited themselves to the issues raised by the Sadlowski candidates. They, too, made little mention of the ENA or any of the major issues. Other groups, claiming to stand to the left of the CP, generally followed the same course.

There was one group in Local 65 which did not. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC) ran a slate of candidates which put forward their central message loud and clear: Mirocha or Chico, Abel or Sadlowski—none of these candidates has the slightest intention of building a movement that can transform the USWA into a fighting union. The RSC called for tearing up the ENA, organizing for a national strike against the layoffs, building strong rank and file committees in the plants, fighting racial discrimination—in the union and in the industry—and eliminating the USWA's anti-red clause.

The RSC made it clear that a vote for Chico or Mirocha was a wasted vote. "Lesser-evilism" is a dead-end game, argued the RSC; steelworkers had to view the election as an opportunity to join the RSC in working to build a rank and file movement that can take over the USWA and point its guns where they belong—at the bosses. The election campaign itself was viewed by the RSC as an opportunity to continue the work it had been doing for some time previously. Last May,

the RSC fought to get Local 65 to join other trade unionists, community and left groups in building a defense for several black working class families in Chicago who were being terrorized by right-wing racists. RSC supporters participated in the defense guards



Ed Sadlowski, Director, USWA District 31

that were organized until the attacks were stopped. The RSC waged a several-month campaign to establish a Local 65 unemployed-employed committee to fight the steel layoffs. RSC-circulated petitions calling for the committee gained over 600 signatures. Last October, the RSC organized a steelworkers' contingent to march in a demonstration which prevented the Nazi Party from marching through a black community.

These activities were part of the RSC's work to build a revolutionary movement inside the USWA. The RSC ran in the Local 65 elections to further build this work. The RSC told no lies to steelworkers—their candidates made it clear that capitalism was the workers' real enemy and that no trade union leadership that accepts the bosses' profits as coming first can lead steelworkers to anything but new defeats. In the presidential and grievers' races the RSC won about 2 percent of the vote. This is a small percentage, but it represents a beginning.

The working class today suffers from tremendous illusions about capitalism. The USWA, in particular, has had a conservative tradition. Candidates who tell the truth about what needs to be done—even if it's unpopular—are not likely to win, smashing victories. Many steelworkers have illusions about what the Sadlowski forces represent. Others know Sadlowski is a phony, but fear they will be throwing away their ballots to vote for a revolutionary alternative with little chance of winning. Following the election several workers told RSC supporters that they thought they had made a mistake in voting for Chico as the "lesser evil." There are still others who have become so cynical about their sellout union leaders that they don't bother to vote in union elections at all. These attitudes are serious obstacles to building the kind of movement the working class needs. But they are obstacles that can be overcome.

Many leftists and socialists attached themselves to Sadlowski's coattails in order to gain popularity for themselves. But gaining votes won't solve steelworkers' problems. A strong rank and file movement conscious of what really needs to be done must be built in the USWA and other unions. Such a movement can only be built if revolutionaries tell the truth to the working class. □

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Revolutionary Steelworker

Don't Waste Your Vote!

VOTE RSC

Build a National Strike; Smash the ENA!

Make The Bosses Pay; Thirty for Forty!

For a Workers' Government Build a Labor Party

Replace The Bureaucracy With Revolutionary Leadership

Eliminate The Red Clause

We're wise to this game!

Labor donated

REVOLUTIONARY STEELWORKERS CAUCUS

Equal Rights Amendment: A Trap for Women

With the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, liberal politicians promise equality to women. They want us to believe they are concerned with the democratic rights of women. While raising a few middle-class women into higher paying and management positions and opening up jobs in some previously "only male" areas to women, the ERA and Title VII are a serious danger for working class women. Specifically, they are being used to wipe out laws that were providing some protection for working class women on the job.

What are Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and the Equal Rights Amendment? Title VII states that equality of rights shall not be denied on account of race, sex, creed or religion. The ERA is more specific to women. It states: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or

abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex."

The ERA and Title VII have already wiped away some or all protective laws for women in 21 states. Here are a few examples: the U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled that Homemakers, Inc., of Los Angeles, which employs both men and women as domestic workers and practical nurses, does not have to pay \$18,000 in back overtime pay to its women employees. The decision struck down a section of the California Labor Code requiring overtime pay for women after eight hours a day or 40 hours a week. The eight-hour day was wiped out for these women—something that was won for most workers in the 1930s.

In 1972, Bell Telephone and the Fiberboard Corporation in Antioch, California, posted notices in their plants stating that "protective laws"

for women are invalid because of Title VII. At Fiberboard, members of Women, Inc. (a women's caucus of the Western Pulp and Paperworkers Union), reported the following: they were forced to work double shifts (16 hours) without time-and-a-half overtime pay; to lift 150 pounds per minute in three lifts of 50 pounds each off a moving belt; and, in one paper mill, they have had their lunch break eliminated. Instead they were given three 10-minute breaks staggered throughout the day—the only time allowed to eat and go to the bathroom.

After the state ERA passed in California the Los Angeles County Hospital required all women in the x-ray department to push 600-pound mobile x-ray machines.

In Michigan, a state law limiting the maximum number of hours women could work was repealed for a short time. This led to an attack on men as well. As long as there had been a 54-hour limit for women, men in a Detroit Dodge plant worked in three shifts. After the law was repealed two 12-hour shifts were established for everyone.

What is the current status of the ERA? In order to become law, the ERA must be approved by 38 states within seven years. Thirty-four states have passed the federal ERA. It appears likely that no other states will ratify the amendment. However, a large number of states have passed state ERAs in the meantime.

In a number of states where an ERA amendment was proposed, it was voted down. New York voters, generally considered liberal, voted down a state ERA by 400,000 votes—a wide margin. This also happened in New Jersey. Those voting most strongly against it were working class women.

When asked why she voted against it one woman responded: "They (the pro-ERA forces) offered a lot of theory and no substance. Their basic attitude was 'you'll see, it'll be good for you.' I wasn't being appealed to as an intelligent voter. If I didn't have a fantastic reason for voting for it, why should I take something away from some other women?"

This general suspicion is healthy. But not all of the opposition to the ERA is progressive. Right-wing forces are trying to mobilize a reactionary sentiment to undercut the gains made in the struggle for equality for women. In particular they are trying to use the distrust of the ERA to reinforce male supremacist attitudes among working class women. This campaign must be exposed and fought. But this is no reason to support the ERA. The ruling class as a whole is for the ERA.

They realize that it is in their interest. Richard Nixon, President Ford and Betty Ford all support the ERA. They have their reasons—and it is not because they are for women's liberation.

There are a small number of middle class women whose interest will be served by the ERA. The ERA is primarily a gesture to these middle class women and the middle class women's movement. One of its pur-



Pro-ERA demonstration

poses is to tie these women to the bourgeois parties, Republican and Democrat. In doing this, the ruling class wants to enlist these forces in the attack on the working class. Under the cover of granting equality to women, the ERA, like Title VII, enables the capitalists to increase economic exploitation by getting rid of protective laws. The liberal words hide a reactionary content.

All around, the ruling class is attacking the standard of living of the working class. The ERA, their "gift" to us, is being used as part of this attack. We would be fools not to be suspicious of "gifts" at a time when they are stealing everything from all our pockets. Women need equality, but they do not need the ERA as presently written. What is needed is an Equal Rights Amendment that guarantees equality while not destroying existing protective laws.

Such equal rights legislation should be fought for and championed by the working class movement. But the claim of the bourgeoisie to stand for the emancipation of women must be exposed as a fraud. □

Is It Murder to Shoot a Rapist?

In August 1972, Yvonne Wanrow, a 28-year-old Native American of Spokane, Washington, shot and killed a man to protect her own life and that of her children. Then her ordeal began. Charged with first-degree murder, convicted of second-degree murder and assault, and sentenced to five to 20 years in prison, Yvonne Wanrow is still fighting the charges.



Yvonne Wanrow

Wanrow should never have been charged with a crime. These are the facts of the case:

In 1972, Yvonne Wanrow and her friend Shirley Hooper both lived alone with small children in a run-down Spokane neighborhood. William Wesler, the man Wanrow killed, was a neighbor. Wesler was a known child molester who had raped Shirley Hooper's seven-year-old daughter only two months before.

On the day before the shooting, a Friday, Hooper was taking care of the Wanrow children. Earlier in the week Hooper's screens had been cut, her porch light unscrewed, and she had been harassed by a Peeping Tom. Two complaints to the police had brought no result.

Early in the evening Hooper called Wanrow to report that Wesler had tried to lure Wanrow's nine-year-old son Darren into his home. Hooper called the police, but despite her earlier complaints, the police told her to file a complaint Monday. Hooper asked Wanrow to come to her home and to bring her gun. Wanrow did.

At about five a.m. Wesler, drunk and staggering, lunged into the house through a side door, accompanied by a friend, David Kelly. Wanrow, who was on crutches with a broken ankle, shot Wesler through the heart. Kelly was wounded as he fled.

Hooper called the police but was too hysterical to give the facts. Wanrow did so. Although she asked the police for protection in case Kelly returned, the police had other ideas. They kept

her talking on the phone without telling her that the conversation was being taped. Subsequently Wanrow, who had been forced to defend herself because the police would not provide protection, was charged with first-degree murder.

Wanrow's trial took place just after the Indian occupation at Wounded Knee, in mid-1973. The papers were full of anti-Indian headlines; despite the fact that Native Americans are the largest minority in the Spokane area, there were none on Wanrow's jury. In court, the prosecution used the calmness in Wanrow's voice during the recorded conversation to argue that the shooting was premeditated. Shirley Hooper, given the choice of turning state's evidence or being charged as an accomplice, testified that she had not asked Wanrow to bring the gun. In this atmosphere, the Indian woman who defended herself and her children against a drunken rapist was pictured as a calculating murderess. The sexist prejudice which decrees that no sexual assault is ever "really" uninvited undoubtedly played its part.

Wanrow's conviction has been appealed to the Washington Supreme Court. A decision is expected soon. Yvonne Wanrow is a convicted murderer today only because she is a Native American, poor and a woman—and because she had the strength to defend herself. Like the Livernois Five, Inez Garcia and Joanne Little, she is a victim of capitalism's courts and laws. Immediate freedom and the dropping of all charges must be demanded for Yvonne Wanrow. □

Caribbean Revolutionary Escapes Death

Desmond Trotter, revolutionary militant in the Caribbean nation of Dominica, has escaped death. An international defense campaign won the commutation of Trotter's sentence to life imprisonment just days before he was scheduled to hang.

Trotter was a founder of the Movement for a New Dominica (MND). The MND's agitation was part of a much broader upheaval of Dominican youth, sparked by conditions typical of the imperialist-dominated Caribbean nations: economic stagnation, 60 percent unemployment, ownership of most of the economy by big imperialist corporations. In 1972-74, strikes and squatter movements rose to a high level. The desperate conditions in the urban slums led to the appearance of the "Dreads," an unorganized youth movement, which the govern-

ment labeled "Black Power guerrillas."

To suppress the youth movement, and the MND in particular, right-wing Premier Patrick John passed the "anti-Dread" laws (anyone with the dress and hair style worn by the Dreads could be arrested without warrant) and framed Desmond Trotter for the murder of an American tourist. (Torch, April 15-May 14, 1975.)

Following Trotter's conviction, the two main government witnesses repudiated their testimony. They submitted sworn statements describing how their testimony was obtained by police threats and bribery.

Though his sentence has been commuted, Desmond Trotter remains imprisoned. His life is still in danger. Earlier this year, Trotter wrote that

he was suffering from ulcers, gastritis and skin disease brought on by prison diet. He also called attention to the cases of Shaka (Algie Maffei) and Ras Zaigi (Cecil Harve), who were also imprisoned during the reign of terror. Both are seriously ill from prison mistreatment.

The international workers' movement must demand immediate freedom for Desmond Trotter and all other political prisoners in Dominica, and the repeal of the "anti-Dread" laws and other repressive measures.

Send messages of protest to: Premier Patrick John, Government Headquarters, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies. Messages of support and funds to: Committee in Defense of Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners in Dominica, P.O. Box 251, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies.

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Behind the Civil War in Lebanon

by Tony Curzo

Since April 9 of this year Syria has been steadily increasing its military presence in neighboring Lebanon. This penetration culminated in a massive invasion on June 1. Estimates of the number of troops involved vary from 12,000 to 22,000. What is clear is that the Moslem, "leftist" Syrian bourgeoisie has intervened to quash the armed struggle of the Lebanese Moslem and leftist alliance. To many observers, particularly those who consider Syria "socialist," these events are puzzling. How can a "leftist" regime, locked in combat with Israel for years, turn on its own "natural allies?" How can it intervene on behalf of the Christian Lebanese rulers, who have sided with the U.S. for years? This article, written before the most recent events, analyzes the present situation by tracing the roots of the current conflict.

Until the end of World War I Lebanon was a part of Greater Syria, a region of the Turkish Empire. After World War I Greater Syria was divided between British and French imperialism, with the former getting Palestine and the latter getting Syria (which contained Lebanon within it). Up to this time, Lebanon had been a distinct region of Syria. It had features specific to it, but was not a nation.

Just as the British carved up Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state (what is today Jordan), so too the French divided their Syrian territory. The British were preparing to mold the Jewish state into the representative and defender of their interests in the Middle East. The French were scheming to turn Lebanon into



Al Fatah's Yasir Arafat

their economic and political outpost in the area. Thus they created a nation with a Christian majority. Through the completely undemocratic confessional system of apportionment of government power, they schemed to make the Lebanese Moslems permanently subservient to a ruling class which was completely tied to French imperialism.

Although the Moslems are now the majority, they are still ruled by a system which makes the Christian wing of the bourgeoisie completely dominant in the executive, the legislature and, most important, the army and other forces of repression. After World War II, U.S. imperialism inherited the fruits of these French efforts. Today the Lebanese masses are fighting to throw off this American yoke.

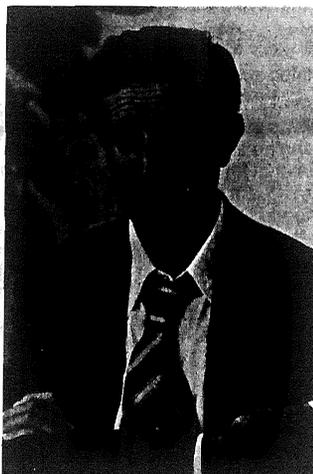
The Palestinian question is the other major root of the current war. After the destruction of Palestine in 1948 many Palestinians moved to Lebanon, where they now constitute roughly 10 percent of the population. After U.S. imperialism (through the use of Hussein's army) succeeded in brutally crushing the armed Palestinian presence in Jordan in "Black September," 1970, Lebanon became the main seat of the Palestinian guerrillas' armed incursions into Israel.

U.S. imperialism recognized the need to liquidate this last Palestinian base of operations if its dream of a stable imperialist settlement for the Middle East were to be realized. Failing this, the U.S. sought a weakening of the Palestinians' position in Lebanon, which would create the conditions for an accommodation acceptable to both the U.S. and Israel. Such an accommodation would be a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank (minus Jerusalem, the Jordan Valley and anything else Israel might want to keep). This mini-state would be completely subservient to Israel. In other words (and this is the heart of the matter) a setback in Lebanon would force Palestinian nationalists like Yasir Arafat and George Habash to recognize Israel and try to liquidate the Palestinian revolution. In short, the success of the imperialist plans to stabilize the Middle East depend on the U.S.'s ability to administer a crushing blow to the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

In the early '70s, the imperialists tried to use the Lebanese army to accomplish their goals. But this tactic failed. The strong Moslem composition of the Lebanese army created the danger of its collapse (and of civil war) if its Christian general staff moved against the Moslem Palestinians. Thus the U.S. and Israel turned to a different course. They began arming and cultivating another force: the

right-wing Christian Phalange, under the leadership of Pierre Gemayel. It was the Phalangists' brutal attacks against the Palestinians in April of 1975 that precipitated the current civil war in Lebanon.

The bourgeois press in the U.S. has always pictured the Lebanese civil war as a religious war between Moslems and Christians. There are of course religious overtones to the conflict. But the oppressed masses are not primarily fighting for a redivision of power along religious lines. Their



Kamal Jumblat, leader of Lebanese left

goals are quite different from those of the Moslem bourgeois leadership. This is why they have welcomed the involvement of leftist Christian forces.

The Lebanese masses are fighting for the following:

- To destroy the fascist threat of the Christian Phalange and preserve the position of the Palestinian movement in Lebanon from imperialist attack.

- To destroy the imperialist deal of 1945 which denies the Moslem majority its democratic rights.

- To drive imperialism out of Lebanon.

- To strengthen the struggle for the destruction of the Zionist state of Israel.

The Lebanese and Palestinian proletariat and its allies have won many significant victories in this war. Most important, they have brought about the complete collapse of the rightist-controlled Lebanese army. But final military victory has always escaped them. This is because the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships of the struggle don't share the same goals as the masses. The Moslem wing of the bourgeoisie wants the seats of power reappropriated so that they can become the majority wing of the ruling class. They use the proletariat as a battering

ram to get a more favorable deal from imperialism. But what they don't want is the overthrow of the pro-imperialist Christian government by an armed workers' uprising. Such an event would not only trigger a U.S.-Israeli invasion, but would strongly pose the danger of the masses going beyond the bourgeoisie, to a workers' government. Thus the Moslem wing of the bourgeoisie is willing to sacrifice its struggle for power, if necessary, to strangle the revolutionary movement of the masses.

The Moslem bourgeoisie in Lebanon has had fraternal relations with the other Arab bourgeoisies, most particularly the Syrian bourgeoisie. For their part, the Syrians have a deathly fear of the effect a military victory of the left in Lebanon would have on the class struggle inside Syria. This is the basic explanation for their betrayal of their Moslem Lebanese counterparts in recent days. Moreover, Syrian President Assad realizes that a victory by the left in Lebanon would bring on an imperialist Israeli invasion. Since capitalist Syria wants an accommodation with Zionism, it wants to avoid another showdown with Israel. For these reasons the bourgeois national self-interest of the Syrian ruling class dictates a policy of derailing the struggle in Lebanon.

In the round of fighting in March and early April the left-wing forces were closer than ever to a complete victory over the Phalange and the Christian bourgeoisie. The Syrians made no bones about their determination to prevent this victory at all costs. Following a March 27 meeting between Syria's Assad and Kamal Jumblat, a top Moslem leader of the Lebanese leftists, a Syrian official stated: "We could not let them (the Moslems) destroy the Christian side. The war in Lebanon cannot be permitted to end in a military victory for one side. . . ." Assad ordered Jumblat to call off the Moslem-leftist offensive and a few days later Jumblat complied.

Assad then turned his attention to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and al Fatah, the main source of the military muscle within the alliance of Moslems and leftists in the Lebanese war. Assad told PLO and al Fatah leader, Yasir Arafat, that the Palestinians would have to choose between Syria and the Lebanese left. If Fatah did not give in, said Assad, "Syria would not only cut off arms to the Palestinians but would adopt an 'Egyptian policy.'" This means that Syria would cease to support the Palestinian cause and would look for a disengagement agreement with Israel. After many angry pronouncements to cover his tracks Arafat, too, gave in to the Syrian bourgeoisie.

(Continued on page 15)

CHINA IN CRISIS

Part One: Origins and Roots

by Jack Gregory

China is in the midst of a deepening political crisis. Mao Tse-tung, aided by the master statesman Chou En-lai, successfully held together a huge and industrially backward nation and its unstable ruling class for a quarter-century. Now Chou is dead and Mao is dying. The entire Chinese ruling class is bracing for great upheavals.

Already, there is more open conflict than at any time since the close of the Cultural Revolution in 1969. A wave of strikes in 1975 was capped with a general strike in Hangchow—ending only when tens of thousands of troops were rushed in to seal the city off from the outside world. Demonstrations and conflicts this year have spread throughout China, the most notable being the clash between 100,000 demonstrators and police and troops in Peking's central square on April 5 (see last month's Torch for details). In the inland provinces, organized groups provide pockets of resistance to the central authorities.

The turmoil and uncertainty is mirrored in the top leadership. More clearly than at any time since the Cultural Revolution, factional conflict threatens to tear apart the ruling class. The government and party apparatus, the functionaries who run the country on a day-to-day basis, have come under heavy attack since January as "unrepentant capitalist roaders." Teng Hsiao-ping, the leader of this group and the expected heir to Chou and possibly Mao, was purged following the April 5 demonstrations (which he was accused of organizing). However, Teng's opponents, led by Chiang Ching (Mao's wife), have been unable to purge any of Teng's leading supporters or to capture the leading posts, which have gone to "neutralists" like new Premier Hua Kuo-feng.

The factional lineups in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership are decades old. On the one side is the "apparatus," favoring moderate economic targets and gradual change. This faction seeks to hold the country together by parceling out bonuses and other material incentives to plant managers and skilled workers.

On the other side are the party ideologists. Headed in the past by Mao himself, the ideologists argue that day-to-day considerations must be put aside to attain rapid economic development and achieve first-rank economic and military status. This group stresses the importance of ideology in maintaining the loyalty of the masses and in attaining higher production by convincing the masses to sacrifice in the name of the revolution. In

place of bonuses and other material incentives, the ideologists are for strict regimentation and leveling wages by reducing them to the lowest common denominator.

Division Among Capitalists

The current splits continue a long-standing dispute over how best to develop the economy and military and stabilize the country. But the dispute is fought on bourgeois terms: the two factions are different wings of the ruling class of a state-capitalist society.

The CCP's rout of imperialist puppet Chiang Kai-shek in 1949 did not end capitalist rule. It led to the replacement of the existing capitalist class with a bourgeoisie that owned the nationalized property through its control of the state. While many gains were made through sweeping away Chiang and the imperialist blood-suckers, China today remains capitalist, and the state-capitalist ruling class is subject to the basic contradictions of capitalism. This is the basis for the factional divisions in the CCP leadership. The different groupings are struggling over alternative strategies on how best to maintain capitalist rule. We can understand this by tracing the different strategies of the Chinese leadership as they emerged over the past quarter-century of state-capitalist rule.

The apparatus and the ideologists worked together relatively smoothly in the period immediately following the CCP's seizure of power, 1949-1953. The entire leadership united around certain basic tasks: sweeping away the disorder left by Chiang, promoting land reform, starting up industry, removing remnants of the landlord-comprador clique, combating starvation—all in all, getting the country back on its feet and solidifying CCP rule. All sides counted on Russian aid and advisers to provide financial and technical help needed to stabilize the country.

First Five-Year Plan

The First Five-Year Plan, 1953-57, was carried out under Russian guidance—its central slogan was "Learn from the Soviet Union"—and it depended heavily on Russian advisers. During the Plan most major industry was nationalized and, toward the end of the plan (1955-56), agriculture was rapidly collectivized into cooperatives. Emphasis was placed on large-scale industry, technical expertise

and moderate growth. While Mao remained politically dominant, the apparatus, headed by Liu Shao-chi, consolidated enormous day-to-day power and the country became increasingly dependent upon the USSR.

As the Plan wound to an end, Mao and the ideologists plus sections of the apparatus became disillusioned in the Russian economic model. By 1957, the economy was stagnating. The Plan had de-emphasized agricultural investment in favor of investment in large-scale industry. This held back agricultural production, which was (and still is) the basic source of surplus to invest in industry. On top of this, regional tensions were aggravated because capital had been allocated to areas of highest profitability—the coastal areas and the northern provinces industrialized by imperialism. This increased the gap between the rural inland provinces and the big cities of the north and east. Finally, the Russians demanded stiff imperialist terms from the Chinese. The Russians insisted that the Chinese buy back Russian shares of "mixed companies" which the Russians had appropriated from the Japanese in Manchuria in 1945, and even forced the Chinese to repay the cost of Russian military equipment used in the Korean War. The Chinese charged the Russians with seeking to develop Chinese industry to suit Russian needs.

These factors—and Mao's fierce nationalist ambitions—combined to produce the "Great Leap Forward." This was an attempt to establish economic self-sufficiency within one decade. It was based on an almost pure version of the party ideologists' approach.

The Great Leap Forward, Mao's personal project, set out to harness the enormous potential labor power of the Chinese peasantry in the inland provinces. The main idea was to make use of the hundreds of millions of peasants idled during the agricultural off-season to construct and run small-scale industry and irrigation products. In the process, agriculture would be stimulated, the development of industry inland would ease regional tensions and China would no longer be tied to the USSR. While this could have been a useful supplement to large-scale industrial production, it turned into a fiasco because of the frenzied timetable established under Mao's exhortations to achieve first-rank economic status overnight.

For example, the thousands of small-scale pig iron furnaces ("backyard furnaces") produced low-grade, mostly unusable products at high cost. The furnaces themselves were made of clay; when the rains came, they were washed away.

Similarly, massive labor was expended on canals and irrigation ditches. Because of the haphazard, planless approach, many of the new waterworks overflowed during heavy rains and aggravated flooding.

Overall, no care was taken to develop an internal market. Much of what was produced was unused—the wrong thing was produced, or too much of the right thing, or too little of the right thing. Raw materials were produced that were unsuitable for conversion to intermediate products; intermediate products could not be converted to finished products either because of poor quality or for lack of productive capacity; finished products were produced for which there was no market.

Output figures soared temporarily. But within two years, the crazy quilt project ended in severe economic disruption. Combined with the pull-out of Russian advisers in 1960 and bad weather, the dislocation led to full-scale economic depression,



Industrial development of China
backwardness, primitive metho



including factory shutdowns

The Great Leap Forward's exhortations, inspirational slogan labor by masses who were building communist socialism to build an advanced industrial steel production cannot housing hundreds of thousands of ovens in clay. A skilled work and communications infrastructure the population with the cultural skills necessary to run industry country operating are all in more, modern production of national division of labor—by of the world market, Mao had technological expertise and industry. These problems could overnight, no matter how star Tse-tung. Fundamentally, the without the overthrow of a struggle by the workers' state lution internationally.

The problems struck home to the group of party and govtors who had to cope with created. In 1959, amid economic and mass unrest, Mao met since the overthrow of Chiang

At the 1959 Central Committee Lushan, Minister of Defense



Mao Tse-tung



Lin Biao



Hua Kuo-feng



Teng Hsiao-ping

"The line-ups in the CCP leadership are decades old. But the dispute is fought on bourgeois terms: the two

The Economy: Boom or Bust?

This is the second of a two-part series on the state of the economy. Last month, we analyzed the nature of the current upturn. This month, we examine the basic long-term direction of the economy.

How strong is the economic recovery? Are we at the beginning of another long period of prosperity? Or is the recovery just a breathing space on the road to a depression?

Last month, we analyzed the current upturn and saw that it is based on three main factors: higher labor productivity; a lower rate of inflation; and the U.S.'s ability to increase its share of the world market at the expense of other countries.

But, as we saw, these factors have produced only limited growth, mainly in consumer-oriented industries such as auto. Capital spending (investment



Ford workers protest layoffs. Temporary upturn does not change trend toward depression.

in new plant and equipment) lags well behind the economy's overall growth rate. Inflation is increasing again. And the world trade situation is unstable; the industrial nations are stepping up competition over shares of an economic pie whose total size has increased only slightly.

The health of the world economy depends primarily upon the health of U.S. capitalism. This is due to the size of the U.S. market and its position as the pillar of imperialism. If U.S. capitalism is basically sound, it can provide a solid foundation for increased production world-wide. But if it is sick, it will be forced to turn on Europe, Japan and the Third World with new and stiff demands that will undermine the recovery abroad. The key question in analyzing the world economy, therefore, is the state of the U.S. economy.

Today, the core of U.S. industry, including machine tools, primary metals (such as steel) and railroads, as well as shipbuilding, textiles and the entire urban structure is rotten and decays more each year. When these industries are old and decrepit, the profit-producing capacity, and therefore the health, of the entire economy is undermined.

Central to the health of any capitalist economy is the efficiency of its industrial apparatus. This efficiency represents not only its ability to produce more goods more cheaply, but its ability to help produce profits for the capitalist class. Efficiency is ultimately determined by the pace at which industrial equipment is modernized. Although modernization of the industrial apparatus tends to lower the rate of profit, if it is maintained at a rapid enough pace it will increase the exploitation of the working class sufficiently to offset this. In other words, the increase in the amount of profits (the result of modernization) can compensate for, and even reverse, the fall in the rate of profit. Since profit production is the motor of capitalist production and rapid modernization creates growing profits, a constantly modernized economy is a healthy one.

The age and inefficiency of whole sections of the industrial apparatus in

the U.S. is the source of the sickness of the entire economy. However, the obsolescence of plant and equipment is not a recent occurrence. It developed throughout the post-war boom and was created by its very nature. Some of the boom in the U.S. was based on a partial modernization of equipment. But the largest part of the boom was created by a variety of artificial means. And these same means were used to prolong it far beyond its natural life. This "artificial health" is key to understanding the current economic situation.

A variety of methods were utilized to artificially prop up the economy. Government spending, based on borrowing, was used to subsidize private industry. Although this increased profits for industry, it also lessened the incentive to invest. After all, if the profits gained with old equipment

were sufficient, why run the risk and cost of modernizing? So, while government spending subsidized industry, it fostered and hid the decay of the plant and equipment.

The super-profits from imperialism played a similar role. The U.S. emerged from World War II as the leading imperialist power. Its overwhelming strength enabled it to take over the colonial empires of the older imperialist powers and to establish itself as the linch-pin of world imperialism. This meant that the U.S. capitalist class could use the plunder gained from its empire to subsidize its economy at home. This, too, lessened the incentive to modernize the industrial plant. At the same time, it hid the developing decay. In this way, even though the U.S. economy was not being overhauled as rapidly as it should, the economy appeared to be healthy and growing.

As time went on, the contradiction between a deteriorating industrial infrastructure and the appearance of prosperity grew. Under normal conditions, periodic depressions clear the way for new and greater economic expansion. In these economic crises, wages and prices decline, many companies go out of business, their assets being taken over by the remaining firms, and corporate debts are liquidated. The remaining firms grow bigger while lower wages and prices enable them to overhaul machinery and other equipment. The result is higher profits and the beginning of a new wave of expansion. Healthy capitalism expands through a series of ever higher booms punctuated by cleansing depressions.

But capitalism in decay departs from this pattern. The U.S. economy in the post-war period is an example of this. One of the characteristics of the post-war boom in the United States was that government intervention in the economy and the super-profits from imperialism tended to offset the severity of economic crises. Instead of periodic depressions, say every 10 years, there were milder recessions which came every three years or so. These recessions did not perform the "cleaning up" job that the depressions

accomplished. In the recessions, not enough companies went bankrupt, not enough capital was centralized, not enough debt was liquidated, and wages and prices, if they declined at all, did not fall far enough. As a result, this period did not see the kind of modernization that was sufficient to enable production to stand by itself. The economy's dependence on government deficit spending and imperialist looting increased.

On top of the decaying industrial apparatus was a growing amount of waste. The artificial prolongation of the boom conditions gave rise to a tremendous growth of various kinds of parasitic economic activity, such as advertising, luxury goods industries and speculation of all kinds. These industries are unproductive. They do not help maintain either the productive structure or the working class. And they do not directly produce profits for the capitalist class. The profits "earned" by the capitalists involved in these activities are produced in the productive sectors of the economy. In other words, these industries leech off the other sectors of society. This might not be a problem if the economy were healthy. But when the profit-producing sectors are sick, the growth of the parasitic parts of the economy further weakens the economy as a whole.

Finally, the artificial extension of the boom and the increased deficit spending of the government gave rise to a tremendous expansion of the private and public debt. Debt is a claim on future production; the holders of the debt must be paid off from the real profits of production in the future. In other words, credit expansion is a means to prolong present prosperity at the expense of the future. As the debt grows it tends to lessen the amount of money spent to modernize the industrial apparatus.

The result of these and other related factors is to create a situation where the profit-making capacity of the economy, the key to prosperity, is

declining, while the demands made upon it are increasing.

This is the underlying problem of the U.S. today. After years of boom, the decay developing underneath has broken through to the surface, becoming clear for all to see. To make up for the years of superficial prosperity, the capitalists must now come up with the funds to try to overhaul the economy. And, in the only way they can, they are trying to get these funds from increased exploitation of the workers. This is why they are laying off thousands of workers, battling the unions to keep wages down, and cutting back transportation, health and other social services the workers need.

The decay that accumulated through the years of the boom under the surface of prosperity can only be eliminated on a capitalist basis by a severe depression. This is the overall direction of the U.S. economy and, with it, the world economy. This basic direction, however, is partially hidden by the cyclical motion of the economy, the ups and downs of the "business cycle." Shallow recoveries will intervene in the downward slide of the economy, perhaps hiding it, but not stopping it. Thus, the present economic upturn, since it will not solve the underlying problems of the economy, is but a temporary breathing space on the road to economic depression.

This drive to deep economic crisis means a sharp increase in the capitalists' attack on the workers. And as the workers fight back, there will be an escalation of the class struggle. Meanwhile, the ruling class will bring to bear all the powers at its command: the police, the courts, the press, the church and the army to try to keep the workers under the yoke of capital. More and more, the myths of harmony between workers and capitalists, oppressed and oppressors, which grew thick in the post-war period, will be exploded. More and more it will become clear that there is no common ground between the workers—and all oppressed people—and the capitalist class and its stooges. More and more the workers will be faced with the choice—misery under capitalism, or the socialist revolution. □

Carey: "Double Juvenile Sentences"

Governor Carey of New York has proposed legislation that would double sentences for 14- and 15-year-olds who commit crimes of violence. Youngsters would serve from one to three years if a family court judge found them guilty of murder, manslaughter, arson, rape or sodomy. Forty-five lawmakers who consider the governor's program too lenient are sponsoring a law to have juveniles tried by adult courts and sent to adult prisons.

The present approach is supposed to "rehabilitate" the kids. Now, the law has no minimum sentence for children under 16. The maximum is 18 months in a state training school, and the judge decides whether he wants to send the kid home or send him up. But this bandaid approach has failed. The destructive forces of degenerating capitalism—no jobs, poor schools, rotten housing—are forcing more kids to turn to crime. In New York City, family court judges hear over 100 cases a day, and probation officers barely have time to talk to the kids. On top of this, the federal summer job program has been cut to 65,000 jobs—for half a million kids under 21.

Since the "soft" method has failed to "stop" juvenile crime, the capitalists are turning to the club. "If you can't rehabilitate them at least keep them off the streets." This is how the ruling class thinks.

But the cause of juvenile crime is decaying capitalism. The kids need the prospect of good jobs in a decent society. This is what will motivate them to study and learn. They need good schools, athletic programs and other services to develop their talents. Since capitalism is falling apart, kids have little reason to keep out of trouble. They see no future for themselves and all around them see only decay and corruption. How do you keep teenagers off the streets when they have no place else to go? How do you make them "constructive" when capitalism gives them no future? The ruling class says: "Lock 'em up." The kids need jobs, their parents need jobs, but there are no jobs. Now the governor says: "Lock 'em up twice as long."

Since their system is falling apart, the capitalists cannot afford concessions. Instead, they step up the repression. But the working class is strong and can stop their attacks. We have to fight every form of repression, every budget cut, every rotten step they take to save their rotting system, right up to the final fight when we take away their power. Then we, the workers, will build a society that's fit for our children.

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Massive Cuts in NYC Jobs and Services

Contracts Expire on July 1; Citywide Strike Needed

NEW YORK—In the past year, workers in this city have lost many of the gains they won through decades of struggle. Free higher education is now a thing of the past in New York City; for the first time in over a century, the City University has imposed tuition. Hospitals have been shut down; day care centers have been closed. Garbage is strewn over the city's streets and is piled in huge rotting mounds on the sidewalks; sanitation pickup has been cut in half. Housing, fire prevention, welfare, Medicaid—indeed, every program workers and the poor depend on has been sharply reduced or eliminated.

Forty-five thousand workers have been fired over the past year. A wage freeze has been in effect, wiping out wage increases already negotiated into contracts. Collective bargaining for city unions is a thing of the past: the unions still bargain with the city, but the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) can step in and reject contracts whenever it chooses. The EFCB now determines contract terms, no matter what the unions and the city decide.

If there's one lesson to be learned from the New York crisis, it's that the more the workers give up, the more they will be asked to sacrifice. Every time a major union contract comes up, government officials, bankers and

benefits by \$97 million (the largest cut in this package would make workers pay 25 percent of health insurance costs). At almost the same time, a federal agency recommended closing 30 hospitals, a move which would cost thousands of jobs and destroy health care in New York (see accompanying article).

On June 5, the city issued its demands for the July 1 contracts. They included:

- Increasing the work week by five hours with no increase in pay.
- Reducing vacations to one week (from the current four to five weeks) for workers with less than 15 years' service.
- Reducing welfare fund payments.
- Reducing pension fund payments.

These cuts are supposed to save the city \$24 million. The city's strategy is to chip away at the workers—get \$24 million now, the rest of the \$97 million later. As the city's chief negotiator, Anthony C. Russo, made clear: "There are further layoffs in the offing. We cannot guarantee that there will not be more layoffs no matter how much more you give up."

Over the past year, the leaders of New York's public employee unions have issued many threats and done much public soul-searching. But in the end, they have consistently come around to the side of the city fathers and the corporations, patriotically declaring that "they" (read the union rank and file and other workers and poor dependent on public services) will make the sacrifices needed to keep the city afloat financially.

The more time goes on, the stronger becomes the hand of the bosses and the government. Over the past year the government has increased its power by organizing the contract-busting EFCB, which recently stepped in to reject a contract agreed on by the Transit Workers and the city. The unions now have fewer members, have had their contracts broken several times, and have all in all allowed New York workers to believe nothing can be done to fight the cutbacks.

The union leaders once more seem determined to put off a fight if they can. Victor Gotbaum, head of the largest city union (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, District Council 37), has already announced the terms he will sell out for: a partial cost-of-living clause (tied to a productivity formula) and the same no-gains contract the EFCB imposed on the Transit Workers after rejecting their original contract.

As in the past, Gotbaum and the other city union officials will try to hold back the rank and file. But New York workers must not accept further cuts in services, further layoffs and further weakening of the unions. If the present cuts go through, the bigger ones demanded by Big MAC will soon follow.

Let the sacrifices come from those who profit from the financial crisis—Make the Bosses Pay! Tax the banks and corporations to restore all cut jobs and services! These must be the demands of New York workers.

On July 1, the city unions can win these demands by leading a citywide strike to end the attacks and put the city back on its feet—for the workers, not the bosses. □

Hospitals: More Shutdowns, Cutbacks and Layoffs



Hospitals like this, already overcrowded, give inadequate care. Now they may be closed.

NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 11—Health care workers at public and voluntary hospitals are faced with demands by hospital management and the city, state and federal governments that would eliminate thousands of jobs and endanger the entire health care system in this city. In response, hospital workers are pressing their union leaders to strike. Hospital contracts expire July 1.

Two unions are involved: District Council 37, AFSCME, covering the public hospital workers, and District 1199, representing the workers at the voluntary (non-profit, now city-owned) hospitals.

In the past year, several city hospitals have been closed and 5,800 DC 37 hospital workers laid off. Now, the city's Health and Hospital Corporation wants to close down four more hospitals, eliminate in-patient and emergency room services at a fifth and fire 3,200 more workers. (This is on top of the wage freeze and other cuts demanded by the city of all public workers. See accompanying article.)

District 1199 has been hit with a 27-point program by the League of Voluntary Hospitals (the management group for the non-profit hospitals), including demands for pension reductions, lower overtime pay and no sick pay for one-day illnesses. Hospital management is already filing for thousands of layoffs and is insisting on a wage freeze. The excuse for these cuts is a bill passed by the state legislature in March that freezes Medicaid payments to the hospitals.

Not satisfied with cuts at this level, the federal government jumped into the act in late May. The federally run Health Systems Agency issued a report recommending shutting down 30 voluntary and proprietary (profit-making) hospitals and reducing services at public hospitals.

One thing is clear from all this: no social program is safe from the bosses' drive to make the workers pay for the crisis created by the banks and corporations. The poor and elderly will go without medical treatment and thousands of health care workers will be fired if the city has its way.

Hospital workers are trying to fight back, but they are saddled with leaderships that are giving in at every turn. "The ranks are to the left of me on this," said DC 37 head Victor Gotbaum to explain why he was threatening to strike over the 3,200 layoffs.

And it's certainly true. Rank and file pressure forced Gotbaum to set a strike date in early June. But Gotbaum, distinguished in the past year for consistently giving in to city and state demands, called the strike off in favor of non-binding arbitration. Gotbaum justifies this as "maneuvering" and "building public support." Its real purpose is to give Gotbaum and the city more time to deal behind closed doors.

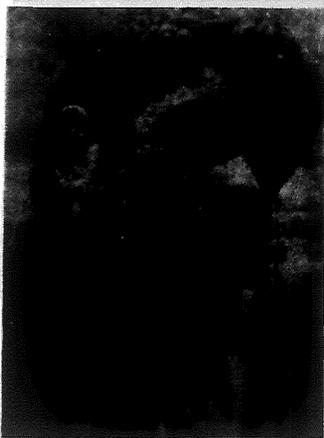
As we go to press, the issue of the 3,200 layoffs is still in arbitration. Gotbaum and his top hospital division aide, Lillian Roberts, continue to threaten a strike in the event of layoffs—which means the ranks are still applying tremendous pressure.

Neither Gotbaum nor Roberts has argued for a joint strike of both DC 37 and District 1199—a strike against the attacks facing hospital workers in both unions. The union leaders fear an industry-wide strike could get out of hand, possibly sparking a citywide strike.

Leon Davis, President of 1199, has the same fear. 1199 has a militant history and may well walk out on July 1. But Davis is discouraging joint action with DC 37: "We've done it alone before, we can do it alone now." "I don't want to hear about a citywide anything," complains Davis.

Hospital workers in DC 37 and 1199 must organize strike committees to prepare for an industry-wide strike. If any cuts go into effect, the ranks must demand both unions walk out jointly. The strike committees must build solidarity so that if one union strikes, the other union will also strike. Health care in New York City, and health care workers' jobs, won't be saved by any union fighting alone. Union solidarity and solidarity with unorganized workers, unemployed and the poor—the people most affected by the closings—is essential. Community groups have organized dozens of mass protests against the hospital cuts, demonstrating that workers throughout the city are prepared to support a hospital strike aimed at saving jobs and services.

Finally, hospital workers have a common interest with the hundreds of thousands of other city workers hit by the cutbacks. An industry-wide strike can not only save health care, but become the spark for a citywide general strike to smash the wage freeze and cutbacks. □



Victor Gotbaum, head of AFSCME DC 37

Wall Street financiers break out in a chorus of "Default! Default!" demanding the workers accept more cuts to bail out the city.

On July 1, when contracts covering 161,000 city workers expire, the demand for more concessions from the workers will come up against city workers determined to keep their jobs and protect their living standards. Therefore, the bosses' propaganda mills are working overtime to convince the workers to knuckle under once again.

In early June, the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big MAC), the state-run agency set up to float bonds for the city, reported that the city must cut \$150 million more from its budget. As if by signal, Moody's Investors Service announced MAC bond ratings were being dropped from A to B, a move which, if not reversed, will make it virtually impossible to sell the bonds. This one-two punch was followed by the City's Temporary Commission on Finances' report, which had a familiar solution: cut union

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EDITORIALS

"Marxist-Leninists" and China's Line

The U.S. Maoist ("Marxist-Leninist") movement is in crisis. Many long-time Maoists are trying to cling to an image of progressive China while criticizing Chinese foreign policy. They hope that the current line is a product of confusion and mistakes. The editors of the Guardian are trying to place themselves at the head of this sentiment.

The Guardian has opened what it promises will be an extended discussion of China's foreign policy. In its May 5 issue, the Guardian printed an interview with William Hinton, national chairman of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association. The interview attempted to explain and justify China's international line.

Hinton, generally acknowledged as a spokesman for official Peking positions, minced few words. In summary, he asserted that the Soviet Union today is a greater menace to the world's masses than the U.S. Therefore it is necessary—indeed preferable—to bloc with the militarist wing of Western imperialism. Moreover, the Hinton position maintained that U.S. armed forces must remain in Japan and that the NATO alliance must be strengthened to defend the world against Russian imperialism. Hinton gave only the thinnest cover to China's orientation to the U.S. He stated that today it is necessary to "unite all forces of the second world (Western European imperialism—ed.) willing to struggle" and "neutralize the United States," while holding out the possibility of a future open bloc with the U.S.

CHINA SEEKS U.S. ALLIANCE

Today, China is already allying with the U.S. wherever it can. Hinton tacitly admits this when he urges the U.S. to keep its armed forces in Japan and the Philippines and to strengthen NATO. Indeed, Hinton's line adds up to the counter-revolutionary perspective that the Western imperialists must be strengthened because they are China's main hope against Russia. When mass struggle gets in the way of strengthening the Western imperialists, the masses must be crushed. This is why, as Hinton says, the Chinese "prefer Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt and Schlesinger to Kissinger." China prefers militarists who can be counted on to be anti-Russian, even though they are the ones most ready to open fire on the workers right now. It is small wonder that so many "Marxist-Leninist"

Maoists are re-evaluating their political perspectives.

In the same issue in which the Hinton interview appears, Wilfred Burchett, the veteran journalist and Guardian staff correspondent, puts forward the Guardian's criticism of China's foreign policy in an article entitled, "China's Foreign Policy: A Friend of China Raises Some Questions." The Guardian knows that Hinton's account of Chinese policy is accurate. They know that such a policy is reactionary and counter-revolutionary. Burchett, for example, shows that the Chinese have been lying for years to justify their bloc with Western imperialism in Angola. He effectively dismantles the Hinton-Peking position that China was supporting three genuine national liberation movements in Angola, by documenting how the MPLA had sent Peking proof that UNITA collaborated with the Portuguese imperialism of Salazar and Caetano. He quotes Chou En-lai telling MPLA leaders in 1971: "We know (FNLA leader) Holden Roberto is a self-declared agent of U.S. imperialism."

GUARDIAN TRAPPED

Guardian managing editor Jack A. Smith, writing in the May 26 Guardian, accepts Hinton's version of China's policy and condemns it for leading to a bloc with the most reactionary sections of Western imperialism. But he somehow manages to conclude:

"China has made enormous contributions to the world's reservoir of revolutionary theory and practice. On the basis of its analysis of the USSR and of its own development of socialism, it has devised methods of class struggle for the working class to smash elements that would restore capitalism."

But Smith knows that these methods of "class struggle" are actually being used to fight the masses and support capitalism. Smith goes on:

"China is a socialist country—but socialist countries make mistakes. Foreign policy is just that—policy. And policy can change."

This is mere subterfuge. Smith, Burchett and the Guardian reveal the lies, draw correct conclusions about China's policy—that it is reactionary and counter-revolutionary—and then throw the gears into reverse to hold out the hope that somehow the bad dream will disappear. They are considering breaking with China, but

they haven't decided whether to break, when to break, what to break to, or how to do it. The Guardian has always needed some force other than the proletariat to cling to.

Years ago, the Guardian was close to the Russian line. Under the impact of the Sino-Soviet dispute, the radical movements of the '60s and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Guardian underwent a series of shifts and swung toward China's at the time militant-looking policy. Now China's policy looks bad, and so the Guardian is ready to abandon Peking.

The Guardian wobbles back and forth because it lacks a Marxist analysis of social forces. For Marxists, both domestic and foreign policy flow from the class nature of society. The central question is who rules—the workers or the capitalists? The workers' interest is to overthrow the bourgeoisie throughout the world. The capitalists' interest is to preserve capitalist rule and suppress workers' struggles everywhere.

The workers do not rule in Russia or in China. In Russia, the workers' state was overthrown and capitalism restored nearly four decades ago with the triumph of the counter-revolution headed by Stalin. In China, the workers never have ruled. In both countries, the workers are stripped of the right to organize or to strike as well as other basic democratic rights. Because they do not control the means of production, the workers remain exploited. They sell their labor-power to the capitalist class, which rules through the state power.

The exploitation of the workers domestically finds its parallel in foreign policy. Russian foreign policy, for example, is based on the interests of the Russian ruling class against the world's masses. This explains Russia's imperialist policy toward Eastern Europe and Cuba and the invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. As an imperialist power, Russia struggles for world domination with other imperialist powers. The imperialist deal with the U.S., "detente," is just one tactic in this power struggle.

STATE-CAPITALIST NEEDS

Similarly, Chinese foreign policy is based on the needs of the Chinese state-capitalist ruling class—also opposed to the needs of the workers and peasants of the world. Today, geographic position and the fact that China is a relatively weak capitalist

power mean that it is most afraid of its neighbor, Russia. As a result, China seeks an alliance with the United States and with the staunchest supporters of U.S. imperialism. China seeks economic and military agreements with Pinochet's barbaric dictatorship in Chile. It allies with the arch-reactionary Shah of Iran, butcher of revolutionaries and agent of U.S. policy in the Mideast. It supports NATO and praises militarists like Strauss of West Germany and Schlesinger in the U.S. China helps suppress mass struggles in Ceylon, Bangla Desh, Sudan, Oman, and lines up with the U.S.—consciously—in Angola.

BOURGEOIS TACTIC

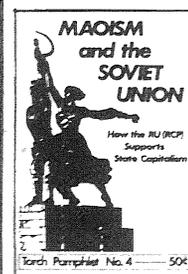
At times, the ruling classes of Russia and China have supported mass struggles. This happens when they believe they can benefit more by aiding movements than by opposing them; when they think they can gain control of these forces, keep them within bourgeois limits and establish favorable relations with the new regimes. At other times, as each country has shown, their interests lead them to directly crush the struggles of the masses.

Russian or Chinese aid to liberation struggles, in short, is just one bourgeois tactic out of many. The Guardian cannot come to grips with this point because it will not come to grips with the capitalist nature of these societies. Instead, it identifies occasional and tactical support to particular struggles with actual and consistent proletarian internationalism, and orients toward whichever state-capitalist country looks better at any given time.

The discussion opened up by the Guardian can prove extremely valuable to the revolutionary movement. It provides the opportunity for serious members of the workers' movement to cut through the layers of rhetoric thrown up to protect both Russia and China and to come to a true Marxist and Leninist understanding of the world today. In particular, a serious study of Chinese foreign policy can lead to a reconsideration of the class nature of the Chinese state, and with it, a reconsideration of the entire ideological structure of Stalinism. □

The Torch invites the views of our readers on this question and, within space limitations, will publish viewpoints distinct from our own.

A New Torch Pamphlet!



Maoism & the Soviet Union

This latest Torch pamphlet explains the RSL's theory of state capitalism through a critique of the RCP's writings on the subject. The RCP acknowledges that Russia is capitalist and therefore appears to oppose state capitalism. In fact, their analysis distorts the real historical process by which the Stalinist bureaucracy restored capitalism in Russia. In clinging to China and Maoism, the RCP maintains the underlying class-collaborationist assumptions of Stalinism.

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Third Frame-Up Trial Begins; Free the Livernois Five!

DETROIT, JUNE 14—The third frame-up trial of Raymond Peoples, James Henderson and Ronald Jordan is now in its 10th day. For the third time, the defendants are facing first-degree murder charges, a hostile judge and a mountain of phony evidence. And for the third time, the prosecution is demanding they be sent to prison for the rest of their lives.

Nearly a year has passed since these three young black men were first arrested. During that time they have faced two trials in which the state prosecutor, the judge and the Detroit cops worked hand-in-hand to force a conviction. Despite these efforts, both trials ended in hung juries.

The case against Peoples, Henderson and Jordan is nothing short of a legalized lynching. In August 1975, they were charged with first-degree murder for the death of a white motorist, Marion Pyszko. Pyszko died after being beaten during the Livernois-Fenkell riots, which followed the racist slaying of a black youth last July. Two juveniles, George Young and Douglas Lane, were also charged. The arrests marked the beginning of an openly racist attack on Detroit's black community and an attempt to railroad five innocent black men into prison for life. For both Young and Lane the ordeal has ended; the charges against them have been dropped. For Peoples, Henderson and Jordan, the third frame-up attempt is now underway.

Here are the highlights of the current trial:

The prosecution has nearly rested its case. Its own witnesses have already exposed the entire trial as a blatant frame-up. Under cross-exami-

nation, witness after witness has testified that earlier statements implicating the defendants were obtained by threats, intimidation and deception. One witness testified that he was first arrested and then told by the cops that he could be either a witness or a defendant. He said that only this pressure forced him to give the answers the police were looking for.

A second witness testified that he wrote out a statement which placed

nesses, Johnny Ward, claims he can identify Ronald Jordan. But in an August 3 line-up, Ward could not pick Jordan out. He did identify Jordan in a second line-up four days later. . . but only after he was coached by the cops. Defense attorneys asked Ward whether he was employed by Mayor Coleman Young. Ward refused to answer. But he did admit that he knew virtually every cop in Detroit personally.



Defense attorneys for Raymond Peoples, James Henderson and Ronald Jordan.

the defendants in the Livernois-Fenkell area, but not at the scene of Pyszko's death. The police typed up his statement, which he signed without reading. In contrast to his original statement, the statement typed by the cops identified Peoples, Henderson and Jordan as having beaten Pyszko.

Only two witnesses out of dozens called by the prosecution stuck to earlier statements that identified one or more of the defendants with the Pyszko beating. One of these wit-

Fifteen-year-old Mike Dorris testified that he could identify Raymond Peoples and Ronald Jordan as having been present when Pyszko was beaten. But cross-examination revealed that he had identified none of the defendants in his original statement. He had made his first statement to the cops with his mother present. The cops later cornered him alone and, through intimidation, got him to finger two of the defendants. Dorris, like other witnesses, was told that he

would face first-degree murder charges if he didn't cooperate with the cops. Dorris, like Ward, was unable to identify any of the defendants in two separate line-ups—until he was "accidentally" placed in the same jail cell with them. Unfortunately, young Dorris is now so terrorized that he refuses to state that his second statement was untrue. But the facts speak for themselves.

The presiding judge, Joseph A. Gillis, has done everything in his power to rig the trial against the defendants. During the selection of a jury panel, Gillis refused to disqualify a woman who stated that she had a close friend who knew the Pyszko family well. Thirteen prospective jurors said they had relatives or close friends employed by Detroit's law enforcement agencies. One of these disqualified himself. Gillis disqualified none of the others. Seven prospective jurors stated they had relatives or close friends who in the past year had met death by violent crime. Three disqualified themselves from the case; Gillis disqualified none. One woman whom Gillis allowed onto the jury panel had a relative who had been murdered just six weeks ago.

Gillis has over-ruled virtually every defense objection while sustaining every objection made by the prosecution. He has allowed the prosecuting attorney to refrain from calling witnesses who have made statements that those involved in the Pyszko beating were not the defendants. Prior to the start of this trial, Gillis unsuccessfully attempted to force the defendants to go to trial with court-appointed attorneys rather than the legal counsel of their choice.

Peoples, Henderson and Jordan are innocent. They must be freed! The work of the Livernois Five Defense Committee has thus far prevented five innocent black men from being railroaded to jail for life. No matter what the outcome of this third trial, the struggle against racist "justice" will continue. Free the Livernois Five! □

KKK, Nazis...

(Continued from page 1)

violence and to protest the city's failure to enforce open housing regulations. The march was called off to avoid a confrontation with the Nazis.

In response to the Nazi-led attack, several black ministers issued a call for a protest march into the all-white neighborhood that borders West Englewood. It is in this neighborhood that the Nazi Party has its headquarters. On June 8, the Reverend C. H. Turner of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement led several ministers in the first of what have now become daily marches. Each march has been halted by the cops before it reached the railroad tracks separating West Englewood from the all-white neighborhoods. Reverend Turner has been arrested several times and the number of arrests continues to mount. The June 8 march numbered only a handful of ministers; on June 10, over 150 people marched.

The ministers associated with the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement preach pacifism and non-violence. They preach reliance on the bosses' cops, the bosses' army and the bosses' government. The Reverend A. R. Dunlap, President of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, has called on the government to declare martial law and send federal troops into the Marquette Park area. The Reverend Edgar Jackson said: "If the cops won't help us, we'll call in the army with its F-111's." Militant as this rhetoric

may sound, it reveals a strategy which is doomed to bring defeat.

The black experience in racist America teaches the bitter lesson that "turning the other cheek" will never put an end to racist violence. As for relying on the cops, they are spending most of their time busting up the black demonstrations. According to a Chicago Urban League study, 3,000 cops live in Gage Park, the area where much of the racist activity is centered. There have been over 50 incidents of Klan and Nazi-type thuggery in the past few months, yet no arrests have been made. In fact, the cops themselves are a dominant force among the organized racists.

But the cops are agents of the government, and it would be a fatal mistake to believe that the U.S. government is the ally of blacks in their struggle against the racists. Throughout the world, the U.S. government opposes the struggles of oppressed people fighting for liberation. It is every bit as much the enemy of the black liberation struggle in this country.

The actions of Chicago's Mayor Daley make this clear. Following the June 6 violence, Daley's attorneys got a court order restraining the Nazis from "violating the rights of blacks" and from "urging physical violence toward blacks in the Marquette Park area." The court order also instructed the Nazis to remove a sign from outside their headquarters reading: "Stop the Niggers." This does not put an

end to Nazi and Klan activity. While Daley is ordering his cops to bust the daily black demonstrations, he has his court order to appear "fair to both sides." He wants to keep blacks and whites fighting among each other—but he also wants to make sure things don't get too far out of hand right now.

Two things must be understood clearly. First, Klan and Nazi-type racists will never be stopped by the capitalists' courts and cops. The ruling class knows that it will increasingly turn to these fascist forces in the future. The organized racists can only be stopped by a movement of blacks and anti-racist whites prepared to use whatever force is necessary to smash them. Second, the struggle against

the organized racists is a broader struggle. Capitalism is the real source of race hatred. Chicago's black community must be mobilized, in an alliance with anti-racist whites, not simply to confront white racists but to confront the capitalist politicians at City Hall. This movement must demand an end to all discrimination. It must also demand more jobs, housing, health care and schools, more money to the rotting cities, an expansion of social services in general. The real source of racial division lies in the fact that capitalism robs working and poor people of all these things—and leaves them to fight each other for survival. It is this system—decadent and racist to the core—which must be overthrown. □

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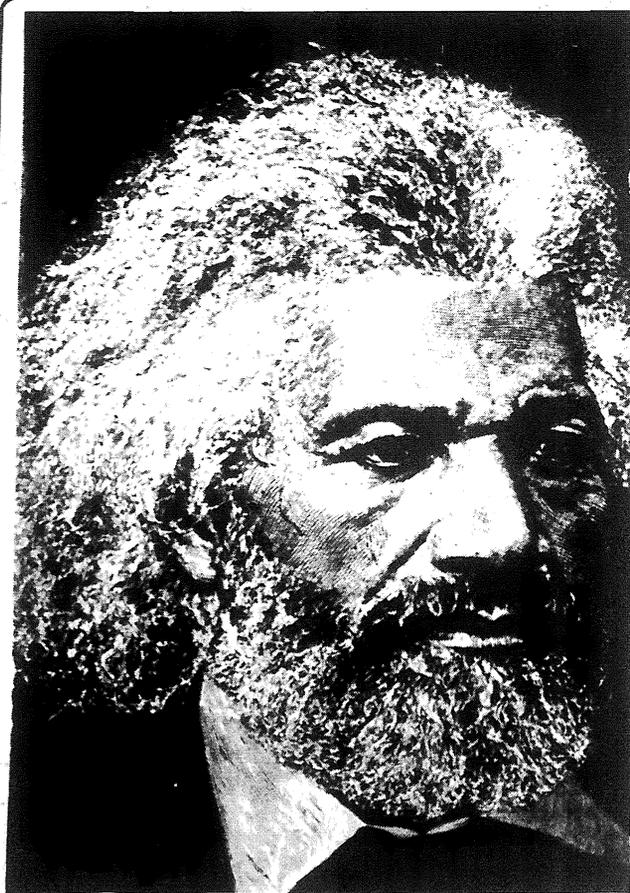
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out to the Torch



Frederick Douglass July 4, 1852

We print below excerpts from a speech given by Frederick Douglass on July 4, 1852. Douglass was an ex-slave who escaped to the North and became a prominent leader in the fight to abolish slavery. His words are a ringing denunciation of the hypocritical claims of the U.S. government to stand for democracy and freedom. In 1852, slavery had existed in America for nearly 250 years. Blacks were denied all rights and were treated as animals. Today, despite some gains won through struggle, black people in the U.S. are still without the freedom, equality and democracy promised in the Declaration of Independence. The U.S. claim to be a "free country" represents the same deceit as the claims in 1852. Douglass' speech is a fitting reminder to the entire U.S. working class that the struggle for freedom—the fight for socialism—remains before us.

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July?

I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. . . .

You boast of your love of liberty, your superior civilization, and your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation, as embodied in the two great political parties, is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of millions of your countrymen. You hurl your anathemas at the tyrants of Russia and pride yourselves on your democratic institutions, while you yourselves consent to be the mere tools and bodyguards of the tyrants of Virginia and Carolina. You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them with banquets, greet them with ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, protect them, and pour out your money to them like water; but the fugitives from your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot, and kill. You glory in your refinement and your universal education; yet you maintain a system as barbarous and dreadful as ever stained the character of a nation—a system begun in avarice, supported in pride, and perpetuated in cruelty. You shed tears over fallen Hungary, and make the sad story of her wrongs the theme of your poets, statesmen, and orators, till your gallant sons are ready to fly to arms to vindicate her cause against the oppressor; but, in regard to ten thousand wrongs of the American slave, you would enforce the strictest silence, and would hail him as an enemy of the nation who dares make those wrongs the subject of public discourse! □

A Dose of Capitalist Medicine

On July 3, 1974, 12-year-old Melvin Armstrong cut his arm while trying to kill a goat. Melvin Armstrong is black. He and his family are farm laborers near the central Alabama town of Uniontown. After slashing himself, Armstrong was taken to Dr. Bobby C. Merkle, who is white and the only doctor in predominantly black Uniontown.

Merkle stitched up Melvin's arm and asked for \$25. Melvin did not have it, so Merkle called his mother. She did not have \$25 but was ready to bring \$20 right away. Dr. Merkle, however, could not wait. He removed the stitches from Melvin's arm and sent him away with an open wound.

Melvin's mother was rushing to the doctor with her \$20 when she met her son returning. Melvin was finally taken to a doctor in another town who stitched him up again and gave him anti-tetanus shots.

Melvin's father sued Dr. Merkle for \$50,000. This April, the case came before an all-white jury. The jury awarded damages of exactly \$20—the amount charged by the second doctor. Melvin's dignity as a human being and the risk of death in agony from tetanus had no monetary value in the eyes of these good citizens.

In May, the Alabama State Board of Medical Examiners investigated the incident. The Board gave Dr. Merkle a slap on the wrist. He was censured for "professional misconduct" and placed on probation, moves which will not interrupt his practice or his income.

The vile Dr. Merkle is only a medical symptom of the capitalist system, which puts a \$25 fee above the life of a black youth. This system must be completely destroyed before black people can live in dignity. □

Campaign to Save Muñoz Builds

An international campaign is being built to save the life of Mario Muñoz Salas, exiled Chilean workers' leader hunted by the military rulers of Argentina.

Muñoz, a Chilean miner, was a leader in the movement to form cordones industriales (workers' councils) to fight the right-wing mobilization in Chile in 1972-73. After the coup of September 1973 he escaped to Argentina, where he organized exiled Chilean workers. The Peronist regime, before its overthrow, had begun proceedings to deport Muñoz to Chile.

Immediately after the Argentine coup of March 24, the military government launched a manhunt for Muñoz. Orders were issued to shoot him on sight. His family was questioned and beaten but did not betray him. If captured alive, he faces deportation to Chile and almost certain torture and death at the hands of the Pinochet dictatorship.

Muñoz's case is only one among thousands. The Argentine generals recently handed over Edgardo Enriquez, exiled leader of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), to the Chilean dictators who murdered his brother, Miguel, in 1974. Thousands of other workers and left-wing militants who found refuge in Argentina now face deportation, torture or death, if captured.

The international defense campaign being built by the Partisan Defense Committee must be supported. International exposure and protest can make the dictators hesitate and can save thousands facing death. □

Send messages of support and contributions to:

Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 633, New York, NY 10013

Free Gary Tyler!

Gary Tyler has been in the death house of a Louisiana state prison since December 1975, condemned for a murder he didn't commit. An all-white jury took less than three hours to find Tyler guilty of first-degree murder, despite the lack of evidence against him.

Tyler, a 17-year-old black student, was arrested in October 1974. The case began when 200 rock-throwing, gun-toting whites attacked a bus of black students going home from Destrehan High School. A white man aimed a rifle at the bus. Everyone inside hit the floor. A shot rang out somewhere and one of the attackers, a 13-year-old white student, fell dead.

The police tore the bus apart looking for weapons. None was found. Tyler, then 16 years old, protested when a cop held a gun to a black student's head. He was arrested for obstructing justice. The cops then set out to build a murder case against him. They beat him bloody at the police station, banging his head against the wall to make him confess.

At the trial the prosecution produced a .45—claiming it was the murder weapon. But there were no fingerprints on the gun, the autopsy report did not show the caliber of the fatal bullet or its angle of entry and the so-called fatal bullet showed no signs of having passed through a human body.

There was nothing to prove who had fired a gun, what kind of gun it was or where the killer stood when it was fired. In the confusion, someone in the heavily armed mob could easily have fired the fatal shot.

The prosecution produced two witnesses against Tyler. Both have now repudiated their testimony. In a sworn affidavit, Natalie Blanks, one of the two, states that during the trial she read her answers from a paper placed in front of her by the prosecution. The state threatened to take away her baby and charge her as an accessory unless she testified against Tyler. The other witness, Loretta Thomas, was threatened with 99 years in jail.

The judge who presided at the trial has denied motions for a new trial. The defense has filed two appeals in the Louisiana Supreme Court, one against the conviction, the other against the denial of a new trial.

Gary Tyler should not have to go through another trial. But he faces death. Not one of the 200 gun-happy racists who tried to mob a bus carrying black students has ever been charged!

The capitalist courts are neither fair nor impartial—but they can be made to answer to pressure from the working class. Gary Tyler must be freed the way Joanne Little was freed—by a mass movement. □

FBI: "Destroy..."

(Continued from page 1)

jobs. The IRS was ordered to conduct special investigations to try to catch radicals on tax charges.

• COINTELPRO tried to drive Martin Luther King to suicide by threatening to reveal marital infidelities via tape recordings. King was a special target of the FBI. In 1963 he was labelled "the most dangerous Negro leader in the country" and in 1968 the FBI described King as a potential "messiah" who must be destroyed.

• Investigators are still probing possible CIA and FBI involvement in the assassinations of King and John F. Kennedy.

The liberals leading this investigation are trying to make the most of it. But despite the outcry, their investigation does not represent a threat to U.S. intelligence operations. Nor is it intended to. The liberals are as committed to an effective repressive ap-

paratus as are their conservative counterparts. Their vigorous denunciations of FBI and CIA "excesses" are really a mixture of election-year muckraking and a desire to create a less heavy-handed and ultimately more effective secret police system.

LIBERALS' MOTIVES

The liberals' real motives are shown by their concentration on FBI harassment of Martin Luther King, the NAACP and liberals like Adlai Stevenson III and Eleanor Roosevelt. The liberals know that only stupid bunglers could see King and the NAACP as "threats to national security;" that King and the NAACP should have been supported, not harassed. The liberals recognize that forces like King and the NAACP are needed to keep the black movement and the struggles of other victims of

capitalist oppression in safe reformist channels.

Even the FBI operation against the Black Panthers was a bungled job from the liberals' point of view. They had no objections to crushing the Panthers, but the dawn raid that murdered Fred Hampton, a blatant police ambush, unnecessarily gained sympathy for the Panthers and exposed the ruling class as criminals and murderers.

The liberals certainly believe that the Panthers and others calling for revolutionary struggle against capitalist oppression must be crushed. But they believe it must be done quietly and effectively. Liberals in the Senate and elsewhere want a professional intelligence apparatus that will identify the ruling class's real enemies, keep tabs on them and, when necessary, wipe them out—without discrediting the government.

The secret police apparatus which the Senate hearings revealed is absolutely necessary to capitalism. The U.S. ruling class maintains its power

largely through its success in fostering the myth that the U.S. is a "free and democratic country" with "opportunity for all." But important as these myths are, they have never been sufficient to defend capitalism against the working class.

Every day, capitalism robs the worker of the value he creates, and of his very health and life. It casts the aged onto the scrap-heap; it pens the youth and unemployed in the decaying city streets. Every day, thousands of society's poor and oppressed are brutalized and degraded. Capitalism itself forces people to fight back and teaches the most class-conscious fighters that capitalism must be destroyed. This is why its machinery of repression must be maintained.

The bosses need, and will always need, labor spies, Pinkertons, frame-ups, vigilantes, police infiltration, assassinations and lists of potential victims for concentration camps to defend their rule. The task of the working class is to overthrow the whole rotten lot. □

South Africa...

(Continued from page 2)

but now they will be stripped of the few rights they had as South African citizens.

South African blacks have waged a bitter struggle against the apartheid system and the racist white rulers. Throughout the 1950s, a mass African movement for majority rule gained strength. In 1960, 69 unarmed demonstrators were machine-gunned at Sharpeville, and in the next two years the government succeeded in crushing the opposition movement. But since the late '60s mass opposition has been rising again.

IMPERIALISTS WORRIED

This growing struggle—and its explosive potential—has the U.S. and

South African ruling classes worried. There is growing concern in the U.S. over the stability of white rule and the safety of American interests in southern Africa. These concerns lie behind the new policy revealed by U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger during his recent African tour.

In an April 27 speech in Lusaka, Zambia, Kissinger focused on the immediate hotspots—Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (Southwest Africa). He warned Ian Smith's white minority regime that "it cannot expect United States support either in diplomacy or in material help.... On the contrary, it will face our unrelenting opposition."

The U.S. is breaking with its former allies to try to preserve its African interests. Kissinger hopes that

through a shift to neo-colonial tactics—ruling by controlling or heavily influencing black regimes—the U.S. can maintain its domination. Better to make a deal with those guerrillas whom the U.S. can control, reasons Kissinger, than to see U.S. influence and possessions go down the drain with a doomed white minority government.

The new U.S. policy was coordinated with South Africa's Prime Minister, John Vorster. South Africa, despite its racist apartheid regime, is joining the call for black majority rule in Zimbabwe. Both South Africa and the U.S. realize that if the struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia gets out of hand it will likely spread to their most dangerous and deadly enemies—the South African black proletariat.

This is why both have announced they favor majority rule in Zimbabwe. By gaining a hold on the emerging black regimes, they seek to surround

South Africa with a buffer zone of black leaders owing everything to South Africa and the U.S. They also hope to create a bought-off layer of black stooge "leaders" (like Matanzima) and a thin black middle class within South Africa itself. They hope these bought-off layers, inside and outside South Africa, can stand between them and their basic, unreconcilable enemy—the black South African proletariat.

For the masses, the new shifts, compromises and concessions of the rulers are increasing their belief that struggle is possible, that the rulers can be defeated. The South African workers are at the very center of one of the world's advanced capitalist economies. The combination of extreme oppression and massive power makes them a dagger in the heart of imperialism—a potentially revolutionary force which can shake not just Africa, but the world. □

Lebanon...

(Continued from page 7)

The recent victories of the Lebanese workers and peasants, which brought about the collapse of the Lebanese army, forced Syria to intervene openly on behalf of the Christian ruling class. Syria began by sending in forces of as Saïqa, the Palestinian commando force they control. These forces blockaded militant left centers, encircled and attacked left military forces, denied them supplies and reinforcements, all the while protecting the Lebanese right wing from attack.

This policy, however, could not long succeed. The Palestinians in as Saïqa proved to be an unreliable tool. As soon as their repressive mission became clear to them they began deserting in droves. When the Syrian-controlled Palestinian forces proved unreliable, Syria decided to intervene with its own regular army. On April 9 Syrian troops crossed the frontier.

U.S. imperialism made it clear that Syria had its support in this intervention, and it strongly admonished Israel to stay out. At the same time Israel made it clear that it would not intervene so long as Syria was involved in a "peace-keeping operation" rather than a full-scale takeover.

The Syrian invasion of Lebanon will not resolve the situation. Even if the Lebanese Moslem masses and the Palestinians are decisively defeated, opposition to Assad's policy from the Syrian masses and the nature of the whole Lebanese situation will compel

Assad to take further measures.

To stabilize the situation the Assad regime will be compelled to move to partition Lebanon into at least two states: a northern Christian protectorate under Syrian domination and a southern Moslem state, left to the mercies of the Israelis. This would serve both Israeli and Syrian interests. Syria's imperialist designs toward Lebanon (long unrealizable because of the Israeli presence) would be partially realized. Israel in turn would gain a free hand against the Palestinians in a southern buffer state. The entire deal would provide assurance to the U.S. and Israel that Syria will

cooperate in policing the area for Western imperialism.

In spite of its weak position, it appears that the Syrian bourgeoisie will be able to pull off such a Lebanese partition. This is primarily because of the rotten Lebanese and Palestinian leadership. Arafat, Habash and Jumblat were willing to fight so long as they had the backing of the Syrians. Now that Syria has invaded it is extremely unlikely that they will prosecute the war. If the war is forced upon them by Syrian attacks, they will never take the lead in arousing, arming and organizing the masses, which is the only way to victory. This is a course they cannot follow, because it would destroy the Syrian army, destabilize Syria and bring a U.S.-Israeli invasion of both countries.

As a result of the Syrian invasion, the north and east of Lebanon will become the Christian oligarchy's sanctuary. In the long run, the masses of southern Lebanon will either replace their current leaders with working class revolutionaries or be dominated by Syria or Israel.

The place that most bears watching is Beirut. Here the proletariat is strongest. It has been the area of the most uncompromising conflict between the two sides. Syria will occupy it with difficulty. It is here that a collapse of the Syrian army is most possible.

The Syrian invasion poses a capitalist resolution of the civil war. This is because the Lebanese workers and their allies have been bled dry for the past year. The costs of the civil war in lives and property have been tremendous. The Lebanese economy is a shambles, with looting and kidnappings for ransom evolving into a way of life. Under its present leadership the working class has been demoralized and disoriented. The Syrian invasion heightens the danger that the working class may be disarmed, and the Palestinian revolution crushed.

Latest reports indicate that the Lebanese Moslem masses and the Palestinians are engaging in pitched battles with the Syrian troops. Once again the masses show that they are unwilling to give up the battle for their rights without a determined struggle. It is not their lack of desire to fight that is responsible for the failure to gain victory over the past year, but the treachery of their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders. □



Battle rages in Beirut. Syria aims at reversing victories of Lebanese/Palestinian leftists.