

a

4 DE MARZO DE 1977

STACK OVERSIZE

Reconstruct
the
Fourth
International!

TORCH

Newspaper
of the
Revolutionary
Socialist League

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 3 / 25 CENTS

MARCH 15-APRIL 14, 1977

ZIMBABWEAN GUERRILLAS

STEP UP
OFFENSIVE

E.U.

hecho los problemas de más severos. El desempleo tres veces más elevado. Qué es más, hoy Puerto Rico prácticamente todo lo de la economía de E.U. precios altos, a pesar de los salarios bajos de su pueblo. resolver los problemas de las inversiones estadounidenses chupado la sangre vital del país.

La crisis económica mundial—ambos en Puerto Rico y E.U.—la presión aumentada sobre el pueblo para ganar más. La estrategia de los imperialistas para "resolver" la crisis en Puerto Rico es de bajar los salarios y aumentar los impuestos. Ser bueno para los inversionistas de E.U., pero significa poner a la periferia puertorriqueña entre la pared.

La cuestión del emigrar de los puertorriqueños a E.U.—La Liga Socialista Revolucionaria a favor del movimiento de los pueblos a través de los imperialistas. Esto ciertamente a los obreros puertorriqueños busca alivio de la explotación del imperialista en su país al emigrar. No obstante queremos que esta emigración a E.U.—por la explotación económica—sea un intento peligroso del imperialismo estadounidense de dividir a la nación puertorriqueña. Cada año miles de puertorriqueños han sido forzados a ir a E.U. para poder sobrevivir. La excepción de los palestinos y sudafricanos, en ningún otro país del mundo ha habido tan alta emigración de una población en tiempos recientes.

La emigración masiva de los puertorriqueños—más que cualquier otra—demuestra elocuente que el imperialismo de los patrones no les importa un comino el bienestar del pueblo puertorriqueño. Los puertorriqueños no tienen ninguna intención de ir a E.U. a hacer los trabajos y niveles de vida miserables para la supervivencia de la nación.

Los puertorriqueños que emigran a E.U. se encuentran introduciendo a los puertorriqueños más bajos de la economía de E.U. Ellos están predomina en las industrias de servicios y no-organizadas. Son millones despedidos en tiempos de recesión económica—como ahora. El 80 por ciento de todos los puertorriqueños viven en E.U. ganan menos que los que están más abajo del nivel de la población en general. En Puerto Rico, es obvio que los imperialistas

continúa en la página 19)

Two months ago, the Geneva talks, an imperialist maneuver to stab the Zimbabwean liberation movement in the back, collapsed. Since then all signs point to a steady strengthening of the guerrilla struggle to free Zimbabwe from white racist rule.

The Geneva talks fell apart when the African nationalist leaders, under pressure of the growing radicalization of the Zimbabwean masses, refused to accept the imperialist-arranged sellout. This deal would have left power in the hands of the racists during the supposed transition to Black rule.

In the meantime, the guerrilla struggle has been stepped up and the government is increasingly on the defensive.

Growing numbers of Zimbabweans are joining the guerrilla armies, whose bases and training camps are in neighboring countries. During December alone, over 2,000 Zimbabweans, mostly young men and women, crossed into Botswana to join the guerrilla armies.

On January 30, almost 400 students from a missionary school near Botswana also crossed the border to join the guerrillas. With his typical racist arrogance, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith tried to claim that the students were kidnapped. But the students themselves exposed this lie. All but a handful (less than 50) declared they were staying to fight for national liberation.

"We are going to be freedom fighters and we know what that means," a 17-year-old schoolgirl said. "I don't mind killing people because look what Smith does to our people. We want to rule ourselves."

This is just one of many signs that the liberation struggle is surging forward. The racist government admits that there are at least

2,000 freedom fighters operating inside Zimbabwe, and another 10,000 in training outside its borders. Since the government has every reason to keep these figures low, there can be no question but that the armies are significantly larger.

The growing struggle has put the Smith regime on the defensive. The morale of the racist white minority is low and heading lower. Last year, for the first time, more whites left Rhodesia than entered it.

Smith has tried to rally

the white Rhodesians and international racist opinion by claiming that he is defending "Christian civilization." To try to back this up, he accused the guerrillas of the murder of seven white Catholic missionaries. But few people have been taken in by this myth-making. The guerrillas themselves deny responsibility for the killings. They maintain that the killings were committed by Smith's own troops, to try to discredit the liberation movement. Even Catholic missionaries have made clear that regardless of who actually killed the missionaries, it is Smith who is responsible for their deaths.

In desperation, Smith is now pushing a plan which will supposedly bring majority rule in Zimbabwe. Smith's ploy is to come up with a new

(Continued on page 8)



Zimbabwe liberation soldiers.

Malcolm X Memorial March

Death to Apartheid!

CHICAGO—"Remember Malcolm X—Death to Apartheid!" This was the chant that closed the march and rally of the Chicago Solidar-

ity Committee Against Apartheid on February 19. The Malcolm X Memorial March Against Apartheid had been the center of the

Committee's activities for several weeks.

Over 60 SCAA organizers and supporters came out in cold and snowy weather. The

highlights of the day were a rally at the First National Bank and plays performed by the Young Militants Against Apartheid.

The march began at the Federal Building with a picket line. The most popular chant was "All South Africa must be free—Smash the racist bourgeoisie!" The march went down State Street, chanting, passing out leaflets, and selling the Torch. Over 70 copies of the Torch were sold.

The chairperson opened the rally by attacking the First National Bank's \$22 million loan to South Africa this past September. Solidarity statements came from the Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee, the St. Louis Black and White Defense Guard, and the New York and Detroit Solidarity Committees Against Apartheid.

"We are here today to serve notice on the First National Bank that this is the beginning of a movement that will not stop," be-

(Continued on page 18)



Malcolm X Memorial March Against Apartheid, Chicago, February 19.

Roots... see p. 14 sección en español

Only 40% of USWA Membership Casts Ballots

McBride Wins Steel Election

Ed Sadlowski, the liberal reformer, suffered a sharp defeat in the February 8 election for president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Lloyd McBride, candidate of the USWA's "official family," got 325,000 votes to Sadlowski's 238,000. Only about 40 percent of the eligible steelworkers even bothered to vote, because neither candidate offered real solutions to the problems faced by the masses of USWA members.

Despite its militant and democratic rhetoric, Sadlowski's campaign did not catch on among rank and file steelworkers. It had too little struggle and too much bureaucratic conservatism. To win, Sadlowski needed a big turnout and a huge margin of victory in the basic steel locals, particularly in his home District 31 (Chicago-Gary) and his home Local 65 (U.S. Steel South Works). Sadlowski won in these areas, but the turnout was low and he won only by a 3 to 2 margin. In District 31, only 25 percent of the workers came out to vote for him. This was not enough to give him an edge over McBride, whose strength was in the Deep South, Canada, and the small shops, where union staffers have the most influence.

The Sadlowski forces did make some gains in the district director races. James Balanoff, a Sadlowski supporter, won easily in District 31. And Linus Wampler, another Sadlowski supporter, was elected in District 33 (North Central). The District 38 (Far West) election is very close and will certainly be contested. But even with these Sadlowski victories, McBride and his supporters will still firmly control the International Executive Board.

Plenty of steelworkers are disgusted with the Abel-McBride wing of the bureaucracy and the job they have done for the steel companies, but Sadlowski could not organize this discontent. Sadlowski constantly promised "tough leadership" and "tough bar-

fight against the company.

Sadlowski's claim to oppose racial and sexual oppression also turned out to be nothing but talk. In the middle of the campaign, Sadlowski and Balanoff signed an agreement with Inland Steel Company that preserved the



Rank and file steelworkers picket opening of 1977 contract talks.

gaining." But this means organizing, mobilizing steelworkers and preparing for strike action, and Sadlowski refused to do any of this.

During the campaign, he participated in the negotiations with the can companies and sat on the Wage Policy Committee (the union body that sets contract goals and strategy). Sadlowski did not put forward any "tough leadership" here. He did not use his inside position to expose Abel's sell-out plans. And he certainly did nothing to mobilize steelworkers for a mass fight for a decent contract.

Although the steel companies repeatedly attacked Sadlowski supporters and other militants during the campaign, Sadlowski did nothing to defend these militants. The Hughes Tool Company in Texas suspended and fired Sadlowski supporters. Sadlowski would not even put up a picket line and did not organize any kind of

racist departmental seniority system while pretending to end it. This agreement repeats the discriminatory provisions of the Consent Decree negotiated by Abel. Rather than fighting Abel's racist policies, Sadlowski simply carried them out.

The non-struggle nature of Sadlowski's campaign determined the character of his support. Some of Sadlowski's most active supporters were older workers and skilled workers, whose methods of fighting the companies are limited to court suits, motions in union meetings and filing grievances. These very conservative oppositionists include many careerists just looking for a way into union office. The members of various opportunist radical groups inside the union made up another large section of Sadlowski's most active supporters (see accompanying article).

Many unskilled, younger and specially-oppressed steelworkers were

friendly towards Sadlowski. Any opposition to the Abel-McBride leadership automatically strikes a sympathetic response in many steelworkers. Sadlowski's verbal opposition to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), Abel's notorious no-strike deal, helped to build his strength in basic steel. But this support was passive and unenthusiastic. These workers saw that Sadlowski was not going to organize a real fight. They did not work for Sadlowski, and few bothered to vote for him.

Finally, a small but important layer of steelworkers, extending beyond the left-wing groups, consciously rejected Sadlowski because his liberal, no-struggle approach pointed no road forward.

Sadlowski planned his non-struggle campaign very consciously. He hoped to win over a section of the bureaucracy by appeasing it, not fighting it. That is why he placed a hardened bureaucrat like Andrew Kmeč, the president of the staffers' organization, on his slate along with two other staffers. He also urged the Federal Government to come into the union and oversee the election.

Sadlowski's plan obviously did not work. Abel has protected the steel companies, the government and the other union bureaucrats extremely well. With no mass movement threatening them, the steel bosses—along with most top government and USWA bureaucrats—had no reason to abandon up-front conservatives like Abel and McBride for the militant-talking Sadlowski.

Since the Sadlowski campaign failed to organize rank and file steelworkers, McBride will now have a free hand to strengthen the bureaucracy (he wants to eliminate the elections for USWA president), and he will try to ram a sellout contract past the membership later this year. But rank and file steelworkers can learn important lessons from the Sadlowski campaign. The liberal strategy of strangling the workers' struggle by making deals with the bureaucrats, the politicians and the capitalists leads to disaster. If, through this election, militant and revolutionary steelworkers see that we can only rely on our own organized strength and not on any liberal saviors, then we will have gained a powerful weapon in our struggle with the steel companies and the rest of the ruling class. □

The Role of the Left in the Sadlowski Campaign

Ed Sadlowski could not mobilize the masses of rank and file steelworkers to support his campaign, so he lost the election. His active backing came from two main sources: liberal labor and government figures on the one hand, and a variety of leftist groups on the other.

Since very few rank and file steelworkers actively supported Sadlowski, the role played by the leftist groups took on much added weight and importance. In fact, these groups became Sadlowski's most enthusiastic and hard-working campaigners, organizers and publicity-spreaders. The leftists' activity served to give the campaign a false appearance of having militant rank and file support and a fighting orientation.

The Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were among Sadlowski's most loyal and uncritical backers. Both groups refused to raise any serious criticisms of his liberal, no-struggle approach. The CP spent much of its time attacking individuals and organizations who dared

to criticize Sadlowski. The SWP praised Sadlowski's campaign as "the most important development in the labor movement in the last two decades," and openly applauded when Sadlowski called on the bosses' government to come into the steel union to oversee the elections.

Why, since they claim to stand for revolution, did the SWP and CP take this position? In reality, these groups share the same outlook as Sadlowski and the liberals: underneath their rhetoric is the belief that change will come by getting liberal politicians and reformist trade union bureaucrats elected to office and pressuring them to deliver some reforms. The independent activity of rank and file workers has no place in this view; it might upset the liberal politicians or the union tops.

To convince workers to support liberal bureaucrats like Sadlowski, the CP and SWP end up lying to workers, giving them false promises and false hopes about how change is made. This same dead-end strategy led the CP

and the SWP to support I.W. Abel in 1965 when he was the "reformer."

But other supposedly revolutionary organizations supported Sadlowski as well. The support given by the International Socialists (IS) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) was even more dangerous and confusing than that of the CP and SWP. These groups openly admit that Sadlowski isn't much to get excited about, that he has urged workers "not to raise hell but to...confine their struggle to voting for him" (RCP) and that, once elected, he "would probably seek peace with as much of the old machine as possible" (IS). But both the IS and the RCP kept their already low-key criticisms in the background, while—with all their might—they urged steelworkers to support Sadlowski.

The IS and the RCP based their support on the argument that Sadlowski's campaign was building a militant rank and file steelworkers' movement. This growing movement,

(Continued on page 18)

Inside...

- 2 McBride wins steel election Sadlowski & the left
- 3 Andrew Young
- 4 Labor fights J.P. Stevens
- 5 Miners wildcat
- Rehire Kevin Gautreaux
- 6 Free Assata Shakur
- Ohio stays 17 executions
- 7 Gay prisoners
- Walla Walla Brothers
- 9 U.S. attacks Amin
- Amin hysteria covers U.S. role
- 10 How apartheid developed
- 11 Avenge Sharpeville
- 12 Ipi-Tombi shuts down
- Tenants fight evictions
- Cops assault UAW member
- 13 SCAA reports
- 14 Roots
- 20 Los liberales amenazan la revolucion sudafricana

FEATURES

- 5 Labor in Struggle
 - UE militants framed...Sexist firing overturned...UFW & IET sign pact
- 6 Break the Chains
 - Inez Garcia wins acquittal... Narciso/Perez trial underway... Federal prisons ban gay periodicals... In brief
- 8 World in Revolution
 - Eritrea... Nicaragua... Holland... Lebanon
- 16 Letters
 - & A reader writes: "Defend Israel's right to exist"... Curzo replies: "Palestine for the Palestinians"

Anc

Im

Andrew Young
U.S. Ambassador
Nations. His rec
Africa has rais
about his role.
accomplish? Wh
serve? The follo
ten to answer t

By Jac

U.S. imperialism
is coming apart
ed in Angola, Mo
Bissau, Western
ing another seth
guerrilla forces i
boring Namibia
anti-imperialist
white South Afr
South Africa its
political and ec
Africa, the str
masses is once

U.S. T
NEO-COLON

Faced with th
bourgeoisie is
solution to the
Africa." The risi
ary struggle ma
imperialists tha
down the drain i
to the fate of
supremacist Vor
games. In this s
working overtim
image for itself
appear less friend
torships and m
African masses.

U.S. imperialis
cern" for the pl
living under the
yoke is nothing
making a few c
U.S. hopes to p
moderate Black
deal with the in
haps the white
This would give
domination of
"Black face." In
hopes to divide
movement, stem
tide and, ultimate
gle of the Black



Cops arrest civil rig

Andrew Young: Front Man for U.S. Imperialism



Andrew Young in Zanzibar.

Andrew Young is the first Black U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. His recent tour of southern Africa has raised many questions about his role. What is he trying to accomplish? Whose interests does he serve? The following article is written to answer these questions.

By Jack Gregory

U.S. imperialism's empire in Africa is coming apart at the seams. Defeated in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, Western imperialism is suffering another setback at the hands of guerrilla forces in Zimbabwe. In neighboring Namibia (South West Africa), anti-imperialist forces are battling white South Africa's troops. And in South Africa itself, the heart of U.S. political and economic interests in Africa, the struggle of the Black masses is once again on the rise.

U.S. TURNS TO NEO-COLONIALIST TRICKS

Faced with this situation, the U.S. bourgeoisie is searching for a new solution to the "problems of southern Africa." The rising tide of revolutionary struggle makes it clear to the imperialists that their interests will go down the drain if they remain hinged to the fate of the openly white-supremacist Vorster and Smith regimes. In this situation, the U.S. is working overtime to promote a new image for itself—one designed to appear less friendly to the white dictatorships and more friendly to the African masses.

U.S. imperialism's new-found "concern" for the plight of Black Africans living under the racist, colonialist yoke is nothing but a trick. By making a few concessions now, the U.S. hopes to persuade a layer of moderate Black "leaders" to strike a deal with the imperialists (and perhaps the white colonialists as well). This would give U.S. imperialist domination of southern Africa a "Black face." In this way, the U.S. hopes to divide and weaken the mass movement, stem the revolutionary tide and, ultimately, smash the struggle of the Black masses to reclaim

southern Africa for themselves.

This is the classic imperialist strategy of "neo-colonialism." Outright oppression and subjugation of a people is replaced with a new form of rule, less direct and more subtle, but equally imperialist. Imperialism's only loyalty is to power and profit. In southern Africa this means that the U.S. will not hesitate to ditch Vorster and Smith, if by doing so it can find new agents to ensure the rule of the dollar over the oppressed workers of Zimbabwe and South Africa.

To have any hopes of putting this neo-colonialist fraud over on the masses of Black Africans, the U.S. must change its own image in Africa. For years the U.S. has openly backed the racist Rhodesian and South African colonialists. Southern African Blacks, particularly their vanguard layers, are well aware that the U.S. has always in the past tied its interests directly to the survival of the white minority regimes. The question facing the imperialists is: how to create the illusion of change? This is the role the U.S. bourgeoisie has assigned to Andrew Young.

ENTER ANDREW YOUNG

What better way to put a new face on reactionary U.S. imperialism than to make its spokesman at the U.N. a Black man? What better way to sell a bill of goods about a "New America" to the people dominated and oppressed by U.S. imperialism than to send a Black politician, with a reputation as a veteran of the U.S. civil rights movement, on tours through Africa and Asia? What better hope for having anyone believe U.S. expressions of "profound concern for the plight of Black Africans" than to have them come out of the mouth of a Black man?

Andrew Young's job, simply put, is to defend U.S. imperialism's domination of the world's peoples. And he is well-suited for the job—he is a veteran of neo-colonialism as applied to the U.S. and has served the U.S. capitalists well for many years. This is the

real face of Andrew Young. To see this we must take a look at the civil rights movement of the '50s and '60s, particularly the role played by Andrew Young.

The civil rights movement expressed the intense desires of the Black masses in the South to destroy the system which forcibly kept them on the bottom economically and socially. Beginning in the 1950s, the pent-up anger of the masses burst out in a series of actions throughout the South. This movement surged for over 15 years and involved millions of Black Americans.

The leadership of the movement, however, came largely from the small Black middle and upper class. Since this layer already had a degree of economic well-being, it was mainly interested in ending social discrimination and winning legal rights.

The goal of the Black masses—economic as well as social equality—could not and certainly would not be met by the capitalist system, which requires the exploitation and oppression of the Black masses. But the desire of the Black upper class, including the civil rights leadership, for legal equality and an easing of social discrimination among the Black upper layers certainly could be met by capitalism. Indeed, a general absence of legal segregation existed side by side with the severe oppression of Blacks in the North.

STRATEGY OF THE LIBERALS

White liberals, who understood this, were ready to support the civil rights movement as long as it was "respectable" and restricted itself to demands in harmony with capitalism. These liberals recognized that a carefully controlled civil rights movement could be used to "clean up" the South, and thus improve the U.S. image abroad. In the mid-'50s, the U.S. was locked in a "cold war" with the Russians, during which it masked its struggle for world domination behind sweet phrases about "freedom and democracy." The racist treatment of Blacks throughout the U.S. and especially in the South exposed this lie. To eliminate this unnecessary hindrance, the ruling class liberals were prepared to make concessions to and build an alliance with the moderate civil rights leadership.

The civil rights leadership, in turn, used the masses as a battering ram to achieve their own narrow goals. At the same time, they helped restrict the

masses' struggle to reformist goals, tied the movement to the Democratic Party and condemned all violence by Blacks—even when committed in self-defense.

When the great ghetto uprisings of the mid-'60s took place, the class line between the needs of the masses and the leadership's ties to the ruling class became clear. Northern Blacks, inspired by the movement in the South, began to express their own demands. But, unlike their Southern sisters and brothers, Blacks in the North already had many formal legal rights and knew how little they meant. Their protests demanded immediate and drastic overhaul of the whole racist social system. They needed decent jobs, housing and schools. These were demands which even post-war America could not grant. In other words, the demands of the Black masses in the North came into conflict with capitalism itself.

MODERATE LEADERS ATTACK REBELLIONS

The ghetto uprisings in the mid-'60s were a watershed in the Black liberation movement. The white liberals of the ruling class got cold feet. It was one thing to have non-violent marches to end discrimination and segregation. It was another thing to have Molotov-cocktail-throwing militants threatening the heartland of capitalist America.

At the bidding of the white liberals, the moderate civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and Martin Luther King repudiated the Black uprisings and supported the use of U.S. troops to quell them. King, for example, who was by no means the most moderate of the moderates, condemned the 1965 ghetto uprising in Watts, Los Angeles, and openly declared his support for the use of U.S. troops to suppress it. Like most advocates of non-violence, King condemned only the violence of the oppressed, not that of the oppressors.

At this time, the radical elements of the civil rights movements broke with the moderates and took up a more radical position. The radicals included an extreme left wing led by the Black Panther Party, which organized self-defense guards and identified capitalism as the cause of racism and the enemy to be overthrown.

Shaken by the ghetto rebellions, frightened by the revolutionary potential of the urban Black masses, the

(Continued on page 15)



Cops arrest civil rights workers in Selma, Alabama, voter registration drive.

Sadlowski. Any op-
bel-McBride leader-
y strikes a sympa-
many steelworkers.
il opposition to the
otiating Agreement
notorious no-strike
ild his strength in
is support was pas-
sastic. These work-
ski was not going
fight. They did not
i, and few bothered

but important layer
tending beyond the
onsciously rejected
e his liberal, no-
ointed no road for-

ed his non-struggle
sciously. He hoped
n of the bureaucrat-
it, not fighting it.
ced a hardened bu-
aw Kmec, the presi-
en's organization,
with two other staf-
l the Federal Gov-
into the union and
n.

obviously did not
protected the steel
vernment and the
aocrats extremely
movement threat-
steel bosses—along
riment and USWA
no reason to aban-
servatives like Abel
he militant-talking

ski campaign failed
d file steelworkers,
have a free hand to
eaucracy (he wants
ections for USWA
will try to ram a
st the membership
rank and file steel-
important lessons
campaign. The lib-
rangling the work-
king deals with the
politicians and the
to disaster. If,
ion, militant and
workers see that we
our own organized
on any liberal sav-
ve gained a power-
struggle with the
the rest of the ul-

upport I.W. Abel in
the "reformer."
edly revolutionary
orted Sadlowski as
given by the Inter-
(IS) and the Revo-
ist Party (RCP)
erous and confus-
e CP and SWP.
y admit that Sad-
to get excited
rged workers "not
co...confine their
or him" (RCP) and
e "would probably
much of the old
e" (IS). But both
kept their already
n the background,
their might—they
to support Sad-

RCP based their
gment that Sad-
was building a
file steelworkers'
owing movement,
mued on page 13)

Organize the Unorganized!

LABOR FIGHTS J.P. STEVENS

By Bob Anderson

Textiles is king in the southern United States. The cotton mills in the South employ 589,000 workers, far more than any other industry in the region. These textile workers are the lowest-paid industrial workers in the country, and fewer than 10 percent have any kind of union representation. The fight to organize textile workers is key to organizing the entire open-shop territory of the South. Southern textile workers have fought heroically for union organization time and again since the 1920s. But the textile companies have used every weapon at their disposal to defeat these drives. The textile bosses



Workers at Oneita Knitting Co. defeated Southern textile bosses in 6-month strike, 1973.

wanted to make sure they would have cheap labor and no trade unions—this is what brought them to the South in the first place. And, for their part, the leaders of the trade union movement have refused to wage the kind of struggle necessary to break the grip of the southern bosses and establish the unions in the region.

Starting in 1963, the AFL-CIO and the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) decided to concentrate their organizing efforts on J.P. Stevens, the second-largest textile company in the U.S. Stevens employs over 44,000 workers in 85 plants; most are in North Carolina and South Carolina. Since the drive began, Stevens has established itself as the most vicious, anti-union company in the U.S., and the union has yet to win one contract at a Stevens plant.

The drive to organize Stevens, however, got new life in 1976. The TWUA merged with the other major union in the industry, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to form the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). The 500,000 member ACTWU has stepped up its organizing efforts at Stevens, and the workers are responding. Nearly every trade union in the country has pledged to give some kind of support to the struggle at Stevens.

If you work at Stevens, you can expect to make \$2.50 to \$3.00 per hour, with no benefits beyond that. Besides paying those who do the work barely enough to stay alive, Stevens literally gets away with murder inside the mills. The workers have no defense against unsafe conditions. The government sets inadequate minimum safety standards—and then does nothing to enforce them. The noise from the huge clattering looms in the Stevens plants is 20 times higher than the law allows.

Federal safety inspectors estimate that over 50 percent of Stevens' workers will suffer "severe hearing loss" after doing time in the mills.

One hundred thousand textile workers in the U.S. have Byssinosis (brown lung disease), caused by constantly inhaling cotton dust and fibers. Brown lung kills you slowly—your lungs fill up and you suffocate. The disease is similar in its horrible effects to black lung, which kills thousands of coal miners every year. At Stevens, the cotton dust levels are three times higher than the totally inadequate "minimum national safety standard." One out of three Stevens workers will develop brown lung.

The textile bosses have always used

a high percentage of women workers to provide the cheap labor, the long hours, the sweat and the blood which have built the textile empire in the South. In some Southern mills, women make up over 80 percent of the workforce. Throughout the industry, the companies have designated the lowest paying, unskilled jobs as "women's work," and have consistently segregated women in those jobs.

Women at J.P. Stevens, like the rest of the workers in nearly every Southern mill, have no seniority rights. This means that women cannot bid for better jobs when they open up, and seldom advance from the worst jobs in the mills. When the layoffs come, the women at Stevens are the first to go, no matter how many years they have worked in the mills. Faced with these conditions, women workers have been in the front lines of nearly every battle to organize the textile mills. This continues at J.P. Stevens today, where women workers are among the most active and determined fighters in support of the organizing drive.

Black workers now make up 30 to 40 percent of the workforce at Stevens, and about 20 percent of the workforce in Southern textiles as a whole. Up until the 1950s, however, Black workers were almost totally excluded from Southern textiles—it was "for whites only." The mill owners tried to keep the workforce docile by playing on fears that Black workers were standing outside ready to take over the textile industry. The white bosses demanded loyalty and subservience from the white workers in order to preserve white privileges and keep Blacks out of the industry.

In recent years, Black workers have fought their way into Southern textiles, but the bosses continue to use

racism as their main weapon for dividing the workforce and attacking the union organizing drive.

Black workers at Stevens, like women workers, are kept in the worst jobs. They average \$670 per year less than white textile workers. Black workers are the single strongest force supporting the fight for union representation.

THE NLRB RUN-AROUND

The Stevens workers have fought back against these conditions by supporting the union organizing drive. Stevens has illegally fired 289 workers in the past few years for supporting the union. These workers have been rehired through National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) hearings and court cases, usually three or four years after they were fired. Many other workers have undoubtedly been fired for the same reason, but couldn't go through years and years of hearings in order to get their jobs back.

The NLRB claims to be the "workers' friend," but Stevens has skillfully used the NLRB to keep out the union. The NLRB hearings drag on forever, and Stevens uses the time to drive more union supporters out of the mills and to break up pro-union sentiment. After four or five years of hearings, Stevens is quite willing to pay some fines or come across with back pay: by that time the union has been defeated. The bosses know that this is much cheaper than the costs of a successful union drive.

The NLRB run-around is one of Stevens' most useful weapons against the union, but they have others. In 1968, the TWUA lost an election at the Stevens plant in Statesboro, Georgia, but the NLRB found so much law-breaking on the part of the company that it overturned the election and ordered Stevens to bargain with TWUA. Stevens refused to bargain seriously and hearings went on until 1975, when the company closed the Statesboro plant rather than allow the union to represent the workers.

The TWUA finally won its first major victory in 1974, when 3,600 workers at seven Stevens mills in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, voted for union representation. The company used many weapons in its attempt to defeat the union, but the most vicious attack was directed at Black workers, who were the most consistent supporters of the union.

BOSSSES PUSH RACISM

Right before the elections, the company put pictures of the so-called Zebra murders in San Francisco on all the plant bulletin boards. (Following the murders of several white people in San Francisco, police had opened a racist anti-Black crusade in that city, charging that Black people were organizing to "slaughter" the whites.) Stevens put photographs of Black "suspects" next to pictures of the whites who had been killed. Under the photographs, the Stevens bosses put up big signs saying: "Would you want this to happen here?"

The majority of the workers in the mills refused to swallow the bosses' racist filth and voted in the union. But today, two and one-half years after the election victory, workers at Roanoke Rapids still don't have a union contract. Stevens officials refuse to bar-

gain seriously and hope they can destroy the union by never signing a contract.

ACTWU STRATEGY

President Murray H. Finley and the other leaders of the ACTWU have been forced to admit that the strategy of fighting through the NLRB has been a failure. The ACTWU bureaucrats are now following a new organizing strategy.

On the one hand, the union has called for a consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens products. All workers should support this boycott. But they must have no illusions in it. When it is used to back up a strike or in-plant actions, calling on the public to refuse to buy certain products can sometimes be a useful secondary weapon. But a consumer boycott—by itself—will never build the union at Stevens.

The other side of the ACTWU and AFL-CIO strategy is to call on the Democratic Party and the U.S. Congress to pass new legislation more favorable to union organizing efforts. Specifically, the trade union leaders are making a big push for reforming the NLRB to allow greater fines against anti-union companies like Stevens and to speed up the union election process. These aims too should be supported, but they will not organize unions.

In fact, the bureaucrats' new strategy isn't much different from their old one. Despite a little militant talk, George Meany, Murray Finley and the rest of the reformist union leaders are still begging the Democratic Party and various government boards to do the job of organizing Stevens' workers. The Democratic Party and a consumer boycott will never defeat J.P. Stevens. The union bureaucrats refuse to mobilize the only force that can defeat J.P. Stevens—the Stevens workers themselves and their allies in the rest of the working class.

The leaders of the ACTWU and the
(Continued on page 18)



Thousands picketed March 1 in New York City to support union drive at J.P. Stevens.

Thou

D



In early March, this country's 160 were out in wild newspapers did no company and union keep the strikes fr walkouts began at ciated Coal Corp southern West Vir 4. The company t miner without re rights and 200 min job.



UE Militants

A Boston judge r Polaski, a member (UE) Local 262, to in the bitter eight-n Electronics plant in Polaski, who is show convicted of throwi windshield of a scal picket line. Another got two years in jail.

During the strike 1976, the Cambion l to bring scabs into repeatedly attacke most of whom were back and maintaine strike ended in defe strike leaders in jail the union at the Car organizing efforts t Many unions in the convictions and den dropped.

In a related case, and Tony Suarez, a Brotherhood of Elec in Springfield, Mass Markley and Suarez to blow up scab tru Compressor strike i entire case is base undercover agent fr Firearms Bureau, w

Workers are uniti government stop th bosses' undercover s

Thousands of Miners Wildcat

Death Toll Mounts in Coal Fields



In early March, over one-fourth of this country's 160,000 coal miners were out in wildcat strikes. Most newspapers did not report them, as company and union officials tried to keep the strikes from spreading. The walkouts began at an Eastern Associated Coal Corporation mine in southern West Virginia on February 4. The company tried to promote a miner without regard to seniority rights and 200 miners walked off the job.

A few days later, workers at another Eastern Associated mine in the same area joined the strike when a foreman threatened to fire a miner for not having a doctor's note to cover his sick leave. Previously, miners could take sick leave on request without a doctor's signature. Every miner on the job downed tools to protest the attempted firing. Roving picket lines quickly spread the strike and by the end of February over 15,000 West Virginia miners had stopped working.

Strikes over different issues broke out at the same time in other states. Thousands of Illinois miners struck when one company tried to fire a miner for absenteeism. Meanwhile, in western Pennsylvania, another company expelled a union safety committee in the middle of a mine inspection. The miners immediately refused to dig any more coal and shut down the site.

As the wildcats spread, Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), denounced the striking workers. Miller announced to the press: "Our members want to work," and he went on to claim that the strikers had all "been forced off their jobs by roving pickets." In every one of the many wildcat strikes since he was elected in 1972, Miller has sided with the coal companies against the miners. The coal companies and Miller are determined to maintain coal production and keep up

the profits, no matter what the costs to working miners.

The costs are death. While the wildcat strike was spreading across the coal fields, nine miners were dying in Tower City, Pennsylvania. On March 1, a wall of water flooded a mine shaft in this eastern Pennsylvania town. Three miners were seriously injured. Rescue teams recovered the bodies of four miners a few days later and the flooded mine shaft will be a tomb for the five other miners who are still

missing. One miner survived the flood by hanging onto a timber above the water—he spent five days trapped in the shaft waiting for other miners to reach him.

The coal companies go on making their huge profits, and miners' families go on burying their dead. In the first seven working days of 1977, seven coal miners were killed on the job in the U.S. coal fields. The nine Tower City miners are now added to the rising toll for the new year. In 1976, 141 miners were killed and well over 10,000 coal miners suffered disabling injuries.

The death and injury tolls are on the rise in the coal fields, but so is the struggle of rank and file coal miners. The wildcat strikes are winding down as we go to press, but it is important for the fight to continue. □

Rehire Kevin Gautreaux

By a Worker Correspondent,
UAW Local 551

Kevin Gautreaux, a young Black autoworker, is the latest victim of Ford Motor Company's terror tactics. On November 5, 1976, a Chicago Assembly plant cop said Kevin "looked like" some guy who had run through the parking lot the night before with a stolen radio. That hearsay evidence was enough for plant management. On November 8, Ford fired Kevin. No guard was present at the hearing. No evidence (like the radio) was produced.

Kevin's grievance will go to the UAW-Ford Umpire. But the griev-

ance procedure is too slow. Ford is counting on this—no matter what the outcome. Ford wants to scare union members into submission with this frame-up. Ford could have used the same charges against any of them!

Chicago Assembly plant workers began to fight back in February. Hundreds signed a petition. It demanded Kevin's reinstatement with full back pay. On February 20, workers organized an official union committee to build support for Kevin's reinstatement.

These Ford workers can teach the company a lesson: the organized force of the workers can stop the frame-ups once and for all. □

LABOR IN STRUGGLE



UE Militants Face Frame-Up

A Boston judge recently sentenced Sandi Polaski, a member of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 262, to five years in prison for her part in the bitter eight-month strike at the Cambion Electronics plant in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Polaski, who is shop chairwoman at Cambion, was convicted of throwing a rock through the windshield of a scab car which was crossing the picket line. Another strike supporter, Mark Brier, got two years in jail for allegedly assaulting a cop.

During the strike, which ended in November 1976, the Cambion bosses hired off-duty city cops to bring scabs into the plant. The police repeatedly attacked the 270 striking workers, most of whom were women. The workers fought back and maintained their picket lines, but the strike ended in defeat. By throwing two of the strike leaders in jail, the bosses hope to destroy the union at the Cambion plant and slow down UE organizing efforts throughout the Northeast. Many unions in the area are protesting the convictions and demanding that the charges be dropped.

In a related case, Alex Markley, a UE organizer, and Tony Soares, a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, will go on trial in Springfield, Massachusetts, on March 14. Markley and Soares are charged with conspiring to blow up scab trucks during the Worthington Compressor strike in 1975. The government's entire case is based on the testimony of an undercover agent from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau, who posed as a strike supporter.

Workers are uniting to demand that the government stop the frame-up and to drive the bosses' undercover spies out of the labor

movement. Over 400 workers and youth marched through the streets of Springfield on March 5 in support of Markley and Soares.

Workers Overturn Sexist Firing

On March 1, Iris Rivera, a Chicago secretary at the State Appellate Defender's office, won her job back after having been fired for refusing to make coffee. Rivera and other women led an active struggle against the firing, an obvious case of sex discrimination.

On January 25, Rivera's boss, James Geis, had posted a memo stating that secretaries would start making coffee for the attorneys and other employees in the office. Previously only employees who drank coffee made it. Since Rivera doesn't drink coffee, she refused. She stated that "ordering secretaries to fix coffee is carrying the role of homemaker too far."

The next day, the Defender's office fired Rivera. But Rivera fought back. She filed a sex discrimination complaint with the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission. On February 4, 50 secretaries from the Chicago area demonstrated at Rivera's office. The secretaries were supported by Women Employed, and this militant action forced the state to rehire Rivera.

The ruling class in this country has always tried to segregate women in the lowest-paying unskilled jobs. They define certain jobs as "women's work": secretaries, domestic workers, waitresses, etc. These jobs are often non-union and the bosses always figure that they can get away with adding on extra tasks and more work.

Women in Chicago organized to fight this sexist discrimination and won Rivera's job back. This is a small but real victory for women workers and all working people.

UFW and IBT Sign Pact

On March 10, the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) reached an agreement designed to end ten years of bitter jurisdictional disputes in California. The new agreement gives the UFW jurisdiction over workers covered by the Agricultural Labor Relations Act in California, while the IBT will have jurisdiction over workers covered by the National Labor Relations Act. This means the IBT has pledged it will no longer try to organize workers where the employer is primarily involved in farming.

At least twice before the two unions tried unsuccessfully to resolve their disputes. After many years of militant organizing efforts by the UFW, the IBT came into the fields in the late 1960s and tried to replace the UFW by signing sweetheart contracts with the growers. In many cases IBT organizers (backed by the growers) hired thugs to attack UFW supporters in their attempts to drive the UFW out of the fields.

But most farmworkers continued to support the UFW. The leaders of the IBT have won a well-deserved reputation for being friends of the growers and enemies of the farmworkers.

Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the IBT, and Cesar Chavez, president of the UFW, met to sign the new agreement. Chavez claims the UFW will quickly gain 10,000 to 12,000 new members who are currently covered by IBT contracts. If the agreement holds and the fighting between the UFW and the IBT ends, rank and file farmworkers should be in a better position to build their struggle against the California growers.

—BA and LL



Inez García Wins Acquittal

On March 4, Inez García won acquittal in her second trial. García was charged with second-degree murder because she defended herself from rapists. As the verdict was read, the courtroom filled with cheers. Inez García, a woman of Cuban and Puerto Rican descent, was convicted in a first trial, but this was overturned by the California Court of Appeal in December 1975.

On March 19, 1974, Luis Castillo raped Inez García while 300-pound Miguel Jimenez held her down. Enraged by this assault, she found a rifle and went after her attackers. When García confronted them, Jimenez threw a knife at her. She blew him away. Unfortunately, she was not able to do the same to Castillo.

The state, that great defender of women's rights, jumped right in—on the side of the rapists. They arrested García.

The first trial was a farce. The bourgeois press took the side of Castillo and denied there had been a rape. The judge was so busy with the frame-up that he misinstructed the jury. In the second trial, Castillo took the Fifth Amendment when asked if he had raped García. And so the press finally "discovered" that there was a rape.

García's victory is a victory for all women. It shows that the state had no right to try García in the first place. Women have the right to control their own bodies. And the state has no right to come down on women who fight back against rapist thugs.

Narciso/Perez Trial Underway

The trial of Filipina "P.I." Narciso and Leonie Perez opened on March 1. The two Filipino nurses are supposedly responsible for a wave of respiratory arrests (breathing failures) at the Ann Arbor Veteran's Administration (VA) Hospital in July 1975. Thirteen people died. The deaths were attributed to a strong muscle relaxant, Pavulon. Nurses do not administer this drug.

On February 1, the state trimmed down its charges against Narciso and Perez. They had been charged with five counts of murder, 10 counts of attempted murder, and conspiracy to commit murder. Now they are charged with two counts of murder and eight counts of attempted murder. The conspiracy charge still stands.

The prosecution has made ridiculous claims that Narciso and Perez are part of a broader conspiracy. In fact, one key government witness told a psychiatrist that "1,800 Filipino nurses here are engaged in an elaborate plot to kill American veterans"!!! No other "conspirators" have been charged, however.

The prosecution is asserting that the motive for the crime is that Narciso and Perez felt overworked! With this kind of logic the majority of working people in this country could have been indicted for the murders. This is all the prosecution's case adds up to—appeals to white American chauvinism with talk of a Filipino "conspiracy," and overwork as a motive for murder.

FLASH—The March 13 Detroit Free Press reports that a nursing supervisor admitted responsibility for the patient poisonings. The article says the supervisor, Mrs. Jakim, admitted her guilt to her psychiatrist and others just before she committed suicide last month. It is not yet known whether the state will continue its attempt to frame Narciso and Perez.

Federal Prisons Ban Gay Periodicals

In December, Norman Carlson, Director of U.S. prisons, banned all gay periodicals from federal prisons. The reason given for this was that administrators have a hard time preventing prisoner-on-prisoner violence. Banning gay publications is supposed to be a "cure" for rape in the prisons.

This is a lie. Rape in the prisons is not promoted by gay publications. Rape in the prisons is the result of an inhuman policy which allows no prisoner, gay or straight, any sexual expression. Rape in the prisons is also the result of the administrators' policy of placing sadists and completely brainwashed, chauvinist thugs in the general prison population.

Gay publications are being banned because they are organizing tools for gay prisoners. They have also raised the consciousness of the prison population in general. The prison authorities want gays and all prisoners to remain unorganized. That is why the ban on gay publications. Finally, Carlson's ban is an attack on all prisoners. This is one more attempt by prison administrators to limit prisoners' right to read whatever they want.

In Brief . . .

On February 11, Susan Saxe, a revolutionary feminist who is a lesbian, received a second prison sentence. This time, she got 10 years for her participation in the 1970 robbery of a savings and loan association in Philadelphia. This new sentence will be served concurrently with the sentence she received in January, when she was given 12 to 14 years for a Boston bank robbery. Saxe will be eligible for parole in six years.

As we go to press, the Torch received word that prisoners at the Connecticut Correctional Institution at Somers will hold a three-day hunger-strike beginning on March 14. The prisoners are protesting rotten conditions at the prison. The Torch will report the full details next month.

—FH

State Frames Black Activist

Free Assata Shakur

On February 15, the trial of Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) began in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Shakur, a former Black Panther Party member, is charged with the murder of one of her own companions and a state trooper. She is also charged with the wounding of another trooper.

These charges stem from a May 2, 1973, shootout on the New Jersey Turnpike. State troopers attacked a car carrying Assata Shakur, Zayd Shakur and Sundiata Acoli (Clark Squire). During the attack, the cops murdered Zayd Shakur. But the assassination attempt didn't come off as smoothly as the troopers hoped. One trooper was killed and a second, James Harper, was wounded.

Acoli's trial was severed from Shakur's, and took place in 1974. Despite the absence of any evidence that Acoli shot anyone, he was railroaded—sentenced to life plus 30 years in prison. He is now in the behavior modification unit at Trenton State Prison.

Shakur, found guilty of nothing, sat in prison for almost four years. And while she awaited trial for the shootout, the state charged her with every other crime that it could find where a Black woman might have been in-

involved. Shakur went through three separate trials before this one—two for bank robberies and one for kidnapping. Each time the state's case fell apart. Each time Shakur was acquitted.

This time is no different. The state has no case. The tests that were run on the guns found at the shootout and on Shakur's hands prove that she fired no gun. But the state doesn't give a damn about the facts—it just wants to railroad Assata Shakur to jail for life.

This frame-up will be tried by a jury that is all white. Nearly every member of this jury has told Criminal Court Judge Appleby that they believe Shakur is guilty! It is in front of a "jury of peers" of this type that the state will try to prove its case.

And what does this case consist of? Two things—state trooper Harper's phony story that Shakur fired the first shot and her alleged membership in the Black Liberation Army (BLA).

The state defines the purpose of the BLA as "cop-killing." By defining the BLA this way, the rulers push the same kind of racism they pushed against the Black Panther Party. Whenever Black people form an organization to struggle against their oppression, they are not considered political fighters by the ruling class; instead they are labelled "murderers."

Two months after Shakur was arrested she answered these racist charges. Her words are just as true today: "They call us bandits, but it is not us who are robbing Africa, Asia and Latin America of their natural resources and freedom while the people are sick and starving. The rulers of this country and their flunkies have committed some of the most brutal, vicious crimes in history. They are the bandits. They are the murderers. And they should be treated as such."

This trial is not about murder. And none of the previous trials Shakur

Ohio Court Stays 17 Executions

The following article is written by Carl Osborne, a prisoner on death row in Lucasville, Ohio. Osborne—charged with the December 1974 kidnap-murder of Hermalee Ross—is not guilty. While struggling to prove his own innocence, Osborne has also been fighting to keep the ruling class from murdering other brothers and sisters on death row. Below, Osborne reports on the legal side of this battle.

On March 2, the Ohio Supreme Court granted 17 persons on death row in Ohio stays of execution. These stays block any executions in the state pending the outcome of the appeal of Carl Osborne, Jr. The stays also grant the persons leave to appeal to the United States Supreme Court. As of this time the U.S. Supreme Court has voiced no decision concerning the legality of Ohio's death penalty.

Osborne's case has received statewide attention and the American Civil Liberties Union has entered his appeal proceedings. The ACLU filed an additional brief in Osborne's behalf late last year, asking the court to reverse Osborne's conviction because of lack of substantial evidence to prove his guilt; to find the Ohio death penalty unconstitutional; and to grant stays of execution to the Ohio death row inmates who had previously received a date to be executed, pending the outcome of Osborne's appeal.

Although the court has failed to act on any of the other motions, they did grant the request to stay executions. Osborne's mother, Alberta, is one of the persons who received a stay of execution as a result of the decision. A final decision is due later this month in Osborne's case. □

(Send contributions for Carl Osborne's appeal to: Carl T. Wolfram, Atty., IBM Building, Suite 1060, 140 East Town St., Columbus, O. 43215.)



Assata Shakur.

went through were about crimes. All of these attempted railroads have only one purpose—to beat down the revolutionary struggle of the working and oppressed people. That's why Malcolm X and George Jackson were murdered, and that's why Assata Shakur is being railroaded.

But frame-up trials and assassinations do not stop people from fighting their oppression. And racist trials do not stop people from fighting the capitalist system that fosters that racism. We will continue to build a movement to smash capitalism. One part of building that movement is the fight for the freedom of Acoli and Shakur. □

Gay

By Ca
Washingt

In prison th
the Convict C
that is often
Good and bac
vict and his c
is said and do
in essence a
"invented" by
In this code
"classes," so
tions of indivi
begin from t
vict is consid
a loner, tough
not deal with
has to, and he
of the entire l
money, sex, w
into it. He is
the man is
inventor of it

The admini
ington State
Walla have st
campaign. A le
Walla Walla p
administration
soners at Wall
a plot to kill
prison and ste

The adminis
ly every pris
Intensive Sect
member of the
gade, a politica
based in Seatt
stration is also
gade is being
West Coast let

All this is a
prisoners not n
Jackson Brigs
longer exists!
gade" is supp
the fictitious p

Armed with t
of the prison
already police-s
the prison. Bot

Shakur

went through three tests that were run as and one for kidnap—the state's case fell on Shakur was ac-

different. The state tests that were run at the shootout and ends prove that she at the state doesn't at the facts—it just d Assata Shakur to

will be tried by a jury. Nearly every member told Criminal Court that they believe it is in front of a "justice" type that the state its case.

this case consist of? te trooper Harper's Shakur fired the first aged membership in tion Army (BLA). es the purpose of the ng." By defining the the rulers push the acism they pushed ck Panther Party. t people form an struggle against their are not considered by the ruling class; abelled "murderers." after Shakur was ar- ed these racist char- e just as true today: dits, but it is not us Africa, Asia and Lat- air natural resources a the people are sick e rulers of this coun- cies have committed ost brutal, vicious e. They are the ban- he murderers. And ated as such."

about murder. And rious trials Shakur



e about crimes. All railroads have only eat down the revolu- of the working and That's why Malcolm on was murdered, Assata Shakur is

als and assassina- people from fight- n. And racist trials e from fighting the that fosters that continue to build a sh capitalism. One at movement is the dom of Acoli and

Gay Prisoners: Oppressed by Brutal System

By Carl Harp #126516
Washington State Penitentiary,
Walla Walla

In prison there is a code, known as the Convict Code. It runs a society that is often cruel and mostly cold. Good and bad can be said of the convict and his code, but when the truth is said and done one realizes that it is in essence a code of survival not "invented" by the convict.

In this code, this society, there are "classes," so to speak, or classifications of individuals and groups. They begin from the top down. The convict is considered solid, reliable, often a loner, tough and masculine. He does not deal with the man except when he has to, and he is the mover and runner of the entire life of the prison. Drugs, money, sex, whatever, he is up on it or into it. He is the enforcer of the code, the man is the maintainer and inventor of it.

Between the convict and the next "class" are various individuals, and groups of men, from straight loners to radicals and revolutionaries. These individuals and groups are growing. They obey the code for security reasons only, and not for all the various other reasons it is used in the prison.

From here we find the following "classes"—snakes, dings, nuts, jail house thieves, punks and rats.

Snakes are dopers, pill freaks. They prey on the weak and now and then cross each other behind drugs. The man feeds them and allows them rope to play with, using them to hang all the prisoners. Dope busts, dope related crimes in prison, security controls come from them mostly but not entirely.

The dings, nuts and jail house thieves speak for themselves. The rats are the lowest on the scale and are killed at every opportunity.

Next to the rats, who deserve their fate, no individuals or groups are more oppressed and exploited than the punk "class." None are so cruelly treated and tortured like this "class" by their own fellow prisoners and the man.

A punk, in jail house language, is anyone who allows others to sexually use him, or anyone "turned out" in jail or prison (raped). There is a difference between a punk and a gay individual in some prisons, but all are at the mercy of the prisoners and the guards.

Gays live in constant terror and physical, mental and spiritual pain in prison. They are beaten, robbed and raped from the moment they enter prison until they leave. Twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year, they are used, abused and often killed because they are gay.

They are bought, sold, traded or given away without notice. They are pimped often unmercifully to other prisoners, and if the price is right anything can be done to the gay, even pleasure-killing him.

They are used to ride infractions, or to find "packers." (Guards who will try for sexual favors with homosexuals are set up to bring dope or other things in.)

The gay also lives in fear of the guards, who will use and abuse him like the prisoners. It is often heard that guards have "kids" too.

The administration hinders and harasses them unmercifully, with "good time" losses, segregation or isolation. Many times they are "modified" in mental units. Suicides are by the majority from gays; insanity is no escape or relief.

The parole board gives them nothing unless they change their act. And if they can't, that's their problem. Whether you're a punk or a gay makes no difference. To them you are a homosexual and "sick" and a disrupting element in the institution.

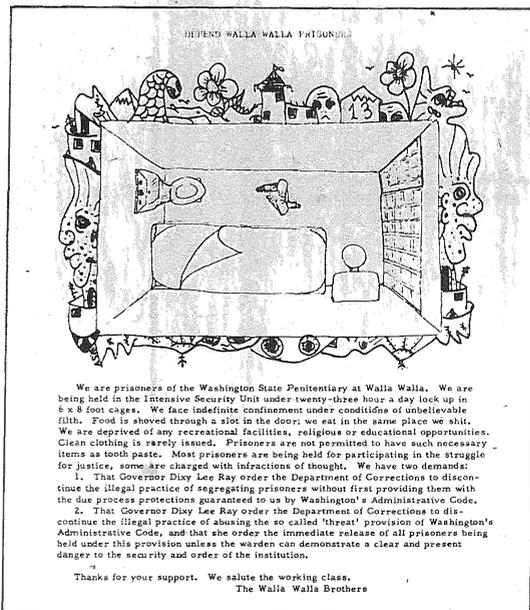
Gays are fucked, often repeatedly, by force or by sale. The price of a punk is anything the "daddy" wants—money, smokes, another punk, a radio, etc.

The only way to survive in prison is to find a "daddy," a convict to protect you so you're not beaten or fucked to death the first week you are here. With the daddy the gay is the "old lady" and she cleans house and services her man, or his friends, etc.

The daddy holds the gay's life in his hands, and to live, gays will do

(Continued on page 15)

Support the Walla Walla Brothers!



We are prisoners of the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. We are being held in the Intensive Security Unit under twenty-three hour a day lock up in 6 x 8 foot cages. We face indefinite confinement under conditions of unbelievable filth. Food is shoveled through a slot in the door; we eat in the same place we shit. We are deprived of any recreational facilities, religious or educational opportunities. Clean clothing is rarely issued. Prisoners are not permitted to have such necessary items as tooth paste. Most prisoners are being held for participating in the struggle for justice, some are charged with infractions of thought. We have two demands:

1. That Governor Day Lee Ray order the Department of Corrections to discontinue the illegal practice of segregating prisoners without first providing them with the due process protections guaranteed to us by Washington's Administrative Code.
2. That Governor Day Lee Ray order the Department of Corrections to discontinue the illegal practice of abusing the so called "threat" provision of Washington's Administrative Code, and that she order the immediate release of all prisoners being held under this provision unless the warden can demonstrate a clear and present danger to the security and order of the institution.

Thanks for your support. We salute the working class.
The Walla Walla Brothers

The administrators at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla have stepped up their terror campaign. A letter to the Torch from a Walla Walla prisoner reports that the administration is charging that prisoners at Walla Walla are involved in a plot to kill the warden, seize the prison and steal an atom bomb!

The administrators claim that nearly every prisoner on one tier of the Intensive Security Unit (ISU) is a member of the George Jackson Brigade, a political organization formerly based in Seattle. The prison administration is also charging that the Brigade is being led by Sanity Now, a West Coast left-wing publication.

All this is a lie. Not only are these prisoners not members of the George Jackson Brigade, the Brigade no longer exists! This fictitious "Brigade" is supposedly responsible for the fictitious plot.

Armed with the big lie, the keepers of the prison are tightening up the already police-state-like conditions in the prison. Both Sanity Now and the

Torch are being withheld from prisoners, though there is no official ban on these newspapers. At one prisoner's parole board hearing these publications were used against him.

The authorities at Walla Walla have taken these steps in response to a campaign in defense of prisoner rights initiated by the Walla Walla Brothers, a group of prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary. The Walla Walla Brothers are demanding that the administrators grant the due process rights provided by the Washington Administrative Code and end the abuse of the "threat provision" of the Washington Administrative Code.

Under the "threat provision," any prisoner who the administrators demonstrate is an "immediate threat to the security of the institution" can be placed in the ISU—a row of six-by-eight-foot cells where prisoners are kept 23 hours a day, known as the "hole." At Walla Walla, however, the administrators throw prisoners in the hole whenever they want. If the authorities "feel" the prisoner is a

threat, into the hole he goes. No proof is necessary and no hearings are held.

The Walla Walla Brothers report the following examples of violations of prisoner rights:

- In early 1976, Mark LaRue returned to Walla Walla on a parole violation. He was immediately found "a threat to the security of the institution" and thrown in the hole. The reason? He associated with a "radical" at a county jail and so might himself be a radical.

- On August 10, 1976, Ed Mead was handcuffed, whisked away from the general prison population and thrown into the hole. There was no hearing. There were never any charges. Mead was thrown in the ISU because he had been a member of the George Jackson Brigade in Seattle. He remains in the ISU today.

- Last May, Carl Harp placed a notice on the bulletin board urging prisoners who had clothing confiscated for "obscurity" to file suits against the prison. For this he was charged with "interfering with the duties of an officer." A hearing committee found Harp not guilty. He ended up in the hole anyway.

This is only the tip of the iceberg. The list of those thrown in the ISU without charges, or on phony charges, is long. Anyone who stands up for his rights is thrown in the hole. Prisoners need only be known to think other than the keepers would like.

There is no plot to steal an atom bomb. There is only a plot on the part of the administrators to beat down any resistance to the continuing terror at Walla Walla.

The fact is the Walla Walla Brothers' campaign built unity and informed people of what was going on. The campaign, supported by left newspapers and collectives such as Morning Due, Sanity Now and the Torch, had an effect. The bourgeois media began exposing the conditions at Walla Walla. And a petition campaign began.

The administrators were faced with the choice: allow prisoners to have some control over their lives, or try to smash the prisoners' struggle. Like the rabid dogs that they are, the administrators, backed into this corner, chose to attack.

To turn back this attack, the Walla

Walla Brothers need support. For information or petitions write: Morning Due, P.O. Box 2228, Seattle, Wash. 98122.

**DEFEND THE WALLA WALLA BROTHERS!
POWER TO THE PRISONERS!**

Dear Comrades,

Please acknowledge this letter as I am not sure it will even arrive. Some things have occurred that will amaze you.

Your latest issue on "Support the Walla Walla Brothers" has not arrived. The pigs confiscated them and we found this out today at Joseph Green's Parole Board hearing. They used it against him and they also used Sanity Now against him.

Myself and nearly every prisoner on this tier belongs to the George Jackson Brigade according to the pigs. This group no longer exists and none of us but Ed was a member.

And Sanity Now (ridiculous, but wait) is the head of the Brigade and all of us have a huge conspiracy brought to the warden B.J. Rhay through the CIA by the FBI to bomb the warden, seize the prison, escape and hide in Walla Walla till things cool down and then we are to seize the Hanford Atomic Plant and order a plane to take us out of the country with an atomic bomb.

How's your head? Ours is wasted. They did it straight-faced too.

Please try to get this to Sanity Now and any others you can. We must have help. They are completely insane.

One insane attack after another. Do you know we have nine criminal complaints against them and at least a dozen suits?

We need help and support from our brothers and sisters in the world. We are fighting hard and nothing stops us but alone we can do so little. We send our love.

**In Struggle,
A Walla Walla Brother**



Eritrean Liberation Struggle Nears Victory

The Eritrean struggle for independence from Ethiopia is approaching victory. In January, the rebel armies captured several important towns previously held by Ethiopian forces. The two rebel armies, the Eritrean Liberation Front and the People's Liberation Front, each control large sections of the Eritrean countryside. They have the complete support of the people.

Fifteen thousand rebels are fighting 25,000 Ethiopian troops, but the Ethiopian troops are sick of fighting. Many who have been stationed in Eritrea for years are sympathetic to the Eritreans.

The Eritreans rose in armed rebellion 15 years ago, after the Ethiopian rulers staged a phony referendum and annexed the country. Rebellions are now raging in several other Ethiopian provinces, as well.

The military rulers of Ethiopia, with very little support even in the cities, are increasingly resorting to naked violence to keep power. They are aided by an ample supply of U.S. weapons. But with the Eritreans moving toward victory and the Ethiopian rulers getting weaker and weaker, the imperialists are rethinking their policy and may soon try to strike a deal with the rebels.

Nicaragua Unleashes New Wave of Terror

On March 1, Nicaragua's Roman Catholic bishops made public a list of some of the victims of the country's U.S.-supported dictators. The list includes the names of hundreds of peasants who have been killed or have disappeared in the last two years. They are victims of a wave of terror aimed at stamping out support for guerrilla rebels. The bishops reported two mass executions in which 86 civilians, including at least 29 children, were killed. Government troops, the bishops report, routinely torture and kill the peasant men, rape the women, burn homes, and steal and destroy crops and property.

Guerrillas are fighting the government in two provinces covering about one-third of Nicaragua. In desperation, the government is turning to wholesale terror against the entire rural population.

The guerrillas are fighting against the government of President Anastasio Somoza. Somoza is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He and his family have ruled Nicaragua ever since his father overthrew the elected government in 1936. The Somozas have always had the complete backing of the United States.

Time after time the Somozas and their imperialist masters have congratulated themselves on "completely crushing" all opposition. But no matter how many peasants they kill, their own brutal rule always drives more to revolt.

Dutch Workers Wage Successful Strike

Workers in several unions in Holland went on strike February 7, demanding higher wages and cost of living protection. They won their demands 18 days later.

In past years union leaders had forced workers to accept a freeze on basic wages in return for cost of living. This year, Dutch capitalists refused to renew the cost of living agreements, claiming their products couldn't compete on world markets.

The strikes centered on the port of Rotterdam, busiest in the world. The workers gradually stepped up pressure by calling more people off the job every few days, until the port was shut down. After a week when nothing moved in or out of Rotterdam, the owners granted a wage increase, retroactive to January 1, and periodic cost of living raises.

Attacks on Palestinian Liberation Forces Mount

Since mid-February, heavy fighting has been going on in three areas of southern Lebanon, all close to Israel or Israeli-occupied Syria. Bint Jbail, a Palestinian-held town two miles from Israel, is under siege by Israeli-backed forces. So is the Arkub area, across the border from Syrian territory occupied by Israel. Nabatiye, site of a large Palestinian camp, is under constant shellfire.

The attacks are being carried out by Christian rightist troops armed and supplied by Israel. Israel and the United States want to further weaken the Palestinian movement by driving all armed Palestinian forces out of southern Lebanon.

This is one part of a political-military pincers movement engineered by the U.S., Israel and their Lebanese puppets. The right-wing Lebanese government is trying to disarm the Palestinian camps in and near Beirut. It is also asking for the right to expel from Lebanon any Palestinian who entered the country after 1969. This would include most of the leaders of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, who came to Lebanon after being driven out of Jordan in 1970.

The Palestinian troops are fighting on against mounting odds to hold on to their shrinking territorial base.

Zimbabwe: Offensive Builds...

(Continued from page 1)

Black face to hide the real nature of his racist regime. This person is a tribal chief, Jeremiah Chirau. Chirau heads a phony organization, the Zimbabwe United People's Organization, which claims to have a majority of the rural people behind it. Smith would like to set Chirau up in a prominent place in the Rhodesian government and call this "majority rule."

But Chirau is nothing but Smith's lackey. Chirau and another chief were hand-picked by Smith a couple of years ago to sit in the Rhodesian



Joshua Nkomo.

cabinet for \$35,000 a year. Last December, when the Geneva talks were falling apart, Smith had the chiefs leave the cabinet and set up ZUPO. ZUPO, not surprisingly, is anti-guerrilla, and pro-white. If Chirau becomes president, he will do Smith's bidding and nothing will be changed.

Smith's maneuver is probably just a publicity stunt for international consumption. Most people in Zimbabwe, particularly the youth, know what Smith is up to. One 14-year-old Black worker in Salisbury dismissed ZUPO with the comment: "Chirau? He's under Smith."

BASIC RACISM UNTOUCHED

In addition to this ploy, Smith recently pushed through a bill in the Rhodesian parliament which would open some of the previously all-white commercial, agricultural and industrial areas for purchase by Blacks. Segregation in residential areas and state education is left intact. The basic racism of Rhodesian society is untouched. The bill would merely provide some opportunities for the upper layers of the Black population to purchase businesses and farms in some previously all-white areas. Yet all this land was originally stolen from Black Zimbabweans, and all of it rightfully belongs to them.

As with the maneuver involving Chirau, Smith hopes to persuade moderate Black political figures, including Bishop Abel Muzorewa, to make a deal with him and by-pass the more radical nationalist guerrilla leaders.

But this, too, will fool few Zimbabweans. Most of the Blacks in Smith's white-dominated parliament (who are

scarcely militant opponents of the regime) abstained on the bill, to avoid compromising themselves by voting for it.

Smith's desperation is apparent in his decision to set up concentration camps for the people in the four-fifths of the country he has declared "war zones." The rural people are to be uprooted from the land, fields and villages and imprisoned in these camps, which are called "protected villages." Those who remember the so-called "strategic hamlets" that the U.S. set up in Vietnam know what the "protected villages" are all about. They are designed to keep rural people directly under government control and to prevent them from aiding and joining the guerrillas. In setting up the camps, the Smith government is admitting that it has no support from the Zimbabwean people.

STRUGGLE NOT YET WON

Although the tide is clearly turning, the struggle is not yet won. The white colonialists are still backed by the imperialists—openly or covertly. They have powerful, sophisticated weapons and a thousand tricks up their sleeves. There will be more Geneva conferences. Even the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the most radical of the Zimbabwean nationalist organizations, has played games with the armed struggle by taking part in these imperialist-sponsored proceedings.

At the Geneva talks ZANU avoided being drawn into an immediate agreement with Smith, Great Britain and the moderate Black political leaders. But the dangers of such a deal in the future are increased by ZANU's decision to participate in these talks, rather than condemning them outright.

ZANU came out of Geneva locked into a political alliance with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The alliance is known as the Patriotic Front. The main effect of this alliance is to build up a reputation for Joshua Nkomo, the leader of ZAPU, as a real fighter for Zimbabwean liberation. This is the same Nkomo who has long established beyond any doubt his willingness to sell himself to the imperialists as their neo-colonial front man. The leadership of ZANU is desperate for the imperialists to recognize them as "legitimate." They hope that by drawing close to Nkomo, the United States and its allies will find ZANU more reasonable to deal with.

MASSES ON GUARD

The masses must be on their guard. The ZANU leadership places its reliance first on working out understandings with the imperialists. They see the armed struggle only as a means to this end. The Black workers and peasants of Zimbabwe must find ways to place the conduct of the armed struggle firmly under their control. The extent to which the masses, particularly the Zimbabwean working class, are able to increase their control over the armed struggle is the extent to which there is a guarantee that the days of white supremacy in Zimbabwe are numbered. □

BEH AT

Idi Amin is once
This time he has u
terror against the
tribes in Uganda.
Uganda's Anglica
two of his own Ca
charges of plotti
Partly to divert a
own crimes, and
U.S. threats, Ami
barred all Ameri
leaving Uganda. L
down. This is only
in Amin's six-year
and brutality. Sc
about Amin have



Above: Pinochet; below:



event in the West

The working class
an understandable
this. Who is this g
did he come from?
storm about him?
questions U.S. wo
selves concerning
these questions, it
briefly at Amin's b

A PRO OF WESTERN I

Amin was train
imperialism. He can
ranks of the African
colonial army. He fe
tish against Kenya
national independence
da's independence
backed by the Britis
the ranks of the Ug
received advanced t
and soon became C
Uganda's neo-colon
headed by Milton C

When Britain and
drop Obote, in Jan
used Amin to do t
Amin carried out a
planned by Israell int
stallation of Amin t
act of these Weste
behind-the-scenes su
imperialism.

BEHIND THE U.S. ATTACKS ON IDI AMIN



are: his turn away from the U.S. and its allies; his vocal support of the Arabs against Israel; and his periodic open (and very embarrassing) attacks on U.S. imperialism's own crimes.

Behind the U.S. hysterics are preparations for a coup in Uganda. The British have already made clear that they and the Israelis are trying to overthrow Amin. Last year, the Israelis invaded Uganda's Entebbe Airport to free an Air France jet from Palestinian guerrillas. Among other objectives, the Zionists wanted to humiliate Amin. Thus they hoped to stimulate pressure inside the armed forces for a coup.

There have been many reports of coup attempts coming out of Uganda in recent months. All the attempts have been suppressed. But, with Uganda's economy in complete disarray, the U.S. CIA has a good chance to succeed in its efforts to replace Amin. Even a U.S.-backed invasion cannot be ruled out. In the recent crisis, for example, the Pentagon ordered the aircraft carrier Enterprise and five other vessels to stand by off the East African coast. Said Jody Powell, Carter's Press Secretary, "The President will take whatever steps he thinks are necessary and proper to protect American lives."

We shed no tears for Amin. He is the enemy of the working and oppressed people of Uganda. But U.S. imperialism has absolutely no right to interfere in Ugandan affairs. It was U.S. imperialism which fathered Amin—U.S. imperialism will never end the brutal and bloody rule of its own puppets in Africa. A U.S.-backed coup will bring nothing but more of the same for Uganda's workers and peasants. U.S. workers must resolutely oppose such a move.

In an attack by the U.S. imperialists, revolutionaries should give military support to Uganda's forces. Revolutionary socialists in Uganda should fight against any CIA-sponsored coup or invasion by making a tactical bloc with Amin's forces against the greater enemy—U.S. imperialism. But this tactical bloc should be used for one central purpose: gaining leverage to build for the goal of smashing Amin's rule through a workers' revolution. □

S...

opponents of the on the bill, to avoid themselves by voting

tion is apparent in at up concentration ple in the four-fifths has declared "war people are to be e land, fields and risoned in these e called "protected who remember the c hamlets" that the nam know what the s" are all about. to keep rural people overnment control m from aiding and llas. In setting up ith government is as no support from eople.

OT YET WON

e is clearly turning, yet won. The white l backed by the im- or covertly. They histicated weapons ks up their sleeves. re Geneva confer- Zimbabwe African ZANU), the most abwean nationalist played games with e by taking part in sponsored proceed-

ks ZANU avoided n immediate agree- Great Britain and k political leaders. uch a deal in the d by ZANU's deci- e in these talks, mning them out-

of Geneva locked nce with the Zim- People's Union ce is known as the e main effect of build up a reputa- omo, the leader of ighter for Zimba- This is the same long established his willingness to mperialists as their an. The leadership te for the imperial- m as "legitimate." r drawing close to d States and its U more reasonable

N GUARD

be on their guard. hip places its re- rking out under- imperialists. They uggle only as a The Black workers mbabwe must find e conduct of the rmy under their nt to which the y the Zimbabwean e able to increase e armed struggle hich there is a e days of white mbabwe are num-

Idi Amin is once again in the news. This time he has unleashed a reign of terror against the Lango and Acholi tribes in Uganda. He has also killed Uganda's Anglican archbishop and two of his own Cabinet ministers on charges of plotting against him. Partly to divert attention from his own crimes, and partly to counter U.S. threats, Amin on February 25 barred all American citizens from leaving Uganda. Later Amin backed down. This is only the latest chapter in Amin's six-year career of murder and brutality. Screaming headlines about Amin have become a common

After Amin seized power, he had disagreements with his U.S. and British backers. We are not sure of the nature of these disagreements. Whatever the reasons, Amin turned against Britain, Israel, and U.S. imperialism. For example, he took a pro-Arab line on the Middle East conflict. He denounced Western imperialism and Israeli Zionism. He turned to Russian imperialism for arms and aid. Although the Western imperialists make much of Amin's brutality, it is not the brutality that bothers them. It is his switch to Russian imperialism and support for the Arabs.

This can be proven by looking at the timing of events. Amin took power in early 1971. But imperialism did not break with him until August of 1973. This was when Amin detained a planeload of U.S. Peace Corps volunteers. It was also around this same time that he sent a July 4 tongue-in-cheek telegram to Nixon, wishing him "a speedy recovery from the Watergate affair."

There is even stronger indirect evidence that Amin's brutality has nothing whatever to do with Western imperialism's break with him. A look at the African continent shows a whole series of U.S.-installed or supported rulers who are just as brutal as Idi Amin. But because they are U.S. allies, the U.S. doesn't make an issue.

There is, for example, the self-proclaimed "Emperor" Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the recently-renamed Central African Empire. Like Amin, Bokassa is a product of Western imperialism. He fought with the French in Indochina. Like Amin,

Bokassa has a fondness for executing even his top aides. Like Amin, he has executed hundreds of thousands. But, unlike Amin, he is a non-person in the Western press. Why? Because, unlike Amin, he is chummy with the U.S., France, and even South Africa. He has held sway for 10 terror-filled years, with the quiet backing of France and the U.S. Another example is Francisco Macias of Equatorial Guinea. He has killed off one-sixth of that country's population and re-introduced a system of slavery. His name likewise is never seen in the Western media.

U.S. SUPPORTS "FRIENDLY" DICTATORS

Finally, terror and brutality have never been criteria for loss of U.S. backing. On the contrary. The U.S. has supported dictator after dictator throughout the world for years without making a peep, so long as these dictators support the so-called free world, that is, U.S. imperialism. Today, for example, the U.S. supports Pinochet in Chile, Videla in Argentina and Balaguer in the Dominican Republic. Where are the denunciations of these bloodthirsty dictators?

There can be no doubt that Idi Amin is a genuine butcher. However, the U.S. imperialists' attacks on Amin's brutality are pure hypocrisy. Besides backing monsters all over the world, U.S. imperialism is the main power holding up the most brutal regimes of all: white-supremacist South Africa, "Rhodesia" (Zimbabwe), and the Israeli settler state. So it is very selective in its targets. The real reasons the U.S. attacks Amin



Above: Pinochet; below: Balaguer.



event in the Western capitalist press. The working class in the U.S. has an understandable curiosity about all this. Who is this guy, Amin? Where did he come from? And why the big storm about him? These are the questions U.S. workers ask themselves concerning Amin. To answer these questions, it is useful to look briefly at Amin's background.

A PRODUCT OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM

Amin was trained by Western imperialism. He came up through the ranks of the African Rifles, the British colonial army. He fought for the British against Kenya's movement for national independence. After Uganda's independence in 1962, Amin, backed by the British, rose rapidly in the ranks of the Ugandan army. He received advanced training in Israel, and soon became Chief of Staff in Uganda's neo-colonial government headed by Milton Obote.

When Britain and Israel decided to drop Obote, in January 1971, they used Amin to do their dirty work. Amin carried out a coup which was planned by Israeli intelligence. The installation of Amin therefore was an act of these Western powers, with behind-the-scenes support from U.S. imperialism.

Amin Hysteria Covers U.S. Role in Africa

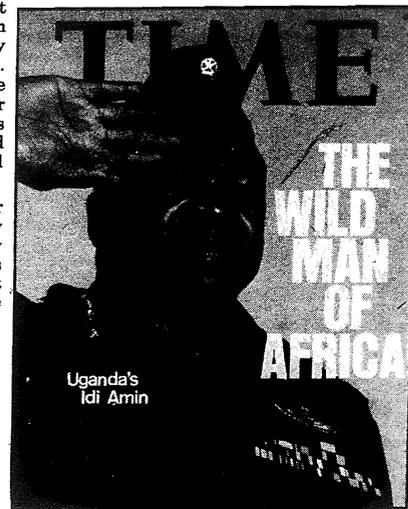
Besides trying to oust Amin through their racist propaganda campaign, the U.S. and its allies are trying to use Amin to take the heat off the white-supremacist regimes of South Africa and "Rhodesia."

Efforts are under way to equate Amin's brutal one-man rule with these regimes' systematic brutalization and extermination of Blacks. For example, several pro-imperialist Black "leaders"—among them Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin—recently sent a letter to the New York Times which openly compared Amin's crimes to those of white-ruled southern Africa. They said, "Neither the character nor the quality of the oppression is altered when it is a black tyrant who is killing other blacks." But there is a gulf many miles wide between Amin's barbarities—however brutal—and the systematic genocide and plunder of Black Africans carried out by the South African and "Rhodesian" governments.

The imperialists are using the anti-Amin campaign for another purpose as well. They would like people to think Black majority rule may not be such a good idea after all—that perhaps the only thing that stands in the way of barbarism in southern Africa is white rule. This, of course, has always been the arrogant, racist line of imperialism about Black Africa. It is also the very line that South Africa and "Rhodesia" openly put forward.

The openly racist portrayals of Amin also help to stimulate white racism in the U.S. and Britain—both countries with large Black populations. Statements about "the wild man of Africa" who has "disgusted the entire civilized world" tap the underlying racism of Western capitalist society. They work to increase white workers' racism; to increase the divisions between them and their Black brothers and sisters.

We remind U.S. workers: everything Amin knows he learned from Western imperialism.



SOUTH AFRICA: BLACK WORKERS

By Darryl Clark

Capitalism in South Africa depends completely on the extreme exploitation of the Black workers. Paid starvation wages (or less), forced to work under horrible conditions, the Black workers are the economic basis of the power of the South African dictatorship. This tremendous exploitation of South African Blacks is maintained through a system of total segregation which denies Blacks every democratic right.

Under this system, known as apartheid, it is illegal for Blacks to go where they please. They cannot organize to improve their conditions. They can't speak out, exchange views or protest their conditions. They can't own land in most of the country, carry arms or vote. Backing up this structure is a powerful police state with a huge police force and army.

The social support of the dictatorship is the entire white population, including the white workers. These people are granted tremendous social pri-



Afrikaner soldiers in Boer war.

ileges and the highest standard of living in the world in return for their loyalty to the dictatorship. And their loyalty is complete.

This system did not come into existence overnight. It developed over many years. As South Africa developed economically, a working class, the majority of whom were Black, also developed. As everywhere, the capitalist class devised means to keep this working class under its control. In South Africa, these means became today's apartheid system. As the economy developed and the working class grew, the capitalists more and more strove to stamp out any unity between Black and white workers. The Blacks were deprived of more and more rights. More and more laws were set up to divide and control the masses. And, more and more, the white population, including the white workers, were given status and privileges to bind them to the capitalist class.

The offensive of the white ruling class was met by continual resistance from the Black masses. This resis-

tance has taken many forms and, while it has surged and ebbed, it has never ceased.

In recent months, the struggle of the oppressed masses of South Africa has flared up once again. This time we are seeing a tremendous militant wave of struggle which has mobilized the powerful Black working class. Notice is being served: the days of the barbarian apartheid system are numbered. The oppressors understand only force and violence—and this is what will be necessary to overthrow them.

The following article, the first of a series on South Africa, sketches the history of apartheid up to 1948. Given space limitations, it does not pretend to be a full account. This and the following articles will show that capitalism and racism in South Africa are completely intertwined. They will show why this is so. And most important, they will show why apartheid can only be smashed by a revolutionary struggle to overthrow South African capitalism as a whole and establish a socialist society.

For South Africa, the Twentieth Century began with a war of conquest. The British imperialists already ruled the Cape Colony and Natal, the coastal provinces of today's South Africa. The inland territories of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were ruled by the Boers (today called Afrikaners)—white descendants of Dutch settlers who first landed and started grabbing land in 1652. In a series of wars in the 1700s, the Dutch settlers had conquered and enslaved the African population in the Cape. In the 1800s, the Boers and the British marched north, carving out separate colonies for themselves. The Zulus and other African nations fought heroically to beat back these invasions, but were defeated by better-equipped armies.

By 1880, Blacks were the exploited majority in all parts of the country. After gold was discovered in the Transvaal in 1886, the British determined to grab all of South Africa for themselves. They attacked and conquered the Afrikaners in the Boer War, 1899-1902. The British won complete control over the territory, the gold, and the Black miners who already sweated and died for the white man's profit.

The British conquerors formed the Union of South Africa in 1910 to unify their territories in South Africa. In typical fashion, they threw overboard their supposedly cherished principles of "British liberalism."

In Britain's South African colonies (the Cape and Natal) the mass of Africans were just as bitterly oppressed as in the Boer colonies. But, in order to rule more effectively, the British rulers had granted some rights to a

Part One:

How Apartheid Developed

small Black elite, who in turn were supposed to help prop up the racist regime.

For example, a tiny minority of educated Blacks were exempted from carrying passes. And the law gave the vote to a handful of Blacks and "Coloureds"—those who could meet a stiff property qualification that was adjusted to make sure whites, a small minority of the population, always remained a majority of the voters.

Afrikaners Oppose Black Rights

The Afrikaners, however, opposed even these token rights for Blacks. In the Afrikaners' Transvaal Republic, before the Boer War, the constitution had called bluntly for "no equality between coloured people and the white inhabitants, either in Church or State."

The Afrikaners, defeated in the Boer War, were the majority of the whites in South Africa. They hated the British rulers. But even more fiercely, they insisted on maintaining their total, open white supremacy.

To unify the country on an imperialist basis, the British needed the support of the Afrikaners. They chose a strategy of reconciliation, making concessions to the whites they had just conquered.

The heart of this strategy was constructing a solid bastion of white privilege, at the expense of Blacks. Over the decades this approach has solidified the white population into a solid bloc fanatically defending their own racist privileges. Only a few whites have ever really fought against white supremacy in South Africa.

The pattern was set in writing the Constitution for the Union of South Africa. Would a few token Blacks have the vote, as in the Cape—or would Blacks have no political rights at all, as in the Transvaal? The outcome was a "compromise." Blacks could not sit in the National Parliament. They could not vote in three of South Africa's four provinces—Natal, the Transvaal, or the Orange Free State. But in the Cape (if they were rich enough) they could vote alongside the whites—for white candidates.

This first sellout of Black rights has set the pattern that has lasted to this day.

Attacks Continue

In the new Union of South Africa, Blacks soon suffered more attacks. A 1911 law, the Mines and Works Act, barred Blacks from skilled jobs in the mines. This was a bribe from the capitalists to the white workers. It was accepted. In 1913, the Native Land Act

divided the country into white and Black land. The small minority of whites got 88 percent; the African majority got 12 percent. Africans living outside the reserves were considered as tolerated guests with few rights—for instance, they had no right to buy land.

During World War I, South Africa seized South West Africa (Namibia) from Germany. South Africa's rule over Namibia has been as bloody as that of the Germans, who were infamous for their genocidal wars against Africans.

Following World War I, the South African whites passed law after law to uphold their rule. The Urban Areas Act of 1923 limited the right of Blacks to move to the cities. The whites feared being swamped by a Black urban majority. (In spite of the law, the urban Black population has kept growing, because of the need of the whites for Black labor.)

In 1927, the Native Administration Act made it a crime to "utter any words or do any other act or thing whatever with intent to promote any feeling of hostility between Natives and Europeans." Many Black organizers were tried under this law.

In 1930, the government gave the vote to white women, which doubled the number of white voters and cut the strength of the Black and Coloured vote in half. This was a preliminary to the complete abolition of the African vote a few years later.

African Resistance

During this entire period, African resistance to the whites continued. After the last major tribal rebellion in 1906, the struggle shifted to the



Inside a South African mining compound.

fast-growing cities. In 1913, the government began trying to make women carry passes—as Africans had done since 1817. According to South African law, passes were the bearer's right to exist where he is—an African without a pass can be arrested on the spot. Women resisted passes with demonstrations and pass-burns. After years of struggle, the passes were withdrawn in 1920. Women were free from passes until the 1950s.

In 1918, the first mass union of Black workers in South Africa was formed. This was the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), founded by Clement K. Shomo. Partly influenced by the Workers of the World, Kappa, at organizing all South African workers into one union. In 1920, tens of thousands joined the ICU.

The ICU's first strike was against the white railway and transport workers, who were opposing the food in an effort to keep prices down in South Africa. The Black workers joined the strike, adding demands for decent wages and conditions. With their aid, the white workers won—and promptly struck the ICU in the back by going to work, deserting the Blacks' demands for their own demands.

White Workers Be-

The class solidarity of white workers was never returned to whites. In 1920, white miners went to support a strike by 40,000 Black miners. Two years later, in 1922, 100,000 white miners went on strike against 100,000 Black miners. This strike strengthened the reactionary policy of the white workers, who fought to defend their privileged position against the Black workers.

The mine owners, trying to bring in more cheap Black workers to replace white miners. The white workers should have fought for wages for the Blacks. Such class solidarity would have kept their own wages. Instead, they struck to keep the bosses from hiring too many Blacks. The slogan of white miners was: "Work for the World Fight and Unite for

WORKERS REVOLT

fast-growing cities. In 1913, the government began trying to make African women carry passes—as African men had done since 1817. According to South African law, passes establish the bearer's right to exist and to be where he is—an African without a pass can be arrested on the spot. The women resisted passes with petitions, demonstrations and pass-burning. After years of struggle, the laws were withdrawn in 1920. Women remained free from passes until the 1950s.

In 1918, the first mass organization of Black workers in South Africa was formed. This was the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), founded by Clements Kadalie. Partly influenced by the Industrial Workers of the World, Kadalie aimed at organizing all South Africa's Black workers into one union. In the next 10 years, tens of thousands joined the ICU.

The ICU's first strike was in support of white railway and dock workers, who were opposing the export of food in an effort to keep food prices down in South Africa. The Black workers joined the strike, adding their own demands for decent wages and conditions. With their aid, the white workers won—and promptly stabbed the ICU in the back by going back to work, deserting the Blacks in the fight for their own demands.

White Workers Betray

The class solidarity of the Black workers was never returned by the whites. In 1920, white miners refused to support a strike by 40,000 Black miners. Two years later, in 1922, white miners went on strike against Black miners. This strike strengthened the reactionary policy of the white workers, who fought to defend their privileged position against the Black miners.

The mine owners, trying to cash in on racism, touched off the strike by bringing in more cheap Black labor to replace white miners. The white workers should have fought for decent wages for the Blacks. Such working class solidarity would have protected their own wages. Instead, the whites struck to keep the bosses from hiring too many Blacks. The slogan of the white miners was: "Workers of the World Fight and Unite for a White

South Africa."

It was a bitter battle, involving a general strike throughout the Rand (the mining district). The government called in troops and planes to suppress the white miners.

After the strike, the white Labour Party saw the British capitalists and their South Africa Party as their main enemy in the political arena. So the Labour Party united with the opposition Nationalist Party (the party of open Afrikaner reaction) to defeat the South Africa Party in the 1924 election. The payoff to Labour was the Mines and Works Act of 1926, which strengthened the color bar in the mines and government employment. The white workers had fought for and won stronger racial privileges.

Round Two:

White Unity, Blacks Pay

Since then, all the racist governments of South Africa have maintained the alliance with white workers, never attacking their privileges enough to drive them into alliance with the Blacks. The white workers in turn have consistently supported the racist regime.

The Depression of the 1930s threw South Africa into political crisis. Black workers demonstrated against

unemployment, went on strike, organized against the pass laws, and searched for a leadership to overthrow the racist system. At least once, in 1933, unemployed white workers joined Blacks in a protest demonstration.

The ruling class, threatened by economic crisis and fearing revolt, decided to strengthen white unity. To achieve this, the two major political parties, the South Africa Party and the Nationalist Party, joined together in a coalition government in 1933. In 1935 they merged into one party, the United Party, leaving an extreme faction of the Nationalists outside.

To arrange the merger of the racist forces, the South Africa Party agreed to strip Africans of the vote in the Cape Province. This, once and for all, put the lie to their pretenses of defending Blacks. Now, instead of voting for Parliament with other voters, Blacks were only allowed to vote for three white special representatives (in a Parliament of over 100). Thus the vast majority of the population had no direct voice in Parliament. In 1959, even these "Native Representatives" were abolished, leaving Black South Africans with no voice at all in government.

During the Second World War, the Prime Minister, Jan Smuts, appealed for support from Blacks against Germany and Japan. To get this support, Smuts made a few indefinite promises of more rights for Blacks after the war. Some Blacks did enlist. They got dangerous assignments, but no guns. Meanwhile, all strikes by Black workers in South Africa were outlawed in 1942 as a "war emergency measure." After the war the Black soldiers

were unceremoniously discharged to face poverty, unemployment and housing shortages. Smuts went to San Francisco to help found the United Nations and came back to shoot down Black miners on strike in 1946. But the day of this hypocrite was ending. In 1948 he lost the election, and the Nationalist Party came to power.

The Nationalists had grown into a mass white party out of the small faction that rejected merger in 1935. They were elected by whites alarmed at the flow of Blacks into the cities and by Smuts' vague talk about a new day for Blacks. The Nationalists coined the new term apartheid ("apartness") in the 1948 campaign to sum up their promise to increase white domination over Blacks in every aspect of life. They have kept their promise for nearly three decades.

Since 1948, the Nationalists have constructed the harshest, most systematic machine for racist repression in the world. Nothing less could maintain the exploitation of Black workers, who are the great majority of the people. Nothing less could convince imperialist investors to put their money into South Africa, dreaming that they can safely profit from apartheid without fear of revolution. □

The next article will explain the history of 29 years of Nationalist rule. It will sketch how the totalitarian apartheid system was built and will describe the militant struggle of the Black masses to defend themselves from the Nationalist offensive. It will also show why only a socialist revolution can wipe out apartheid and the exploitation that apartheid enforces.

March 21, 1960

AVENGE SHARPEVILLE

On March 21, 1960, the police of the racist dictatorship of South Africa opened fire on a peaceful demonstration with machine guns and slaughtered 69 Africans. This brutal suppression of a demonstration against South Africa's apartheid system has become known as the Sharpeville Massacre.

The demonstration in Sharpeville, a segregated township outside Johannesburg, was called by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) to protest the hated pass laws. These laws, one of the main props of the apartheid system, make it illegal for any African to move or change jobs without police permission. PAC called on Africans all over the country to turn in their passes and clog the jails, as the opening blow in a non-violent mass struggle to bring "Freedom by '63."

In the months preceding the Sharpeville Massacre a bitter political struggle had been going on in the African movement. The older, more established African National Congress (ANC) preached a "multi-racial alliance" which actually gave whites a veto over the Black resistance. The newly formed PAC rejected this. Instead, it called for a militant mass movement to bring Africans to power, as part of the liberation struggle going on throughout Africa. It called for basing the movement not on lawyers and preachers but on the African masses.

Many of the most militant activists responded to the PAC's call. This new mass movement fought for more than equal rights. It struggled for power for the African majority. The March 21 protests were to be the first blow in this struggle.

The response to PAC's call was greatest in Langa Township, outside Cape Town, and in Sharpeville. In Langa, 10,000 Africans marched. Police charged the crowd with clubs, then opened fire, killing five and wounding 49. In Sharpeville, a peaceful crowd of 5,000 gathered at the police station. Then, according to an African eyewitness:

"There was a sharp report from the direction of the police station . . . We heard the chatter of a machine gun, then another, then another. There were hundreds of women, some of them laughing. They must have thought the police were firing blanks. One woman was hit about 10 yards from our car. Her companion, a young man, went back when she fell. He thought she had stumbled. Then he turned her over and saw that her chest had been shot

away. He looked at the blood on his hand and said: 'My God! She's gone!' . . . Some of the children, hardly as tall as the grass, were leaping like rabbits. Some were shot, too . . . One by one the guns stopped . . . More than 200 Africans were shot down."

All over South Africa, Africans rose up in protest at the bloody massacre. African dockworkers went on strike in Cape Town, and 25,000 persons marched in the streets. Mass demonstrations were held in Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Durban and other cities. The government was frightened enough to temporarily suspend the pass laws.

But as the government gained the upper hand, it turned on the African masses with unbridled violence. Hundreds of leaders and members of the ANC and PAC were jailed without trial. The two organizations were banned. New laws were passed to add to the racist government's police powers.

The ANC and PAC themselves were not prepared for illegal existence. Underground and in exile, they attempted to launch guerrilla war inside South Africa, but failed. By banning African organizations, infiltrating the underground movement, and systematically terrorizing the masses, the racist rulers were able to temporarily cripple the African resistance.

Despite the setback of Sharpeville, a crucial lesson was learned. The machine guns of Sharpeville destroyed forever the myth that South Africa's white rulers would ever yield to peaceful pressure. The massacre proved that the only road to freedom is revolutionary violence, organized in an armed struggle that smashes the power of the racist white state.

When the mass struggle exploded in Soweto last June, it was clear that this lesson had been well learned. The students and workers of Soweto fought back against the police attacks, meeting racist violence with violent resistance. The massacre of Sharpeville took its toll, but it guaranteed that the battles following it would be fought on a far higher level.

The 69 Africans who took their place alongside countless earlier martyrs on March 21, 1960, did not die in vain. They will be avenged by the revolutionary fighters of today and tomorrow. □

aid
I

the country into white and
and. The small minority of
of 88 percent; the African ma-
at 12 percent. Africans living
the reserves were considered
ited guests with few rights—
nce, they had no right to buy

g World War I, South Africa
outh West Africa (Namibia)
armany. South Africa's rule
mbia has been as bloody as
the Germans, who were infar-
their genocidal wars against

ing World War I, the South
whites passed law after law to
their rule. The Urban Areas
1923 limited the right of Blacks
e to the cities. The whites
being swamped by a Black ur-
ority. (In spite of the law, the
Black population has kept grow-
ause of the need of the whites
k labor.)

1917, the Native Administration
de it a crime to "utter any
r do any other act or thing
r with intent to promote any
of hostility between Natives
opeans." Many Black organi-
e tried under this law.

1930, the government gave the
white women, which doubled
ber of white voters and cut
ngth of the Black and Coloured
alf. This was a preliminary to
complete abolition of the African
ew years later.

an Resistance

g this entire period, African
ce to the whites continued.
e last major tribal rebellion
the struggle shifted to the



South African mining compound.

Ipi-Tombi Shuts Down

Pro-Apartheid Play Killed by Boycott

On December 28, Ipi-Tombi, a racist, pro-apartheid musical from South Africa, opened in New York. On February 13, it shut down. It was killed by a picket line and boycott organized by the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, the Socialist Workers Party, the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid, and the Revolutionary Socialist League. This was an important victory in the struggle to build a mass movement against apartheid and in solidarity with the unfolding South African revolution.

Ipi-Tombi was advertised as a play about Black culture in South Africa. In fact, it is a perversion of that culture by the white supremacist regime. The play makes use of all the old racist stereotypes. For example, it implies that Blacks had no culture before the whites came. (This, however, didn't stop Bertha Egnos, the white producer, from stealing and copyrighting much of the play's music from South African Blacks.) The play portrays Black South Africans as caring for little beyond sex and dancing. The title itself is a takeoff on this old racist theme. It is a corruption of the Zulu phrase, "Iphi Ntombi," meaning "Where are the girls?" The play shows Blacks to be happy and carefree. One song, "Going Home," proclaims to Black miners the magnificent life waiting for them in the "villages." In reality, these "villages" are the notorious Bantustans—a white creation, where half the South African population is forced to live on tiny scraps of unproductive land, in the most abject misery imaginable.

It is no accident that garbage like Ipi-Tombi is now touring the world. Since June of last year the Black masses of South Africa have risen in the most sustained rebellions ever undertaken against the white capitalist regime. These rebellions are destroying the myth that Blacks are happy under white minority rule. This is the myth that the South African capitalists and their international backers use to justify continued investment and trade with this settler state.

The Vorster regime is now particularly in need of good "public relations" to counter the effects of the

Black rebellions on international opinion, and to stem Vorster's growing isolation. The Ipi-Tombi world tour serves this purpose.

The play is clearly racist. But more than that, it is a conscious propaganda tool of the apartheid regime during this crucial time of Black rebellion. Vorster's backing is evident from the play's very presence in New York. Rarely does Black art leave fascist-like South Africa if the white regime doesn't approve of it. This play—promoted with the slogan, "Happiness Is an African Musical Called Ipi-Tombi"—is clearly designed to cloak the truth about apartheid and spread lies about Black South Africans, whose struggles are rocking the white regime to its foundations.

WHY BOYCOTT IPI-TOMBI?

SCAA and the RSL helped build the boycott of Ipi-Tombi for two inter-related reasons: to strike a blow at this propaganda campaign of the South African government, and to demonstrate international working class solidarity with the growing struggle of the South African masses. With the boycott we drew attention to the crimes of the South African regime, and to its international campaign to whitewash those crimes. Although quite limited, such a step is a material aid to the South African workers. It sets the racist regime on notice that the Black South Africans have international allies.

Equally important, the Ipi-Tombi boycott was a useful lever for beginning to build a mass movement against U.S. support to the Vorster dictatorship and U.S. imperialism in general. The victory won by shutting down Ipi-Tombi in New York demonstrated to many militants that an effective anti-apartheid movement can be built. The boycott also enabled us to involve many workers in SCAA and RSL activities.

The New York closing drove Ipi-Tombi out of the country. Had it succeeded on Broadway, it would have toured other major cities in the U.S., spreading its poisonous message.

The significance of the victory of

this boycott is well understood by the apartheid government. The white-supremacist Johannesburg Star, for example, mourned the play's premature folding. "The 'Ipi-Tombi' company," said the Star, "...has been forced out of New York by picketing.... One of the musical's backers

said in Johannesburg, 'It's a tragedy that "Ipi-Tombi" had to close... after only six weeks. But it was clear last week that the show couldn't survive.'

The Star article stated that Ipi-Tombi has been doing well in London, and that the company will continue its world tour. It is important that the international left continue the boycott of Ipi-Tombi, shutting it down wherever it appears. We must make it clear as day to the Vorster regime and to the imperialists where we stand. We must make it clear to the South African Black people that they have friends and allies in their struggle to destroy the apartheid system. □

Tenants Fight Evictions; Apartments Bombed

NEW YORK CITY—The struggle of the Amsterdam Tenants Association to keep the Cathedral of St. John the Divine from evicting them from their apartments continues. The tenants' case has now gone to court, and the 24 families facing immediate eviction are attending every court appearance. The tenants and their supporters picket the courthouse on every hearing date.

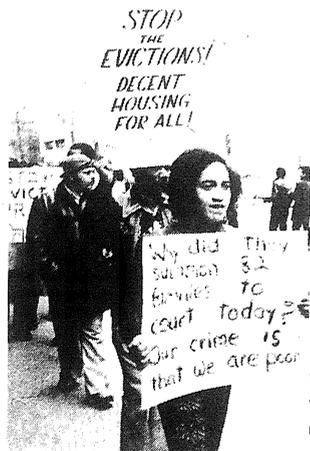
St. John's is trying to evict some 82 families (about 500 people, most of whom are Dominican) from three buildings on the corner of 112th Street

and Amsterdam Avenue in Morning-side Heights. The families seized the buildings six and one-half years ago, when St. John's first threatened to tear the buildings down and replace them with a modern, high-rise and high-rent apartment house. The tenants won a court victory two years ago that enabled them to retain their homes, but now the church is again mounting a serious effort to evict them.

Shortly after midnight on Saturday, February 19, a bomb exploded in the foyer of one apartment building, hurling the mailbox through an apartment door. Fortunately, no one was injured. The bomb was obviously intended to terrorize the tenants who have waged a militant campaign in defense of their homes.

The militancy of the tenants was the major reason for the victory two years ago, and the bombing was clearly meant to undercut it. But the tenants have mounted a defense guard and plan to continue their aggressive defense tactics. If the unity and militancy of the families can be maintained, another victory is possible.

The tenants are working class people fighting a slumlord church for the right to have decent housing at reasonable rents. St. John's would like to make them victims of the church's drive for greater profits on its property. By their struggle, the tenants are showing that it is possible to fight back, that it is possible for the working class to defend its interests against the attacks of the capitalists. And if the tenants' struggle is successful and the evictions are stopped once and for all, it will be an important victory in the struggle for decent housing at fair rents for all working people. Working people in New York City should give the tenants their fullest support. □



Tenants demonstrate at court hearing.

Torch Photo/Eugene V. Lee

Cop Assault Hospitalizes UAW Member

On January 31, two cops in Melrose Park, Illinois, beat up Benny Lenard, a Black worker at the International Harvester plant in that city. Lenard was driving home from work when another driver ran into his car. The other driver, a white woman, didn't have a driver's license and got angry when Lenard reported the accident to the police. When the police arrived at the scene she claimed that Benny Lenard had assaulted her.

The notoriously racist Melrose Park cops accepted the white woman's lies without a question—they handcuffed Lenard and threw him into the police car. The cops smashed Lenard in the face with their nightsticks, and by the time they reached the police station, Lenard was unconscious, his cheekbone broken and his face beaten to a pulp. The cops then stripped off Lenard's clothes, threw him into a jail cell, opened the window in freezing weather and doused him with cold water.

At the time of this writing, Lenard is still in the hospital. He may have suffered permanent vision loss

in his right eye from the cops' unprovoked attack.

Word of the beating quickly spread through the International Harvester plant. Over 200 angry workers attended the February 13 meeting of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 to demand action. At the union meeting, Local 6 formed the Benny Lenard Defense Committee to raise money for Lenard's medical and legal expenses (he is still charged with "assault"). Local 6 also plans to organize demonstrations to demand that the charges be dropped and the two cops fired.

Soon after UAW Local 6 formed the Defense Committee, members of the American Nazi Party plastered the union hall with posters saying "Niggers Beware." The racists in Melrose Park have a long history of attacking and harassing Black workers coming to and from work. These attacks must be stopped. The whole working class must unite to destroy racist and fascist elements like the Nazis and KKK. The Local 6 Defense Committee is an important beginning.

AVENGE SHARPEVILLE!

DEMONSTRATE
Saturday, March 19

NEW YORK CITY
South African Airways
605 5th Ave.
(Between 48th and 49th)
11 a.m. - 1 p.m.

For more information
call SCAA:
(212) 942-8043 or
(212) 567-3628

Ma

(Continued)
gan the SC
to serve no
will lay c
describing
on the Blac
clared that
to destroy
by saying
freedom he
intend to b
the United
throw this
colm X wa
we're abou

A speak
tants Agai
are trying
move the ca
South Afri
that oppres
Africa are
here in the

Three sp
Action Con
of Chicago
Steelwork
the fight i
their strugg

"The sam
sends arms
Gay Social
police into
attack gay
national syste
Blacks in S
inferior, at
to gays in
National Ba
African Bla
gay ghettos
chant: "W
rights—All
unite!"

The speak
the heavy i
Steel and
South Afri
comes from
and part fro
South Afri
weaken the
and victorie
the capitali

The last
Revolutiona
pointed out
in South Af
need for rev
"In South
controls the
ses the Blac
laws say ev
the situatio
than in Sou
both countri
and the cap
workers hav
smash the
depend on se
Today, Sout

Mar
L
O
WORK

NEW
SC
P.O. I
N.Y., N
(212) 9

burg, 'It's a tragedy
' had to close... after
But it was clear last
show couldn't sur-

cle stated that Ipi-
doing well in London,
pany will continue its
important that the
continue the boycott
putting it down wher-
Ve must make it clear
rster regime and to
where we stand. We
clear to the South
people that they have
in their struggle to
theid system. □

tions;
bed

Avenue in Morning-
e families seized the
l one-half years ago,
first threatened to
s down and replace
ent, high-rise and
ment house. The ten-
t victory two years
them to retain their
the church is again
ious effort to evict

midnight on Satur-
, a bomb exploded in
apartment building,
airbox through an
Fortunately, no one
bomb was obviously
rize the tenants who
militant campaign in
homes.

of the tenants was
for the victory two
the bombing was
undercut it. But the
anted a defense guard
nue their aggressive
If the unity and
families can be main-
victory is possible.
are working class
slumlord church for
e decent housing at
St. John's would like
rtims of the church's
er profits on its
their struggle, the
ing that it is possible
it is possible for the
defend its interests
ks of the capitalists.
enants' struggle is
the evictions are
for all, it will be an
y in the struggle for
at fair rents for all
Working people in
y should give the
best support. □

Malcolm X March...

(Continued from page 1)

gan the SCAA speaker. "We are here to serve notice that 'for freedom we will lay down our lives.'" After describing some of the brutal attacks on the Blacks of South Africa, he declared that "revolution is the only way to destroy apartheid." He continued by saying, "SCAA is working for freedom here and freedom abroad. We intend to build a mass movement in the United States. We must overthrow this system, that's what Malcolm X was about and that's what we're about today."

A speaker from the Young Militants Against Apartheid stated: "We are trying to build a movement to move the capitalist government out of South Africa. The same companies that oppress Black workers in South Africa are oppressing Black workers here in the U.S."

Three speakers, from the Postal Action Committee, the Gay Socialists of Chicago and the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, explained how the fight in South Africa is part of their struggles.

"The same U.S. government that sends arms to South Africa," said the Gay Socialists' speaker, "sends its police into gay bars while its courts attack gay rights. The same educational system that attempts to teach Blacks in South Africa that they are inferior, attempts to teach self-hatred to gays in the U.S. The same First National Bank that gets rich off South African Blacks, gets rich off high-rent gay ghettos." The crowd took up the chant: "Workers must defend gay rights—All oppressed people must unite!"

The speaker from the RSC exposed the heavy investments United States Steel and other companies have in South Africa. "Part of their profits comes from the sweat of workers here and part from the sweat of workers in South Africa. Our victories here weaken the capitalists in South Africa and victories in South Africa weaken the capitalists here."

The last speaker was from the Revolutionary Socialist League. She pointed out the unity of the struggle in South Africa and the U.S. and the need for revolution in both countries. "In South Africa the white minority controls the government and suppresses the Black majority. In the U.S. the laws say everyone is equal, but really the situation is only a little better than in South Africa. This is because both countries are ruled by capitalism and the capitalists. This means the workers have to build a movement to smash the bourgeoisie. We cannot depend on so-called radical reform.... Today, South Africa is the center for

world revolution. Revolution means uniting all workers. Malcolm X was murdered when he was making clear his intention to organize ties between Black revolutionists at home and abroad. To speed a world-wide revolution the RSL is working to re-build a world-wide revolutionary organization—the Fourth International."

At a party after the rally, two plays were put on by the Young Militants Against Apartheid. One was about the struggle this past summer in Soweto. The other was about the struggle of South African workers against their bad jobs, low wages and the network of laws that controls them. After attempting to kill his boss, a sugar cane worker is put in jail. There the prisoners trade stories about their fights against conditions under apartheid. At the same time, women from the so-called Bantustans and the city townships are meeting to plan an attack on the jail. In the last scene, the women free the prisoners and kill the guards. Then the cast led the audience in the chant, "The fight for freedom begins!"

This was Chicago SCAA's first action, and its success laid the basis for future SCAA activity in the city. In Chicago and around the country the fight for freedom has begun. □



SCAA spokesman at rally: "Revolution is the only way to destroy apartheid."

SCAA REPORTS

DETROIT

On February 26, the Detroit Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid sponsored a showing of *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. Despite snow and freezing rain, over 100 people turned out for the movie. In organizing for the showing, over 200 tickets were sold in advance. The showing was part of the initial plans of the Solidarity Committee to build support for the South African revolution.

Following the movie, speakers outlined the last eight months of struggle in South Africa and why it is necessary to build a revolutionary support movement in this country. Also available at the showing were two fact sheets recently produced by the committee. One, *Auto Companies and Apartheid*, discusses the long-standing aid the Detroit auto bosses have given and continue to give to the racist South African government. The other, *Apartheid: White Workers Thrive, Blacks Starve*, exposes the benefits white workers in South Africa

receive in return for their support to the apartheid regime. Both fact sheets are available from the Solidarity Committee.

Future activities of the committee will center on building further showings of the movie and preparations for a May Day demonstration against apartheid.

CHICAGO

The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), a supporter of SCAA, has sponsored several showings of the movie *Last Grave at Dimbaza* to steelworkers in the East Chicago-Gary area. Steelworkers at Inland and Gary Works helped leaflet plant gates to build for the successful February 19 SCAA demonstration and rally. The RSC plans to continue building the movement against apartheid with film showings and plans for a Lake County, Indiana, chapter of SCAA.

NEW YORK

The work of New York SCAA got off to a successful start with the February 26 showing of *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. About 225 people attended the film and many stayed for the discussion afterward on building the struggle against apartheid.

The composition of the audience was an important sign of the real possibilities of building a movement of working and oppressed people against apartheid. The audience was overwhelmingly Black and Latin. People came from both New York City and New Jersey. There were workers from the United Auto Workers, DC 37 (AFSCME), National Association of Letter Carriers, American Postal

Workers Union, District 1199 (hospital workers) and others, as well as members of militant community organizations in Harlem and Morning-side Heights. Workers from Jamaica, Trinidad, Guatemala, Guyana, Spain, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Africa also participated. The scope of the audience was an impressive demonstration of internationalist spirit and working class solidarity with the South African revolution.

The film was followed by speeches in English and Spanish explaining why SCAA is being organized and the need to build international support for the Black workers' revolution in South Africa. Plans for a demonstration on March 19 to commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre were announced and other ways of building the struggle against the racist South African regime were discussed.

A representative of the Amsterdam Tenants Association spoke about their struggle against threatened evictions (see article on page 12), which SCAA has been actively supporting. The tenants' participation with SCAA in the Ipi-Tombi campaign was a fine example of workers' solidarity.

The discussion from the floor was lively. A number of targets for demonstrations and boycott actions were suggested. A number of people also raised the need to connect the struggle against apartheid with the struggle against racism here at home.

The enthusiasm at the film showing led SCAA to call its first citywide meeting on March 6. Twenty-five people participated in the meeting, which laid plans for the March 19 demonstration and discussed building SCAA committees in the different boroughs and at a number of workplaces. The meeting was a success, with those attending determined to draw new members into SCAA in the coming weeks.

March With SCAA on May Day!

**DEATH TO APARTHEID! U.S. OUT
OF AFRICA! FIGHT FOR THE BLACK
WORKERS' REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA!**

For more information, contact SCAA in:

NEW YORK

SCAA
P.O. Box 524
N.Y., N.Y. 10036
(212) 942-8043

CHICAGO

SCAA
2138 E. 75th St.
Box 906
Chicago, Ill. 60649

DETROIT

SCAA
P.O. Box 503
Detroit, Mich. 48221
(313) 341-1250

**ENGAGE
PEVILLE!**

**CONSTRATE
y, March 19**

**WORK CITY
frican Airways
5th Ave.
48th and 49th)
m. 1 p.m.**

**Information
SCAA:
942-8043 or
567-3628**

Many millions of workers, both Black and white, watched the recent television special, *Roots*. And the impact of this series goes far beyond the actual number of people who saw it. On one level, the program made many people aware, for the first time, of a chapter of American history that the ruling class generally prefers not to talk about—the nature and horrors of slavery and the continuous struggle of Black people against it. This side of *Roots* evoked a strong desire on the part of many Black viewers to continue the fight for their freedom, and that is positive.

But underlying *Roots'* dramatic portrayal of the lives and conditions of the slaves and their struggle for freedom was a more subtle and reactionary message—that the horrors of slavery are in the past, and therefore there is no reason for the struggle for Black liberation to continue. Part of the message is that just by Black people understanding and knowing their roots, they achieve liberation. It is this side of *Roots*, and this message, that must be fought and rejected.

By Terry Walsh

The television series *Roots* was based on a book by the same name by Alex Haley, a Black writer. Haley spent 12 years tracing the history of his family, starting several centuries ago in Africa, when white Europeans were looting the continent for goods and Black people they could sell as slaves.

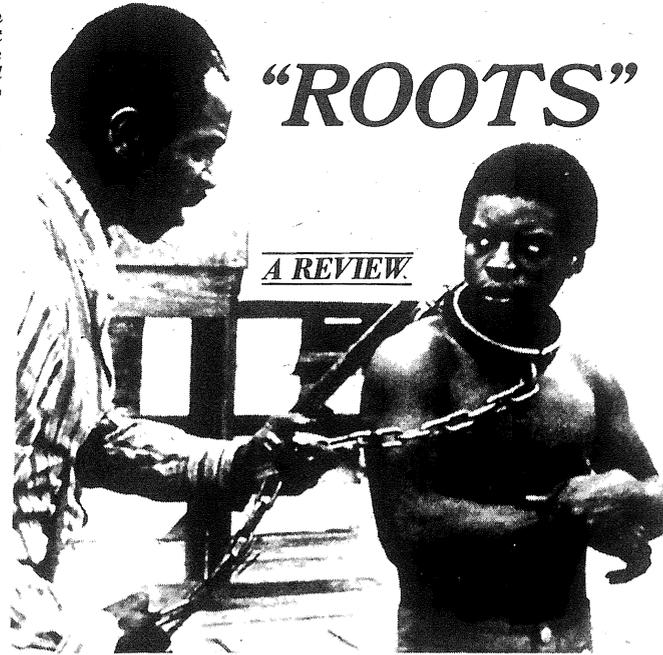
One of the major themes of *Roots* is the process of making a slave out of a free man. *Roots* shows the role that the slave maker played—the brutality used to make a man into a slave and the brutality used to keep him a slave. *Roots* also shows how Black people, under incredibly oppressive conditions, fought back against the slave owners, the slave traders and the slave makers.

The book begins with Kunta Kinte, a young Mandinka warrior, who is torn away from his home and family by slave traders. He is packed into a slave ship headed for the United States (then still colonies of Great Britain), where he is sold at a slave auction. Beaten and chained, he is brought to Virginia to work in the fields. Kunta Kinte's experiences expose the viciousness of the "breaking in" of a slave.

Kunta Kinte at first sees the other Black slaves as traitors, somehow reconciled to their position and treatment. He doesn't accept his bondage—he attempts to escape several times, and when he is caught after the last attempt, half his foot is cut off. Kunta Kinte, beaten and maimed, learns to get by, learns the language and makes friends. Years later, Kunta Kinte thinks about escaping and realizes that "he was too old to run away again and too beat up. And scared. All the pain and terror of those terrible days and nights of running came back: the blistering feet, the tearing thorns, the baying of the hounds, the snarling jaws, the falling ax. . . . He realized that they (the other slaves) felt and hated—no less than he—the oppressiveness of the system under which they lived."

Kunta Kinte, the Mandinka warrior, had been captured, chained, beaten, shot and maimed. Kunta Kinte was made a slave.

The best parts of *Roots* are the stories of Kunta Kinte and his daughter Kizzy. Kizzy leads a "favored" life as a child who is treated as a plaything of the slave owner's niece. But she is sold when she helps a field hand in an unsuccessful attempt to escape, and then leads the life of most Black women under slavery—working



"ROOTS"

A REVIEW

in the field all day, raped by the slave owner at night. Through these stories, *Roots* shows that slavery was a vicious system which brutally suppressed Blacks by splitting up families, beating, murdering and using any other means necessary to make white land owners and industrialists rich and their lives comfortable. *Roots* also shows that Blacks in no way accepted their position and heroically fought against slavery.

TV SHOW LESS ACCURATE

The television production of *Roots*, however, while compelling in its portrayal of the experiences of Kunta Kinte, presents a less accurate picture of slavery. The casual cruelty of the slave owners, the maliciousness of the slave catchers, and the repression of any attempt to fight back are clear. But the 16-hour days of back-breaking work in the fields were not shown on TV. Neither were the starvation-level living conditions in the slave shacks, the auctioning of Black babies as door prizes at parties, separation of children from their mothers, and the general brutality of day-to-day existence under slavery.

The TV production misses the fact that slavery was based on the brutal exploitation of Black labor, not just white maliciousness towards Blacks. And it ignores the crucial fact that the United States, including the so-called "American democracy," was built and maintained by this slave system. As a result, *Roots* portrays Kunta Kinte's hatred of his oppression and his fight to be free as coming from his training as an African warrior—not as reactions to the concrete conditions of slavery. His attempts to escape are shown as evidence of one man's nobility, and his brutal treatment after being captured as the individual cruelty of the slave owners—not as the experiences of thousands of Blacks, which were built into the slave system.

Despite this tendency to present slavery and the fight for Black liberation in terms of a struggle of individuals, the television version of *Roots* provides important perceptions about slavery. One of the strongest points is that it shows exactly what the role of the liberal members of the slave-owning class was, and what trusting them meant to Blacks. The liberal slave ship captain agonized for a couple of days before raping the Black women on the ship. Missy Ann

wanted to be Kizzy's best friend as long as Kizzy's only allegiance was to her. When Kizzy is beaten, chained and sold after helping a friend in an unsuccessful escape attempt, Missy Ann's reaction is to turn her back on Kizzy and say: "To think that she had an opportunity to be owned by me."

Jimmy Brent, a white, while attempting to desert from the Confederate Army near the end of the Civil War, convinces Tom, a Black man, to help him. Jimmy Brent says to Tom: "We've got to begin trusting each other sometime, it might as well be now." But when Tom leaves to get civilian clothes for Jimmy, Jimmy tries to rape Tom's wife. Tom returns to find this happening and kills Jimmy Brent. He realizes that the offer of trust means: "You trust me, so that I can continue to use you."

That Jimmy Brent meets his well-deserved death is but one example of Blacks fighting back against the slave owners, the slave traders and the slave masters. And it's with the scenes that portray this fight that the TV production of *Roots* is at its best. The scene showing the rebellion on the slave ship is an unforgettable testimony to the heroism of the fight against slavery. Men and women who were torn away from their homes united and attacked the slave traders—even though they didn't know each other's language and were beaten, chained and packed into a ship. The rebellion could not be stopped by the whips and chains—it was stopped only by the cannon. These portrayals of the struggle against the oppression of Blacks are the strong point of both



Picking cotton in Texas. For most slaves, freedom meant no escape from bondage. More subtle forms of oppression—sharecropping and endless debt—followed slavery.

the book and the TV production.

At the same time, the portrayal of these struggles is also the central weakness of *Roots*. Alex Haley and the TV producers have put a careful limit on the fight for Black liberation. Significantly, they carefully sidestep a serious presentation of the many slave revolts and conspiracies to revolt that kept the white South in a state of fear and turned it into an armed camp. In particular, the slave revolt led by Nat Turner in 1831 is bypassed as but a rumor. A chance encounter of a dead rebel by Kizzy Kinte and her son Chicken George is as real as the revolt gets. The struggle and heroism of the many collective fighters for Black freedom are thus virtually ignored.

ESCAPE FROM BONDAGE?

In the book *Roots*, when the Civil War ends, the family moves to Tennessee. The horrors of a sharecropper's life, which faced the vast majority of Blacks, and the terror of the Ku Klux Klan night-riders aren't mentioned. From that point on, Haley's family does face problems, but these are solved by working hard and looking for opportunities to move ahead.

In the TV version, sharecropping, debt peonage and night-rider attacks do receive some attention. But the family escapes all this by moving to Tennessee. The last scene shows family and friends standing on a hill singing "Oh Freedom."

In both versions, the message is clear: Haley and the TV producers are saying that the oppression of Blacks was in the past, under slavery, not something that exists today. Once the "blessings" of "American democracy" have been bestowed on Black people, says *Roots*, the way has been opened to advancement, progress, and all the wonders of the "American Dream." That the overwhelming majority of Blacks faced new forms of slavery following the Civil War is not mentioned in either version. That Blacks have suffered segregation, discrimination, terrorist violence and the worst jobs and living conditions ever since—and still do today—is not mentioned. The real history of Black people since the Civil War is not even implied. In its place is the myth that after the Civil War, opportunities for Blacks to move ahead in society were opened up. According to Haley, Blacks faced not a new form of the old oppression, more modern and more subtle—but freedom. In this way, Haley denies the need to continue the fight for Black liberation until Black people are truly free.

Haley ends his book by pointing out that his family has "made it" in America. Haley himself is an author and an editor of *Ebony* magazine. His sister is a music teacher. One brother is a Navy architect, the other an Assistant Director of the Central Intelli-

(Continued on page 15)

And

(Continued) ruling class counter-attacks savage reactionary leader Clark and Panther Party Black militancy the FBI and Bobby Seale leaders were

At the same time, Haley made some attempt to persuade the white South to do the person with capital



Detroit rebellion

efforts to enact the Act, toned down the South, and local discrimination for Blacks.

One part of the openly smashed channelled influence with electing Black. When it was a The once power was gone. This cessfully co-

ROLE OF

If the ruling on the Black struggle in ex-reforms that Black upper class laughed out of class had Black as civil right message to the

One of the r was Andrew Young's participation.

Young had most conservative leaders. Of all Luther King, direct confrontation role was scenes man, se the bargaining he was the guy outs after the was over. For Luther King d statement again and participated march at the Young who r scenes to make were kept as far as possible as tained a "pro-

Young's rig suited his tem. In fact, he was please the Sou even King took (See David L. cal Biography,

In the late

Andrew Young...

(Continued from page 9)

Panthers and other militants were under attack. Young moved to Atlanta in order to run for office. Young, along with Julian Bond, became the vanguard of the Black office-seekers. He argued that the way Black people were to achieve their goals was to run for office and make deals inside the racist Democratic Party. Young advised the Black masses to accept the token reforms offered by the liberals, break up the mass movement and let the politicians take over.

"There just comes a time when any social movement has to come in off the streets and enter politics," Young

and is now ready to "redeem" the whole nation.

This would be good news for Black people—if it were true. But it is not. The fact is that while a few token reforms have been granted, Black people remain the worst victims of capitalist exploitation, oppression and outright racism. This is true in the South, the North, and everywhere else in this country. In fact, Black unemployment is higher than ever, the income gap between Blacks and whites is greater than ever. And now, there is no mass movement to fight for Blacks' needs.

In the eyes of the capitalist class, a few more Black faces in Congress is a small price to pay for smashing the Black movement—especially when the Black Congressmen are as docile as Andrew Young. A statement by a white Atlanta businessman makes this very clear:

"I'm basically a segregationist. But segregation is bad for business. I'm wise enough to acknowledge that (Andrew) Young and people like our Mayor (Maynard Jackson) have prevented the city from coming apart at the seams. Let's face it. Atlanta is 51 percent Black and I can think of only a few white politicians who are equipped psychologically or ideologically to perpetuate racial harmony." (Quoted in Black Enterprise magazine.)

HAS YOUNG CHANGED?

By now, Young's complete loyalty to the white ruling class should be crystal clear. Has he changed? A quick look at Young's record over the past few months should dispel any such illusions.

On March 7, Young told a Washington Post reporter he might support sending U.S. troops into Zimbabwe as part of a UN "peace-keeping force."

Forget about the "UN peace-keeping force"—the U.S. used the same cover in its imperialist war of aggression against the Korean people. Andrew Young is for sending the imperialist army into Africa—and that says it all about where he lines up in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors.

In the same interview, Young an-

nounced he would try to "soften" an anti-apartheid resolution coming up in the UN so it would "not be totally destructive of the South African government." So much for Young's struggle against apartheid.

And more than ever, Young insists that Black people must count on the good will of their imperialist foes. Young—like the South African and Rhodesian racists—tells the African masses that they are incapable of running the mines, the factories—and indeed their very lives—without the "aid" of the imperialists:

"As bad as it sounds," he told a Chicago press conference last November 17, "it means the multinational corporations will continue to have a major influence on the development and productive capacity of the Third World. The problem in Africa is that their wealth is mineral wealth and nobody but the multinationals has the skill to extract it."

Andrew Young clearly has not changed. He pushes the same line in Africa that he advanced during the civil rights movement. He preaches moderation, put down the gun and trust the ruling class.

Far from being a friend of Black and other oppressed people, Andrew Young is one of their worst enemies. He helped destroy one movement. He must not be allowed to succeed again. Malcolm X issued a strong warning more than 10 years ago about people like Young and the role they play. Every word of it is equally applicable today:

"What will they give us in 1965? I just read where they planned to make a Black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, Black boys, and put him in the cabinet, so he can walk around Washington with a cigar—fire on one end and fool on the other.

"And because his immediate personal problem will have been solved, he will be the one to tell our people, 'Look how much progress we're making: I'm in Washington, D.C. I can have tea in the White House. I'm your, you know, your leader.'"

(Malcolm X, "Prospects for Freedom in 1965.") □



Detroit rebellion, 1967.

efforts to enforce the Voting Rights Act, toned down Jim Crow in the South, and lowered the barriers of discrimination for middle and upper class Blacks.

One part of the movement was openly smashed. The other part was channelled into a passive struggle for influence within the Democratic Party, electing Black politicians and the like. When it was all over, nothing was left. The once powerful mass movement was gone. The ruling class had successfully co-opted the struggle.

ROLE OF THE MODERATES

If the ruling class, alone, had called on the Black masses to give up their struggle in exchange for a handful of reforms that mainly benefited the Black upper crust, it would have been laughed out of town. But the ruling class had Black allies with reputations as civil rights leaders to carry the message to the Black community.

One of the most outspoken of these was Andrew Young. This is where Young's particular skills came to the fore.

Young had always been among the most conservative of the civil rights leaders. Of all the associates of Martin Luther King, he was least involved in direct confrontations. Young's particular role was that of the behind-the-scenes man, selling out the masses at the bargaining table. In other words, he was the guy who arranged the sell-outs after the militant speech-making was over. For example, when Martin Luther King decided to make a public statement against the war in Vietnam and participate in the April 15, 1967, march at the UN, it was Andrew Young who negotiated behind the scenes to make sure that NLF flags were kept as far away from the march as possible and that the march retained a "pro-American" character.

Young's right-wing role perfectly suited his temperament and politics. In fact, he was sometimes so eager to please the Southern ruling class that even King took to calling him "Tom." (See David L. Lewis, King: A Critical Biography, page 278.)

In the late '60s, when the Black

insisted. Politics in this sense—counterposed to mass struggle—is the death of a movement.

YOUNG DEFENDS ROLE

Young, of course, defends his role today. He says that Blacks are better off today, with no movement, than 10 years ago, when there was a mass movement. For example, just after he was elected to Congress in 1972, Young told the newspaper Muhammad Speaks: "We were demonstrating to get the right to vote so we could elect people to represent us where the decisions are being made. And now that I am where the decisions are being made, it is not necessary to demonstrate every time we have a problem."

Using the same logic, Young proclaims that the South has smashed racism once and for all. In seconding Jimmy Carter's nomination for President at the Democratic National Convention, he claimed that the South "has laid down the burden of race"

Roots: A Review...

(Continued from page 14)

gence Agency! This list, and the fact that Haley points to it to conclude his book, drives the message home.

As one Black auto worker in Detroit put it: "The point of *Roots* is to convince us that it's not like that any more, and so there's no reason to fight."

Roots is well worth reading, and the TV show was worth watching. But the lessons we should learn from the book and the movie aren't that we don't need to fight for Black liberation any more. A look at the racist prisons, courts and schools, at the condition of the cities, and at unemployment among Blacks will expose this lie. What we should learn from *Roots* is that American slavery and the horrible brutality with which Blacks were

Gay Prisoners...

(Continued from page 7)

anything. When a "chain" (new prisoners) comes in, the daddies line up and pick and choose their kids. Often a young boy or man, gay or straight, is already sold through the grapevine before they arrive. The rest are "made" or

"tricked" upon arrival. The make is a rape, and the trick is done by lending the new prisoner candy, smokes, or other items that he may not be able to pay back with the same or money. The collection is a willing intercourse or a make.

The shame, the humiliation, the fear is written in all gays'/punks' eyes if one looks. And the gay steadily goes downhill mentally. If he survives he is never the same again and lives in terror of coming back.

Very few gays are Con wise and can handle it. No one really survives it. To be any kind of human being is to never forget what you saw all around you or to forget what happened to you.

Sometimes a human being stands up and speaks out. The majority of prisoners respect this man and if he is right on they will stand with him. Many times he dies alone having stood up at the wrong time. The pigs fear this man and they isolate or kill him.

Many such men exist, many more are rising up, and among the gays there are those who struggle to fight the sexism in the prisons. We, they, need help and support from the community to win. We fight mostly ignorance among the prisoners, and cold-blooded capitalism with the pigs. Only with numbers can we deal with both. □

TV production. e, the portrayal of also the central s. Alex Haley and have put a careful r Black liberation. carefully sidestep a o of the many slave acies to revolt that h in a state of fear n armed camp. In e revolt led by Nat ypassed as but a ounter of a dead iute and her son s real as the revol and heroism of the ghters for Black rtually ignored.

BONDAGE?

ts, when the Civil ily moves to Ten- ors of a share- h faced the vast and the terror of night-riders aren't that point on, s face problems, l by working hard ortunities to move

n, share-cropping, ight-rider attacks tention. But the his by moving to ast scene shows standing on a hill om."

s, the message is TV producers are pression of Blacks nder slavery, not ts today. Once the merican democra- stowed on Black the way has been ent, progress, and f the "American verwhelming ma- ced new forms of e Civil War is not er version. That ed segregation, dis- st violence and the ng conditions ever o today—is not l history of Black il War is not even e is the myth that ortunities for ad in society were rding to Haley, ew form of the old modern and more m. In this way, ed to continue the ration until Black ee.

ok by pointing out as "made it" in nself is an author ony magazine. His acher. One brother the other an As- che Central Intelli- (moved on page 15)

from bondage. More t—followed slavery.

LETTERS

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

A READER WRITES:

"Defend Israel's Right to Exist"

In light of the recent flurry of statements and negotiations which may produce an imperialist peace in the Middle East, it is particularly important that revolutionaries and working class militants clearly understand the nature of Israel and the struggle in the Middle East. Below we print an exchange between R. Kaplan, a reader of the Torch, and Tony Curzo, the author of the Torch's major Middle East coverage in recent months.

Dear Tony Curzo:

You accuse Israel of being an imperialistic, repressive, aggressive state. This is logical in view of your belief that the crisis of the Middle East would be solved if what you call the Zionist state disappeared: perhaps, in your view, it would not be the final solution to the Middle East crisis, since that will come only with socialist revolution, but it would be, let us say, a partial final solution. You will, I hope, allow me to remember publicly and in the pages of your own newspaper that for at least two millennia now there have been people who believed that their problems would disappear if the Jews disappeared. These people are called anti-Semites.

I know that shifting the argument this way may seem shocking and in bad taste to you, for as a socialist you have always opposed racism and every other kind of irrational oppression (not to speak of rational oppression!). I do not believe you are fully conscious of the anti-Semitism of your views on the Middle East. Yet there seems to be no point in arguing about the facts of the case, for as far as imperialism and aggression go, they are exactly the opposite of the ones reported by you, and this is due to an unconscious distortion—a distortion due to an unconscious anti-Semitism; but as a socialist and a believer in reason, I am sure you will be glad to be shown how to stop standing on your head.

For when the Jews offered peace and binationalism, the Arabs attacked in force and swore there would be a genocide. They, not the Hagganah, told the Arab residents of Palestine to temporarily get out while they washed the place in blood. On this matter, you may refer to the Arabic press: see, for example, in the Beirut Daily Telegraph for September 6, 1948, the article by Mr. Emil Ghoury, who subsequently became an Arab spokesman at the UN and forgot what he had written. Or see the Jordanian Falastin of February 19, 1949. The English press (more readily available in libraries) says the same: see, for instance, the respected London Economist of October 2, 1948.

ARABS CREATED REFUGEE PROBLEM

The Arabs created the refugee problem by refusing to resettle the hundreds of thousands of refugees who were willing to be resettled. Attempts to create new agricultural

villages were deliberately thwarted by the Ba'ath party, who did not want Palestinian Arabs in their countries (Iraq and Syria), because they wanted the political capital of the camps (and of the state of war with Israel), as well as because of their own chauvinistic reasons. I should note in passing that there were at least half a million Jewish refugees who came to Israel from every Arab country at this time—even though they had lived in these countries, in some cases, for millennia. They were driven out by pogroms provoked by political events over which they had no control. Needless to say, all their property was confiscated, whereas the Israelis have offered reparations to the Palestinian Arabs, reparations which the Arab governments, who refuse to contribute to the funding of the refugee camps (while the Israelis do), block.

I am not trying to draw a pretty balance sheet. Exchanges of population are grim and brutal. Still, they have to be seen in context—and in the Middle Eastern context the Israelis have done much better than the Arabs have; and in the world context, permit me to remark that the UN has counted some 70 million refugees since the end of World War II. For example, massive exchanges of populations took place in Europe and on the Indian subcontinent. Yet this is the one you focus on, this is the one you find most abhorrent, this is the one which you choose to blame on the very people who are not most responsible for it. And this is the one involving Jews.

ARABS THE AGGRESSORS

Every war since then, including the permanent war of attrition and the terroristic campaign, has been launched by the Arabs. Constantly on the defensive, the Israelis are forced to occupy land which is more a burden than a blessing to them. But it is perfectly understandable that they should prefer to fight in the Sinai or the Golan than in the Negev or the Galilee. They have annexed nothing. They are willing—they have repeatedly said so—to return the land taken defensively in 1967 and 1973 in exchange for a permanent peace, which of course means the recognition of their state. And should they insist, in the peace settlement which some day must take place, on keeping Jerusalem (I—though it is hardly for me to say—and a great many Israelis favour internationalisation on this issue) and some strategic acreage in the Sinai and the Golan, it will not be mean to say that they have earned it.

On the other hand, what right have the Jordanians to the West Bank or the Egyptians to the Sinai? This land too was "stolen," was taken during the carving up of the British mandate. Yet these pure and simple annexations, by pure and simple despotic states, are not even mentioned any longer by the Arabs' friends: whether you, Tony Curzo, or that brave and

well-rewarded defender of the rights of the Palestinians, Spiro Agnew. Well, if you are going to be partial to the police regime in Egypt and the tribal monarchy in Jordan (itself, though not its monarchy, a purely political (in the low sense) creation, due to rivalries between Saudis and Husseinis), then surely you will allow me to be partial to the social democracy in Israel.

The facts are distorted by you, for you have a country full of toilers who have gone farther than any other group of people to make the socialist ideal work, against whom are aligned oil billionaires, and you call the workers imperialists! This is so absurd it reminds me of the people who claimed the Finns, defending their homeland against the Russian monster, were objectively on the side of imperialism.

"SOCIALISM OF FOOLS"

One would think that socialism and anti-Semitism cannot coexist. Yet they have frequently been used demagogically together, as by the spokesmen for the PLO and its splinters. August Bebel, in the last century, had already pointed out that many socialists were stupidly encouraging working-class anti-Semitism, on the theory that it was primitive class-consciousness (the Jews being identified with the capitalists). It was not consciousness of anything except hate, and Bebel called it—rather mildly, it seems today—"the socialism of fools." American populists of all sorts, such as Tom Watson, usually worked anti-Semitism into their anti-capitalist oratory. The Nazis claimed they were socialists. More recently, the black liberation movement in this country went on a wild binge during which it made a stinking brew out of socialism and anti-Semitism. The code word it used was "Zionism," but the crude appeal to black resentment of Jews (which in any case is neither deep nor widespread) was obvious.

How can a revolutionary socialist fall into this sort of demagoguery,

which befits petty bullies like Yassir Arafat? Perhaps what you find so vexing about the Jews is that they interfere with your plans. (They certainly interfere with Arafat's, but are yours the same as his?) You see a Middle East ready for revolution and, blast it, those Jews in their tiny corner have begun their revolution already. That is what Christianity found so troubling about the Jews. The Church was preparing the Second Coming and the Millennium, and there were those cursed Jews who refused to convert and who reminded the Christians of their shortcomings. The idea developed, very early, that to get the Millennium you would first have to get rid of the Jews, by conversion or by slaughter. And now in the Middle East those Jews are at it again, carrying out a true, a humane liberation movement while the Arabs are still in the service of oil monopolies and Soviet imperialism. They cannot wait like everybody else to start the revolution on time.

In a sense, your very universalism is the source of your unconscious anti-Semitism. The revolution in the Middle East has to be done your way. You cannot suffer to have the Jews do it theirs. One Millennium, indivisible; you make me think of the one true Church, militant and apostolic. Yassir Arafat wants to have it his way too: a secular Palestine, he says. Well, he's getting a secular Lebanon alright, and you may be sure that the Israelis understand that's what he has in mind for them, too. Incidentally, by encouraging anti-Israeli gangsters, you are supporting the mayhem and destruction in Lebanon. Lebanon represents the result of your prescriptions for progress in the Middle East. Little wonder the Israelis won't swallow it.

Politics in the Middle East depend not on Western concepts of democracy ("one man, one vote," which the PLO uses for propagandistic purposes in the West only), nor on class struggle, but on communal and religious loyalties. It is a disservice to the cause of peace to pretend that this can be glossed over. □

RSL Directory

NATIONAL OFFICE

P.O. Box 562
New York, N.Y. 10036

CHICAGO

P.O. Box 8062
Chicago, Ill. 60680

DETROIT

P.O. Box 639
Detroit, Michigan 48221

NEW YORK

P.O. Box 562
New York, N.Y. 10036

© 1977
Revolutionary Socialist League

Editor: Rod Miller
Managing Editor: Susan Edmunds
Circulation Manager: Karen Harrison
Production Staff: Margie Bowers,
Lee Ramie, Maria Casano
Address all correspondence to:

Torch
P.O. Box 562
Times Square Station
New York, N.Y. 10036

Subscription rates:
(U.S., Canada, Mexico)
6 issues (introductory) \$1.00
12 issues (one year) \$3.00
Supporting (one year) \$5.00
Libraries and institutions \$5.00
(Foreign)
12 issues (seamail) \$4.50
12 issues (airmail, unsealed) \$10.00
Make checks payable to the Torch.

TONY CURZO

In his letter to the RSL, Curzo constructs a narrative of the Middle East as a colonial-settler project, whatsover in Palestine. He constructs a narrative of the Middle East as a colonial-settler project, whatsover in Palestine. He constructs a narrative of the Middle East as a colonial-settler project, whatsover in Palestine.

The basic issue is the rights of the Jews. Who has the right? We say the Jews. They and their descendants are the dominant people of the Middle East. They have lived in the state of Israel for over one million years. They expelled the military means, area. The Palestine to Palestine by occupancy of the land.

In contrast, the Jews have the right. They present the First, they claim the rights of the Jews. They present the First, they claim the rights of the Jews. They present the First, they claim the rights of the Jews.

But in case of the Jews, the argument is based on the historic occupation of Palestine to the mysticism. The group in the his declared itself justify its conquest. The claim that the Jews is close to the Jews people." This is that Jews are better than the Jews (certainly better than the Jews), and that right to Palestine.

The proof that the Palestinian happened in 1948 first had to kick the Arabs before their own government local population terror. Even such as the peculiar Deir-Yassin, were Moreover, to the Zionists refuse to back—and they trick after trick remained in Palestine the world over live, but the Palestine belongs, the expulsion of the permanent exclusion basis of Israel's

GOD GAVE IT TO THEM

Israel was established by aggression against the people. The fact that the first helped the Zionists from the Palestine upon the Palestine

LETTERS

TONY CURZO REPLIES:

"Palestine for the Palestinians"

In his letter, Mr. Kaplan questions the RSL's description of Israel as a colonial-settler state with no right whatsoever in Palestine. To do this he constructs a myth which, like all the fairy tales of the Zionists, portrays Israel as the victim of everybody else's aggression. The facts are different.

The basic issue is one of democratic rights. Who has the right to Palestine? We say the Palestinians do. They and their ancestors have been the dominant people in the area for hundreds of years. In 1948, there were over one million Palestinians in the territory that has since become the state of Israel. The Jews, up until they expelled the Palestinians by military means, were a minority in the area. The Palestinians have the right to Palestine by virtue of their historic occupancy of the land.

In contrast, the Zionists claim that the Jews have the right to Palestine. They present two basic arguments. First, they claim that Palestine belongs to the Jews by virtue of their historic occupancy of the land—two thousand years ago. But this argument conveniently ignores the hundreds of years the Palestinians have been there. To claim that the land belongs to the Jews because Jews once lived there, two thousand years ago, is totally reactionary.

But in case this isn't convincing enough, the Zionists have a second argument. This one is rather simple. It is based on the claim that God gave Palestine to the Jews. This is pure mysticism. Almost every oppressor group in the history of the world has declared itself chosen by God to justify its conquest, rape and plunder. The claim that God gave Palestine to the Jews is closely tied to the claim that the Jews are God's "chosen people." This is nothing but a claim that Jews are better than anyone else (certainly better than the Palestinians), and that this gives them the right to Palestine.

The proof that Palestine belongs to the Palestinians is precisely what happened in 1948. The European Jews first had to kick out the Palestinian Arabs before they could set up their own government. They kicked out the local population through systematic terror. Even pro-Israeli Palestinians, such as the people of the village of Deir-Yassin, were not spared.

Moreover, to protect their state, the Zionists refuse to let the Palestinians back—and they have come up with trick after trick to steal the land that remained in Palestinian hands. Jews the world over can go to Palestine to live, but the Palestinians, to whom the land belongs, cannot go back. The expulsion of the Palestinians and their permanent exclusion are the very basis of Israel's existence.

GOD GAVE PALESTINE TO THE JEWS?

Israel was established by a war of aggression against the indigenous people. The fact that Arab regimes at first helped the Zionists take the land from the Palestinians, and later called upon the Palestinians to leave, doesn't

change what happened. The land was robbed from the Palestinians by the Zionists!

Israel was set up, with the connivance of U.S. imperialism, to police the Middle East. The U.S. and its allies wanted a strong state, closely tied to Western imperialism, to protect the Suez Canal and Middle Eastern oil from the anti-imperialist Arab masses. Although imperialism plays ball with all sides in this game, it backed the formation of Israel and backs Israel today for these reasons.

In the 1956 invasion of Suez and in the 1967 war, Israel proved its worth. The imperialists used Israel both times to teach hard lessons to the forces of Arab nationalism.

We should not let our sympathy for the plight of the Jews of post-World War II Europe blind us to the reality of Israel. From World War II to today, the Zionists have exploited the issue of Jewish genocide. To achieve their reactionary scheme, they cynically manipulated the homeless Jewish masses at the end of World War II. At this time, the Zionists opposed free emigration of the Jewish masses. They worked overtime to exclude the Jewish refugees from various countries, particularly Western Europe and the United States.

Why? The Zionists wanted the Jewish masses to go to Palestine, whether they wanted to or not! These supposed friends of the Jewish masses joined the imperialists to create a situation in which oppressed Jews would become the unwitting tools of imperialism.

But being oppressed doesn't give a people the right to oppress another people, to kick them out of their homes and off their farms, and to keep them off at gun-point. Only national chauvinists, who accept the dog-eat-dog system of capitalism, can use the tragedy of the Jews during World War II to justify the plunder of the Palestinians in its aftermath.

SUPPORT TO THE PALESTINIANS

We support the right of the Palestinians to Palestine and give military support to their guerrilla forces, even though they are under the leadership of petty-bourgeois forces. We say, in addition, that only a socialist revolution throughout the Middle East can win back the land for the Palestinians and bring a permanent resolution to the crisis there. This includes the overthrow of both the reactionary Arab regimes and the so-called radical ones. These regimes, while they pretend to support the Palestinians, are also tools of imperialism.

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Socialist revolution is also the only way out for the Jewish masses, tricked by Zionism and turned into pawns in the imperialists' divide and rule strategy. To win their freedom, the Israeli workers must break fully with Zionism and imperialism. They must support the struggle of the Palestinians for their land. And they must unite with the Palestinian

workers and peasants and fight for a Socialist Federation of the Middle East.

Such a Socialist Federation will abolish all discrimination and oppression based on race or religion. In such a Federation, the Jewish workers will be infinitely safer than in the present state of Israel.

METHOD OF THE ZIONISTS

It is in this context that we must look at Mr. Kaplan's remarks. First, we must deal with his charges of anti-Semitism on our part. This is the typical method of Zionist arguments. It breaks down to this: anyone who tells the truth about Israel, anyone who refuses to accept the idea that years of oppression give the Jews the right to rob and oppress the Palestinians, is called an anti-Semite. This is but an excuse to avoid a serious discussion.

But Kaplan's whole argument is of a piece with this nonsense. The Arab regimes are responsible for creating the refugee problem, says Kaplan. But who accomplished the expulsion of the Palestinians? The Zionists. Israel isn't imperialist, says Kaplan. But who invaded Suez in 1956 at the head of British and French troops? Who, moreover, keeps the territory safe for U.S. imperialism? Israel. Israel isn't repressive, says Kaplan. But why can't the Palestinians return? Why are the lands of the Palestinians still robbed from them? Why is the West Bank ruled like a colony of Israel? Israel isn't annexationist, says Kaplan. The land they have seized, he says, is more of a burden than a blessing. But the Zionists have indeed seized the land, haven't they?

Kaplan can't even keep his arguments straight. In one sentence, he claims that the Israelis have annexed nothing. But he then goes on to say that the Israelis have offered to return the land "taken defensively" in return for a permanent peace, i.e., the recognition of their state. In other words, Kaplan admits that the Israelis stole more land (Sinai and the Golan Heights) and is now using this stolen land to bargain for their right to keep the original land they stole. If this isn't imperialist and annexationist,

the words have no meaning.

ZIONISM, IMPERIALISM, APARTHEID

In his letter, Kaplan unconsciously reveals the close bond between Zionism and its brothers—U.S. imperialism and South African apartheid. He states that "Politics in the Middle East depend not on Western concepts of democracy ('one man, one vote...'), nor on class struggle, but on communal and religious loyalties." Here Kaplan is really saying—together with South African strongman Vorster—that "one man, one vote" is a Western concept that has no validity for "natives" in Africa and Asia.

Finally, one of Kaplan's remarks reveals the essence of the dispute. He says, "If you are going to be partial to the police regime in Egypt and the tribal monarchy in Jordan... then surely you will allow me to be partial to the social democracy in Israel."

But we are not partial to the police regime in Egypt and the so-called tribal monarchy in Jordan. We are for the revolutionary overthrow of these regimes. But Kaplan is partial to the so-called social democracy of Israel, regardless of its repression, its lies, and its tight alliance with the sister regimes of South Africa and "Rhodesia."

Kaplan is really saying, "If Sadat and Hussein are bloody, plundering capitalists, then why shouldn't we Jews have our own set of bloody, plundering capitalists? Let's give the Jews their cut." This approach "makes sense" only if one abandons the strategy of international revolution and makes peace with the imperialist system. Only from this starting point can one conclude—as does Kaplan—that it is better to have Jews oppressing others than to be oppressed themselves.

The RSL doesn't have a cut in this imperialist system. That's why we don't hail Western "democracy" or call Israel "socialist." That's why we won't throw the Palestinian masses to the Zionist wolves. That's also why we are working to rebuild a world revolutionary movement to smash imperialism and its Zionist junior partner. □

Subscribe Now!

Introductory Offer: 6 Issues \$1.00

12 Issues, \$3.00 Supporting, \$5.00

Subscriptions to all Prisoners: FREE

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please send this blank and check to:
Torch, P.O. Box 562, Times Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10036

N.Y. 10036

it"

s petty bullies like Yassir rhaps what you find so ut the Jews is that they th your plans. (They cerfere with Arafat's, but are same as his?) You see a t ready for revolution and se Jews in their tiny corner their revolution already. at Christianity found so out the Jews. The Church ng the Second Coming and ium, and there were those s who refused to convert minded the Christians of comings. The idea de-ry early, that to get the you would first have to e Jews, by conversion or r. And now in the Middle Jews are at it again, t a true, a humane libera-ent while the Arabs are service of oil monopolies imperialism. They cannot erybody else to start the on time.

e, your very universalism e of your unconscious anti- The revolution in the has to be done your way. suffer to have the Jews do e Millennium, indivisible; e think of the one true tant and apostolic. Yassir s to have it his way too: a stine, he says. Well, he's ular Lebanon alright, and e sure that the Israelis that's what he has in mind b. Incidentally, by encour- sraeli gangsters, you are he mayhem and destruc- tion. Lebanon represents of your prescriptions for the Middle East. Little Israelis won't swallow it.

the Middle East depend ne concepts of democracy one vote," which the PLO ppagandistic purposes in ly), nor on class struggle, nunal and religious loyal- disservice to the cause of etend that this can be

© 1977
tionary Socialist League
Editor: Rod Miller
g Editor: Susan
Manager: Helen
ion Staff:
Kamie, Maria
s all corresponden-
Torch
P.O. Box 562
nes Square Station
w York, N.Y. 10036
Subscription rates:
S, Canada, Mexico)
Introductory: \$1.00
(one year) \$3.00
g (one year) \$5.00
nd institutions \$5.00
(Foreign)
seams) \$4.50
airmail, unsealed) \$10.00
ecks payable to the Torch.

Sadlowski...

(Continued from page 2)

not Sadlowski's promises, was the important factor, they argued. This movement, according to the RCP and IS, would force real gains from both Sadlowski and the companies, and would signal the ranks taking control of the union into their own hands. Claiming that the election campaign was organizing and focusing the ranks' anger and militancy, these fake revolutionaries submerged themselves in the campaign. Throughout the election, both the IS and the RCP claimed that building Sadlowski's campaign really meant building the rank and file movement. This is completely false.

SAY WHAT IS

To win (and deserve) the trust of the working class, revolutionaries must first of all tell the truth—say what is—even when it is hard or unpleasant. The actual level of struggle among steelworkers today remains very low. For several years, the U.S. working class as a whole has refrained from fighting major class battles. This is especially true in the steelworkers' union, where large sections of the workforce are demoralized from repeated sellouts. (There hasn't been a national steel strike in nearly 20 years!) While this is slowly beginning to change, a new fighting spirit will not come about overnight.

But it is not the job of revolutionaries to merely try to create a mass movement, regardless of how the movement is built and what its program is. The task of revolutionaries—everywhere and always—is to fight to build a revolutionary, class conscious movement. This means that revolutionaries must fight to expose the trade union bureaucrats, especially the left-talking ones, whose aim is to keep the class struggle within the bounds of capitalism. Those who fail to do this are simply building a base for liberal bureaucrats.

"CRITICAL SUPPORT"

It is certainly true that under certain circumstances, revolutionaries will support the election of a bureaucrat. This can be done when getting the individual elected will help to expose him or her to the less politically conscious rank and file. By using the Leninist tactic of "critical support" (support "as a rope supports a hanged man") to elect a left-talking bureaucrat, revolutionaries can show the rank and file, through their own experiences, that the bureaucrat is a sellout.

One circumstance where the tactic of critical support can be used is when a bureaucrat is leading, by accident or design, a militant mass movement. In this situation, through the use of the critical support tactic, revolutionaries can accomplish two key aims. On the one hand, they can actively demonstrate their solidarity with the mass movement which the bureaucrat is heading. At the same time, they can expose the bureaucrat in practice, helping to break the illusions of the rank and file. And they can win some or all of the rank and file to the leadership of the revolutionary organization.

But the key here is that the bureaucrat must be standing at the head of a fighting movement. If he is not, if he is merely "talking tough," critical support will usually end up creating illusions in the bureaucrat, not in exposing him. This is precisely the case with Sadlowski.

If Sadlowski had been the leader of a rank and file movement which was

fighting around his main campaign slogans (anti-ENA, pro-union democracy, some fight against the companies), then revolutionaries would consider giving critical support to his campaign. In this situation, the support would in reality be to the fighting movement, the criticisms would be directed at its leader and at the ranks' illusions in the leader.

But unfortunately, no such movement exists in the steelworkers' union today. This is the key question—Sادلowski's campaign did not represent such a movement and was not intended to build one. One of Sadlowski's campaign coordinators stated this quite bluntly: "There is some misconception among leftists that Steelworkers Fightback (Sادلowski's campaign organization—Ed.) is a rank and file organization. It's essentially a network of contacts assembled for the purpose of electing candidates to union office."

But the IS, the RCP and other supposedly revolutionary organizations which supported Sadlowski cannot be bothered with reality. Their mistaken political outlook leads them to invent mass movements where only left-talking, out-bureaucrats exist. For the IS and RCP, the essential ingredient for workers' struggle is a left-talking, reformist bureaucrat... not the mobilization of rank and file workers. Rather than build an independent, class conscious movement, they want to build a following for the reformist wing of the labor bureaucracy. What these groups reveal is that they are fundamentally cynical about the working class and its ability to build a revolutionary movement to overthrow capitalism.

MINERS' STRUGGLE WINS GAINS

The difference between the revolutionary approach and the bankrupt approach of the RCP and IS is clearest if Ed Sadlowski, who led no movement, is contrasted with Arnold Miller, another reformist bureaucrat, who headed a powerful movement in the United Mine Workers in 1972. The miners' struggle has won real gains and the ranks have become better organized since Miller's election. But it has taken years of bitter struggle, wildcats and demonstrations, against the coal companies, the government and the union bureaucracy—including Arnold Miller—to achieve this.

The IS and RCP overlook this simple fact. In the words of the IS: "...without the campaign of the bureaucrat Yablonski and the timid reformer Miller, none of this would have happened." In fact, the opposite is the case. The movement created Arnold Miller. Miller would never have become president of the UMWA if it were not for the miners' long, organized and bitter fight. Miller placed himself at the head of a developing miners' movement. And today, because the miners had an organized movement, many of the militant miners who elected Miller are struggling against him. Thus, revolutionaries were correct to give Miller critical support in 1972.

But the IS and RCP see only the left-talking reformer, and not what lies underneath—the rank and file and its level of struggle and organization. The IS and RCP see no difference between Miller's campaign, which reflected a militant miners' movement at that time, and Sadlowski's campaign, which represented little but Sadlowski's desire to be elected.

In fact, to justify their support for the bureaucrat Sadlowski, the IS and RCP made things worse. They tried to

artificially whip up support for his campaign, when there was little active sentiment for it. This was not an easy job; the IS and RCP made one false promise after another to the steelworkers. The IS promised that Sadlowski would "strengthen the rank and file" and the RCP swore that he "draws on and reflects the upsurge among steelworkers." Much of the rank and file, however, remained skeptical and watchful. The more Sadlowski sat back and avoided any real fight, the harder these fake leftists tried to cheerlead. The RCP went so far as to criticize militant steelworkers who correctly refused to support Sadlowski for being "cynical and apathetic"!

The IS and the RCP claim to offer revolutionary leadership to the working class. But these groups showed they will surrender their revolutionary "leadership" to the first reform candidate who comes along. Throughout the campaign, both groups stopped all independent work among steelworkers and abandoned all criticisms of Sadlowski whenever and wherever it mattered.

Sادلowski's campaign was a road-

block to developing the militancy and class consciousness of the steelworkers. Sadlowski's campaign said to workers: "Don't try to take things into your own hands; just sit back and leave it all to me." Despite all their intentions, the leftist groups who lent Sadlowski their so-called "revolutionary" support only helped spread his message. They only helped reinforce workers' illusions that the road to change, in one way or another, lies in relying on someone to "do it for you."

In contrast to these organizations, the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League, actively used the election campaign to tell workers the truth and to lay the basis for a truly militant and class conscious movement of steelworkers. The RSC did not invent phony movements, or criticize from the sidelines, but told workers what they must do to win change—begin to organize their own strength and rely upon themselves. The message of the RSC was: "Don't Vote, Organize!" This message, not support for Sadlowski, is the road forward for steelworkers. □

J.P. Stevens...

(Continued from page 4)

other top bureaucrats have no interest in a serious fight to organize the unorganized. They would like to increase their dues base and expand their influence and leverage inside the Democratic Party. This is why they sometimes make half-hearted attempts to organize, at Stevens or elsewhere. But the bureaucrats know that a massive struggle and a serious strike against Stevens and the rest of the open-shop companies in the South could explode out of their control. They know that a successful organizing drive in the South means waging a full-scale social struggle against racism and sexism, as well as taking on the police and the armed goons of the textile bosses. This kind of battle would rock the South and the rest of U.S. society to its foundations. Most important, if such a struggle were launched, the bureaucrats would have trouble controlling it. The workers might not limit themselves to the narrow goals set by the bureaucrats. In the midst of an all-out battle against the textile bosses, some sections of the working class would begin to see workers' revolution as the only road to final victory.

This is what the trade union leaders want to avoid at all costs. These bureaucrats have already made their deals with the ruling class, and they are quite comfortable in their privileged positions. In order to defend their privileges and their influence, they defend the capitalist system which provides them. So Meany, Finley and friends do everything in their power to keep the working class in line, to maintain tight control over the labor movement and to make sure that the rotting capitalist system stays afloat. Rather than mobilize the labor movement to organize the South, the current leaders of the trade unions hold back and sabotage the struggles of J.P. Stevens workers and the entire working class.

To organize Southern textiles, the labor movement cannot limit itself to a plant-by-plant or company-by-company approach. This only weakens the workers in the face of a united management. An organizing drive directed at all the non-union textile plants must be launched, aiming at a region-wide, industry-wide general strike. In this way, the resources of the labor movement and the militancy and de-

termination of all pro-union textile workers can be mobilized to do the job.

But the struggle is broader than this. The United Auto Workers (UAW), the United Electrical Workers (UE), as well as the ACTWU and other unions, are now trying to organize plant by plant in the South. The United Steelworkers (USWA), the United Mineworkers (UMWA) and others already have powerful sections of the Southern working class organized. If these unions pooled their resources and opened a unified drive throughout the South, Southern workers would take up the fight for union organization and see it through to the end.

The J.P. Stevens Company, like all the Southern bosses and the rest of the ruling class, have successfully used racism to set white workers against Black workers. These racist divisions in the workforce have been the main obstacle to organizing the South, and the most serious weakness in the U.S. working class as a whole. The bosses have used sexism and the discrimination against women workers in much the same way. In most cases the trade union bureaucrats go along with this, and many of the white workers fall right into line.

UNITE THE WORKING CLASS

The only basis for overcoming these divisions is through the struggle against racist and sexist discrimination, through uniting all the workers to fight for the demands of Black and women workers. J.P. Stevens workers and workers across the South will have to show that Black and white workers and men and women workers can stand together in defense of their common interests. This kind of unity, deep in the South, will prove to workers everywhere what power we have when we refuse to be divided in the fight against the ruling class.

Uniting all workers in the drive to organize the South can lay the basis for building a revolutionary working class movement throughout the country. Such a movement will not stop once the trade unions are established in the South—that will only be the beginning. It will not stop until the Southern bosses and the entire ruling class are overthrown, until the socialist revolution is victorious. □

Vista de las cond

Los

(Continued from page 4)
ca actual, el pun
liberal UP que p
ción" de todas l
niveles del gobier
samente que no h
la mayoría negra
oprimidos. La
es la manera emb
rales de decir "c

Debe de ser cla
riormente que el
los liberales consi
cambios superfic
mantener la este
apartheid comple
el corazón de la o
en Sudáfrica está
lista blanca mis
tienen la intenció
tadura. Al contrar
te integral de est
tratando, hoy día,
siendo a ella.

¿POR QUE L HAN HE PROP

¿Por qué los
esta vez como lo
las masas negras
respuesta se pued
sos de los último
nio, las masas neg
dominación blanc
bían hecho. Han
generales y boicot
la policía y han de
tidades de propi
Han desafiado al
heid hasta sus ra

Es la lucha pop
do a los liberales
tas. Los liberales
bre fuerte Vorster
presión desnuda
Ellos se dan cuen
concesiones deben
única esperanza p
clase obrera negra
gunos de sus lídere
ala más revolucio
obrero para así a

Dos factores ad
yen el paso de la
liberal son el cre
mundial del régu
no y la influencia q
(Carter en partic
tendrán en los oc
nos. El levantam
contra el gobiern
nerado un sentimi
dadidad por las
mundo. Como res
capitalistas más y
dos a adoptar una
pera" hacia el apa

Aún más peligro
sudafricano es su