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Smash Racist Rule In South Africa!



Soweto students in recent demonstration against racist Vorster regime.

Black workers and students in South Africa are continuing their struggle against the racist dictatorship. On December 27 hundreds of Blacks in Langa Township, outside Cape Town, fought special riot police flown in from Pretoria. With only bricks and stones for weapons, the Black freedom fighters battled the cops. Two people were killed, hundreds were arrested and police raided hundreds of homes.

The Langa battles were the climax of three days of fighting in Cape Town's Black ghettos. These struggles began after student leaders called a boycott of Christmas shopping across the country. The students appealed for Christmas to be a memorial to the hundreds who have died fighting the

white rulers since last June.

In Soweto Township, outside Johannesburg, the boycott succeeded. Despite an almost total news blackout by the bourgeois press, reports indicate that shoppers stayed home and bars and liquor stores were closed down. In other cities across South Africa, the boycott was partly successful.

These actions show that the South African struggle goes on, despite the ferocious repression.

But the Christmas boycott struggle also showed some of the weaknesses in the present movement. In Cape Town, South African policemen incited Black migrant workers to attack boycotters. Over Christmas weekend, bloody street battles were fought in two Cape Town

(Continued on page 8)

Racism, Capitalism, Imperialism

CARTER'S CABINET SAYS IT ALL

Workers who voted for Jimmy Carter are getting a bitter lesson in capitalist politics: the workers get the promises, the ruling class keeps the power.

Candidate Jimmy campaigned as a folksy outsider against Big Business, Big Government and the Military-Industrial Complex. His speeches were riddled with promises to dismantle the "Wall Street-Washington elite," cut military spending and bring in "new faces with new ideas." Going after votes from labor and Blacks, Carter pledged to make jobs for the jobless his first priority and promised Blacks dignity and equality.

President-elect Carter, on the other hand, has shed his populist costume to reveal a slick technocrat with ties to

the most powerful ruling class circles, one who is breaking his promises even faster than he made them.

CARTER'S "FRESH FACES"

Carter's most important opportunity to show his true nature thus far has been his Cabinet selection. He assembled a monument to capitalist power relations and a testimonial to his string of broken promises. The "new faces" turned out to be veteran Washington hacks, corporate executives, Vietnam hawks and military contractors, with a not-so-secret bigot thrown in to "enforce civil rights legislation."

Starting at the top, Carter appointed Cyrus Vance Secretary of State. It would be

hard to find anyone, anywhere, with better ruling class credentials: Vance is chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation and on the boards of IBM, Pan American World Airways, the New York Times and Yale University (to mention a few). Vance was one of the architects of the Vietnam War, having served as Deputy Secretary of Defense for Lyndon Johnson.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's face is about as "new" and "fresh" as Vance's. Brown was LBJ's Secretary of the Air Force. He urged saturation bombing of North Vietnam at the time; today, he ardently supports the B-1 bomber.

National Security Council Director Zbigniew Brzezinski has made a career of tram-

pling on the aspirations of the people of the Third World. He was perhaps the most savage Vietnam hawk of all, delivering bloodthirsty speeches from inside the

State Department and as adviser to David Rockefeller.

That's Jimmy Carter's foreign policy and defense team. Three top guns from the

(Continued on page 12)



Steelworkers Must Organize.... p. 10

JAMAICA

Manley Wins Elections; Masses Face New Attacks

On December 15, the Jamaican people went to the polls. All 60 seats in parliament were up for election. The People's National Party (PNP), a liberal capitalist party led by Prime Minister Michael Manley, won 47 of the seats. The reactionary U.S.-backed Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), while receiving only one-fifth of the seats, was able to get almost 43 percent of the popular vote.

The general elections, the fourth since Jamaica won its independence from Great Britain in 1962, were held at a time of widespread political violence. Over 200 people were murdered and thousands injured in 1976 as part of a JLP terror campaign against supporters of the PNP. In particular, the JLP thugs went after members of the PNP Youth, which is on the left wing of the party.

The outcome of the elections does not remove the threat of a right-wing JLP takeover. It is more important than ever for the Jamaican masses to be on their guard and ready to repel this threat.

As the Torch has discussed in previous issues, the JLP has been working with the CIA to get rid of Manley. The Jamaican capitalists, who support the JLP, and the U.S. imperialists have found Manley's concessions to the workers' struggles

costly. Additionally, Manley has been unable to keep the workers and oppressed from pushing their struggles forward. What the JLP and CIA fear most is a workers' revolution that would expropriate the bandit imperialists, and loosen the U.S.'s grip over all the Caribbean and Latin America.

GROWING VIOLENCE

As the elections neared, the JLP stepped up the attacks and provocations. They provoked a fight with PNP supporters in Clarendon. When the PNPers defended themselves, the JLP burned the PNP headquarters to the ground.

The JLP also engineered an attack on Bob Marley, a well-known reggae singer. Marley was shot in his house the day before he was supposed to perform at a concert sponsored by the PNP. And Ferdie Neita, the PNP candidate from St. Catherine, was shot and seriously wounded two days before the elections were held.

SEAGA CONCEDES— OR DOES HE?

These attacks did not stop almost 80 percent of those eligible to vote from turning out on election day. And when the results were in, even Edward Seaga, leader of the Jamaica Labour Party, had to concede victory to the PNP. But on December 23, a JLP spokesman claimed that "evidence now available suggests large scale irregularities in the general election" and announced that the party would contest 25 of the seats the PNP had won. The spokesman promised that "further evidence will come to light."

This is a lot of hot air. The JLP has been unable to show such evidence. It's clear that the JLP just wants to talk big about election fraud without having to prove that there was any.

The JLP had been planning all along to call the election results rigged and fraudulent. For months, while their thugs stepped up the violence, the JLP blamed the situation on the PNP and then claimed that fair elections were impossible. The JLP had been counting on a closer election, however, which would have given

more credibility to their claims that the PNP had rigged the elections. They then would have used this as a cover to further their takeover plans.

ALTERNATIVE REMEDIES?

One JLP candidate who lost in the December 15 election made the threat very clear when he withdrew from the recount of his constituency. He said that "the real issues of contention would have to be pursued by alternative remedies" and that he would continue collecting evidence with a view to taking alternative steps. This talk of "alternative remedies" is just a thinly disguised way of threatening a JLP military takeover.

While the JLP has been forging ahead with their plans, Prime Minister Michael Manley has been making it clear what he has in store for the Jamaican working class and oppressed people.

Within one hour after hearing that the PNP had swept the elections, Manley was putting forward the necessity for the workers, small farmers and oppressed people to make even greater sacrifices. He said that the time for "frills and soft options" was over.

This can only mean near-barbaric conditions for the Jamaican people. Unemployment is already officially 27 percent for the workforce as a whole and 35 percent for young workers. Food prices have been climbing, and inflation is running at 15 percent.

Meanwhile, for those workers with jobs, there is a ban on strikes and a tight ceiling on what wage increases they can receive. The land-lease program, under which the government subsidized small farmers renting land, has been cut back. And none of the major industries—bauxite, sugar and tourism—are doing well enough so that employment opportunities could be expected to open up.

MANLEY WILL ATTACK JAMAICAN WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS

By calling for an end to "soft frills and options," Manley is making clear

the right-wing turn he will have to make to maintain capitalist rule in Jamaica. Such a turn will mean, above all, an attack on the Jamaican workers and oppressed people. Manley will try to drive living standards down even further. He will attempt to take back the concessions given to the workers and small farmers, and strip away the democratic rights granted to appease the masses' struggle.

With the Jamaican capitalists and U.S. imperialists breathing down his neck, Manley has to prove that there is no need for a right-wing takeover—that he will attack the masses, hold their struggles in line or else crush them. He will try to prove that it is better to pretend to be for socialism, and thereby win the masses' confidence and sap their fighting spirit, than to call for outright dictatorship of the capitalists.

Most important, he will try to prove that the best way of defusing the struggle to overthrow capitalism is by paying lip service to the aspirations of



Wounded Bob Marley after shooting.

the masses, get them to sacrifice in the name of socialism, while protecting the bourgeoisie and bourgeois rule.

PNP AND JLP— DOUBLE THREAT

With the election victory behind him, Manley now has the maneuvering room he needs to attack the workers and oppressed. He has openly stated his friendship with U.S. imperialism and his desire for better relations. And, as a signal to the bourgeoisie, his first two cabinet appointees, Minister of Finance David Coore and Minister of National Security Keble Munn, were both chosen from the PNP's right wing. This despite a substantial election victory for leading members of the party's left wing.

The Jamaican people face a massive threat, both from the liberal, Manley-led section of the capitalist class and the openly reactionary, pro-JLP section. Either Manley will try to attack and grind down the masses, or else the JLP and the army, backed by the CIA, will try to overthrow him and establish a brutal dictatorship. From the bourgeoisie's point of view, these are their only two alternatives.

The response to this threat must be for the workers and oppressed to organize independently of both the PNP and the JLP. Only by relying on their own strength, will the masses of Jamaica be able to turn back the threat of right-wing takeover and the attacks of the Manley government.

The interests and aspirations of the masses are for socialist revolution, which will kick out, suppress and expropriate the predators of the Jamaican people—the Jamaican capitalists and U.S. imperialists. Manley not only will not lead this struggle, he will be a roadblock to it. □

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PNP election rally.

Peasants

CLAS

By Alber

During the past 35,000 landless M the northwestern nora and Sinaloa sections of the rich these provinces, spread through r Mexico.

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Zapata: Odd man out

Emiliano Zapata.

Peasants Seize Land, Workers Fight Charros

CLASS STRUGGLE BUILDS IN MEXICO

By Alberto Suarez

During the past few months, over 35,000 landless Mexican peasants in the northwestern provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa have seized large sections of the richest estates. From these provinces, the struggle has spread through much of northern Mexico.

The current peasant rebellion began in 1975. The government's police and the armed gangs of the wealthy landowners answered the seizures with bullets. The government followed this in the summer and fall of 1976 with a massive devaluation of the peso, which nearly doubled the prices on many consumer items.

Repression and wage-cutting has not stopped the peasants' struggle. The most widespread land seizures in Sonora and Sinaloa took place this past fall soon after the devaluation. Faced with a peasant rebellion and a growing economic crisis, outgoing Mexican president Luis Echeverría decided to expropriate 250,000 acres from the rich landowners in Sonora province.

The expropriation meant land for only 8,900 of the more than 50,000 landless peasants in the Yaqui valley, but it is the single largest land expropriation since the 1930s. The new government of Lopez Portillo, which took office on December 1, immediately ruled that Echeverría's decree was illegal. But the peasants have pledged to stay on the land and fight.

A major confrontation between the Lopez Portillo government and the peasant movement is thus rapidly developing. Lopez Portillo has promised the Mexican landowners and industrialists, as well as the U.S. imperialists, that he will begin an "austerity" program to improve the economy. This means further wage cuts and social service cuts for the masses of Mexican workers and peasants. This will undoubtedly provoke a mass response from the Mexican working class.

The following article, written by a Mexican revolutionary and a supporter of the Revolutionary Socialist League, places the recent events in Mexico in the context of the history of the class struggle in Mexico and points the way forward.

This year in Mexico we are seeing thousands of landless peasants occupying land the big landlords had sto-



Peasants on seized land in Mexico's northwest.

len. We have seen thousands of peasants arm themselves to defend themselves against the armed goon squads of the landlords and the army, which is trying to drive them off the land they had occupied. We have seen peasants being murdered because they defended the land that was rightfully theirs. We are seeing the peasants fight like they did when Zapata and Pancho Villa led the revolutionary struggle more than 60 years ago. We are seeing the peasants fight for the same cause they fought for during the Revolution of 1910.

The Revolution has not delivered on its promise to the peasants. The peasants' lot has worsened instead of improving during these 60 years since the Revolution in which they spilled so much blood.

After almost 40 years of relative quiet, Mexican society is in turmoil. Mexican peasants, tired of living for decades on promises of land reform, are seizing the lands of the large estates themselves. Mexican workers are striking for higher wages, often against the wishes of their union leaders. The Mexican capitalist class, tied more and more to U.S. imperialism, is sharply attacking the workers and peasants. The inauguration of José López Portillo as president signals a swing to the right. The coalition that has governed Mexico for almost 50 years is starting to break up.

This coalition is Mexico's ruling party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary Party). The PRI is made up of the union bureaucrats, known as "charros" or "cowboys," the bureaucracy of the peasants' organizations, and the Mexican bourgeoisie. The PRI supposedly represents "the national revolutionary forces" of Mexico, but it actually represents the capitalist class. Today, all the major factions of the bourgeoisie, including its reactionary wing, are now inside the PRI (notice the demise of the right wing Partido Acción Nacional).

The PRI grew out of the Revolution of 1910-1920. The Revolution seriously weakened the old landlord class and the imperialist corporations, but did not smash them by any means. The Mexican bourgeoisie used the force of the militant peasantry and working class to hold the imperialists at bay so that they could step in and make the profits that the imperialists used to make. The PRI attempted to prevent the independent organization of the workers and peasants by promising them land and higher wages. When the masses struggled, the PRI made

whose predecessors captured the leadership of the Revolution, claims to be "anti-imperialist" and sometimes even "anti-capitalist." Particularly under President Lázaro Cárdenas in the 1930s, the government nationalized the foreign-owned oil and railroad industries and distributed some land to the peasants—who were about to take it anyway.

But the imperialists, forced to relax their grip a bit in the '30s, have been tightening it ever since. In 1950 U.S. investments were less than \$400 million. In 1970 they were more than \$2 billion. U.S. agribusiness has extended itself to the northern states of Mexico. U.S. imperialism virtually dominates the north of Mexico.

The "anti-imperialist" PRI has been more and more revealed as imperialist puppets. Echeverría, who so graciously granted land to the peasants in 1976, sent his army and police to kill more than 100 peasants who were demanding land in 1975. (As Minister of the Interior he was responsible for the Tlatelco massacre in 1968.)

The workers can expect worse from López Portillo, who doesn't pretend to be a left-winger. They can take warning from the words of Henry Kissinger, who said that his meeting with López Portillo gave "new impetus and a positive direction" to U.S.-Mexico relations. The workers and peasants

Defend Immigrant Workers!

The U.S. bourgeoisie is howling that more undocumented Mexican workers (so-called illegals) are coming into the country in recent months. The devaluation of the Mexican peso has forced more workers to come to the U.S. to survive.

The bosses are acting, as well as talking. The quota for Mexican immigration to the U.S. has been cut in half. The right of the children of "illegals" to acquire U.S. citizenship has been virtually abolished. These attacks are just the beginning.

Imperialism caused the crisis in Mexico. The imperialists attacked the Mexican workers through devaluation. And when the workers are driven from their own country, they come here and are attacked again.

officials.

At the same time, the capitalists, native and foreign, have also been stepping up their militancy. When the Tendencia Democrática first organized in 1975, the charros responded by having hundreds of its supporters in the electrical workers' union fired. López Portillo's predecessor, Luis Echeverría Alvarez, ended his term in November by "giving" peasants in the northern state of Sonora almost 250,000 acres of the big farm owners' land. The landlords and capitalists responded with a one-day business stoppage all over Mexico. Although López Portillo is attempting to nullify the land grant and hold the line on wages, the foreign investors, especially the "maquiladoras" (labor intensive assembly plants) are leaving Mexico, headed for other Latin American countries, such as Haiti, and Asia. Their reason: the wages paid to Mexican workers are "too high." The imperialists prefer López Portillo to the "leftist" Echeverría, and they want him to go the limit in smashing the working class.

The Revolution of 1910-1920 was directed against imperialism and large landed property. The bourgeois PRI,

are facing a capitalist class, native and foreign, which is out for blood. The peasants, starving on their bits of land, and the workers, starving in the cities, are aware that there is no such thing as an "anti-imperialist bourgeoisie." They are not just fighting the bourgeoisie itself, but also the bourgeoisie's agents in the union.

To win, the workers will have to build a new leadership, a revolutionary party, to kick out the charros and their bosses, the Mexican bourgeoisie, and their bosses, the imperialists. The workers also have a responsibility to lead the peasantry in taking all the land, not just a few dried-up acres here and there. The peasants of Mexico proved in the 1910-1920 Revolution, under the leadership of Emiliano Zapata and Francisco "Pancho" Villa, that they could take the land and defend it rifle in hand. Under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, they lost much of the land and they stand to lose more yet. Under the leadership of a workers' communist party the workers will take the factories and the peasants will take the land. Under a workers' government with peasant participation, they will keep them. □



Emiliano Zapata.

Zapata: Old man out

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JLP— HREAT

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Wage Gap Between Women and Men Continues to Grow

While the bourgeois press highlights stories of women bankers and brokers and runs features on the proper wear for top-level women executives, the exploitation of women increases. The one-in-a-million success stories are used by the ruling class to cover up the fact that in the 20-year period between 1955 and 1974 the gap between men's and women's earnings has almost doubled!

A publication released in December by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor compares men's and women's earnings from 1955 and 1974.

The report states that women earned 56-percent less than men in 1955. But over the past 20 years, the capitalists have increased their theft of women's earnings. By 1974 women earned 75 percent less than men. This means an average of \$97 less every week!

Further, the study shows that nearly half (46 percent) of all women holding full-time year-round jobs made under \$3,000. And though women make up one-third of the workforce, they make up two-thirds of workers who earn only from \$3,000 to \$4,999 per year.

In telling their "success stories" the ruling class usually fails to mention these facts. They also "forget" to tell the working class that only 5 percent of the employees who earn \$15,000 or more per year are women.

The government study gives two main reasons for the widening earnings gap: the concentration of women in low-skill, low-paying occupations and the large proportion of women in or near the entry level of jobs. In other words, inflation is forcing more and more housewives to work. But the majority of women have few skills and little work experience. This usually means they end up working in small shops, stores and offices. Most often these are low-paying, non-union jobs.

SEXUAL OPPRESSION WEAKENS ALL WORKERS

The wages and working conditions of the entire working class are affected by the oppression of women workers. The capitalists use sexism to keep one section of the workforce working at little better than the official U.S. poverty level. Forcing women to work for such rotten wages opens the door for the capitalists to drive down the

wages of all workers.

The capitalists also benefit by keeping a large portion of working women out of the unions. In this way, the capitalists try to keep a more oppressed section of the working class from seeing the need for organization. And because the unions do not represent the most oppressed workers, the working class remains divided and atomized. The consciousness that all workers have to fight together for their needs is held back.

The Labor Department does nothing but continue the rhetoric and false promises. The director of the Women's Bureau talks about the need for "renewed action to open more training and employment to women in high paying, professional, technical, managerial and craft occupations." But without childcare, without paid maternity leaves, without massive training programs and union organization drives there will be little actually done to improve the conditions of women workers, and break the chains of sexism.

Defend Roy Lukas!

The New York management of the United States Postal Service and the federal postal inspectors have opened a campaign of harassment and intimidation aimed at the Postal Action Committee (PAC), a caucus of militant postal workers. On December 23, the postal cops spent nearly two hours interrogating Roy Lukas, a militant letter carrier at FDR Station. The inspectors demanded to know who was in the Postal Action Committee, who wrote its leaflets, etc. When Roy refused to answer any of their questions, the postal cops threatened to fire him for "refusing to cooperate with the investigation."

The immediate focus of the "investigation" was a series of leaflets issued by PAC last August, following the death of an FDR letter carrier, Harold Meneilly. Meneilly collapsed from a heart attack and died on his route. He was a direct victim of the speedup caused by management's trip cuts over the summer. The PAC leaflets charged postal management with full

UAW Victory in South

The United Auto Workers union (UAW) has won a crucial representation election at one of General Motor's new Southern plants. Workers at the GM Guide Lamp Division plant in Monroe, Louisiana, voted 323 to 280 for the UAW on December 22. This was an important victory for the UAW, which had lost in three previous attempts to organize Southern GM plants.

GM had hoped to avoid unionization (and the higher wages and better working conditions that come with it) by moving operations to the largely non-union South. Workers at the Monroe plant, for example, made wages averaging \$2.00 per hour less than autoworkers in the North.

GM has opened six new plants in the South in recent years and will open two more this year. The company campaigned against the UAW in the previous elections and succeeded in keeping the union out of all its new plants in the Deep South. But the UAW victory at Monroe Guide Lamp may now open the way for organizing the rest of GM's new Southern plants and breaking the company's "Southern Strategy."

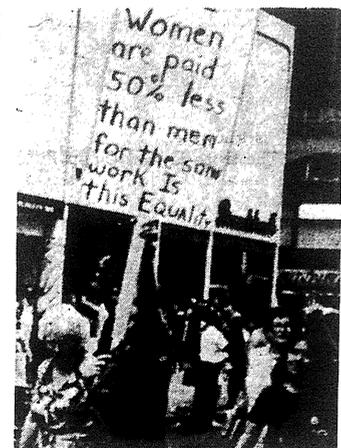
The UAW raised the issue of the Southern Strategy in its recent contract negotiations with GM. The union got a vaguely worded "neutrality pledge," in which GM agreed not to mount any anti-union campaign against the UAW. But a company "pledge" isn't worth the paper it is written on. The UAW now has to prove to Southern autoworkers that the union can actually defend them against the company and win real improvements in wages and working conditions.

If the UAW now opens a serious organizing drive in the Deep South, it will provide a shot in the arm to other organizing efforts in the area—particularly the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union's struggle to organize the notorious J.P. Stevens Company. The vast majority of Southern workers have never had union protection. Black and women workers make up a large percentage of the workforce, and they face the most miserable working conditions and the lowest wages in the U.S. Bosses, in all sections of the country, have been able to drive down wages and working conditions by moving and threatening to move their operations to the open shop territory of the South. It is in the interest of all workers to force the trade unions to launch a mass organizing drive among Southern workers.

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED!

The ruling class stands absolutely against breaking these chains. This has been proved by the recent Supreme Court ruling that allows the capitalists to refuse to provide women with paid maternity leaves. This has been proved by the tooth-and-nail fight against unionization, which has been waged by the capitalists who run the predominantly female-employee textile plants.

The fight against the capitalists' oppression of women is a fight that working men and women have to carry out together. Working men and women have an interest in fighting for the special needs of women. As women become a more organized, active and conscious section of the working class, the working class as a whole will be in a stronger position to fight the capitalists. □



USPS Investigates Postal Militants

responsibility for Harold Meneilly's death.

The postal inspectors haven't yet brought any formal charges against Lukas (but apparently the crime is defending the right of postal workers to stay alive). They waited until several months after Meneilly died to make their "investigation" public, in the hope that most FDR workers would have forgotten the issue. They bring it up now because they want to clear the path for more speedup and route cuts in the spring.

PAC supporters and other union members are beginning to organize a fight to stop this witch-hunt. If the bosses can get away with firing one militant, then all postal workers will be threatened and their unions will be seriously weakened. The government already uses postal inspectors to lurk in corners, spy on and try to intimidate the workforce. These inspectors have all the powers of regular police, including the power of arrest. Now the government wants to use the postal cops to police the union, to weed out

the hardest fighters and decide what leaflets are and are not acceptable for postal workers to read.

For now, the bosses are limiting the witch-hunt to the Postal Action Committee, but they are using it to issue a warning to all postal workers: don't struggle and don't resist or we will take away your right to earn a living. Postal workers and the postal unions have the power to turn back this attack. By taking up the struggle to defend Lukas, they can open the way to an all-out fight against management's speedup and job-cutting campaign. This is the way to avenge the deaths that the cutbacks have already caused and to make sure that no more postal workers die in the bosses' callous search for new ways to save money.

We urge all postal workers and postal workers' organizations to join the struggle to stop the witch-hunt. For more information contact: Postal Action Committee, P.O. Box 439, New York, New York 10036. □

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a crucial representation plants. Workers at Louisiana, voted 323 to 100 in a historic victory for the right to organize Southern

her wages and better benefits to the largely unorganized, made wages in the North.

Recent years and will continue to fight against the UAW in the region out of all its new Monroe Guide Lamp GM's new Southern strategy.

Strategy in its recent election was a "neutral-anti-union campaign" worth the paper it is. Now these same Black Marines—the Camp Pendleton 14—face trial and imprisonment at the hands of the Marine brass.

In the Deep South, it is the area—parkers Union's struggle. The vast majority of Black and women are, and they face the same wages in the U.S. to drive down wages to move their operation in the interest of all. This is a drive among

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workers and decide what are not acceptable for to read.

Post offices are limiting the Postal Action Committee are using it to get to all postal workers: and don't resist or we will lose your right to earn a living. Workers and the postal union have the power to turn back the clock on the struggle. If they can open the door to fight against man-dup and job-cutting, this is the way to avenge the cutbacks have and to make sure that no workers die in the search for new ways to

postal workers and organizations to join to stop the witch-hunt. For more information contact: Postal Action Committee, P.O. Box 439, Newark, N.J. 07102. □

Defend the Camp Pendleton 14! Smash the Ku Klux Klan!

On November 13, 14 Black Marines, armed with clubs and screw drivers, broke up a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) at Camp Pendleton at Oceanside, California. Six whites were hospitalized in this militant response by Black Marines to a recent wave of Klan attacks. The Black Marines' action in breaking up the Klan meeting has done more to expose and fight the activities of the KKK than anything the Marine authorities have ever done. Now these same Black Marines—the Camp Pendleton 14—face trial and imprisonment at the hands of the Marine brass.

Authorities at Camp Pendleton have done everything in their power to protect the KKK. While notices of the November 13 Klan meeting still hung all over the base, Marine officials were busily pretending that the Klan did not exist.

In late November, when the fact of Klan activity on the base could no longer be hidden, Lieutenant Colonel Dan Brown, director of public affairs, stated: "We have heard of the existence of such a group. However, we've got an assault case on our hands which is the primary problem at the moment."

There have been reports that the wrong meeting may have been attacked. True or not, the Black Marines were acting in self-defense. The KKK is active on the base and the brass knows it.

The truth is that Camp Pendleton authorities are very familiar with the Klan. Brown openly states that Marine regulations permit membership in the Klan. The "exalted cyclops" of the Camp Pendleton KKK brags that the Klan has 100 secret members on the base. And the brass at Pendleton has been silently blessing the actions of these racist scum for over a year.

Earlier this year, the Klan burnt a cross in the Black community in Oceanside. The brass sat back and watched the smoke rise. White Marines shouting "KKK" raided a Black party and stabbed a Black man. The brass did nothing. In August a Black Marine lodged a formal complaint against the Klan. The brass sent known KKK members to a "human relations seminar."

Officials of the Marine Corps are more than just "aware" of the Klan's existence—they are very comfortable with the KKK around. In fact, the Marine Corps can only welcome white racists with open arms. In order to carry out the destruction of the liberation movements in third world coun-



"Cyclops" Bailey, Pendleton KKK leader.



Imperial Wizard of KKK (far right) is attacked by picketer at hearing in Camp Pendleton.

tries—such as Korea in the 1950s, the Dominican Republic and Vietnam in the 1960s—rank and file Marines need to be ideologically trained in racist filth.

Anyone who fights U.S. imperialism must be painted as "less than human." The heroic liberation fighters of Vietnam were "gooks" in the eyes of the U.S. rulers and this is the image the imperialists tried to brainwash others with. Because the Marines are the

"elite corps," they are among the most virulent racists.

Racist ideology means racist policy inside the Marine Corps itself. Many Blacks become Marines because they are looking for jobs and education. Once in the Marines, these Blacks must be "kept in line." One of the tools the Marine Corps uses for this is the KKK.

The Klan and the Camp Pendleton authorities are agreed that the task

DETROIT

Black Community Fights Racist Murder

On October 18, 16-year-old Carl Smith was murdered by the racists who ran Tony's Market, a small community grocery on Detroit's northwest side. Carl, a Black, was leaving the store when one of the workers in the store said from behind the bullet-proof screen: "You look like a monkey." When Carl came back to ask him to repeat what he had said, the worker and the store owner came out and both started pushing Carl down the aisle. After a scuffle the store clerk, Georgis Salmo, pulled a gun, shot once, wounding Smith in the neck, then fired again. The second shot killed the youth.

The store was immediately closed. Two terror-stricken young girls from the neighborhood were locked inside while Jamil Basho, the store owner, and Salmo decided what story to give. When police arrived, Salmo told them that Smith had held a gun to his head and said: "Don't move." Salmo claimed he hit Smith with his elbow, then grabbed his gun and shot him.

The two girls who witnessed the murder knew this story was a lie, but the police refused to listen to what they had to say.

Black lives are cheap to businessmen in this part of Detroit. Just a few blocks from Tony's Market is Bob

Bolton's Bar where, 18 months ago, another Black youth, Obie Wynn, was murdered by another racist businessman, Andrew Chinarian. When police came in to protect the murderer in that case, a riot broke out which lasted three days. The cops, the prosecutor, and the city officials didn't bat an eye at the murder of Obie Wynn, but the death of one white during the riot gave them an excuse for a full-scale attack on the Black community. As a result, five young Black men, the "Livernois Five," were arrested and three were tried three times for first degree murder while the racist Chinarian was released, given probation on the misdemeanor charge of reckless use of a firearm.

The truth about the murder of Carl Smith spread quickly and soon after the shooting enraged workers and housewives from the community gathered outside Tony's Market demanding justice. There was talk of burning the store. Fearing that all hell might break loose, the cops finally arrested Salmo and Basho. Basho was later released without charges having been filed, even though he was obviously an accessory.

But people from the community knew better than to leave the matter in the hands of the cops. The Chalfonte

ahead is to railroad the Camp Pendleton 14. The brass will do the "legal" work. The KKK will be preserved and the authorities will attack the so-called "primary problem"—the Blacks that dared to defend themselves from Klan attack.

On December 6, hearings began for the Camp Pendleton 14. The American Civil Liberties Union has stepped in—to defend the Klan. Attorney Michael Pancer of the ACLU stated that a suit would be filed to prevent the Marine Corps from "harassing members of the Klan."

The Marine authorities did nothing to stop the Klan—the brass has been encouraging them. Now the liberals of the ACLU are too busy defending the "rights" of the racists to be bothered fighting racism in the Marines.

Despite the lies of the brass and the blather of the liberals, the Camp Pendleton 14 acted in self-defense. They broke up the Klan meeting to put an end to the cross burnings and the murder attempts. Unless the Klan were stopped, sooner or later there would have been an all-out assault on the Black Marines. The Camp Pendleton 14 struck to prevent this attack, to prevent the racist thug campaign from even beginning. Their action is an example of the fight that is needed to destroy the KKK and all fascist scum.

The Marine authorities are claiming that the victims of racism are the people who should be punished. The brass wants to imprison the Camp Pendleton 14 because they defended themselves from racist attack. The state, the Marine Corps and the liberals have all lined up on the side of the KKK and for the railroad of the 14.

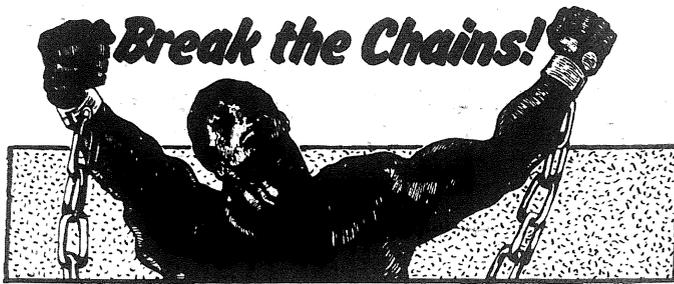
Several left, Black and Jewish community organizations have come to the defense of the Black Marines. This defense must gain strength. We were able to free Walter Birdwell when the state came down on him for defending a meeting from the Klan in Houston. The working class must unite to defend the Camp Pendleton 14 and smash the KKK. □

Community Council decided that the community would "starve out" the racists. When Basho tried to reopen Tony's Market on November 2, a picket line was thrown around the store and, within two hours, Basho was forced to close. The store has never reopened.

Workers in Detroit must organize to defend the Black community against racist killers like Basho, Salmo and Chinarian.

Salmo and Basho are Arabs. So in uniting against this racist murder, it is important not to let this incident set Black and Arab workers against each other. The Arab population in Detroit is itself an oppressed minority facing racist attacks and harsh exploitation at the hands of the white ruling class elements, especially in the auto plants. The ruling class will try to use this murder to foster fear and mistrust between Arab and Black workers, just as it does between Black and white, so that they never unite to attack the root of racist oppression—capitalist exploitation.

Working people, Black, Latin, white and Arab, should join the people of the Chalfonte community in organizing to stop Tony's Market from reopening, and to stop the racists from harassing the community and killing its youth. □



Racist Lynchers Acquitted in Alabama

Over 200 people demonstrated in Mobile, Alabama, on December 4 against the acquittal of two cops who had taken part in an attempted lynching. The demonstration, organized by the People's Movement for Justice, and supported by the Mississippi Gay Alliance, the Workers World Party and others, marched to the Mobile County Jail chanting "Cops and Klan work hand in hand."

The acquitted cops were part of a racist mob which attacked and tried to lynch two Black men. The attack occurred only one block from the busiest street in Mobile. The two Black men were active in organizing against the racist treatment of Blacks in the Mobile area. The two were: Sekou Lumpen, active in the Atmore-Holman Brothers, a militant prisoners' group; and Casmara, an organizer in the Mobile area.

The two intended lynch victims are alive today only because the racist mob panicked and fled, afraid of being discovered.

It was only the anger of the Black community that made the state decide to bring any of the pigs up on charges. Five cops were indicted for simple assault. But only two cops have been tried, and the trials were merely for show. An all-white jury at the trial of the first cop, Michael Patrick, heard him confess that he tried to lynch Casmara. And they still acquitted him!

At the trial of the second cop, Vernon Straum, the defense attorney used this plea: "Stick out your chest and stand up for these policemen who are protecting you and doing what they have been trained to do... the only other choice is to make those people on Davis Avenue (the Black community—Editor) happy." Judge, jury, defense attorneys and Straum all agreed—Straum was doing exactly what he was trained to do. Straum was acquitted.

It was against this "lynchers' justice" that the December 4 demonstration was held. Speaking at the demonstration, Casmara expressed the anger and determination of the marchers. "If the Black people of Mobile cannot get justice in the courtroom, we will struggle to win justice in the streets."

Peltier Extradited from Canada

On December 18, the Canadian ruling class placed American Indian Movement (AIM) member Leonard Peltier in the hands of the FBI. Despite a massive campaign in the U.S. and Canada against Peltier's extradition, he will be tried in the U.S. for "aiding and abetting" in the slaying of two FBI agents.

The charge stems from the June 27, 1975, FBI invasion of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. The FBI, supposedly there to serve AIM member Jimmy Eagle with an arrest warrant, provoked a seven-hour gun battle. During the battle, Joseph Stuntz, an Indian, and two FBI agents were killed.

Last summer, in the state's first attempt to charge the victims of the FBI's racist attack with murder, Robert Robideau and Darelle "Dino" Butler won an acquittal. Robideau and Butler proved that AIM members had fired on the FBI butchers in self-defense.

Since then, the ruling class has concentrated its attack on Peltier. Despite the fact that it has now been shown that the FBI was behind the killings, Peltier will still be tried.

Telegrams protesting the extradition of Peltier and demanding that all charges be dropped may be sent to: William Clayton, U.S. Attorney, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Yoshimura Trial Underway

The trial of Wendy Yoshimura opened on November 22. Yoshimura is charged with "possession of arms and explosives" based on a 1972 raid in which weapons were found in a garage rented by her. The trial is being held over defense objections that the charge itself is constitutionally vague.

The charge itself does not matter to the state. It is only a legal cover for an attack on Yoshimura's anti-war activities and on all revolutionaries.

The state made it clear, right from the start, that it is revolution that is on trial. District Attorney Jeffrey Horner, in his opening remarks, labelled Yoshimura a "member of a revolutionary conspiracy, bent on death and destruction, spanning six years and the continent of the U.S." He told the jury that the machine gun allegedly belonging to Yoshimura is the "standard arm for revolutionary terrorist groups."

In a tirade of anti-communism, Horner conjured up visions of the Black September movement and the "Viet-cong."

The state is attempting to convict Yoshimura by charging that she stands with the oppressed, and then pretending that the movement of oppressed people for liberation is something all people should fear.

But the people have shown that they will not fall for the state's assertion that Yoshimura is a dangerous criminal. The Japanese community has already raised \$100,000 in Yoshimura's defense.

All the moralistic rhetoric that the state can spew forth does not change the facts: the same state that conducted the war against the liberation of the Vietnamese people and wages war on oppressed people throughout the world is now trying to railroad a sister who stood against their plans for death and destruction of the liberation movement.

FREE WENDY YOSHIMURA!

-FH

Down With the Death Penalty! Stop Ruling Class Murders!

In Provo, Utah, Gary Gilmore prepares for death by signing film, book and magazine rights worth half a million dollars. Gilmore, convicted of murder and sentenced to die, is demanding his execution quickly or not at all.

In Lucasville, Ohio, Carl Osborne sits on death row. The system considers him a condemned number, a parasite without rights. Folded newspapers blocked the rats from entering his cell—until a guard forced him to remove the papers. He bathes in the same sink that mops and buckets are cleaned in. When his toilet broke he was told to urinate in the sink.

Carl Osborne is innocent. He is fighting to survive the daily battle of living on death row. He is fighting with little means to get out of prison. Carl Osborne is from the working class. Like hundreds of others on death row across the country, the majority Black or Latin, Osborne is the innocent victim of capitalist oppression.

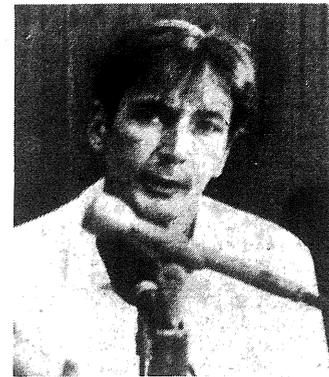
In Detroit, Michigan, Lindsay Joker sits in a squad car. He wears a gun and he has used it.

On October 24, 1974, he shot 21-year-old Larry Winstead. After Winstead's family sued the city he was suspended from the force. He has recently been reinstated with \$25,000 in back pay.

Lindsay Joker gets rewarded for murder, because he is a cop. The ruling class in this country takes care of its own—particularly its hired killers. This is capitalist "justice."

The restoration of the death penalty is both a symbol and the bitter reality of the capitalist class' plans to step up their repression against working people's struggles.

The death penalty is an attack on all workers and oppressed minorities. The rich and their cop-lackeys don't wind up on death row. Working class



Gary Gilmore.

makes it easier to put the death penalty over on us.

Gilmore's act is a three-ring circus. Somewhere along the way the death-defying performer will die. The ruling class has built this circus. They play up Gilmore so that we overlook Carl Osborne and hundreds of others who don't deserve to die. They want Carl Osborne to go quietly—as quietly as Lindsay Joker was handed his gun and a license to kill. □

Support for Carl Osborne Is Building

The defense of Carl Osborne is beginning to grow. Osborne is a death row prisoner in Lucasville, Ohio, who may become one of the first victims of the reinstatement of the death penalty. He was convicted of a December 1974 kidnap-murder, but he is innocent.

On November 3, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a brief with the Ohio Supreme Court contesting the planned executions in that state. The ACLU is using the example of Carl Osborne to show that the death penalty is administered "by placing on the defendant the burden of proving that he should not be executed." The ACLU plans to make an oral appeal in mid-January.

Though this appeal will not free Osborne, it may halt the ruling class' plans to murder Osborne and other Ohio prisoners. The appeal will also focus attention on Osborne and therefore will help build a broad public appeal for his freedom.

It is now more important than ever to increase our efforts to inform brothers and sisters about the railroad of Carl Osborne. Along with the Revolutionary Socialist League, other organizations have joined in support of Osborne's fight. Both the International Socialists in the November 22, 1976, issue of its newspaper *Workers Power*, and the Communist Party in the December 25, 1976, issue of its West Coast newspaper *People's World*, have run articles exposing the frame-up of Osborne.

This is a small start, but it is an essential beginning. A strong show of solidarity can save Osborne's life and help build a united effort to end the ruling class murder-offensive against all death row victims. □



Joan Little: "Justice" cost \$300,000.

people—particularly Blacks, Latins, Indians and other oppressed minorities—do. Many have been framed. All have been denied equal opportunity before the law. "Justice" costs money—for Joan Little justice cost \$300,000 and she is still in jail. It's no coincidence that the majority of prisoners on death row are Black. That's how the capitalists set it up.

The bosses and their politicians want us to forget all that. So their newspapers and TV tell us all about Gary Gilmore—what he did, how he'll die, what he drinks and how many times he's tried to kill himself. It's good for the bosses that Gilmore wants to die. It's good for them that he killed twice in cold blood. That

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Racism Has Its Day in Court

Carter & Artis Framed Again

On December 21, Rubin (Hurricane) Carter and John Artis were convicted for the second time for the murder of three whites in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar. Carter and Artis face sentencing on February 2.

In the second trial of Carter and Artis, the prosecution's case was even more blatantly fabricated than it had been in the original 1967 trial—and that verdict was overturned.

But racism had its day in court again.

The conviction of Carter and Artis came despite the following:

- Edward Callahan, a cop, stated at the trial that a man who was wounded in the incident (and has since died of other causes) had Carter and Artis brought to his hospital bed for identification. He failed to identify either Carter or Artis as those who shot him.

- A second cop, Vincent De Simone, testified that a physical description given of two men fleeing from the shooting did not resemble Carter or Artis in any respect.

- The state repeatedly attempted to intimidate witnesses into testifying against Carter and Artis. For example, on October 13, Carolyn Kelley, a former close associate of Rubin Carter, stated that the prosecution tried to pressure her into giving false testimony against both Carter and Artis.

- Alfred Bello, again the prosecution's main witness, told the same story he told in the 1967 trial. But Bello had admitted in 1974 that his 1967 testimony had been a lie. Between 1967 and last month's trial, Bello has changed his version of the events several times. At the trial, he got it "right."

The state never would have gotten its conviction solely on the basis of Bello's ever-changing lies. So the state relied on a blatant appeal to racism to put Carter and Artis away. While no motive for the slayings was ever given at the 1967 trial, this time the prosecution gave its explanation: the slayings were supposedly carried out as a campaign of "racial revenge." The state argued that the earlier killing of a Black bar owner was tied to the deaths later that night of the three whites at Lafayette Bar and Grill. The prosecutor painted a picture of Carter and Artis as two half-crazed Black men riding through the night to avenge themselves against any whites they happened to run into. Using this



Rubin Carter (front) and John Artis.

wild-eyed racist fairy tale, the state got its conviction.

The U.S. ruling class has always used racism to prop up capitalism. It was the racist slave system that built capitalism. Now, racism once again has been used—this time to put two Black men who dare to fight back into prison.

The ruling class wanted Carter and Artis in prison. These racist pigs consider Carter "guilty" for advocating armed self-defense against racist repression during the Black rebellions of

the 1960s. They consider Artis "guilty" for speaking out against the frame-up lynch trial of Gary Tyler, as well as against his own railroad. The entire ordeal that Carter and Artis have faced has been nothing but a ruling class reprisal against two men "guilty" of fighting back against capitalist oppression.

But we must not allow a trial full of racism and lies to stop the fight against this racist system. And we must not let a trial full of racism and lies be the final word in the case of Carter and Artis. We must continue to build a movement to free Carter and Artis. And we must continue to fight the racist system which has imprisoned them—until it is overthrown. □

"Rape's Not So Bad" Says Sexist Film

DETROIT—"We hate this film. We believe rapists love it." That's how Doris Little of the National Organization of Women (NOW) summed up the movie "How to Say No to a Rapist and Survive." The movie is being shown by police in Michigan to advise women how to respond when confronted with a rapist.

A better title for the film would be "How to Submit to a Rapist." The film's message is: "Don't struggle, don't scream, don't resist." The film warns that a rape victim who resists may be killed or seriously injured by her attacker. "Don't do anything which might harm you," the film repeats over and over.

Instead of resisting, the film urges women to play along, gain the rapist's confidence and look for a chance to escape. How? Women should "use their imagination." "Make him feel great," the movie advises, and gives the example of a woman who grabbed her attacker's arm and put his hand on her

breast. When the would-be rapist let go and started to undress, she ran away.

The film admits that the approach it calls for will not work in many cases. But the film offers reassurance—rape is not so bad! "It's only forced sexual intercourse," says the film, and that's not as bad as being blind, wounded or killed.

"How to Say No to a Rapist and Survive" is sexist to the core. It implies that the main cause of rape is that "women tease when they want to and tease when they don't." This bit of sexist "wisdom" stops just one step short of putting the blame for rape on the victim. This has long been a standard refrain of capitalism's cops and courts.

In most cases, the advice offered by the movie will only make it easier for the rapist. Statistics prove that the movie's message is a lie. A study of unsuccessful rape attempts in Denver showed that two-thirds of them were prevented by the victim's active resistance. And the only woman who escaped from the notorious Boston strangler did so by screaming and biting him to the bone. (He killed 11 women who did not resist.) By assuming that women can't resist successfully, the film actually makes injury or death by a rapist more likely.

It's no accident that this sexist film is being shown by police departments around the country. The last thing the cops want is for women to arm themselves and defend themselves against attack. The ruling class and their agents, the cops, want women and every other group oppressed by racist, chauvinistic capitalism to submit to their oppressors. The advice the capitalists give out in all their propaganda is the same as in this movie: don't fight back.

The only defense against an immediate rape situation is to make it as hard as possible on potential rapists. Instead of making rapists "feel good," as the movie advises, women should find weapons for self-defense that are easy to carry and effective against attack. Women can and should defend themselves against violent attack by all effective means.

But the overall solution to rape and other forms of sexism lies in united working class struggle against capitalism. The working class must support and aid women's self-defense against rape, just as it must support and aid self-defense by every other target of oppression. This is the road to building a revolutionary working class movement that can fight for a socialist society where women will no longer be the victims of sexual oppression and where all men and women will be able to treat each other as human beings. □



Vladimir Bukovsky.

Free All Political Prisoners

Chile and USSR Make Token Exchange

On December 20, the rulers of Russia and Chile conducted a token prisoner exchange at Zurich, Switzerland. Russia gave up the well-known democratic dissenter, Vladimir K. Bukovsky, in trade for the Chilean Communist Party leader, Luis Corvalán Lepe.

Bukovsky had been in prisons or under forcible "treatment" in psychiatric clinics for 10 of the last 15 years; Corvalán had been imprisoned since the 1973 military coup. When the exchange was first proposed, the Chilean junta accepted but the Russians denounced the idea as "outright impudence."

The U.S. government then spent six weeks in secret negotiations to get the Russians to agree.

Workers can only be glad when capitalist governments free liberal and left-wing political prisoners, but we should know why they do it. General Pinochet's bloody government hoped to gain "respectability" by freeing Corvalán and prodding the Soviet Union to free Bukovsky. The rulers of Chile hoped to soften U.S. and Western criticism of the Chilean police-state. The freedom of one political prisoner is intended to show the world that the sadistic murderers of thousands are "not all bad."

The exchange is also a cynical "public relations" scheme for the Russian state capitalists. The rulers of Russia often label political dissenters "insane." These dissidents are thrown into psychiatric institutions

and subjected to mental and physical tortures. Bukovsky has exposed the treatment of political dissidents in the Soviet Union. By trading Bukovsky for Corvalán, the Soviet Union exiles a troublemaker while posing as the ally of the Chilean working class.

The U.S. government also hopes to get something out of this deal. Millions know that the U.S. engineered the Chilean military takeover. The U.S. is attempting to do a public "cleaning up" after the bloodbath. At the same time, the U.S. has been criticized for "selling out" the dissenters in the USSR through the Helsinki agreement. By arranging for Bukovsky's freedom, the U.S. imperialists attempt to put themselves forward as "defenders of democracy."

What made the deal possible, in part, was the conservative politics of the exchanged oppositionists. Luis Corvalán led the right wing of the Allende government. His Communist Party never tired of telling the workers to trust the military, to believe that the generals would defend democracy, and, above all else, not to arm themselves to defend their gains and organizations. Vladimir Bukovsky represents the middle-class "human rights movement" in Russia, one main wing of which is for an outright bourgeois democracy as in the U.S.; the other of which supports state capitalism but would prefer a more liberal form.

The vast numbers of prisoners in Russia, Chile, the U.S. and every-

where else are not prominent politicians or well-known middle-class dissenters. Most prisoners are poor and oppressed working people, whom no capitalist country is willing to exchange. The token exchange of two prominent figures does not hide the fact that both of these capitalist governments plan isolation, torture or death for countless numbers of political prisoners. No capitalist government is willing to open the prison doors for these people. These doors will have to be torn off by the working class. □

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South Africa: Free the SASO Nine!

On December 21, a South African judge sentenced nine Black opponents of apartheid, the SASO Nine, to prison terms of up to 10 years. The Nine were members of the South African Students Organization (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). They were jailed in 1974 as part of the racist Vorster government's attempt to crush the growing Black struggle.

In September 1974, SASO and the BPC organized demonstrations all over South Africa in solidarity with the Mozambique independence struggle. In Durban, over 5,000 people poured into the streets, showing not only their support for Mozambique but their hatred for their own racist oppressors. These mass demonstrations were an early sign of the growing militancy that finally exploded last June in Soweto.

After the demonstrations, Vorster's courts charged the SASO Nine with 13 counts of conspiracy. Though charged under the so-called Terrorism Act, they were not accused of any terrorist acts. The only charge was that they spread the ideas of SASO and the BPC. They were required to prove that these ideas—demands for democratic rights for the Black people of South Africa—did not "embarrass the State."

The judge found the Nine innocent of 11 counts. But he convicted them of "conspiracy to endanger law and order" and of attending a banned rally. Like other Black prisoners, they will now be in danger of being murdered in jail.

Spanish Workers Force Release of CP Leader

Mass protests erupted all over Spain in the last week of December after the Secret Police arrested Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo. On December 30, an embarrassed government was forced to let Carrillo go.

Carrillo had been living illegally in Spain for nearly a year because the government refused to let him return legally from exile. On December 22 the Secret Police arrested him along with seven other CP leaders. As soon as the arrest was known, workers and students took to the streets in cities across Spain demanding Carrillo's freedom. Tens of thousands of demonstrators stood firm in the face of police attacks and fought back with bricks and bottles.

Crowds massed every night outside the Madrid prison. The Workers' Commissions, which are led by the CP, threatened to call mass strikes unless Carrillo was released. Undoubtedly, however, thousands of workers wanted to go out on strike immediately.

The government-run Court of Public Order freed Carrillo and the other seven prisoners on bail after a week of protests. Carrillo still faces trial on the illegal entry charge. Right after his release, as a token concession to the mass struggle, Prime Minister Suárez abolished the Court and ended the right of military courts to try political prisoners.

The struggle for full democratic rights and to free all political prisoners is a central task of the Spanish people. In the struggle for this goal, the Spanish masses must have no illusions in the reformist and centrist political leaders. Carrillo and his counterparts in the various "socialist" groups are enemies of the working class. Posing as leaders of the workers they helped strangle the Spanish Revolution in the 1930s. If they are given the chance, they will again strangle the revolution that is developing today.

Rail Strike Hits Government in Sri Lanka

Railroad workers in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) have been on strike for nearly a month, demanding emergency loans from the government. Postal workers and other government employees have threatened to join the strike in solidarity. As we go to press, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, has invoked special emergency laws in an attempt to crush the growing strike wave. Under these laws, any government workers who refuse to return to work immediately face up to five years in prison and confiscation of their property.

The strikes follow widespread student protests in December. Students at the university in Peradeniya were demonstrating against the policies of the university president, when the police attacked. The cops killed one student and wounded over 50 people. Student protests against police violence then spread to other colleges and the lower schools. In response, the government closed down all the universities in Sri Lanka.

Eritrean Liberation Armies Advance

Since November 17, soldiers in the Eritrean Liberation Front and the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces have laid siege to the major remaining Ethiopian army camp in Sahel province (northernmost Eritrea). The Ethiopian government tried to break the siege with a three-pronged attack, led by the Israeli-trained "Flame Brigade." In early January the Eritrean freedom fighters turned back the "Flame Brigade," killing over 1,000 Ethiopian soldiers and seizing numerous U.S.-built aircraft and other military supplies in the battle.

Eritrean liberation forces now control 90 percent of the territory in Eritrea and about 70 percent of the population. Total victory in Sahel province will be an important step forward in the Eritrean struggle for national liberation.

—CH and BA.

South Africa...

(Continued from page 1)
townships. In these fights, at least 24 Black people died.

The migrant laborers who defied the boycott were members of the Baca tribe from the Transkei (the so-called homeland the racist rulers have declared "independent" as part of their plan to deprive South African Blacks of all their rights). The Cape Town battles were the second clash between Bacas and Cape Town workers in a month. At the beginning of December, a two-day strike was organized in Cape Town. During the strike Baca migrant workers, defying the strike call, fought in the streets against militants enforcing the strike. Cops shot and killed three Blacks and 11 more died in the fighting.

These clashes highlight a crucial strategic task facing the liberation movement—the building of unity between all layers of the population. This task must be solved if the Black masses are to win their freedom.

There can be little doubt that the so-called "tribal" fighting was fomented by the cops. Last summer, Zulu migrants attacked strikers in Soweto. Black reporters later proved that the migrants were under police orders to attack and kill strikers. The fighting in Cape Town was almost a replay of this incident.

"Divide and rule" has long been the chief strategy of the imperialists. Not surprisingly, the South African whites have maintained their rule by keeping the oppressed Black masses divided among themselves. They have divided Blacks from Asians and "Coloreds," and they have worked tirelessly to preserve and intensify tribal divisions. One of the deepest divisions they have created is between migrant workers and the Black workers who live permanently in the cities.

RACISTS DIVIDE IN ORDER TO OPPRESS

The migrant workers are mostly people from the "homelands." There is almost no industry in these areas and therefore no jobs. Nearly all the people are peasant farmers, working land that is overcrowded and overfarmed. They can get jobs only as migrant workers in the so-called white areas. Since a job can make the difference between survival and slow starvation for a "homeland" resident and his family, many of the "homeland" people become migrant laborers.

Over three million migrant laborers work outside the "homelands." They work as contract laborers and are forced to live in special government-run hostels. The migrant workers get much lower wages than other Black workers. They are less class-conscious. Often they think of themselves basically as members of a tribe or village with little in common with city workers. This is maintained by keeping the migrant workers housed apart from the other workers. In the hostels, the migrant workers are completely at the mercy of the employer and the police. And they can be "endorsed out" (that is, sent back) to their homelands if they stand up for their rights or otherwise cause the capitalists trouble. Once sent back, they then may never again get another work permit.

This whole set-up explains how the cops are able to use migrant workers as goons and scabs. Even if a particular migrant worker doesn't want to scab on a strike, the threat of being "endorsed out" may be enough to force him to do so.

If the Black freedom struggle is to

achieve victory, it must overcome the divisions between the migrant workers and the Black masses in the cities. It must break the stranglehold of the capitalists over the migrant workers and organize them to unite with the liberation movement.

WORKING CLASS MUST LEAD

The workers in the townships are the backbone of the freedom struggle. It is they who have the power and potential organization to smash apartheid and replace racist capitalism with the rule of the workers.

It is the city proletariat that must organize and lead the struggle to win migrant laborers to join actively in the struggle. Organizers have to make contact with the migrant workers in the hostels, explain to them the aims of the movement and show them that their only hope of ever winning a decent life is to join forces with the freedom fighters. Organizers have to go into the homelands with the same message.

They must do more. The role of the migrant workers reveals the importance of a fight against the "home-



Cop arrests Black protester in Cape Town.

land" policy and for the right of every South African to move and find work anywhere in the country.

The movement must fight to abolish the system of unequal wages for each race and for migrant workers. It must fight to seize the rich farmland monopolized by the white farmer-capitalists and distribute it among all who till the soil.

Through these struggles, unity in action between races and tribes, between the migrant workers and the urban workers and between the workers and the poor farmers struggling for survival in homelands, can be forged. Building this unity is key to victory.

To carry out this task, organization and militant leadership is necessary. This shows concretely the need for a revolutionary party. This party must be made up of the most politically conscious and dedicated workers and their allies, based on a revolutionary Trotskyist program and organized in a disciplined, democratic centralist, manner. By pooling the energy, ideas and experience of the revolutionary workers, such a party can lead the working class as a whole to achieve unity among the oppressed people, solve the other tasks of the revolutionary movement and lead the way to victory. □

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BUILD ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE

Chicago High School Students Organize

High school students from several Chicago high schools are forming a committee to help build the movement against apartheid. They are working with the recently formed Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA) in Chicago.

Several meetings of this high school group have occurred and interest is growing among young militants. Members of the group are currently learning about South Africa so they can educate others and bring more people into the anti-apartheid movement. They are writing and will produce skits on the struggle of the Black workers and students of South Africa against their extreme oppression and exploitation by the international corporations and the white racist government that guarantees the profits of these corporations.

The skits will be put on for the first time at a march and rally in downtown Chicago on February 19. The high school anti-apartheid committee and SCAA are among the list of sponsors of these events.

The skits will also be presented along with showings of the movie "Last Grave at Dimbaza" at union

halls, to community groups and to any interested groups of individuals. "Last Grave at Dimbaza" exposes the violent and miserable conditions faced by South African Blacks.

The members of the committee will also be putting out a newsletter to educate their fellow students, parents and teachers about South Africa. It will inform people of the activities of the group, such as the march in February.

It was Black high school students in Soweto who opened the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. While the South African working class must take the leadership of the struggle, high school students will continue to play an important role. High school students can play a big part in building the anti-apartheid movement here.

To learn more about SCAA's activities, contact: SCAA, P.O. Box 906, 2138 East 75th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60649.

**COME TO THE
JANUARY 29 PICKET!
BUILD FOR THE
FEBRUARY 19 RALLY!**

Imperialists Maneuver in Zimbabwe

In early January, British diplomat Ivor Richard came up with new proposals to sell out the Zimbabwean independence struggle. Richard's latest scheme, supposedly new proposals for an interim government in Zimbabwe, is really nothing but a revised version of the previous U.S.-British proposals, which have been rejected.

The new proposals, just like the old ones, are designed to get the Zimbabwe guerrilla fighters to lay down their arms in return for empty promises.

The imperialists' new proposals include the following:

- Zimbabwe will have a transitional government under the control of a British Resident Commissioner.

- The army and police will be controlled by a council with an equal number of Black and white members under a British chairman.

- Once the transitional government is in place, the war for independence will be called off.

Richard and his imperialist backers claim that the new proposals mean that power would be shared between Blacks and the white settlers in the transition period. This is a lie. But even if it were true, any proposal for the people of Zimbabwe to share power with their racist oppressors for even a single minute is an insult to the Zimbabwean people.

In fact, if the proposals are accepted, Britain (and, behind the scenes, the United States) will control Zimbabwe throughout the transition period. This will be done through the Resident Commissioner, who will have the deciding vote. And, once the guerrilla struggle is called off, armed power will be in the hands of the present Rhodesian army and police,

under British control.

The Rhodesian army is two-thirds white. It is totally loyal to the whites and white supremacy. So, if at any point the African majority challenges British or white-minority interests, the imperialists will have loyal troops, armed to the teeth, to use against the Africans.

Richard's proposals actually mean that Britain would have the power to decide whether the Africans are loyal enough to Western imperialism to be given control after the transition period. If a Black government is ever set up under this scheme, it will be completely dominated by U.S. and British imperialism.

Richard is now making the rounds of southern African capitals trying to line up support for his treacherous scheme. He is counting on the five "front-line" presidents' dependence on Western aid, trade and investment and their fear of a long military



May Day March against apartheid, Chicago, 1976.

Torch Photo/Elaine Scott

SCAA to Hold Picket; Plans More Actions

The Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid (SCAA) met in Chicago on December 19. At this meeting, steelworkers, postal workers, high school students, and friends and supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League made plans to build a solidarity movement to support South African workers fighting for revolution against the racist apartheid system.

A key task of SCAA will be to expose and attack the support that the U.S. government gives to the white supremacy government of South Africa and the profits that U.S. corporations make from the apartheid system.

During the meeting, a speaker from the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus stressed the ties between Black workers in the U.S. and South Africa and pointed out that a strong movement against apartheid could help rebuild the Black liberation movement in this country. He also pointed to the duty of revolutionaries to win white workers to the fight against racism in this country and in South Africa.

After reports on several SCAA showings of the movie "Last Grave at Dimbaza," the meeting made plans for the future. More showings of the movie in homes, union halls and schools will be set up. The Committee will organize for a picket line in the Loop on January 29 to focus attention on the U.S. government support for apartheid.

All these activities will build for a downtown march and demonstration in mid-February. The target of the march and demonstration will be the First National Bank of Chicago, one of many U.S. banks which hurried to bail out the racist regime of South Africa when it was in financial trouble.

A representative of the Revolutionary Socialist League from Detroit attended the Chicago meeting and announced plans to build SCAA in Detroit. □

struggle to win them to his position.

The imperialist proposals must be rejected. There is only one way for the people of Zimbabwe to gain independence, and that is to take it with arms in hand. □



Ivor Richard.

— Chicago — Fight Apartheid

The Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid urges you to join an informational picket line and leafletting at State and Madison.

**Saturday, Jan. 29
12 noon to 2 p.m**

March Against Murder In South Africa

The Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid is holding the Malcolm X Memorial March Against Apartheid Saturday, February 19th.

Gather 1 p.m. at the Federal Bldg. (Clark and Jackson).
March to a rally with speeches and skits at the 1st National Bank on Dearborn and Madison.

**Help us stop U.S. support of the
racist dictatorship in South Africa**



Stop McBride's Racist Tricks

Lloyd McBride, I.W. Abel's hand-picked candidate for President of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), is making an open appeal to racism in an attempt to win skilled white workers' votes in the upcoming election. McBride and his supporters are building up the racist sentiment in order to attack Jim Balanoff, president of Local 1010 (Inland Steel, East Chicago, Indiana). Balanoff is a supporter of Ed Sadlowski and is running for Director of District 31.

McBride is using racism to spread division and disunity in the Inland local. This is the largest USWA local

in the country, with over 18,000 members—one-third Black and Latin and nearly 1,000 women. McBride is willing to split the local along racial lines, if it will win him white workers' votes and embarrass Balanoff and Sadlowski.

McBride's racist factional ploy began in November 1976 when Balanoff signed an agreement with Inland, which supposedly replaces departmental seniority with plant-wide seniority. The McBride forces have tried to mobilize racist elements from among the skilled white workers to

Supporters Red-Bait RSC

Sadlowski Won't Fight ENA

GARY, INDIANA—On November 28, supporters of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus of the USWA attended a District 31 (Chicago-Gary) meeting of the Sadlowski campaign organization, Steelworkers Fight Back. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC) was asked by a member of the Gary Rank and File Club to come and express its views and to make proposals.

The RSC went to the meeting with a written proposal for joint work between the two organizations around the key issues facing steelworkers today.

At the meeting, the RSC was called on and read the following statement: "We are not supporting the campaign of Ed Sadlowski, but there is the possibility that the RSC and Steelworkers Fight Back can work together. The RSC wants a movement built against the ENA (the no-strike pledge—Editor).

"Our motion is that our two organizations, the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus and Steelworkers Fight Back, should jointly organize plant gate rallies around the slogan: 'Down with the ENA!' We should hold plant gate rallies at South Works, Republic, Inland and Gary Works. These rallies should organize for a District 31 referendum on the ENA. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus is prepared to discuss the time, place and organization of these rallies at your convenience."

Despite Sadlowski's claim to oppose the ENA, the response from the leaders of his organization to the RSC proposal was extremely hostile. A

member of Steelworkers Fight Back, John Askins, accused the RSC of harassing his organization throughout the country, and attacked what he called our "kind of people." Askins declared that the RSC should leave the meeting.

RSC supporters made further efforts to get the Steelworkers Fight Back leadership to consider its proposal. According to one RSC supporter: "We were called on to speak. We intended to clarify our purpose in coming to the meeting: not to criticize the election campaign, but to propose joint work with Steelworkers Fight Back around an area of common agreement.

"We had spoken for barely a minute, explaining our standing offer to defend Steelworkers Fight Back from right-wing attacks, when Askins jumped up to interrupt us. This time, his red-baiting became more explicit. He accused the RSC of being 'outside agitators' interested in infiltration.

"We tried to continue but he went on yelling, denying us the right to speak. When the meeting ended, he made the first order of business to kick us out. He threatened in a loud voice that if we did not leave, he would organize people to 'kick our asses,' and told us to dare not return to the meetings."

Sadlowski claims to be against the ENA, but he refuses to mobilize the ranks of steelworkers to fight it. When given the opportunity to discuss a proposal for actively organizing the fight, the Steelworkers Fight Back leadership, Sadlowski's lieutenants, not only rejected it outright, they also launched a violent red-baiting

fight against the agreement.

Departmental seniority is one of the major tools the steel companies use to shove Blacks, Latins and women into the dirtiest, most dangerous and lowest paying jobs. In coke plants, for example, Black workers are concentrated in the most dangerous jobs and get cancer at a rate three times higher than whites. In the steel industry as a whole, Black workers have an injury rate 30 percent higher than white workers, and Black steelworkers' wages average only about 83 percent of the wages of whites. The departments that offer access to better paying and safer jobs are kept close to lily white and nearly all male.

Real plant-wide seniority—when the most senior worker anywhere in the mill gets first crack at the better jobs—would be a serious step towards equality and strengthening the unity of steelworkers. But Balanoff's agreement does not achieve this. His agreement basically leaves departmental seniority intact.

Under the new agreement signed by Balanoff, when a job opens up, it will be filled from within the given department. After everyone in the department has the chance to move up a notch, the resulting entry-level opening in the department will be posted plant-wide. A high-seniority worker from one of the worst departments can

then transfer into the safer department, but only if he is willing to accept the lowest job classification. Some workers who transfer under this agreement will be allowed to retain their old pay rates for up to two years, but after that they'll be getting lower wages at the worst jobs in their new department. Thus, the agreement does little for Black, Latin and women workers, who are unlikely to transfer into safer departments when it means going in at the bottom and eventually taking a pay cut. The slight paper changes will mean next to nothing in practice and implementation is left dependent on the "good will" of the companies and the union bureaucrats.

The Inland agreement is modeled on the "plant-wide seniority" section of the Consent Decree. The Decree, a 1974 agreement among the steel companies (except Inland), the government and the union, was designed to destroy the struggle against racism in the mills under the cover of paying off minority workers for past discrimination. Two years of the Consent Decree have been two years of increasing racist abuse and harassment, with the thinnest fig leaf of token promotions and hiring.

MCBRIDE MOBILIZES RACISTS

Despite the very limited changes contained in the Inland agreement, right-wing opposition developed in the local, centering on the small, relatively skilled Transportation Department. The McBride forces jumped into this opening, mobilizing in defense of departmental seniority. Charges were brought against Balanoff at the November 18 meeting by supporters of Henry López, the former President of 1010, who was unseated by Balanoff last spring. They accused Balanoff of violating the contract's seniority provisions.

The right wing mobilized 200 people for that union meeting and its panel of trial jurors was selected. Leaflets opposing plant-wide seniority and urging a vote for McBride and Joe Festa (a pro-McBride staffman running for District Director) appeared at Inland's gates. A small group of top bureaucrats and staffers, including McBride, demonstrated at the Local 1010 office with the same racist, pro-McBride message.

The small size of this demonstration and Balanoff's strength in the local's nominating election in December (Balanoff received 1,100 votes against a total of 700 for five other candidates) are signs that McBride's racist thrust is faltering. Balanoff will most likely defeat the charges when they are voted on in January.

DRIVE RACISM OUT OF THE MILLS!

McBride is a racist and a hypocrite. His "Official Family" supports the phony "plant-wide seniority" everywhere except at Inland. But at Inland, he hopes to gain factional advantage by tearing the local apart, using racism as his lever.

The U.S. labor bureaucracy is racist to the core. Racism is widespread among white workers. Even though the McBride offensive appears to be a dud, any opening for the racists is a serious threat to be watched carefully. The charges against Balanoff must be defeated as a first step towards driving racism out of the mills. □

Steelworkers: On

Dear Brother

The United Steelworkers of America is in the middle of a fight but it's important to know the actions of the 1033 (Republican) Guzzo machine. Sadlowski in the electioners' election nothing to or for a good co

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Workers: Organize To Fight!

Steelworker Reports On Hacks' Betrayals

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

The United Steelworkers of America is in the middle of a contract fight, but it's impossible to tell from the actions of the bureaucrats. At Local 1033 (Republic Steel, South Chicago) the Guzzo machine which supports Ed Sadlowski in the upcoming steelworkers' elections has done absolutely nothing to organize the ranks to fight for a good contract.

The way these hacks "organized" a meeting on contract demands last December 9 proves—for all that have eyes to see—that Guzzo and his hangers-on don't give a damn about us workers, our needs, or our demands.

GUZZO UNDERMINES CONTRACT FIGHT

The December 9 contract meeting was a complete farce. In 1974 the Guzzo hacks (under pressure from the rank-and-file) at least made a show of wanting to fight.

This time the Guzzo hacks proved that it's easier for a camel to get through the eye of a needle than for a bought-off bureaucrat to fight the

capitalists for the things that we need. They gave out no leaflets on the meeting. They didn't spread the word or organize for it in any way. They just went through the motions. As a result there were only about a dozen workers in attendance.

Guzzo faithfully wrote down every proposal workers raised, and promised to make the most of it. But who is this criminal hack fooling? The way he organized the meeting proves that he doesn't have the slightest intention of making a fight of it in 1977. After the machine screws us again with a rotten contract they will use things like this December 9 meeting to blame the ranks for the sellout that they are engineering right now.

At this meeting we got a taste for how Guzzo "defends" the working class. A brother raised the issue of Jaime Ruiz, a Latino brother who was fired because nobody informed him of his rights or gave him the opportunity to defend himself in Spanish, his own language.

He received a letter he didn't understand, and as a result he failed to appear for a grievance hearing. The union leadership dropped the griev-

ance and left Brother Ruiz in the lurch.

At the December 9 meeting, instead of pledging his full support for the fired Latino brother in local issue negotiations, Guzzo launched a sharp attack on the brother who raised this question. Several of us who are supporters of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC) came to his defense.

GUZZO ATTACKS MINORITY WORKERS

We were not surprised by Guzzo's actions. This union leadership has repeatedly united with the company to support discrimination against minority and foreign workers. The union's English-only grievance procedure (in a local and an International with a large percentage of Latino and other foreign workers) is a particularly vicious example. It's clear endorsement of the strategy of "divide and rule" to keep the struggle of the ranks under control. This is all that we workers can expect from a racist union hack who is tied to the capitalist bosses by a thousand and one strings.

A particularly flagrant example is the sellout settlement of a Black brother's three-year grievance against the company's arbitrary and racist refusal to consider his bids to become a pipefitter. This settlement left the company completely off the hook should they want to mess over other brothers and sisters in the same way. The hacks didn't even bother to try to

get him back pay or rate retention (applicable under the Consent Decree) though the company was very anxious to settle out of arbitration.

The company got what it wanted—a settlement out of arbitration that in no way tied its hands by creating a precedent—at the price it was willing to pay (nothing, no compensation for the three years that they arbitrarily froze this Black brother from the pipe shop). What is there in all this to prevent the company from doing it again? And again?

WORKERS, ORGANIZE; JOIN WITH THE RSC

The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus wants to replace traitorous hacks like Guzzo and Abel—not with another hack like Sadlowski, but with the collective power of the organized working class. Because our union is in the hacks' hands it can't serve to defend our interests.

Whether it's the grievance sellout, or the sellout on murderous safety and health conditions, or the rotten, racist and sexist "divide and rule" betrayals of the needs of minority and women workers, these flunkies of the capitalist bosses use our union to tie our hands at every step. They give free rein to the Republic robber barons to attack us at will. They are certain to play this role in this contract fight.

We of the RSC want to say to our fellow workers (as we have repeatedly said to the leftists and militants of the local): Join us in the contract struggle. Let this be the opening round for a fight to the finish against our bureaucrats, a fight to build the organized power of the working class—a collective power which no power on earth can withstand or resist. Contact Revolutionary Steelworker to build this fight!

Revolutionary Greetings.
An RSC Supporter,
Local 1033 (USWA)

RSC Steel Contract Program

The contract for nearly one-half million USWA members in basic steel expires on July 31, 1977. Neither the present USWA leadership (including Lloyd McBride, the USWA "Official Family's" candidate to succeed I.W. Abel) nor challenger Ed Sadlowski will build a fight to win a contract that speaks to the basic needs of steelworkers. Rank and file steelworkers must build this fight. The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC) is organizing around the contract program printed below. What steelworkers win in the contract will primarily depend on how effectively they organize independently of the bureaucrats, to press their demands. The RSC is prepared to work with any and all steelworkers who wish to build this militant fight for a contract victory in 1977.

- Smash the ENA by building a national strike in 1977 to win the following:

JOB SECURITY

- 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay—a 6 hour day with no cut in pay, to create jobs.
- Cut probation to the legal minimum (30 days) and win union protection from date of hire.
- Full SUB protection from date of hire.
- Guaranteed full weekly pay (not counting holiday pay).

SAFE AND DECENT WORKING CONDITIONS

- The right to refuse unsafe work without the threat of wage loss.
- The right to strike over safety and health during the life of the contract.
- Union-run safety committees with power to shut down any job site without wage or job loss.
- Scrap binding arbitration and all no-strike clauses in local contracts. Eliminate the grievance backlog with the power to strike over grievances, at the national or local level, during the life of the contract.
- No compulsory overtime!
- A grievor and assistant grievor for every department and for every shift. Grievors and assistants paid by the company (as in the UAW) to work full time on union business, without loss of income, benefits or seniority.
- All employees' records will be kept confidential by the companies. All employees' records will be swept clean of personals and other discipline items after one year.
- Job descriptions of all department jobs to be posted on company bulletin boards in every department.
- Union control of health care facilities at company expense.
- No company personnel to get union work or union benefits (like incentive) provided for in the contract to dues-paying members.

- No union members to work as full-time working supervisors.
- Any time two job classes do the same work, both will be paid at the rate of the higher class.
- Moving from class to class is to be automatic in all jobs after a reasonable period of time, subject only to everyday adequate job performance.

AN END TO DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM

- Uniform plant-wide and industry-wide standards for all workers. Equal treatment for all. Unequal treatment or different standards from department to department will be a violation of the contract and grievable.
- Plant-wide seniority and plant-wide bidding on all job openings. All bids to be posted in every department and on a central bulletin board.
- Union control of seniority and upgrading. Union control of all testing and job bidding through appropriate union committees.
- Full back pay for minority and women workers to compensate for discrimination.
- All company and union material to be bi-lingual (English and Spanish). The right to grieve in either language at all steps.

MORE MONEY AND BETTER BENEFITS

- A \$2.00 across-the-board wage increase to make up for inflation losses. Full cost-of-living allowance as computed on a monthly basis by USWA cost-of-living committees.
- 25 years and out. Optional retirement after 25 years of service, at full pension and full benefits.
- Reduce job classes by dropping the bottom seven classes, and upgrading everyone involved to job class eight.
- Replace the unfair incentive system with plant-wide wage hikes for all, no smaller than the single largest incentive percentage average.
- Time-and-a-half for Saturdays worked, and double-time-and-a-half for Sundays. Triple-time for holidays.
- 10 days paid sick leave and 10 days paid personal business, with no restrictions. Days can be accumulated over a period of years, with no limit.
- Two fixed 15 minute paid rest periods per day for all steelworkers.

WE MUST STRIKE

- The ENA weakens our bargaining position. No candidate for office in the USWA will have our endorsement without calling for a strike in 1977. Strike to smash the ENA. Strike to win better working conditions and a better living.
- We demand the right to strike and to vote on national and local contracts. The ranks will decide if the negotiating committee has won a victorious strike.

Carter's Cabinet...

(Continued from page 1)

Johanson Administration. Three Vietnam hawks. Three representatives of finance capital (Rockefeller section) and advocates of increased military spending.

Vance, Brown and Brzezinski will carry out the same policies they always have—heavy-handed U.S. imperialism. Even Carter's repeated vows to cut \$5 billion to \$7 billion from the Defense Department budget have already been scrapped. Defense Secretary-designate Harold Brown says he sees "no chance" of such a defense reduction "from this year's budget, for example."

MORE BROKEN PROMISES

Carter's economic team is cut from the same cloth as his foreign policy and defense crew. W. Michael Blumenthal, the new Secretary of the Treasury, was president of the multinational Bendix Corporation. The *Wall Street Journal* nodded its approval of Blumenthal: "He is known as a business-world liberal, which is fine; business-world liberals understand the role and needs of business." Like Vance, Blumenthal is a Johnson Administration veteran (Assistant Secretary of State) and a member of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Charles Schultze, the new Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, was LBJ's Budget Director. Schultze helped LBJ and his Defense Secretary, Robert McNamara, conceal \$10 billion in military spending during 1967.

Secretary of Commerce Juanita Kreps, one of Carter's two "women's representatives," is on the board of directors of the New York Stock Exchange (Wall Street), J.C. Penney, Eastman Kodak and literally dozens of other giant corporations.

As surely as the foreign policy will be imperialist, the domestic policy will be a policy of the capitalists, by the capitalists and for the capitalists. Carter is already trying to scuttle his promise to wage war against unemployment: his advisers now sadly inform us that the jobless rate will fall more slowly than they had previously projected. And his selection for Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Joseph A. Califano Jr., has already warned that promised welfare reform "may have to await a healthier economy that would provide tax dollars to pay for it."

Carter's real priority—giving aid and comfort to the big corporations—has emerged loudly and clearly enough to convince all in the capitalist class but the most die-hard Republicans. "I don't think Mr. Carter has made a false move since he was elected," chirped an Eastern banker.

CARTER ADDS INSULT TO INJURY

While ladling out the gravy to the ruling class, Carter saved the most vicious treatment of all for Black people.

Carter "gave" Blacks two positions—Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and Ambassador to the United Nations. Patricia Roberts Harris, the new HUD Secretary, is a member of the Black bourgeoisie. She is on the board of directors of David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, among others. This makes her about as representative of the Black masses as Nelson Rockefeller is representative of white workers. And her position is probably the least influential of any Cabinet spot. Moreover, she earned her spurs in the

1960s when she was Dean of Women and head of the Law School at Howard University. She helped to defeat a sit-in by Black students.

Carter also named Andrew Young, a Black man, Ambassador to the United Nations. While this concession was needed to keep even the slim pretense of carrying out his campaign promises to Blacks, it was also a shrewd political move. Carter and U.S. imperialism will use Young to try to hide the imperialist and racist policy of U.S. imperialism. In particular, Young will end up helping the Carter Administration in its attempts to strangle the South African struggle.

But the greatest insult of all was Carter's choice for Attorney General. After all the baloney about "dignity," "equality," "humanity" and "ruthlessly eliminating corruption," Carter named none other than his old race-baiting buddy Griffin Bell to enforce civil rights legislation as Attorney General.

Bell is a mortal enemy of Black people. Georgia Blacks and members of the civil rights movement saw the real Griffin Bell in action in 1966 when he delivered the notorious decision upholding the Georgia legislature's refusal to seat Julian Bond—perhaps the most blatantly racist decision by a federal court in the past 20 years.

Bond was communications director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC—the militant civil rights organization). SNCC had

just come out with a statement opposing the Vietnam War, a statement which aroused the wrath of racists and hawks throughout the country. Speaking in this sentiment, Bell denounced SNCC's anti-war statement as "a call to action based on race, a call alien to the concept of a pluralistic society."

Bell also supported Nixon's nomination of G. Harrold Carswell for the Supreme Court, after the exposure of Carswell's 1948 declaration that: "Segregation is the only practical and correct way of life in our states." Bell's admiration for Carswell has continued to this day. The December 22 *New York Daily News* quotes Bell rationalizing that "everybody in the South would be barred from office" if they were judged by their 1948 positions.

Bell is a member of two exclusive Atlanta clubs, the Capital City Club and the Piedmont Driving Club. "Exclusive" means they bar Blacks and Jews from membership. (Women are allowed in only if they have a spouse who is a member.) He is also a member of the Oglethorpe Club of Savannah, which likewise bars Blacks. Not surprisingly, in 1971, this bigot upheld the right of a Florida yacht club to bar members on the basis of race and religion.

Carter calls Bell's civil rights record "superb," but the record speaks for itself. And it says everything in the world about Carter.

It is instructive to consider how quickly the ruling class clamped a lid

on the mini-scandal over Bell's appointment as soon as the *Atlanta Journal* disclosed that Cyrus Vance, too, belonged to racist clubs. Basically, the Eastern Establishment was concerned that Bell's appointment was a needless slap in the face to Blacks. Accordingly, the *New York Times* led the charge in exposing the racist club memberships of Bell, Bert Lance and other Carter intimates. Carter, determined to keep a key Cabinet post for the Georgia bourgeoisie, struck back by exposing Vance. (The *Atlanta Journal* is published by the brother of one of Bell's law partners, while Vance is on the board of the *Times*.)

This little drama shows that racism is a way of life for the elite ruling class that runs this country. Nearly all of them belong to all-white social clubs. Nearly all of them think that Black people are some kind of inferior breed.

The social habits of the ruling class and their lackeys are consistent with their political and economic attacks against the Black and Brown masses throughout the world. Racism, capitalism and imperialism are inseparable.

HOW THE CAPITALISTS OPERATE

The social world also reflects the way capitalist power is held in this country. An interlocking elite of corporate heads and top government officials runs this country and decides government policy.

Individuals slide in and out of corporate directorships to take their places in top Cabinet slots. One day, Cyrus Vance will be making decisions for IBM; the next day, he will be determining U.S. international policy. One day, Juanita Kreps will be deliberating on how the New York Stock Exchange can best be run; the next, she will be Secretary of Commerce. And on and on.

THE STATE—A TOOL OF THE BOSSES

There is no better example than Carter's Cabinet to show that the state—the government and its bureaucratic machinery—is not neutral. It is a weapon of the ruling class to keep the working class and all oppressed people under capitalist rule.

The same holds for the Democratic Party, and Carter's Cabinet shows this as well. His appointees, these big corporate wheels, are Democrats. Their policies are imperialist, they are intertwined with the multinationals and they are racists.

While the Democrats and Republicans do not represent identical strategies, the Democrats do represent a wholly bourgeois, wholly ruling class party—just as the U.S. government represents a wholly bourgeois machine. Both the state and the two political parties which share power in the government are wholly owned subsidiaries of the U.S. ruling class and run under its management. There is no illusion more false than that of workers who think that the Democrats are the "friends of labor," or of Blacks who think that the Democrats are the "friends of Blacks."

The U.S. working class must learn not to give any credence whatsoever to promises of capitalist politicians. Jimmy Carter is doing what every bourgeois politician does—exploit, oppress and abuse the people. No matter what these politicians say, they are tied into the most corrupt and rotten ruling class ever, a ruling class bloated with profits made off the backs of the exploited and oppressed masses throughout the world. As part of the ruling class machine, these politicians will seek to perpetuate capitalism's rule—and they will use whatever means they have. They are our mortal enemies. □



Griffin Bell

Upheld Georgia legislature's refusal to seat Black activist Julian Bond, 1966. Supported former rabid segregationist G. Harrold Carswell for Supreme Court, 1971. Senior partner in Atlanta's leading ruling class law firm, King and Spaulding [along with several other top Carter advisers]. Belongs to racist Capital City Club, Piedmont Driving Club and Oglethorpe Club.



Juanita Kreps

Boards of Directors, New York Stock Exchange, J.C. Penney, Western Electric, Eastman Kodak [and many other multinationals]; Vice-President, Duke University [leading private university in the South].



Cyrus Vance

Deputy Secretary of Defense for LBJ during Vietnam War; Chairman of the Board of the Rockefeller Foundation; on Boards of Directors of IBM, Pan American World Airways and the *New York Times*; Trustee of Yale University.



W. Michael Blumenthal

Chairman, president and chief executive officer, Bendix Corporation (70th largest corporation in U.S.); Board of Directors, Equitable Life Assurance Company; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State under Kennedy and Johnson; Board of Directors, Rockefeller Foundation. Last year's salary (from Bendix alone): \$373,000

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DALEY DIES: WILL HIS MACHINE SURVIVE?

CHICAGO—On December 20, 1976, Richard Daley, the Mayor of Chicago since 1955, finally died. For over 20 years Daley kept an iron grip on Chicago politics. His arrogant and racist use of power won him a national reputation and a prominent place in the Democratic Party.

Police terror against the Black community was a regular part of Daley's political machine. When Blacks in Chicago's ghettos rose in protest against the murder of Martin Luther King Jr., Daley told his police to "shoot to kill." This was the true face of the Daley machine revealed in a moment of crisis.

DALEY'S FORMULA

Daley's enormous power was based on suppressing, containing and controlling the Black and Latin communities in order to give favors and privileges to the business community and to white, patronage workers. Steal from the Black and Latin community, give to the capitalists and a small group of privileged white workers—this was the formula that Daley repeated for 21 years.

Daley's machine was made up of a combination of the Democratic Party, the city government, the County Board, the School Board, the Park District and a host of other major and minor agencies and branches of government. Between his power as Mayor to appoint and control, and his power as Chairman of the Democratic Party to determine the candidates, Daley controlled every act of government.

Daley always gave first priority to the needs of the capitalists. He made sure that their taxes were low. When they needed a zoning change, they got it. When they wanted a new airport or highway, they got it. When they wanted more police, they got them. When they wanted land they got that too.

BLACKS AND LATIN PUSHED OUT

During the time Daley was Mayor thousands of workers, mostly Black, Latin or other minorities, were pushed out of their homes to make way for urban development that built housing, offices and educational complexes for the ruling class. The capitalists wanted cheap and efficient city services and Daley delivered. In return, nearly the entire capitalist class in Chicago supported Daley—turning the Republican Party into a joke.

Key to Daley's strategy was to offer a section of white workers protection from the decay of the cities, and protection from the destruction caused by his favors to business. Thirty-five thousand government jobs in Chicago are direct political patronage jobs

given to Democratic Party loyalists who work to get out the vote while being paid for a city job. Thousands more jobs are called civil service but are actually gotten through connections. Patronage and skilled and white collar city workers tend to live in tight-knit ethnic communities, where the schools are kept free from crowding, streets are well paved, garbage is picked up—and Blacks are kept out. Marquette Park, the staging ground this summer for KKK and Nazi Party attacks on the Black community, is one of these communities. Keeping communities like Marquette Park just the way the racist forces want them was one of Daley's major contributions to the city of Chicago.

Daley always kept very close relations with the leaders of the skilled trades unions. All skilled city workers were union and Daley used his influence with business to extend the jurisdiction of the skilled unions. He helped these unions stay all-white. In return, they helped Daley by working to defeat and sabotage the struggles of more oppressed workers. For example, when the largely Black and Latin transit workers union threatened to strike, Bill Lee, head of the Chicago Federation of Labor, stepped in—not to help the workers—

but to help the Transit Board get what it wanted.

DALEY ATTACKED OPPRESSED MINORITIES

To preserve the privileges of the skilled and city workers, Daley attacked Blacks and other minorities. He helped keep Blacks out of the better jobs, and he physically contained the Black community. As a result, Chicago is the most segregated city in the United States. Block after block has been torn down and replaced with high rise housing projects to serve as dumping areas for the city's Black poor.

The Chicago police are one of the most brutal and ever-present in the world, constantly patrolling the streets. When movements have organized for better housing, for jobs, for better and uncrowded schools, Daley tried with all his power to stop them. This summer Daley's police allowed the KKK to organize and attack West Englewood in order to stop Blacks from searching for better housing outside the areas Daley had assigned to them.

When Daley was unable to stop movements with brute force he resorted to other methods. In 1966 he

convinced Martin Luther King Jr. to call off the growing movement to open housing by promising an open housing law. Nothing was done. When Blacks demanded construction jobs Daley offered the "Chicago Plan." It collapsed after several years of accomplishing nothing. The director of the program, a Black Daley loyalist stole the remaining money and disappeared.

Graft was grease for the machine. But in the past few years, many of the people around Daley were exposed by a Republican U.S. Attorney. Daley's top man, Tom Keane, was convicted of graft and jailed.

Further, as Daley became more and more unpopular in the Black community, some of the Black machine politicians began to attack Daley and build an independent reputation. These developments seriously weakened the machine.

By the time Daley died, there were few illusions about him among oppressed people in Chicago. This past summer during the struggle against the racists of Marquette Park, the Chicago RSL found that despite the reformist and pacifist methods of the leaders of the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, they were forced to point to the City as the enemy. Many people who did not yet have a Marxist understanding of the state could see that there was no point to reforming or pleading with Daley, and so accepted the idea that the Democratic Party and the government were the enemy

DEATH WEAKENS MACHINE

With Daley's death, the machine has received a staggering blow. Already weakened, the power struggle among Daley's lieutenants will undermine it still further. Extremely important will be the struggle of Black politicians to get a bigger piece of the political pie, either by demanding some influence within the Daley machine, or by pushing for a more significant reform of the Cook County Democratic Party.

Right after Daley's death, a group of Black leaders gathered around Black Alderman Wilson Frost and

(Continued on page 18)

Free Abortion on Demand!



Women march for right to abortion.

Under the pressure of the women's movement, the Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973. The women's movement and the left in general saw this as a victory. And it was. At the same time, liberal politicians pointed to the Supreme Court decision as an example of the U.S. government's concern for women's equality. They were lying.

Last year 770,000 women who needed an abortion could not get one. This year there will be hundreds of thousands more women who will be forced to bear children whether they want to or not. Most of these women are young, poor and live in rural areas. They cannot afford the transportation to major cities where clinics have provided the majority of abortions since the legalization. Public hospitals are of no help since they seldom provide abortions. For poor and working class women, more expensive private hospitals are out of the question.

The result is that while abortion is legal on paper, for many poor women abortion remains unavailable in fact.

Within a few months, the Supreme Court will hear arguments for making facilities at hospitals more accessible to women requiring abortions. While this would be a step forward, it still evades the real solution: Free abortion on demand.

Today, even abortion clinics charge up to \$175. Hospitals demand from \$300 to \$500 for the operation. And the capitalist Congress has made moves toward cutting off Medicaid funds for the operation.

In the meanwhile, the reactionary Right to Life groups and President-elect Jimmy Carter are allied in their "personal" stands against women's right to abortion on any basis.

For women in general and for working class women in particular, this means that the fight for abortion needs to be a fight for free abortion on demand. The whole working class must take up this fight. If a movement is not built to ensure that abortion is made accessible to all women, there is a good chance that the political climate will move right and abortion will be accessible to fewer and fewer women.

THE STATE OF THE AUTO INDUSTRY

By Lee O'Shaughnessy

In the last issue of the Torch we analyzed the major problems that are undermining the health of the automobile industry. We showed that, despite the recent upturn in the auto industry, auto's long-term growth prospects are not good. This will bring forth an increasingly ruthless attack by the auto bosses on the living standards and working conditions of automobile workers. Greater speedup, more layoffs and ever-more unsafe working conditions will spearhead this campaign.

But the deteriorating condition of the auto industry will not affect auto workers alone. Auto's illness is an important sign of the overall decline of the entire U.S. economy, which will ultimately drag world capitalism into a depression. This decline will bring with it decisive battles between the working class and its allies among the oppressed peoples of the world on the one hand and the international bourgeoisie and the various agents and lieutenants who serve it on the other.

In order to prepare for these struggles, the working class must see the road that lies ahead. The following article discusses the role auto played in U.S. capitalism throughout this century, and shows why auto's inability to remain healthy is an important aspect of the developing crisis of U.S. capitalism.

For most of the 20th century, the auto industry has been central to the entire U.S. economy. Twice during this century auto grew dramatically. This occurred in the period 1915-1929 and again from 1945 to 1965. These two auto booms were important props to the long upswings in the U.S. economy during these periods.

The most basic reason for this central role of the auto industry is that auto production stimulates demand for the products of other industries. For example, auto is mainly responsible for the creation of the massive growth of the oil industry, which involves more capital investment than any other industry in the U.S.

Looked at another way, for every 10 workers producing cars, another 15 make the steel, rubber, glass, plastic and cloth that goes into those cars. Today, the jobs of 10 million other workers in "service," transportation and so forth depend on the existence and health of the automobile industry.

AUTO'S MAJOR ROLE

It is important to understand that auto, by itself, can neither create a boom nor prevent a depression. This is because the industry's products are sold to consumers. If these consumers do not have the money to buy cars, or for other reasons do not buy cars, auto goes into a slump. For there to be a boom in the auto industry, therefore, the working class and middle class must first have the ability to buy cars. For this reason, the auto industry by itself cannot create an economic boom.

Such a boom must first have an independent basis. Once a boom is underway, however, auto can play a major role in broadening it and lengthening it. By the same token, once the health of the U.S. economy is undermined, auto cannot prevent an economic crisis. Thus, the state of the auto industry is an important sign, a key indicator of the health or sickness of the capitalist economy as a whole.

This relationship can be seen clearly by looking at the two major periods of economic boom that have occurred in

this century. Simply stated, the boom that occurred in the U.S. from 1915-1929 was caused by three main factors:

1) World War I greatly stimulated the economy as a whole, particularly during the early years when the U.S. was not directly involved in the fighting.

2) After the war, the U.S. was the only industrial economy that was not devastated. The U.S. became the main source of goods and investment in Europe and elsewhere.

3) In the 1920s the U.S. pioneered the development of assembly-line pro-

duction, putting together a world empire from which it sucked billions of dollars of super-profits. Within the U.S. the capitalists, aided by the reactionary labor bureaucracy, weakened the whole labor movement and tied it closer to the capitalist state. This helped create a tremendous increase in the rate of exploitation of the workers and an increase in the profits of the capitalists. At the same time, the capitalist state, through arms production and other means, drastically increased its role in the economy. These three main factors combined to produce the

growing prosperity of the middle class, greatly increased the demand for cars. To top this off, a dramatic increase in consumer credit stimulated the auto market even further. For example, total outstanding installment credit for new and used cars jumped from \$455 million in 1945 to \$28.4 billion in 1965.

Not surprisingly, the result was a tremendous expansion in the production and sales of automobiles. During the post-war boom, the number of new cars (domestic) sold each year rose from 1.8 million in 1946 to 8.7 million in 1965. In turn, this expansion led to huge profits for the auto companies.

Auto's expansion led once again to increased residential housing construction and road building. By the end of the 1960s, 76 million Americans were living in suburbs, almost twice the number of suburbanites in 1950 (41 million). And 377,000 miles of new rural and municipal highways were built in 1950-1966.

The expansion in auto, construction and road-building in turn stimulated a large demand for steel, rubber, glass, cement and other materials.

In this way, as in the 1920s, the boom in the auto industry was central in extending the boom in the entire U.S. economy.

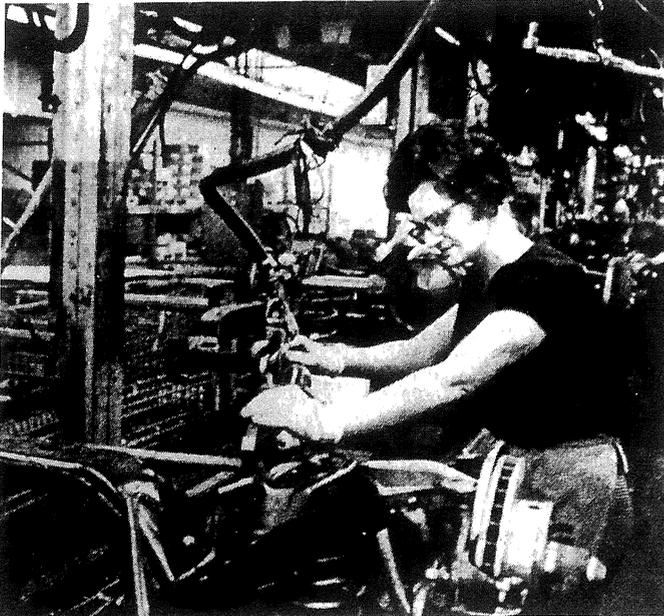
POST-WAR BOOM OVER

Today, the post-war economic prosperity period is over. It has, for the present, given way to what looks like ups and downs in the economy. The recessions of 1969-1970 and 1974-1975 have been followed by mild economic upturns.

But the ups and downs of the past few years hide an overall direction of the U.S. and the world economy. This overall direction is down. The 1974-1975 recession was the severest economic crisis in the U.S. since the Great Depression of the 1930s. The upturn that has followed that deep recession has been slow and shallow. Most significantly, this upturn has failed to produce a boom in capital spending, that is, investment in new plant and equipment, which is the real basis for a significant recovery. Now there are signs that even this shallow upturn is faltering. What is coming is a new recession, deeper and more devastating than the last. Whether this new recession will give way to another, even shallower upturn, or develops more immediately into a full-scale depression cannot be predicted today. But a massive depression, worse than the 1930s, is what lies ahead—regardless of whatever twists and turns occur first.

One of the factors that has so far prevented the U.S. economy from diving into a depression has been the auto industry. The slump in auto in 1974-1975 paralleled the recession of that period. As the post-recession upturn got underway; however, auto played a major role in boosting the economy, in making the recovery last as long as it has. Here again we can see the unique role of auto in the economy; once an upturn is underway, auto can boost it and stretch it out.

But what happens as the auto industry declines? Just as auto has paced the boom periods, so too will its decline pace the drive toward depression. As auto heads toward chronic illness, one more prop will get knocked out from under the economy. As this happens, the present, rather gradual, economic decline will pick up speed. Unless capitalism is overthrown, the end of this road is an international economic crash. □



Auto assembly line.

duction, which greatly increased productivity and cut production costs.

During the 1915-1929 period, the auto industry played a central role in stimulating the boom. In this period, the number of autos on the road in the U.S. increased 10 times—from 2.3 million to 23.1 million. This was made possible by the expansion of consumer demand brought on by the boom, and by assembly production in the auto industry and the lack of union protection of the auto workers, both of which helped lower the price of cars to within the reach of millions of Americans. Auto's growth in this period stimulated road building and residential housing construction. The expansion of all three industries changed the face of the country. In particular, it led to the rise of the suburbs.

The post-World War I boom came to an end with the stock market crash in 1929. In the U.S. the boom was not strongly based, while Europe never fully recovered from the devastation of the war.

When stocks crashed in 1929, the whole world economy crashed as well, bringing on the Great Depression. Auto could not stand against the tidal wave of economic destruction.

POST-WORLD WAR II BOOM

In the second major period of economic boom, after World War II, auto again played the role in the U.S. economy it did in the 1920s. The post-World War II boom was based on the defeat of the international working class in the immediate post-war period. This enabled the U.S. to become the dominant imperialist power in the

post-war prosperity period.

With this prosperity as its underpinning, the auto industry experienced a long-term boom and, as in the 1920s, helped to broaden and lengthen the boom in the whole economy. The misleaders of the auto workers' union helped make the auto makers' drive for profits easier. As in the labor movement as a whole, the UAW leadership sold out the auto workers. In particular, they gave the bosses a free hand to weaken the union on the shop floor, speed up the assembly line and take other measures to step up exploitation.

For example, the UAW leadership gave up stewards' control over the setting of many production standards in exchange for wage increases. And in 1950, the UAW signed a five-year contract that tied the workers' hands while the companies pursued their attack. Some workers called this contract "Reuther's Five-Year Plan." These retreats allowed the auto bosses to increase profits (especially GM and Ford) and reinvest them in new plant and equipment. Eleven billion dollars was invested in the motor vehicle and equipment industries during 1949-1966. Numerical control machines and automatic and semi-automatic spot-welding equipment in particular let the bosses double up and speed up jobs in the assembly plants.

All this meant even greater increases in the rate of exploitation of the workers and larger profits for the auto companies.

Although it was a bit shaky at first, the general economic upturn enabled the capitalist class to grant wage increases to relatively broad sectors of the working class. This, combined with

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British workers demand jobs, summer 1976.

BRITAIN

Economy Near Collapse

Last November 17 over 40,000 British workers went into the streets to protest against the government's plans to lay off 35,000 public service workers. This was the first mass action by British workers since 1974. After two and one-half years of defeat, the British working class is mobilizing to defend its interests.

The class struggle in Britain will increase sharply in coming months. The ruling class is carefully preparing a new series of attacks. And the forces of international capital—the bankers of the U.S., Germany and Japan—are rushing to the aid of the British ruling class in this struggle.

This article explains the background of the British economic crisis and its consequences for British workers over the next few months.

Last month the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreed to lend the British ruling class \$3.9 billion.

The reason for the loan is that British capitalism is literally bankrupt and near outright collapse. Britain has

a balance of trade deficit of 510 million pounds, the third highest in British history. As a result, the value of the pound on international money markets has fallen to about \$1.65, the lowest in its history.

U.S., German and Japanese capitalists—the powers behind the IMF—are willing to risk their money to shore up British capitalism because they understand that modern capitalism is an international system of finance and trade. The world recession of the past three years severely shook the financial and trade agreements that hold this system together. A crisis in Britain could bring the whole shaky structure tumbling down. By supporting the British economy, the imperialist powers are trying to prop up world capitalism.

The international capitalist class especially fears the power of British workers. A working class explosion in Britain could easily set off a wave of mass struggle throughout Europe, and would be an example to workers all over the world. The capitalists

know this and are stepping in to prevent it.

IMF DEMAND: "ATTACK THE WORKERS"

In return for its loan the IMF demands that the British ruling class begin a massive attack on the living standards of the British working class, in the form of "austerity programs." This means especial misery for the 1.5 million British workers who are now unemployed. It means all British work-

ers will find no relief from one of the highest inflation rates in Europe. It means a frontal assault on the social service programs in housing, medical care and education that workers have won and defended through decades of struggle.

The IMF has attached special conditions to its loan to make sure this attack is carried out. In the first place, the loan is coming in stages. The British government will get \$1.5 billion almost immediately. But it will not get the second installment of a billion dollars until the end of 1977, and will not get the final installment until sometime in 1978.

The purpose of this is to give the international bankers plenty of time to review British economic policy, to make sure the attack on the working class is carried out the way they want. They are keeping their hands firmly on the purse strings. If the British ruling class fails to protect the bankers' investment by clamping down on the workers, the loan dries up. It is economic blackmail on an international scale.

Right now, the British ruling class will try to carry out this assault through the British Labour Party. Two years ago the Labour Party was elected to office. The British ruling class used the Labour Party to head off a wave of political strikes against the government's wage guidelines policy.

Once in power the Labour Party, with the collusion of labor union leaders, forced workers to accept strict wage guidelines. The workers hoped a Labour government would protect their jobs and living standards. Instead they got mounting inflation and Britain's highest unemployment rate

(Continued on page 18)

China's "Capitalist Roaders" Consolidate Their Power

It is becoming increasingly clear that the "capitalist roaders" are continuing to strengthen their grip on the reins of Chinese state capitalism. A series of directives from Peking in the past month announced policies identical with those carried out by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping. And by early January of this year, it appeared that twice-purged Teng himself might be brought back to administer these policies.

The developments began with a December 20 editorial in the Communist Party newspaper, *People's Daily*. The editorial urged stronger factory management, increased labor discipline, higher productivity and the running of each enterprise at a profit.

Less than two weeks later, on New Year's Day, the Peking press announced that consumer goods production would be expanded.

These two statements give the lie to the Hua Kuo-feng regime's claim to be the loyal followers of Mao. The policies they embrace are precisely those attributed to Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping in the Cultural Revolution: reliance on the profit motive, material incentives (more consumer goods—Mao called this "goulash communism") and a strong team of factory bureaucrats to maintain order and efficiency in the plants.

Shortly after these announcements, a wall poster appeared in Peking calling for clearing Teng's name. The poster appeared following weeks of rumors that the Hua regime is debating Teng's fate. What is being debated, however, is not whether to bring Teng back—but when to do so.

The wall poster appeared in full sight of foreign journalists. Controversial posters rarely are kept up long enough for the foreign press to see unless the leadership wants them seen. In this case, Hua and his colleagues undoubtedly were casting a straw in the wind to see whether they can get away with restoring the man who only a few months ago was the target of a purge and was labelled the leading "capitalist roader."

Whether or not Teng can be brought back to power immediately, it is clear which way the wind is blowing. The policies of Hua and company, no less than their personnel, make it clear that the group now in power in China is the old Liu Shao-chi gang. □



Teng Hsiao-ping.

Struggle Flares in China; Deepening Crisis Reported

Reports from official Chinese radio stations suggest that the political and social crisis in China may be deepening. If these reports are true, then long-time oppositionists and large numbers of Chinese workers are engaged in significant struggle against the regime of Premier Hua Kuo-feng.

Railway workers reportedly lead the opposition in the northcentral provinces of Hopeh, Honan and Shansi. Thousands of troops have been dispatched to the city of Chengchow (the capital of Honan and a key railroad junction).

Previously, troops had been sent to the city of Paoting on the Chengchow-to-Peking railway. Paoting has been a trouble spot since the death in 1971 of Lin Piao, the former Defense Minister who allegedly died in a plane crash while fleeing to Russia. Lin's 38th Army had its headquarters in Paoting. It appears that Lin's supporters have found allies among the Paoting railway workers.

"All-round civil war" has been reported in the southwestern province of Szechuan, a center of left-wing Red

Guard groups during the Cultural Revolution. The millions of "ultra-lefts" disciplined and exiled to more remote provinces after the Cultural Revolution may be leading the Szechuan opposition.

In the industrial center of Wuhan, oppositionists have reportedly infiltrated iron mines, steel works and nearby rural communes. This may indicate that a large number of workers and peasants in Wuhan side with the rebels.

Clashes are also reported in Yunnan, Fukien, Kiangsi and Chekiang (center of the 1975 strike wave) and Heilungkiang (Manchuria).

The Hua regime may be exaggerating the scale of the fighting in order to justify mass purges. It is also possible that the workers and other rebels are mainly supporters of the wing of the Chinese ruling class represented by the "gang of four."

But it may be that the Chinese workers are taking advantage of the crisis in the state-capitalist ruling class to fight for their needs. Whatever the actual situation today, this is what they should be doing. □

EDITORIALS

Independence for Puerto Rico!

On New Year's Eve, Gerald Ford proposed that Puerto Rico become the fifty-first U.S. state. This proposal is, for Ford, a cheap publicity stunt. Ford would like to go down in the annals of bourgeois history as having done something for someone—even if all it adds up to is shooting off his mouth.

But the statehood proposal is also an attempt to intensify the exploitation of Puerto Rico and to silence the Puerto Rican independence movement. Ford represents a minority section of the ruling class that sees statehood as the best way to continue the exploitation of the Puerto Rican people. This section of the bourgeoisie, however, thinks that Ford jumped the gun (they would like the pro-statehood proposal to come from "representatives" of Puerto Rico).

These bourgeois forces are willing to give Puerto Rico a small voice in the U.S. Congress, in return for the advantages Puerto Rican statehood offers U.S. imperialism. While the imperialists continue to extract super-profits from Puerto Rico, they will try to spread the illusion that the people of Puerto Rico will have some say in determining their own lives.

Most importantly for the imperialists, statehood would be the best way to destroy the independence movement. A state cannot secede from the union. Any mass movement for real self-government would be brutally smashed with all the armed might that the imperialists could muster. And world opinion would mean little,

since the bloody suppression of the liberation struggle would be an "internal matter" of the U.S.

Statehood is, in fact, directly opposed to the needs of the people of Puerto Rico. A few pro-U.S. politicians in Congress would not change Puerto Rico's colonial relationship to the U.S. Appeals to the imperialists' Congress would be a dead-end. For three-quarters of a century, Congress has concerned itself with nothing but ensuring the capitalists super-profits and beating down the struggle for liberation. All the problems that Puerto Rico has have been made in the U.S.A. Statehood would be no solution to these problems.

Statehood would do nothing to ensure that the environment is not completely spoiled. Statehood would do nothing to end the almost 40 percent unemployment that plagues the people of the island. And it would do absolutely nothing to stop the forced sterilization of one-third of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age.

A somewhat broader section of the imperialists favors a "compact of permanent union" to make the Commonwealth status permanent. With this solution, the imperialists do not even have to promise minimum wage laws and the paper environmental legislation. The compact would appear to be voluntary and would only be broken by consent of both countries. The U.S. would never consent to break it. And in the eyes of world opinion, the U.S.

would look less like a colonial power.

No section of the ruling class is calling for an end to the colonial situation. They only want to hide it. Since the beginning of the occupation in 1898, the U.S. rulers have used every tool, up to and including outright massacres, to preserve the colonial status of Puerto Rico. Right from the beginning, the Puerto Rican economy has been distorted and destroyed by the imperialists for their own benefit. In the early twentieth century the U.S. used high tariff laws to bankrupt the predominantly small-farmer coffee industry. U.S. corporations then seized this land and turned Puerto Rican agriculture into one large sugar plantation.

Today, in the latest phase of "Operation Bootstrap," the imperialists have shifted to large-scale capital-intensive industry from which they make huge profits. And unemployment soars! Puerto Ricans are forced to leave their own country because the economy has been so severely crippled. To answer unemployment the imperialists launch an all-out attack on women, arguing that the problem is not capitalism, but high birth rates. There is not one bourgeois politician that wants to change this.

The only way that the Puerto Rican people will be able to govern themselves is to throw out the U.S., lock, stock and barrel. **Independence for Puerto Rico!**

To be successful this struggle must be led by the working class and win

final victory through a socialist revolution. The Puerto Rican working class will have to take the industries out of the hands of the imperialists and run them, with the other oppressed masses, for the benefit of the people of Puerto Rico.

This is the only solution to unemployment—run the industries, not for the benefit of imperialist parasites, but for the livelihood of all people. The forced sterilizations will stop when the workers seize power and the unemployment problem will be put to death by supplying jobs for all who need them. Environmental legislation will only come when the capitalist stranglehold on Puerto Rico is thrown off and profits are no longer the first concern in the running of industries.

True self-government can only be realized in Puerto Rico by involving the masses of Puerto Rican workers and oppressed in the democratically elected organizations that will make up the workers' state.

There are no other viable alternatives. Only the working class with arms in hand has the power to rip the industries and the other resources of Puerto Rico out of the hands of the imperialists, and organize the defense of Puerto Rico's independence. Only a real mass movement led by the working class, in which the masses have the voice in determining their own lives, will throw out the imperialists and keep them out. Then we will be able to put Ford and the imperialists in their real place in history—as the obscene colonialists they are. □

Behind the Split in OPEC

On December 17, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the cartel of major oil exporters, announced its long-awaited decision on the price of crude oil. In what appears to be a significant breach in its ranks, OPEC announced a "two-tiered" price increase. Saudi Arabia (the major oil producer in OPEC) and its satellite, the United Arab Emirates, announced they would raise the price for their crude oil by 5 percent. The other 11 OPEC countries announced they would increase their prices by twice that—10 percent.

Despite much of the fanfare that has accompanied the decisions, the real significance of the OPEC split is not economic. It is political. In particular, it is part of a tactical tug of war between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia over how best to impose a jointly desired imperialist settlement in the Middle East.

As the Torch has explained (see: "Lebanon: Civil War Ends," Vol. 3, No. 12), such a settlement would involve setting up a dependent Palestinian mini-state in return for recognizing Israel and liquidating the Palestinian armed struggle. This scheme is favored not only by the U.S. and the Saudis, but by nearly all the Arab bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces. However, it is not yet accepted by Israel.

Some sections of the Zionist ruling class are prepared to accept the settlement. But the majority still are not, arguing that the guarantees the Arab regimes offer Israel in exchange for Israel's acceptance of the mini-

state cannot be trusted.

The U.S. has been hesitant to press the mini-state too hard with the Israelis for fear of antagonizing the influential hard-line Zionists and thus jeopardize its relations with Israel, its long-time junior imperialist partner and policeman of the Mid-East. The Saudis want the mini-state now, and so they want the U.S. to put the heat on Israel. To convince the U.S. to do so, they know they must show the U.S. that Saudi Arabia can be a better Middle-Eastern partner and policeman than the Israelis.

This is why the Saudis broke OPEC's ranks. They hope that holding down the price of oil will show their value to the U.S. and be enough of an incentive to get the U.S. to pressure Israel. The Saudi oil pricing decision, in other words, is an attempt by the Saudis to convince the U.S. to adopt Saudi Arabia's tactics for getting the imperialist Mid-East settlement—the mini-state—that the U.S. already favors.

Despite their claims, the Saudi rulers are not against a sellout of the Palestinians. The Saudi regime has long been one of the most reactionary forces in the Middle East and the willing tool of U.S. imperialism. The most recent example of this was their decisive role in imposing a pro-imperialist end to the Lebanese Civil War.

The Saudis willingly sell the Palestinians down the river. They just want to make sure that when the sellout takes place, their role and prestige in the Middle East is increased. And if the U.S. pressures Israel suc-

cessfully into accepting the mini-state, the Saudis will reap their share of the credit for what will appear to be their wisdom and leadership in bringing peace to the area.

This is all just the latest in a parade of maneuvers by many Arab regimes to compete with Israel for the job of chief imperialist policeman in the Middle East. In recent years, Egypt terminated its military agreement and its treaty of friendship with the USSR, jumping in one leap into the arms of the U.S. This year, the Syrian intervention in Lebanon was prompted in part by the Syrian rulers' desires to play the sponsor of the Palestinian mini-state settlement. And now,

Saudi Arabia, which played the major role in forcing an end to the Lebanese Civil War, is making its bid. Who will win in this contest of stooges remains to be seen, although the Saudis now have a commanding lead. What is certain is that the Palestinians, the Arab people, and all the workers and oppressed people of the world will lose, at least in the short run, in the Middle East. Imperialism, aided by bourgeois and petty bourgeois allies, has won this round. But the Palestinians and the Arab masses have fought for decades. They are not going to give up now. The movement will rise again, more determined than before and more aware of the tricks and lies of the pro-imperialist forces. □

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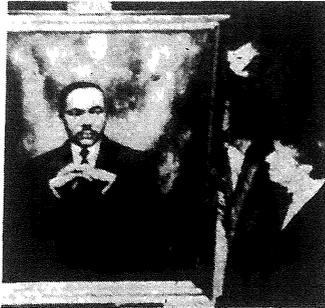
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How Carter and the Liberals Rip Off Black People

On November 2, Jimmy Carter was elected President of the United States. Crucial to his victory were the votes of millions of Black people, most of whom went to the polls in the hope that Carter would bring improvement to their daily lives.

Many Black people voted for Carter just because they were plain sick and tired of Ford and Nixon. Others believed that the last Democratic regime—that of Kennedy and Johnson—helped Blacks, even if only a little bit. Carter himself worked hard during the campaign to play up the lie that the Democratic Party is the party that works for Blacks—and many Blacks were willing to give Carter the chance to deliver on these campaign promises.

It was a serious mistake to vote for Carter. Carter and the entire Democratic Party are enemies of Black people and the working class in general. Despite their promises, they are a party of the exploiting and oppressing capitalist class just like the Republicans.

The ruling class needs a party that appeals to Black people in order to keep the Black struggle in check. As long as Blacks can be convinced to rely on the Democrats instead of organizing their own strength, America's racist rulers (both Democratic and Republican) have little to worry about.

"PRO-BLACK" IMAGE

The Democratic Party's "pro-Black" image goes back to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the 1930s. It was reinforced in the 1960s, particularly by the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. To understand the fraud involved in the Democrats' claim to be the friend of Blacks, we should take a look at the struggles that produced those bills and at the role the Democrats played in those struggles.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected President of the United States. At the time he took office, the U.S. ruling class was confronted with a large and growing movement fighting for the rights and needs of Black people. Black people were not waiting for help from the government; they were taking things into their own hands. They were sitting down at lunch coun-

ters that were supposed to be all-white. They were riding on buses that were supposed to be segregated. They were taking direct action and marching in the streets.

Kennedy used his prestige and influence to slow down the movement and to keep it in channels that did not threaten capitalism. He tried to get the movement out of the streets, to bog it down in Congressional debates and court suits and to turn it into a political base for the Democratic Party.

He publicly supported the movement in order to gain the confidence of Black people and get them to rely on him. He worked out an alliance with the "moderate" civil rights leaders who told Blacks to work within the system and not to resort to violence. Kennedy's support gave these leaders more credibility. These leaders, in turn, helped steer the movement into harmless legal channels.

KENNEDY IN ACTION

The events surrounding the 1963 March on Washington provide a clear picture of Kennedy in action. The march was originally proposed by militant Blacks in the Northern ghettos. Malcolm X gave the following account of the original plans:

"They were going to march on Washington and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any airplanes land. That was revolution. That was the Black revolution."

Such a mass, militant demonstration would have been a great step forward for the Black movement. It could have spurred on militant struggles all over the country. Kennedy and the entire capitalist class were worried.

At first Kennedy tried to prevent the demonstration from taking place. In June 1963 he declared: "Demonstrations endanger lives and property, inflame emotions, and unnecessarily divide communities. They are not the way in which this country should rid itself of racial discrimination."

But Kennedy's pleas and threats could not stop the demonstration. So he came up with another plan. He called in the liberal civil rights leaders, the ones who were less militant, such as Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King.

Kennedy agreed to support the demonstration, if these "leaders" would agree to take it over, control it, and keep it from getting too militant. He even arranged for \$1.5 million to be channeled to these so-called leaders through a white philanthropic society.

The demonstration took place in August. It was huge and got favorable coverage in the capitalist newspapers. But it was not the militant demonstration that Blacks in the Northern cities had planned.

What took place was a demonstration controlled by Kennedy, the white liberals and the "moderate" civil rights leaders. Malcolm X accurately described their role:

"They joined it, became a part of it, took it over. It ceased to be angry, it

ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. . . . They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, what signs to carry, what songs to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make, and then told them to get out of town by sundown. And every one of those Toms was out of town by sundown."

Kennedy was partly successful in diverting the struggle into harmless legal channels. But his tactics could not stop the militant struggle of Blacks, and mass pressure from the Black masses continued to build after



Newark rebellion, 1967.

his death in 1963. In 1964 there was a ghetto rebellion in Harlem, and in the following years rebellions occurred in other cities—Watts, Detroit, Newark.

The new President, Lyndon Johnson, was alarmed at the new direction the movement was taking. Johnson was a racist, and had been one all his life. But faced with militant Black struggle he became a "friend of the Black man." Johnson the racist went on television and said: "We Shall Overcome." And Johnson the racist pushed two Civil Rights Bills through Congress.

The Civil Rights Bills did not come out of the goodness of Johnson's or the Congress' heart. These liberal politicians were afraid of what the Black movement would do if no Civil Rights Bills were passed, if it appeared as if the government wasn't doing something.

Johnson's aims were the same as Kennedy's. He wanted to slow down the movement and turn it into safe channels by building up the influence of the "moderate" leaders. To do this, Johnson was forced to take steps which enabled Black people to actually use their paper right to vote. This was a real gain for Black people, won through struggle. But for Johnson, it served another purpose. Now that Blacks had a greater opportunity to vote, the "moderate" leaders could tell Blacks to concentrate their efforts on the ballot box rather than in the streets and the factories.

Carter has the same aims as Kennedy and Johnson. He too serves Wall Street and is an enemy of Black people

and all workers. Although times have changed since the 1960s, Carter's role will be basically the same as Kennedy's and Johnson's.

In the '60s, the ruling class had to retreat before the Black movement. Kennedy needed his "friend of the Negro" routine in order to slow down the movement and maneuver it into capitalist channels. At the same time, he tried to take credit for whatever gains the movement made.

Today there is no strong and active movement. America's capitalist class is on the attack. The capitalists are hitting the working class with layoffs, speedup, inflation, and more and more dangerous working conditions. Black people, women and other especially oppressed groups are being hit hardest. Carter's job is to coordinate these attacks and to sell them to the working class as necessary for everybody. Carter needs his "I love Blacks" line in order to cover up the ruling class attacks on our living standards.

Kennedy and Johnson were under a lot of pressure from the Black movement. They had to do a lot of talking and acting to hide their real role. Since the mass Black movement is weak today, even Carter's fake gestures of concern for Blacks have been shallow. At the Democratic Convention last summer, he invited Coretta King (widow

of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.) to speak. Carter got a lot of publicity for his feeble efforts to desegregate his church in Plains, Georgia. Most importantly, during the campaign he talked about making jobs, a crucial question for Black people, his number one priority.

But even during the campaign, Carter was careful to balance his act. He invited George Wallace to speak on the same platform as Coretta King. He openly appealed to racists by talking about "preserving ethnic purity"—a codeword for keeping Blacks out of all-white neighborhoods. And as soon as he was elected, Carter started to make excuses for not carrying out his promise to provide more jobs.

Carter will not put unemployed Blacks back to work. He will not change the shabby housing, the rat-infested schools, the rotting cities, or the brutal inhuman prison system. On the contrary his job is to make the working class pay for the decay of U.S. capitalism. His job means that he will lead the attacks on the living standards of all workers and particularly against Blacks and other oppressed groups.

Like Kennedy and Johnson, Carter needs some Black faces to cover his acts, to tell us not to struggle because "Jimmy's doing the best he can."

THE ROLE OF THE LIBERALS

Carter is just the latest in a long line of bourgeois liberals. The role of these people, and the political forces

(Continued on page 18)

Carter Rip-Off...

Continued from page 17)
behind them, is the same. Their job is to preserve capitalism. However, they try to do this in a somewhat different way than the conservatives and reactionaries.

A capitalist politician like Ronald Reagan is pretty open about what he thinks about Black people and what he thinks should be done to keep capitalism alive. In contrast, Carter and the liberals hide their real thinking and plans. They pretend to be the friend of the workers and all oppressed people. They try to win the trust of the working class, to convince the workers to rely on the liberals to improve their conditions, instead of organizing themselves independently to fight for their rights and needs.

The real enemy of the working class, and of Black people and all oppressed people, is the capitalist class. These are the people who must be fought and overthrown. The liberals, as well as the conservatives, are defenders of capitalism. And the liberals, like the conservatives, will fight like hell to stop the workers from overthrowing the system.

But the liberals are often slicker than the conservatives. By hiding their role, they want to prevent the workers from seeing who their enemy is. The liberals try to prevent the workers from uniting. By pretending to be the friend of the workers, Blacks and all the oppressed, they work to keep the mass struggle within bounds that do not threaten capitalism. Their job is to box the struggle in and, once it is

"under control," to destroy it.

This is what happened to the mass working class movement of the 1930s. Faced with a tremendous upsurge of the workers and poor people, Franklin D. Roosevelt decided to become "the champion of the people." He denounced many of the more greedy capitalists, talked about changing the system and sponsored various reforms. The purpose of all this was to preserve capitalism, to defend it from the workers.

With the help of the Communist Party, Roosevelt kept the workers' movement under control, tying it to capitalism through the Democratic Party and the capitalist state. When the movement had been boxed in by these methods, the ruling class attacked it head-on, splitting the trade union movement and driving revolutionaries and militants out of the unions.

The same basic method was used to corral and destroy the Black movement of the 1960s.

The liberals, their goals, and meth-

ods must be exposed. Revolutionaries must explain who the liberals are and expose how they work. We must warn that Carter and his friends will stab all the oppressed in the back. We must show in practice that we can fight for our needs and win our freedom only if we rely on ourselves. We must explain why we must organize and mobilize the strength of all the working class, Black, Brown, white, women and men, young and old against the entire capitalist class.

Because of their disguise, the capitalist liberals are a deadly threat to the working class, and Black people and other oppressed groups in particular. To rely on ourselves, to organize our forces, to build a revolutionary working class party—this is the way to victory. To believe the lies of Carter and the liberals in general, to rely on them and to tie the movement to the capitalists is the road to defeat.

**EXPOSE THE LIBERALS!
BUILD AN INDEPENDENT,
REVOLUTIONARY WORKING
CLASS MOVEMENT!**

Britain's Economy...

Continued from page 15)
in 35 years.

Today, many British workers no longer believe the Labour government will help them. The district of Workington has voted Labour for 58 years. But in a recent election the Labour Party was badly beaten there. In Workington, as in other areas, workers are refusing to go to the polls and support the Labour Party.

The ruling class is beginning to doubt that the Labour Party can hold the workers in line. As a result they are making plans to push Labour out of power and bring in a Conservative Party government. But they are not yet ready to do this.

There are several reasons for this. First, the Conservative Party has serious internal divisions within it. The capitalists want to give the Conservatives time to resolve their differences before they are placed in office again.

Second, the ruling class wants to use the Labour government temporarily to police the Labour Party itself. Within the Labour Party, there is a dispute over the IMF loan and the austerity program attached to it. Knowing that the workers will pressure the trade union leadership to lead a fight against the austerity program, some of the trade union bureaucrats want to get themselves off the hook.

Instead of an austerity program to

stabilize Britain's economy, they are proposing an import control program. They hope that by limiting imports, British industry can be protected from more efficient foreign competitors. With a domestic market assured, the labor leaders argue, no austerity program will be necessary.

In fact, import controls will not solve the problems of British capitalism. They will bring retaliation from other countries and probably bring about the complete collapse of the pound. Despite this, the trade union leaders are trying to appeal to the national chauvinism of the British workers and divert them from a real struggle against the British capitalists.

The British ruling class temporarily wants to use the Labour government to prevent the trade union leaders from building opposition to the austerity program and support for the import control approach. The capitalists know that as long as the Labour government is in office, the trade union leaders will hesitate to wage a big fight on the austerity program, since this would bring down the Labour government. With the Labour government acting as a check on the trade union leadership, the British and international capitalists prefer to allow the Labour Party to stay in office, at least for the moment.

But the capitalists are simultane-

ously using every means in their power to embarrass and discredit the Labour government—short of toppling it. By doing so, they hope to isolate the anti-lean forces in the Labour Party. And they hope to make it easier for the Conservative Party to win a convincing election victory, a victory which could demoralize the working class and lower the will to resist new attacks.

This strategy is already in operation. Over the past few months, the Labour government, which has a bare majority in Parliament, has suffered several embarrassing defeats on procedural votes and minor issues. These votes have made it clear that Labour Prime Minister Callaghan cannot govern effectively and set the stage for his eventual departure.

But Callaghan, the capitalists and their agents in the Conservative Party cooperate when it comes to economic policy. The Conservative Party abstained on a vote for Callaghan's new budget in December. This allowed Callaghan to begin the budget cuts demanded by the IMF. Meanwhile it allowed the Conservative Party to escape responsibility for the cuts. Finally it enabled a few dozen Labour Party representatives to vote against the budget, which gains them a cheap reputation as "militants" but poses no threat to the ruling class strategy. Clearly this vote was a backroom deal designed to protect everybody's reputation, leaving Callaghan free to begin the assault on the workers.

British workers will see many more similar deals and Parliamentary fireworks in the next few months. Their purpose is to hide what's going on and to try to stop the workers from organizing to resist the capitalist attacks.

The British workers have already begun to fight back. Last summer thousands of workers picketed the Trades Union Congress (TUC—the British equivalent of the AFL-CIO) demanding jobs. Last fall British seamen voted to strike against Callaghan's wage guidelines. And, when the 40,000 workers marched to protest public service layoffs in November, they carried signs attacking the IMF—showing that British workers are beginning to understand who their real enemies are.

Finally, last month British miners voted by a three-to-one margin to strike if the government does not grant their demands for early retirement at full pay. (The coal industry in Britain is nationalized and under government control.)

Almost three years ago the miners voted to strike against a Conservative

government's wage control program. Their militancy sparked a wave of support from all British workers, and drove the Conservatives out of office.

Now the miners are ready once again to lead the workers in struggle. A miners' victory would open the gates for workers throughout Britain to fight against the government's austerity programs. It would blow apart the careful plans of the ruling class and its international allies. The miners' contract struggle will be a decisive test of strength between British workers and capitalists.

The British Labour leadership is no friend of the British working class. On the contrary, it is an agent of the British ruling class; it is the major obstacle preventing the workers from organizing themselves to fight the attacks and settling their accounts with their arch-enemy, the British ruling class. Instead of relying on the class-collaborationist Labour Party, the workers must rely on their own strength. They must build their own revolutionary party, resolutely opposed to collaboration with the blood-stained British capitalists, and dedicated to the complete destruction of rotting British and world capitalism. □

Daley...

Continued from page 13)

pushed for him to be Mayor. Frost, president pro-tem of the City Council, should have been next in line for the Mayor's post under Chicago's vague laws of succession. But this move was blocked and Alderman Michael Bilandic was chosen Acting Mayor until the special Mayoral election scheduled for June.

Although Frost was given the post of Chairman of the Finance Committee, a powerful slot, many Black leaders have vowed to fight Bilandic.

The cracks in the machine, visible even before Daley's death, will be widened. The struggle among the politicians is likely to create openings for the struggle of Black people and of all the workers and oppressed. In particular, some of the Black politicians may try to mobilize a mass base to back up their efforts to increase their positions. These politicians are enemies of Black people and all the workers, and they must be carefully watched. But their maneuverings may create openings for mass struggle that revolutionaries can utilize. □

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