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Carter's Offensive Continues Energy Plan Attacks Working Class

By Cliff Gordon

Jimmy Carter spent the past month deciding where to begin his first major round of attacks on the battered and sinking living standards of the American working class. At the top of Jimmy's hit list are unemployed workers, whose federal benefit extensions have been cut off. Carter also flashed a hungry grin at welfare checks, which are the only thing separating millions of women and children from starvation. He will start hacking these people off the welfare rolls in August.

Carter's main squeeze, however, is the energy program. Using as "proof" a CIA report that was written to Carter's specifications, he announced that the country is facing a dire energy shortage. Grimly, Carter went on to explain the severe measures it will take to save the country from "national catastrophe."

Carter calls his program the "moral equivalent of war." A careful look at his proposals leaves no doubt who the casualties of this war are going to be: the working and oppressed people of this country.

To keep up his image as the "friend of the common man," Carter guaranteed that there would be "equal sacrifices from... every class of people..." But Carter's program only pretends to force different corporate interests like oil, coal and auto to make sacrifices. What it will really do is put the cost

of saving energy onto the backs of the working people through higher prices.

CARTER'S PROGRAM

Here are the main features of Carter's energy program:

1) Removing the price controls on any oil from new fields opened up in the U.S. Carter would allow the oil monopolies to charge world market prices.

2) A federal tax on oil pumped from currently used

fields in the U.S. This tax will raise the price to world market prices.

3) Authority for Carter to jack up the federal tax on gasoline bought at the pump if consumption continues to go up.

4) Allowing oil companies to increase the price of gas at their service station outlets.

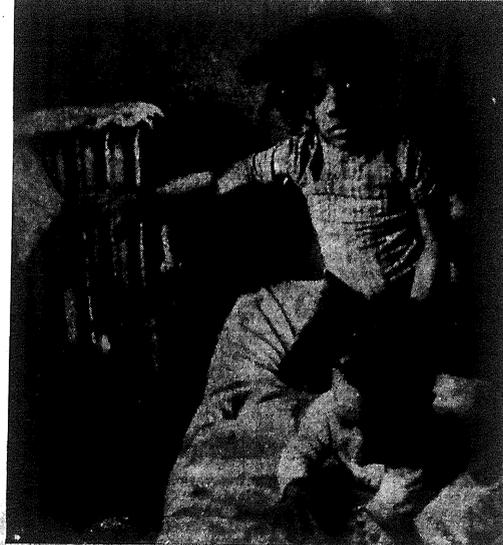
5) Driving up the price of cars with low gas mileage through adding a federal tax.

6) Raising the price of natural gas that is sold from one state to another. The initial increase in natural gas prices is estimated at 20 percent.

7) Penalizing industries which continue to burn oil, while giving tax breaks to those which switch to coal.

It is clear that the taxation and higher prices for cars and gasoline are sacrifices that will fall mainly on

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Lack of heat forced these New York children to stay in bed last winter.

Soweto Students Beat Back Government Rent Hikes

Black students in Soweto have risen up again. On April 27 they took to the streets to protest white South Africa's attempt to raise rents in the Black township outside Johannesburg.

The proposed increases would have raised monthly rents by 40 to 80 percent for the tiny shacks without electricity or running water. Coming on top of sharp increases in rail fares and the price of maize flour (the main item in most Black people's diets), these increases were a sharp attack on the Soweto Black population. This is all the more so now, since over 30 percent of the Soweto workforce is out of work.

The rent increases were also a direct attack on the mass movement. According to the government, they were necessary to make up for a \$13 million budget deficit, caused by the massive rioting of Soweto workers and students over the past year. In these rebellions, the students burned down most of the government-owned beer halls—the

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Black students demonstrate during recent Soweto mass struggle against rent increases.

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the Death Penalty...p. 15**

sección
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español

Liberal Democrats Break Atlanta City Workers' Strike

By Bob Anderson

Atlanta businessmen and government officials have broken the bitter, month-long strike of city workers. About 400 of the original 1,200 strikers were desperately trying to hold out against the strikebreaking attacks of the liberal Black mayor, Maynard Jackson, the police and the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

On April 27, the national leaders of the strikers' union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), delivered the final blow by declaring that the strike was "essentially dead."

The strike began on March 29, when Atlanta city workers went out to demand a wage hike of 50 cents per hour. The workers had received no raise since 1974, and their average wage was a miserable \$3.55 per hour. The strike was strongest among workers in the sanitation and water works departments. Almost all of the strikers were Black.

Atlanta businessmen pulled out all the stops to break the strike and destroy the union. AFSCME Local 1644 had a strong foothold in Atlanta—nearly 50 percent of the city workers belonged to the union. The Atlanta bosses saw the union's growing strength as a serious threat to their ability to use low wages and the lack of unions as attractions to bring new businesses to the city and the region.

The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, closely tied to ex-Governor Jimmy Carter and his Budget Director, ex-Atlanta banker Bert Lance, very

effectively used a parade of Black liberals and other "friends of the working man" to do their strikebreaking for them.

Maynard Jackson, the first Black mayor of a major Southern city, was elected with the support of the Atlanta trade unions and civil rights organizations. But the day after the strike began, Jackson left no room for doubts about whose interests he was serving. He announced that there was no money for raises and sent out notices to all the strikers saying they were fired. He immediately began hiring scabs, who were guarded by armed cops as they took over the jobs of the striking workers. From the beginning, Jackson made it clear that he had no intention of bargaining with the strikers. He was out to destroy the union.

And Jackson was by no means alone. The local chapters of the NAACP and the Urban League (so-called civil rights organizations) came out openly for the Mayor's strikebreaking. Martin Luther King Sr. joined the chorus of strikebreakers. He urged Jackson to "fire the hell out of them." King made his announcement on April 5, the ninth anniversary of the death of his son, Martin Luther King Jr., who was murdered in Memphis while building support for striking sanitation workers there.

The Atlanta strikers fought back courageously. On the picket lines, they fought to stop the scabs and their police escorts. On April 12, they joined with students from Atlanta University to put two tons of garbage on the front lawn of city hall. On April 23, 500 city workers and their supporters marched on city hall and the chamber of commerce to oppose the union busting. Then, on April 26, the striking workers fought their way into Maynard Jackson's office and sat in

to demand their jobs back. The police attacked the sit-in: 10 strikers were arrested and many injured. But the workers got their hits in too—seven cops were sent to the hospital. Following the sit-in, the remaining strikers, joined by welfare recipients and tenant organizations, set up a picket line at city hall.

The day before the sit-in, Mayor Jackson had announced new terms for ending the strike. Jackson's terms

April 26. As one sanitation worker put it at the meeting: "We aren't looking for a raise now, but we won't crawl. We want our jobs and our dignity."

Until April 27, a hard core of 400 strikers stood firm. But then the top AFSCME bureaucrats announced that the strike was over, pulled out the strike support money and their international representatives, and told the strikers to accept Jackson's terms. The union leadership folded after a month-long battle, and told the workers to do the best they could on their own.

The defeat of the Atlanta strike is a defeat for all workers. But an important lesson can be learned out of this defeat. The Democrats and Black liberals who claim to be friends of working people are firmly on the side



Atlanta sanitation workers demonstrate against strikebreaking Mayor Maynard Jackson.

would have forced strikers to come back to work as federally funded temporary workers, without seniority and with a big wage cut. The workers who were still on strike (over half had returned to work or found other jobs by this point) voted down Jackson's proposal by a 10 to 1 margin at a special union meeting on the night of

of the ruling class. These politicians and leaders rode to power on the back of the massive struggle of Black people in the 1960s. These same liberals are now spearheading the attacks on the entire working class. The workers must rely on their own power and organization to fight for their needs. □

Rising Inflation Robs Workers and Poor

Just last month, GM and Ford announced that their top three corporate officers got paid over \$950,000 each last year. About the same time, the Federal government released statistics showing that real take-home pay for workers had declined by a tenth of one percent last year. While the capitalist executives raise their salaries, rising prices for food, heat, medical care and other items are cutting sharply into workers' paychecks.

In the first months of 1977, prices have jumped up, causing a return to "double-digit" (10 percent or more) inflation. An April rise of 1.1 percent in the Wholesale Price Index marked the third consecutive month that wholesale prices have risen at an double-digit annual rate. Consumer prices are rising at a similar rate. The sharpest price increases have occurred in those areas which take up most of the income of a working class family: food, medical care, transportation, heat and electricity.

The winter's freeze in the South and the recent drought in the rich farmlands of California and the corn and wheat producing regions of the Midwest have driven food prices up. In February alone, food prices rose 2 percent, with fruit and vegetable

prices leading the way. How rapidly food prices will go up during the rest of the year will depend on the severity of the drought.

Even if the drought is not severe, food prices will stay high. The large agricultural capitalists and the packing and canning companies will keep prices up to line their pockets. In addition, Jimmy Carter is proposing to raise the price level at which the government subsidizes farm products. These new price supports will keep farm prices high throughout the year.

The cost of medical services has continued to rise at around 10 percent a year for several years. The cost of medical care is particularly hard on families with several children and on workers who are not covered by health insurance. But even workers who are covered by health insurance are being hit. For example, recently Blue Cross-Blue Shield drastically cut back emergency room benefits. Hospitals are now turning away patients who don't have money or insurance.

Transportation costs are also rising. The price of gasoline is already going up; with Carter's new "energy plan," it is sure to go up higher and faster. When Carter gets his taxes on oil and gas and the oil companies swell their already bloated profits, workers will

probably be paying \$1.00 or more a gallon for gas.

The cost of gasoline is only small change when compared with the impact of higher prices for electricity and natural gas. Even without Carter's new price increases, prices for these items were going up at 14 to 20 percent a year. Between higher prices for heating fuels and the cold winter, record numbers of workers are unable to pay their electric or gas bills. All of these workers now face the threat of service cutoffs. In Milwaukee, about 22,000 gas customers face disconnection. In Cleveland, gas company crews are cutting off service to 100 families every day. Nationally, the figure is expected to reach well over 100,000 families.

Inflation is just one more tool the capitalists use to rob poor and working people. It reduces real take-home pay and makes pensions and welfare even less adequate than they are now. At the same time, rising prices mean greater profits for the capitalists.

The capitalists would like to be able to control inflation and keep it at "moderate" levels. But, today, they can't. Soaring inflation is one more sign of the sickness of the entire capitalist economy. □

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RULING CLASS WHIPS UP HYSTERIA

STOP THE ATTACKS ON UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS!



By Tony Curzo

The U.S. ruling class is initiating a campaign of terror against so-called illegal aliens. These are "undocumented" workers—workers who enter or stay in the U.S. without getting legal permission from the U.S. capitalists.

The bourgeoisie claims that there are six to eight million undocumented workers in the U.S. While it's impossible to get accurate figures, the number of undocumented workers in the U.S. is undoubtedly large. Over 80 percent of these workers come from Mexico. The rest come mainly from the Caribbean. They come to the U.S. to escape the grinding oppression in their own countries which are strangled and plundered by U.S. imperialism.

When undocumented workers arrive in the U.S., they find more oppression and terror. Without rights, they are subject to immediate deportation at an employer's whim. They are forced to do the dirtiest, hardest, most unsafe work. They are forced to accept pay below the legal minimum and to make frequent kickbacks to the boss.

Undocumented workers are forced to accept the worst housing at the highest prices. "Friendly" middlemen take advantage of them in obtaining jobs, food, clothing and medical care.

And the U.S. ruling class blames the undocumented workers for unemployment, rotting living standards, the increased cost of welfare, and

higher taxes. What a cruel joke! The ruling class blames the most oppressed victims of U.S. capitalism for the problems that are caused by capitalism's own crisis!

HYSTERICAL WITCH-HUNT

To convince the rest of the workers to support the attacks on the undocumented workers, the rulers have launched a massive campaign, similar to the racist "yellow peril" campaign of the turn of the century. Newspaper articles and TV commentators denounce these workers bitterly. High government officials issue declarations about them. So-called labor leaders call for their deportation. Workers are encouraged to turn "illegals" over to the authorities.

Already, during the last 10 years, arrests and deportations of undocumented workers have jumped five-fold. Last year, almost 800,000 were deported, according to official figures. Now, Carter has come up with other proposals to attack them.

Carter is reportedly planning a three-part program: 1) an amnesty for some of the undocumented workers already in the country; 2) a fool-proof identification system for all U.S. workers—both citizens and "legal" aliens; 3) a system of penalties for employers who hire the undocumented. This program is a vicious attack on the undocumented workers. It doesn't spare the rest of the working class either.

AMNESTY: COVER FOR ATTACK

First, Carter's "amnesty" is a fraud. In all likelihood, it will cover only those who arrived before an arbitrary date, not all the undocumented workers already in the country. It serves as a "progressive" cover for the stepped-up attacks to come. And it is being offered only because the bourgeoisie has no choice. The capitalists could not possibly search out and deport the millions of undocumented workers presently in the U.S.

Carter's second proposal—a proposal for a fool-proof identification system for all so-called "legal" workers—amounts to an internal passport. This would be just like South Africa's passbook system. It will be used against the entire working class, particularly revolutionaries, union organizers and militants in general. Any time the capitalist government wants to round up anyone causing "problems," it can use this internal passport with brutal efficiency.

The third feature of Carter's program, penalties for employers who hire undocumented workers, is just a disguised attack on the undocumented workers themselves. The proposed "penalties" will only give the capitalists a slap on the wrist. But they will give undocumented workers another obstacle to overcome in trying to find a job.

If all this fails, Carter is ready to empower local police to arrest the

undocumented and turn them in.

The capitalist offensive against undocumented workers is cynical and dishonest. Undocumented workers are only a product of capitalism itself. As Karl Marx explained, capitalism needs a "reserve army of labor" that it can throw into production in boom times and throw out of work during recessions. In boom times, the capitalists use this reserve army to reduce the demand for labor and thus hold down wages. In times of crisis the capitalists throw the reserve army out of work. Thus they increase competition for the available jobs, once again weakening the entire working class.

This basic feature of capitalism is

result, undocumented workers came to form the backbone of agricultural labor. They also make up a big chunk of the labor force in the sweatshops of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and other large cities.

Now that the post-war boom is over, these workers are no longer useful. Therefore, the capitalists have declared open season on undocumented workers. The ruling class wants to drastically reduce their numbers, and strike terror into the rest.

At the same time, the capitalists want to convince the rest of the workers that the undocumented are the source of all their problems: rising unemployment, rising crime, rising welfare costs, rising taxes. In this way they want to divide the workers and prevent them from fighting the real enemy: U.S. capitalism.

Despite what Carter claims, his program will not save jobs and improve conditions for U.S. workers, "legal" or "illegal."

In the first place, the only way the U.S. capitalists can keep undocumented workers out of the country is to set up a police state. The bourgeoisie cannot seal off thousands of miles of border without an army of guards, electrical fences and Berlin-type walls.

Moreover, as the crisis of the world economy deepens, the flow of undocumented workers coming to the U.S. will increase. Carter's police state tactics will then have to be supple-

U.S. Deports Haitian Refugees

The brutality of the U.S. government can be clearly seen in its treatment of Haitian political refugees. The U.S. treats them as "illegal aliens" and ships them back to Haiti. This means imprisonment and death for the opponents of "Baby Doc" Duvalier, one of the bloodiest hangmen in the Caribbean.

U.S. policy is highlighted by a case reported in *Time* (May 2, 1977). André Tassy and 32 others fled Haiti in a boat. As soon as they reached Florida, they were arrested for "illegal entry." Their application for political refugee status was turned down, and they are now awaiting a court ruling on their deportation. If they lose, they will be turned over to Duvalier. In Duvalier's hands, the refugees will almost certainly face imprisonment, if not death.

The U.S. has tooted its horn for years about its "open door" toward political refugees. The capitalists give shelter only when it suits their purpose. They "opened the door" for hundreds of thousands of mostly upper class, right-wing Cubans, after Batista was overthrown. But the door has been shut tight to opponents of U.S. puppet regimes.

The U.S. working class must fight to open the borders to the Haitians, and to all victims of repression. And we must demand that the U.S. government halt all deportations.

Stop Deportations of Haitians! Asylum For All Political Refugees!

systematized under imperialism. To deal with the increasing strength of the working class, the imperialist bourgeoisie creates a thin, mostly white labor aristocracy out of the most skilled workers. It bribes this layer with a portion of the superprofits of imperialism. The ruling class entrusts control of the trade unions to this conservative layer.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, the bourgeoisie creates the reserve army of labor in large part out of national minorities, women workers and immigrant workers. Black, Latin and Asian workers are forced into the reserve army far out of proportion to their numbers.

THE CAPITALISTS' TACTICS

The ruling class doesn't really want to end the flow of undocumented workers into the U.S. But they want to regulate the flow. The ruling class treats "illegal" immigration like a faucet that it can turn on and off. During the long boom that followed World War II, the capitalists winked at their own laws and aggressively recruited undocumented workers. As a

ment with even more totalitarian measures, merely to stay even. These tactics will be used against the entire working class.

CLASS SOLIDARITY

At the same time, Carter's program will increase the terror and oppression of the undocumented. This will increase their insecurity and make them even less able to organize and fight to improve their conditions. It will also make it even easier for the capitalists to use the undocumented workers to attack the conditions of all workers.

There can be no bigger mistake than for U.S. workers to become the flunkies of the bosses' government. This will seriously injure the entire working class. The reactionary ideology behind the bosses' campaign of hysteria is an attempt to get the workers to unite with their class enemies, and to turn against their own class.

Rather than uniting with the capitalists to attack the undocumented workers, so-called "legal" U.S. workers must unite with the undocumented workers to build a mass, classwide struggle. Capitalism, not

(Continued on page 17)



Capitalists incited "Yellow Peril" riots in 1880s to divide working class.

Steelworkers Must Fight New Sellout Contract

Nearly 400,000 workers in basic steel have been handed a sellout national contract without even the right to vote on it. The contract—between members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and the 10 largest steel companies—is a setback for steelworkers and the entire working class movement.

The 1977 steel contract directly sets the pattern for negotiations in the copper and aluminum industries. The ruling class hopes that the steel contract will also set the pattern for the construction, railroad, telephone and coal industries. With a total of more than five million workers facing new contracts this year, the bosses will be trying to force the working class as a whole to accept the rotten terms negotiated by the USWA leadership.

The basic steel contract is so bad that the capitalist government did not even consider it necessary to issue the usual denunciations of a major contract as inflationary. The contract provides for a raise of 80 cents over three years, with a cost of living "roll in" of approximately 14 cents an hour per year. In fact, if inflation remains at 10 percent for the next three years, steelworkers will see their pay checks eroded by 2.8 percent the first year, 5.8 percent the second year and 6 percent the third year. This will amount to a wage cut of more than 14 percent over the life of the contract.

The contract has gained nothing on

safety and health, working conditions, the grievance backlog, or the rights of minority workers. The various trade-offs gave minimal gains to high seniority workers, and increased the attack on low seniority workers, who are mostly Black, Latin or women.

This is a direct result of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). Without the right to strike, any gains for high seniority workers come at the expense of the most oppressed steelworkers, and not at the expense of the steel companies.

For example, medical benefits for probationary employees were cut entirely. Pensions were raised as a trade-off—but the increases are pitiful. Existing full pensions will be increased by only \$15 a month in 1978, and new pensions started under the 1977 contract will be increased by a measly 5 percent.

I.W. Abel's promises of "lifetime job security" turned out to be a joke. The contract provides a mere one year extension of SUB (layoff) benefits for employees with over 20 years of service, providing that the worker "is not offered appropriate work at his home plant or suitable long-term employment at other locations."

Adding insult to injury, the final clause of the 1977 contract provides for the union to donate \$500,000 a year for a company run "Orientation Program" to instruct new employees on the evils of foreign steel, the value of the ENA, and the "role of produc-



Abel pals it up with bosses' negotiator J. Bruce Johnson after selling out 400,000 workers.

tivity in advancing the best interests of the parties and employees!"

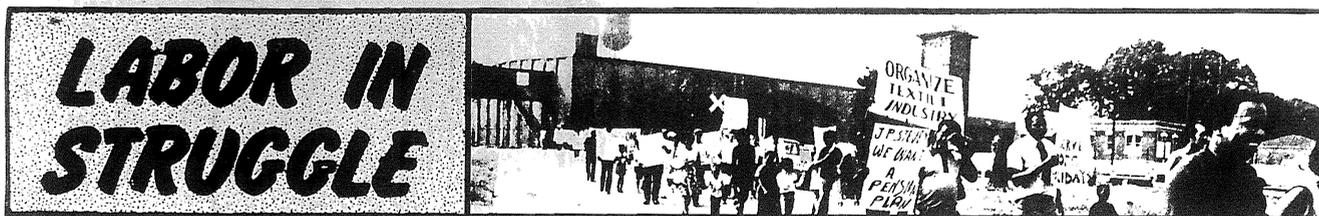
Finally, the official codification of the no-struggle, class collaborationist policies of the Abel machine, the ENA, has been extended to 1983.

While the USWA local presidents at first rejected the contract by a vote of 148 to 143, they soon fell into line and approved it. Abel reminded them that the next step under the ENA, binding arbitration, could make things worse. This brief and half-hearted resistance to the sellout faded because the majority of local presidents accept the ENA. Steelworkers must organize their forces to throw out these sellout artists and replace them with a revolutionary leadership that will fight for and mobilize a national strike that will tear up the ENA.

The national sellout has been rammed through, but many local contracts are now being negotiated. These contracts offer the ranks a

chance to begin the fight for health and safety, improved working conditions, and rights such as plantwide seniority on a local basis. These struggles, even if limited to a local scope, provide an opportunity for steelworkers to build better organized opposition to the companies' attacks and the present union leadership. While there is almost no organized national opposition to the sellout, local strikes are possible throughout basic steel. These strikes must be supported and built by all union members.

It is unlikely that the local strikes can be spread to create a national strike against the ENA, but every effort must be made to prevent the isolation of these important struggles. In the union, the fight for strike support work and sympathy walkouts must be a central task for all militants. In this way, limited gains can be won and steelworkers' fighting strength and organization improved. □



Miners Launch Wildcat Strike

More than 20,000 striking coal miners have shut down dozens of mines in Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. The wildcat strike began in early April and is continuing as we go to press.

At a number of Ohio mines, the disputes were over company attempts to institute new absenteeism policies that violate the national contract. Miners struck when the companies tried to fire UMW members for "excessive absenteeism." Roving pickets quickly spread the strike to the rest of the mines in the area. The mineowners' offensive against "excessive absenteeism" has become the main issue in the wildcat.

The top UMW bureaucrats are opposing the militant wildcat. They called an emergency executive board meeting in West Virginia to try to end it. But hundreds of striking miners flooded this meeting and demanded a national strike. Faced with this kind of pressure, the executive board voted 12 to eight to open national negotiations with the Bituminous Coal Operators. If these negotiations fail, a national coal strike appears likely.

The UMW executive board is seriously divided. The three top bureaucrats are fighting each other in a bitter race for president of the union in the June 14 elections. At the executive board meeting, incumbent president Arnold Miller led the minority in voting against national negotiations over absenteeism. One of his challengers, Harry Patrick—ex-Miller supporter and current secretary-treasurer—led the majority in calling for negotiations and opening the way to a possible national strike. The third candidate, Lee Roy

Patterson—longtime supporter of gangster Tony Boyle, former president of the UMW—sided with Patrick on the vote.

All three hacks are talking militant today. Patrick and Patterson are making noise about a national strike in order to look militant right before the elections. And all three candidates have promised to fight for the right to strike over local grievances in this year's contract negotiations. But these promises are worthless. Each of these bureaucrats has helped to break the wildcat strikes in the past. Coal miners should not support any of the candidates.

In this period, coal miners have opportunities to build their independent organization. Today they are fighting to turn this wildcat into a national strike. And there will almost certainly be more wildcats in the coming months. A national strike over the contract in December looks like a foregone conclusion. Out of these struggles, rank and file miners must build a movement that can sweep all three factions of the UMW bureaucracy out of office and put the union in the hands of militant rank and file miners.

Sterling Strikers Back to Work

DETROIT—On April 29, the members of UAW Local 1264 ratified a "new" local contract by 88 votes (1,513 to 1,425). That ended a week-old walkout at Chrysler's Sterling Heights stamping plant. The walkout affected about 30,000 workers in the U.S. and Canada. Four plants were shut down while three others were put on half-shifts.

The strike was over the company's refusal to honor the existing local contract and to correct

deteriorating health and safety conditions. But the ranks' struggle for safe working conditions was blocked by their union leaders' refusal to mobilize support for the strike from UAW locals in the Detroit-Windsor area.

The autoworkers' determination to win a decent local contract forced postponement of the ratification vote from April 28 to April 29 in spite of strong pressure from the International and the leadership of Local 1264. But when the vote came, the leaders' sabotage forced the Sterling Heights workers to accept basically the same agreement they had overwhelmingly rejected earlier.

KC and Cincy Strikers Hold Out

Public school teachers have been waging militant strikes in Kansas City and Cincinnati. In both cities, the school boards have refused to negotiate. The Kansas City Board of Education has tried to break the seven-week strike by firing over 700 workers, including all 500 non-tenured teachers and 150 custodial and cafeteria workers who are supporting the strike. City cops have arrested nearly 200 strikers on contempt of court charges.

In Cincinnati, 1,600 teachers have been striking since April 13. The Board of Education fired six teachers who were leading the fight on the picket lines for "unprofessional conduct." Over 600 strikers and supporters responded on April 30 with a demonstration demanding that the teachers be rehired and that the Board negotiate seriously.

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AFL-CIO Program Faces Defeat

Carter Steps Up War on Labor

Jimmy Carter has been in the White House for just over 100 days. In this short time, he has proved to the capitalist class that he will faithfully serve its interests. As each week goes by, Carter steps up his war on the unemployed, welfare recipients and the entire working class.

On every count, the Carter promises have turned out to be lies. Carter's fine talk about jobs for the unemployed has added up to nothing. When Carter took office, the official unemployment rate stood at 7.3 percent. It is still 7 percent today. Carter has cut the extension on unemployment benefits from 26 to 13 weeks, while his public works program is not even a drop in the bucket.

In addition to direct attacks on the working class, Carter is taking steps to soften up the organized workers for a future offensive against them.

Last summer and fall, the top trade union bureaucrats campaigned for working people to get out and elect Jimmy Carter. Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), was the first major labor leader to jump on the Carter bandwagon. George Meany and the other top leaders of the AFL-CIO were hesitant at first, but once Carter started winning the primaries they began to fall into line. By the time Carter won the Democratic nomination, every major union leader in the U.S. was in his corner. The union tops promised that a Carter victory would mean millions of jobs for the unemployed, easy passage of AFL-CIO legislative demands, big gains in union organizing efforts and more.

Expecting a friendly president in the White House, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats drew up a legislative program. This program consisted of four main parts: 1) Passage of the common situs picketing bill. This would strengthen the construction trades unions (George Meany's most loyal supporters) by allowing one craft union to shut down an entire construction site in a dispute with a single contractor. 2) A minimum wage

of \$3.00 per hour. 3) Reform of the National Labor Relations Board to speed up the process by which the NLRB sets up union representation elections. 4) Repeal of the anti-labor Section 14b of the Taft Hartley Act. This section allows states to violate the workers' rights to unionize by passing so-called right-to-work laws. These laws outlaw the union shop, a key to stable union organization.

The AFL-CIO proposals, which should be supported by militants and revolutionaries, are extremely timid. Although the bureaucrats are making noise about mass union organizing campaigns, the proposals are really designed to help the bureaucrats organize a few workers without provoking major strike struggles. The union bureaucrats see a few mild organizing campaigns as a way to boost stagnating union membership figures and to increase their own influence in U.S. politics, particularly in the Democratic Party.

But despite the meagerness of the AFL-CIO program, Carter has completely turned his back on it. He took a "neutral" position on the common situs bill, which led to its defeat in Congress. If he had made the slightest effort, it would have passed. He called the AFL-CIO minimum wage proposal inflationary and called instead for a miserable \$2.50 per hour. The rest of the AFL-CIO program is in serious trouble. The bureaucrats only proposed repeal of 14b as a bargaining chip for the other proposals, while significant reform of the NLRB is unlikely after what has happened.

The defeat of these timid proposals, by itself, does not represent a tremendous setback to the working class. But it is a sign of things to come. Carter is telling the labor bureaucrats and the capitalists that despite labor support in electing him, the bureaucrats can expect no favors from him.

There is a deeper message here. Carter is saying that in the interests of U.S. capitalism, he is preparing further attacks on the working class. He wants the labor bureaucrats to get

to work softening up the ranks for the coming assault on their living standards.

The bureaucrats are playing along. For example, while Meany gripes about some of Carter's anti-labor actions, he accepted Carter's request to sit with Reginald Jones, chairman of the board of General Electric, on a wage and price stabilization board. The announced purpose of this board

is to bring the major trade union and business leaders together to hold down wages and increase productivity. Clearly, despite the image, Meany is ready to play his part in the capitalist offensive.

The trade union bureaucrats, liberal and conservative alike, are strangling the labor movement and will lead the working class to disaster. They and Carter alike are the sworn enemies of the working class. If the workers are to fight the capitalist attacks, they must struggle against the union bureaucrats. The bureaucrats must be thrown out of the unions and replaced with revolutionary leaders who will organize and lead a fight for the real interests of the working class. □

Chrysler Workers Resist Union and Company Attacks

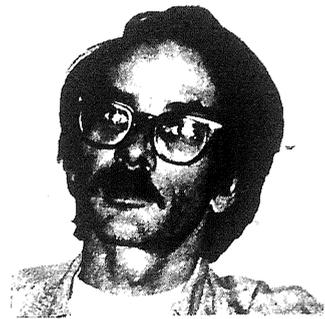
The struggle in the auto plants is beginning to heat up. As reported in last month's Torch, autoworkers shut down GM's Fremont, California, plant and Chrysler's Indianapolis Electrical plant in militant wildcat strikes. Autoworkers in a number of plants have also struck over local contract disputes. The following report is from an autoworker at Chrysler's Warren Stamping plant outside Detroit, Michigan.

By a Supporter of the
Revolutionary
Autoworkers Committee

DETROIT—Workers at Chrysler's Warren Stamping plant continue to say no to union-company collaboration. Twice now, the members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 869 have rejected a proposed local contract. And on April 5, in a runoff election for the local vice-presidency, workers once again said no to Solidarity House's local henchmen. The local bureaucrats' candidate, Frank Fazio, went down to defeat, with 909 votes to oppositionist Dave McCullough's 1132. Nearly two-thirds of the local membership turned out to vote.

McCullough recently returned to the plant after being fired. Prior to this, as chairman of the local's Fair

Employment Practices Committee, McCullough had been a thorn in the side of the company and the union leadership. He is also a supporter of the International Socialists (I.S.) and



Dave McCullough, UAW election victor.

a frequent contributor to their weekly paper, *Workers' Power*.

The union tops tried to use McCullough's connections to the I.S. in order to push through Fazio and at the same time draw attention away from the contract fight. Their main tactic was to rely on red-baiting McCullough.

McCullough's response was to try to duck this attack. He downplayed his and the I.S.'s supposed revolutionary world outlook and attempted to come off as a simple union reformer who happened to be a "socialist." This was no surprise, since the I.S.'s method is reformist and not revolutionary. But this meant McCullough refused to raise a real fighting program based on our class needs as workers, directed at the company and the class collaborationist UAW leadership. Instead, he limited himself to vague and non-committal calls for "Information, Communication, Leadership (know-how)" and "knowing where your money goes." This was the sum total of his program. He refused to talk about jobs, job security, control of working conditions, and other important questions, or about how to win them. In other words, he didn't have a real program.

Nonetheless, McCullough's election was important. The ranks said no to company and union red-baiting attacks. This came on the heels of two rejections of the proposed sellout contract. The election vote clearly has continued the pressure of the ranks on the company and union.

This has had an effect. Company harassment through firings (over 20 members recently fired), disciplines, etc., had picked up around the

(Continued on page 16)

Stop the Slaughter at U.S. Steel!

GARY, Indiana—On the night of May 4, Doug Shea—a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1014—was working in the coke plant at U.S. Steel's Gary Works. He was on the topside of Battery No. 3 when hot coal from the overhead conveyor poured down on him. Shea is now lying in the intensive care unit of Mercy Hospital in Gary with second-degree burns over 40 percent of his body.

Two days later, Michael Riley, a welder from an outside construction firm, was working on the same battery. Again, the overhead conveyor poured the hot coal down, covering Riley's clothes and engulfing his body in flames. On Sunday, May 8, Michael Riley died. These were not accidents.

U.S. Steel knows these batteries are death traps. They know all the equipment in the steel mills is unsafe. Shea is in intensive care and Riley is dead because the lives of the workers mean nothing to the capitalist class.

Doug has been an active fighter against unsafe conditions in the coke plants. Last February, in a letter to the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, Doug denounced U.S. Steel for their use of the unsafe batteries and made clear that those batteries would mean slaughter for coke plant workers. Doug and his supporters in the coke plant fought for an elected, division-wide safety committee to enforce safe working conditions and to stop production if necessary.

Militant coke plant workers have launched a campaign to stop the murders at U.S. Steel. They are fight-

ing to shut down the coke plant. The RSC put out a leaflet and, along with other coke plant workers, circulated a petition to organize for a May 9 union meeting.

Many angry coke plant workers turned out for that meeting. The RSC put forward three motions. 1) Shut down the coke plant without layoffs or loss of pay until the coke plant workers decide it is safe. 2) Immediately elect a rank and file safety committee to implement this decision and organize the fight. 3) Call a special division meeting of coke plant workers within a week to decide on further actions.

The union hacks ruled all these motions out of order. Instead, they formed a special safety committee to "investigate" unsafe conditions and file grievances.

The local union leaders were hoping to "cool things down." But their apologies for U.S. Steel only further angered workers at the meeting. Many coke plant workers are now taking the fight back to their department. The RSC is helping to organize this struggle and is working to spread it to the other steel mills in the Gary and Chicago area.

U.S. Steel's Gary Works has no monopoly on deadly conditions. Year in and year out, workers are maimed and killed by the bosses' drive for profit—at U.S. Steel, Republic, Bethlehem, Inland, and in factories, mines and mills around the world. The fight against unsafe working conditions in the Chicago-Gary area is only one part of the fight against the brutality and exploitation that characterizes capitalism everywhere.



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Prisoners Strike at Walla Walla

Demonstration Demands: "Free Lenard"

CHICAGO—On April 15, the trial of Benny Lenard started at the Fourth District Court in Bellwood, Illinois. Lenard, a Black worker at International Harvester in the Chicago suburb of Melrose Park, faces charges of assault, resisting arrest, possession of illegal firearms and possession of open liquor bottles in his car. These charges are lies. Last winter, Lenard was rear-ended when he was driving home from work at night. A young white woman was driving the other car. When the Melrose Park cops arrived, they beat Lenard and then took him to the police station where they beat him some more. Later they told him: "Nigger, we're going to do to you like they did to Kunte Kinte."

Lenard was hospitalized for over a month. As a result of the brutal beatings, he has suffered permanent damage to his vision.

As the trial opened on April 15, 50 unionists and leftists including supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League held a militant demonstration outside the courthouse. Many of the demonstrators were from Lenard's union, UAW Local 6, which set up the Benny Lenard Defense Committee. Several other unions in the area, including UAW Locals 551 and 1061, also gave support.

The cops tried to intimidate the demonstrators and people in the courtroom. No supporters of Lenard were allowed in. The bailiffs searched his lawyers from head to toe, and told one defense lawyer that he couldn't take notes!

Despite this harassment, the two and one-half hour demonstration was spirited. The racist cops and courts will be shown that we will not give up until Lenard is free and compensated for his injuries.

Peltier Framed for FBI Crimes

On April 18, an all-white jury found Leonard Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), guilty of two counts of first degree murder. He now faces life in prison. The conviction is the result of a two-year attempt by the state to whitewash the role of the FBI in its June 1975 invasion of the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. In the government-provoked gun battle, one Native American and two FBI agents were killed.

In 1976, AIM members Robert Robideau and Darrelle "Dino" Butler were tried for the shootings. They pleaded self-defense and won acquittal. Peltier fled to Canada, where he asked for political asylum. To get him extradited, the U.S. government used two sworn statements by Myrtle Poor Bear. One statement said she overheard Peltier plotting with others to kill FBI agents. A second statement alleged she saw Peltier, Butler and Robideau shoot the FBI agents. Accepting this testimony, Canada extradited Peltier.

During the course of trial, however, Poor Bear admitted that the FBI forced her to make those statements. She added that she had never seen Peltier before the trial. But Judge Paul Benson would not allow this testimony, which could have freed Peltier, to be presented to the jury! Further, the state never tried to prove that Peltier's rifle was the gun used to shoot the FBI agents.

Throughout the trial, the judge and the prosecutor worked hand in hand, excluding the truth if it supported Peltier's innocence and admitting anything that was helpful to the state.

In Brief...

Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez are on trial for murder—though the state admits it has no eyewitnesses, no confession, no fingerprints, and no motive!

Narciso and Perez are charged with two counts of murder stemming from the deaths of patients at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Ann Arbor, where they were working as nurses. The patients had been given a strong muscle relaxant, Pavulon, which caused the deaths.

It has been revealed that the FBI agreed not to question doctors at the hospital about the patient deaths. While being interrogated, a nurse asked an FBI agent why it was assumed the murderer had to be a nurse. The agent replied, "Because we have orders from Dr. Lindenauser (hospital chief of staff) that he doesn't want his doctors harassed."

These "ground rules" were set before the investigation began. Even though doctors are the ones who usually administer Pavulon, the FBI and the hospital bosses agreed no doctor would go to trial for the murders. Instead, the frame-up of Narciso and Perez goes on.

* * *

On May 9, Patricia Hearst was given five years' probation on robbery charges stemming from a 1974 shoot-out at a Los Angeles sporting goods store. Judge E. Talbot Callister stated that she is not a present or future threat to society. The prosecutor added his two cents, saying that Hearst's wealth "should not be held against her in sentencing." It wasn't. In fact, it bought her way out of prison in the first place. It is also paying for her appeal on a bank robbery conviction.

Patricia Hearst proved herself "no threat." She turned in the names of brothers and sisters who helped her escape capture while she was a fugitive with William and Emily Harris, and she helped the FBI convict the Harrises. Patty Hearst is a bourgeois pig. This is the reason why the rulers of this country see no need to "rehabilitate" her.

—FH

MAY 11—Prisoners at Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla have revolted against the prison administration. Last month, the general prison population began fighting to halt the repression faced by prisoners in the Intensive Security Unit (a row of six-by-eight-foot cells where prisoners are held 23 hours a day, also called the hole).

The prison store and commissary were ripped apart and a fire was set in the prison chapel. Since April 10, the general population of the prison has been on strike—in solidarity with those in the ISU. The strike has now become the longest prison strike in Washington history.

This explosion has been building up for the last five months. Late last year, the Walla Walla Brothers, a group of prisoners at the prison, launched a petition and education campaign to expose conditions at Walla Walla.

They publicized the use of behavior modification, the brutality of prison guards and the repressive and unsanitary conditions in the ISU. A series of court suits were filed against conditions at Walla Walla.

The center of the petition drive was the keepers' misuse of the so-called "threat provision" of the Washington Administrative Code and the arbitrary manner in which prisoners are thrown in the ISU.

The "threat provision" says that a prisoner can be placed in the ISU if the administrators can demonstrate the prisoner is an "immediate threat to the security of the institution." But at Walla Walla, administrators throw prisoners in the hole whenever they want, often for political beliefs.

When the Walla Walla Brothers began their campaign, the authorities responded with strip searches, confiscation of mail and threats of further reprisals. The keepers want to completely isolate Walla Walla prisoners from outside support and beat the fight out of them.

In February, the administrators claimed that a number of prisoners were planning to seize the prison, kill the warden and steal an atom bomb. Armed with this paranoid fantasy, the guards intensified the strip searches and stole petitions.

In early April, when a lighter exploded at the trial of two Walla Walla inmates, blowing away a guard's hand, the administration used this as an excuse to lock prisoners in the ISU and begin further searches. This time prisoners were maced, stripped naked and thrown into shit and piss-filled strip cells.

The administrators also invented new "rules" to isolate and harass the prisoners. Now prisoners in the ISU may have only one visitor per month, and only with immediate family. The keepers also state that they may withhold food as punishment.

But this wave of repression did not snuff out the struggle, as the keepers hoped. Instead, the struggle expanded. The general population began to be actively involved. When the commissary, store and chapel were attacked, the administrators deadlocked the prison (kept all inmates in their cells 24 hours a day). The general population then went on strike. This strike has been going on for over a month.

The strike has forced a concession

from the state. In late April, Governor Dixy Lee Ray appointed a special commission to investigate conditions at Walla Walla and negotiate with the prisoners. This concession, small as it is, comes as the result of the determined fight that the prisoners put up.

But the committee, made up of bourgeois liberals and officers of local corporations, is not likely to effect any changes. In a letter written to the Torch in late April, a Walla Walla Brother says:

"The situation here (is) still the same. The Governor appointed a committee to investigate here, but so far they have not even toured the prison, much less segregation, or heard Ed as our spokesman. We feel a white-wash is coming but will see and deal with it then."

While the committee is a concession, the state plans to use it against the prisoners. The committee is in fact set up to end the strike and do little else.

What is needed is outside support. Prisoners at Walla Walla have been appealing to the Seattle left for solidarity demonstrations. So far, none have taken place.

In the Bay Area, however, a solidarity committee has been formed. So far the Bay Area Walla Walla Solidarity Committee has issued a press release on the recent events at Walla Walla. With the growth of the committee, demonstrations could be organized and the petition campaign could be broadened. It is crucial to the struggle of the brothers at Walla Walla that outside support be built so that the state will have less of a chance to launch a new offensive.

(For more information write the Torch or: Bay Area Walla Walla Solidarity Committee, c/o David Stern, 314 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94103.) □

Support the Prisoner Literature Fund

In the past year, the Torch has greatly expanded its coverage of prisoners' struggles. The number of prisoners who read the Torch and correspond with the Revolutionary Socialist League has also increased significantly.

The RSL provides revolutionary literature to prisoners to the extent that we can. Also, large numbers of prisoners receive free subscriptions to the Torch.

Lack of funds keeps us from sending prisoners all the literature they want. Thus, to increase the amount of literature we can send we are launching a "Prisoner Literature Fund." We encourage all readers of the Torch to donate to this fund so that we can supply prisoners with revolutionary literature. Those who can make a monthly pledge, no matter how small, should do so. This money will be used exclusively for providing prisoners with revolutionary literature.

(Send contributions to: Prisoner Literature Fund, P.O. Box 562, New York, N.Y. 10036.)

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SWP Red-Baited; NOW Moves Further to the Right

DETROIT—The National Organization of Women (NOW) held its 10th national convention here on the weekend of April 22-24. The convention decided to make passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) the focus of NOW's activities for the coming year.

At every point in the convention, NOW made its anti-working class, racist nature clear. The convention voted down a proposal to launch a campaign to recruit Black, Latin, Asian and Native American women to

the organization and to carry on a fight against their special oppression.

Determined to show its "respectability" in terms of bourgeois liberal politics, NOW even found a proposal for a mass demonstration next fall in support of the ERA too "radical" and rejected it.

The defeated proposals were put forward by two caucuses in which the leading role was played by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP has long sung NOW's praises and tried to hide the fact that NOW is

a middle class organization led by professional Democratic Party politicians.

For years, the SWP has capitulated to bourgeois feminism, arguing that a "consistent fight" for bourgeois reforms automatically leads to socialism. Rather than expose the rotten anti-working class character of NOW, the SWP put forward proposals that would give NOW a slightly more left-wing image without a head-on fight against the NOW leaders.

The SWP got paid back in full for this shameless opportunism. NOW's

leaders ended the convention with a vicious red-baiting attack on the SWP as supposed "communist infiltrators." The SWP is no real threat to NOW's liberal orientation, but NOW leaders were determined to prove to their Democratic Party allies that nothing even slightly "pink" would taint NOW's loyal Red, White and Blue.

NOW has always been an organization of middle class women out to win influence inside the Democratic Party. It has always ignored—and fought against—the needs and struggles of working class women.

Betty Friedan, NOW leader and founder, summed up NOW's position clearly: "About the only ones not identified with it (NOW's philosophy of women's liberation) are the oldest, poorest, and least educated. These people are terrified of change and aren't equipped to do anything about it in the first place." (Detroit News, April 18, 1977.) □

SHOULD WORKERS SUPPORT THE ERA?

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) is a proposed constitutional amendment that would legally prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex. It was passed by Congress in 1972. To become part of the Constitution, it must be ratified by the legislatures of 38 states before 1979. It is now in serious trouble: 35 states have ratified, but several are considering reversing their votes.

WHAT IS THE ERA?

On the surface, it might appear that all people who are for full equality for women should support the ERA. But the issue is not as clear as it looks at first sight. Is the ERA really a step forward, as its backers claim? Or does it represent an attack on the conditions of the working class, under the guise of gaining rights for women?

The ERA represents a disguised attack on the working class as a whole and, therefore, on the vast majority of

women. The specific area of attack is protective legislation.

Through struggle, women workers in the past won some limited legal protection from unsafe and unhealthy conditions in the workplace. These included limits on lifting weight, breaktime minimums, overtime maximums, etc. Over the years, as more women entered industry, some employers had to extend these regulations to cover male workers where both men and women were employed together.

Ironically, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided a tool by which the ruling class could undermine this protective legislation. This tool was Title VII of the Act, which outlawed discrimination on the basis of race, sex, creed or religion.

Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act, many states have used this anti-discrimination section to strike down protective legislation for women. The bosses argued that these



Democratic Congresswoman Barbara Jordan leads pro-ERA march last year.

laws, since they applied only to women, were "discriminatory!" Title VII and state ERAs (which have been passed by a number of states) have already wiped out some or all protective laws for women workers in 21 states.

For example, the U.S. Supreme Court recently struck down a section of the California Labor Code requiring overtime pay for women after eight hours a day or 40 hours a week. Since this law only protected women, the Court argued it was "discrimination."

In 1972, Bell Telephone and the Fiberboard Corporation in Antioch, California, ended protective rules for women, using Title VII as the excuse. Women were then forced to work double shifts (16 hours), to go without lunch breaks and to lift 150 pounds per minute in three lifts of 50 pounds each off a moving belt. All these had previously been illegal under protective laws.

In Michigan, the repeal of a state law limiting working hours for women led to an attack on male workers as well. The limit on women's hours had forced Chrysler Corporation to operate three shifts for all workers in a Dodge plant with a large number of women workers. When the law was repealed, two 12-hour shifts were established for everyone. (This law was later reinstated.)

FALSE ARGUMENTS

Some have argued that since Title VII already exists, the ERA would not have a negative impact on protective legislation and working conditions. And they argue that the ERA would strike a blow against discrimination against women.

There is little merit to this argu-

ment. There is no way to be certain what the impact of the ERA will be on protective legislation and the conditions of the working class. However, as a constitutional amendment, it is likely to have a broader impact than Title VII, which is only a section of the Civil Rights Act. The ERA may well give the green light to further attacks on working conditions under the guise of "equality." And it may be applied to other areas, beyond protective legislation, where the capitalists would like to "equalize" conditions by taking away hard-won rights.

At the same time, it is doubtful that the ERA will have a significant positive effect on the conditions of women in U.S. society, particularly working class women. Why are President Carter, George Meany and many of the dominant sections of the capitalist class in favor of the ERA? Why does the ruling class, in a period when there is a capitalist offensive against the working class and a lack of militant struggle by the working class, support something that supposedly represents a significant gain for working class women?

The answer is simple. The ERA will mean no such gain. Carter, Meany and most of the bourgeoisie are for the ERA for two reasons. 1) They want to make it look as if the U.S. is achieving equality for women. 2) They want to give a sop to the middle class women's movement, in order to tie it all the more firmly to the Democratic Party.

Thus, in all probability, the ERA represents no real gains for the vast majority of women—working class women—and a potential attack on them. Until it is proven otherwise, revolutionaries must call for the working class to oppose the ERA. □

Women Prisoners Fight Sexual Harassment

On April 4, women prisoners at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in New York filed suit in Federal Court against the humiliating, embarrassing and degrading policy of allowing male guards access to the women's units.

Since last February, male guards have been posted at toilet facilities, in living quarters and at the prison clinic. In these areas, the prisoners' suit charges, women are "unnecessarily and involuntarily exposed in the nude and partially clad to the men guards."

The women prisoners are fighting the practice of the 45 male guards being allowed to enter the housing units unannounced. They are also fighting a policy that does not allow women to have curtains, so that they are "continuously exposed to the uninvited gaze of men correction officers."

According to Ruby Ryles, a speaker for the Department of Correctional Services in Albany, "We are trying to establish a system where there is no sexual identity of officers. We instituted a policy so women officers can have equal opportunity in the system. This (complaint) is one of the consequences of that policy."

The question of "equal opportu-

ity" for women guards is ridiculous. The matter here is one of basic human rights for the female prisoners—and to what grotesque lengths the administrators will go in order to keep the prisoners in line.

Male guards do, and always will, have a "sexual identity"—and it's used against the female prisoners. This "identity" is, in fact, one of the guards' more disgusting forms of control and harassment. Male guards continually humiliate women prisoners and often sexually abuse them. Male guards are often present for strip searches of women. And it is no strange occurrence for women to become pregnant while in prison.

It is only a short step from "invasion of privacy" to assault and sexual abuse. Yet male guards are protected by a society that encourages the abuse of women in general and women prisoners in particular.

A civil suit against invasion of privacy will not end all of the abuses of women in prisons. But it can be used as a starting point to educate and organize people around women's right to control their own bodies—a right which does not end once women are imprisoned. □

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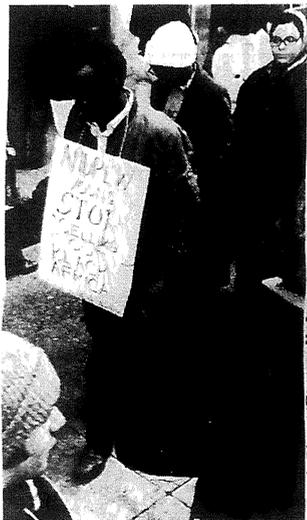
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A Reply to the Militant

Leninism or SWP Liberalism?

The April 15 issue of the *Militant*, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), carries an article by Cliff Conner attacking the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid for ultraleftism. While Conner could not bring himself to mention the names of these organizations, it is clear that he is referring to the intervention of the RSL-SCAA contingent at the March 26 anti-apartheid demonstration in New York City. This demonstration was organized by the SWP and its student group, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

Conner's complaint? The RSL-SCAA contingent tried to convince the people at the demonstration that effective support for the Black struggle in South Africa cannot be based on support for the chief slogan of U.S. imperialism, "Black Majority Rule." Instead, it must be based on an



March 26 anti-apartheid rally, New York.

understanding that apartheid will be smashed through Black workers' revolution, and in opposition to U.S. imperialism. The RSL-SCAA intervention made it plain that the SWP wants to prevent the development of a mass anti-apartheid movement that openly supports revolution in South Africa.

LIBERAL STRATEGY

The SWP claims that it wants to build an anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. on "the broadest possible basis." In and of itself, there is nothing necessarily wrong or unprincipled about this. However, the SWP rhetoric about the "broadest possible basis" is just a pretext to cloak and justify the SWP's real aim. This is to channel anti-apartheid sentiment into an SWP-led movement based on liberal politics—politics which hide the U.S. scheme to destroy the revolution in South Africa.

To accomplish this, the SWP must try to suppress revolutionary politics in the anti-apartheid movement. This came out most sharply in a struggle over the chanting at the March 26 demonstration. The RSL-SCAA forces raised chants calling for smashing apartheid through revolution in South Africa, such as "Death to Apartheid—Victory to the Black Workers' Revolution!" and "U.S. Out of Africa—Smash Apartheid!" The SWP-NSCAR

forces tried at every point to drown out these chants with the slogan: "Black Majority Rule." As the demonstration progressed, the most noticeable feature of the picket line became the desperate attempt of the SWP-NSCAR leaders to smother revolution with "Black Majority Rule."

There is a deep significance to the SWP's choice of slogans. "Black Majority Rule" is the slogan which the imperialists are using today to hide their real intentions in South Africa. When the guerrilla war in Zimbabwe heated up and the South African masses rose up in rebellion against the apartheid regime, Carter, Young and the British imperialists suddenly became devoted champions of the slogan "Black Majority Rule."

But in raising "Black Majority Rule," the imperialists do not mean that Black people should rule Zimbabwe and South Africa. "Black Majority Rule" is merely being used as a cover for a neo-colonialist strategy designed to trick the Black masses into accepting peaceful negotiations, token reforms and empty promises as a substitute for smashing apartheid through revolution. The imperialists hope to confuse the growing mass movement in southern Africa, break its momentum and then go on to break it back.

One of the chief tasks of revolutionaries is to expose this imperialist plot. This requires a systematic campaign to explain what really lies behind the "Black Majority Rule" slogan. But far from exposing the neo-colonialist strategy of the U.S., the SWP endorses it and builds support for it. For example, a leaflet issued at the March 26 demonstration by the YSA (the SWP youth group) says: "It's up to us to show Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young that it's not good enough for them to call for 'majority rule' in Zimbabwe while conducting business as usual with John Vorster in South Africa."

In other words, the SWP tells people that the U.S. imperialists are genuinely fighting to smash white rule in Zimbabwe, and need only be encouraged to do the same in South Africa. This is a deadly lie!

"UNITED FRONT" WITH LIBERALS

The key element in the SWP's strategy is building a so-called "united front" with liberal politicians. The SWP hopes that this will enhance its "prestige," give it "influential" allies and help it dominate the anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. There are, in fact, plenty of liberal Democrats who are happy to link themselves to limited protests against apartheid as an easy way of keeping up a "militant" image. Moreover, liberals are happy to join a movement based on their own program—since such a movement can only build greater illusions in the U.S. neo-colonialist strategy.

The price for all this? Nothing short of selling out the South African struggle! To win the participation of the liberals, the SWP must be willing to keep the movement "respectable." This means suppressing revolutionaries and revolutionary politics inside the movement, and preventing the movement from adopting a program more radical than the liberals are prepared to support. But, as we have seen, the liberal program is an imperialist program—designed to ultimately crush the South African revolution.

Thus, the SWP strategy amounts to building a movement for the liberals and acting as policemen for the bourgeoisie against revolutionary influence over the movement. This comes down to helping to provide a cover for the U.S. neo-colonialist strategy. This is the real meaning of the *Militant's* attack on the RSL and SCAA.

APPEAL TO LENIN?

There is only one part of Conner's polemic which rises above the silly sneering that characterizes the rest of his piece. Like all centrists, Conner must dress his liberal politics in revolutionary clothes if he hopes to get revolutionary-minded militants to take him seriously. Therefore, Conner has dragged out Lenin to defend what the SWP is doing around South Africa and to attack the revolutionary policy of the RSL and SCAA.

Conner quotes from Lenin's *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, written in April 1917:

"The slogan, 'Down With the War,' is correct to be sure, but it does not take into account the peculiarity of the tasks of the moment, the necessity to approach the masses in a different way. It reminds me of another slogan, 'Down With the Tsar,' with which an inexperienced agitator of the 'good old days' went directly and simply to the village—to be beaten up."

Unfortunately for Conner, selecting this passage to prove his point only proves that the SWP's approach is cowardly and opportunist. A more careful look at this quote from Lenin demonstrates this.

Why did the agitator in Lenin's anecdote get beaten up? Because he

went to the working class and said "Down With the Tsar?" No! Because if he had done this, he would have gotten a good hearing. Most Russian workers lost their illusions in the Tsar after Bloody Sunday in 1905. The agitator got beaten because he went to the deeply religious peasants, who believed that God had sent the Tsar to rule over and protect them.

The reason not to say "Down With the Tsar" to politically backward and superstitious peasants was that if an agitator raised this slogan, he wouldn't get a hearing from them. If Conner wants the Lenin quote to have any real meaning, he must believe that we of the RSL and SCAA are making the same mistake the agitator made. Does the SWP believe that if revolutionaries go to the workers, particularly Black and Latin workers, with a call to overthrow apartheid they won't get a hearing? This is the only meaning Conner's discussion can have.

But this is ridiculous. There are thousands of workers in the U.S. who understand that the only way apartheid can be eliminated is through a revolution. They are hesitant to join the struggle because they are not yet sure it can be won. Calling for revolution in South Africa and building support for it will certainly not prevent revolutionaries from getting a hearing from these workers. It will increase these workers' willingness to listen to revolutionaries.

But the SWP is not trying to reach these workers. It is not trying to build a working class movement to oppose apartheid. The SWP wants to build a middle class movement against apartheid, and it doesn't want to offend the precious sensibilities of the liberal politicians whom it is trying to woo.

So it is no accident that Conner chooses a quotation in which Lenin talks about how to approach the peasants—a petty-bourgeois class—to justify the SWP's petty-bourgeois policy.

But there is an even more basic objection to Conner's misuse of Lenin.

(Continued on page 12)

Spartacist League Hides From Nazis

The Spartacist League (SL) showed its cowardly and dishonest nature in the fight against the Nazis on May Day weekend in Chicago.

The SL likes to come on like Nazi-stompers when the issue is talk and the argument is with the liberal pacifism of the Socialist Workers Party. For instance, at a meeting called to plan the SWP-backed March 26 demonstration against apartheid, the SL verbally attacked the SWP for protecting fascist demonstrators in Boston from outraged militants.

But when the issue turned from talk to action and the RSL and SCAA actually mobilized to stop the Nazi provocation in Skokie on May Day weekend, the SL chickened out and ran for cover. At first, they refused to say whether they would be in Skokie. Then they actively scabbed on the anti-fascist mobilization by trying to convince SCAA contacts not to go.

The SL had mobilized a dozen demonstrators to join SCAA's May Day March Against Apartheid. But when they learned that it had been replaced with a march against the Nazis in Skokie, the SL melted away.

As if this weren't bad enough, the May 6 issue of the SL paper, *Workers Vanguard* (WV), carries a deliberately falsified version of the day's events. WV leads the reader to believe that the SL played a prominent role in the April 30 anti-Nazi actions, and that the RSL was not even present. There are polite terms for such reportage but lying is the most accurate.

A statement by the Red Rose Collective, an active builder of the Chicago Anti-Nazi Coalition, sets the record straight:

"From the Red Rose Collective to the Editor of the *Torch*: 'We wish to correct certain mistaken ideas and facts about the April 30 Skokie anti-Nazi rally. As reported in *Workers Vanguard*, the rally was called by several Jewish community groups and the Chicago Anti-Nazi Coalition. Although the SL was invited to join the Coalition they refused, on the grounds that there would not be significant community support. Despite their 'principled abstention,' SL 'spotters' on the day of the rally, seeing a massive outpouring of the community, frantically called together a small number of assorted members and hangers-on while hurriedly scrawling signs.

"Rather than being separate or comic as *Workers Vanguard* would have us believe, the RSL had moved their scheduled May Day rally from Chicago to Skokie, where they were a vital part of the Chicago Anti-Nazi Coalition and the demonstration as a whole. What did happen on April 30 was a huge demonstration of anti-fascist sentiment... something some people said couldn't be done.

"Fraternally, Red Rose Collective."

Part of RSL

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Nazis Routed by March in Skokie

CHICAGO—Nearly 1,000 people joined a militant demonstration against the Nazi Party in the nearby suburb of Skokie on April 30. The Revolutionary Socialist League and the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid were active builders of the march, sponsored by the Chicago Anti-Nazi Coalition.

The Nazis had planned to march down the streets of Skokie, a town with a large Jewish population, wearing storm trooper uniforms, carrying swastikas and spreading their racist and anti-Semitic filth.

Hundreds of working people, most of whom were Jewish residents of Skokie, demonstrated at the rally site and threatened to clobber the fascists if they appeared. To avoid a mass battle, a judge issued an injunction against the Nazi march and the police stopped them before they reached Skokie.

As part of a militant left-wing contingent, the RSL played a leading role in the action. Its chants and speeches dominated much of the demonstration. Many of the younger demonstrators were impressed by the militancy, determination and discipline of the RSL-led contingent. A number expressed a desire to learn more about the revolutionary strategy to fight fascism.

COPS WORK HAND IN HAND WITH NAZIS

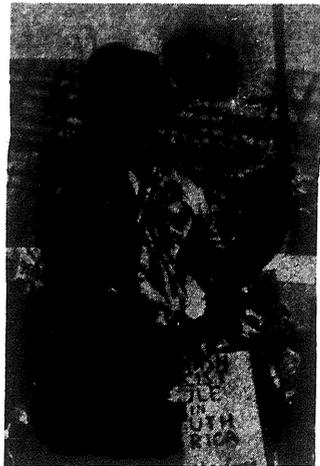
At the demonstration, an RSL speaker warned: "We must wage war to the death against the Nazi scum! Only the working class—united and fighting—can stop the Nazis. No one else will. The cops work hand in hand with the Nazis—remember last summer in Marquette Park when, by accident, pigs were arrested leading the rock-throwing mob of racists?"

"We must arm the working class politically—unifying all workers and oppressed around our class's solution to the economic and social crisis. And we must arm the working class militarily... towards a workers' militia that can smash the Nazis, smash the

capitalists, bring our class to power!"

A second RSL speaker vowed: "We will not let the Nazis march in Skokie. We will not let them march in West Englewood. Wherever they raise their heads, we will be there, fighting to drive them back into the sewers where they belong!"

The Nazis had originally planned to march on Sunday, May 1. A coalition of left and Jewish groups prepared to confront them in force on that day, including the RSL, SCAA, the Red Rose Bookstore Collective, the International Socialists and the International Socialist Organization. Many anti-fascist residents of Skokie also prepared to give the fascists a hostile reception. But in a last-minute attempt to evade a court order, the Nazis changed the day of their march from Sunday to Saturday. The RSL, SCAA and the Young Militants Against Apartheid dropped plans for a Saturday May Day rally against apartheid in downtown Chicago in order to mobilize to meet the Nazi threat. □



RSL member leads chants at anti-Nazi rally.



Part of RSL-SCAA May Day march in New York City.

NY May Day Demo Demands: "Death to Apartheid!"

NEW YORK CITY—The Revolutionary Socialist League and the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid organized and led a spirited May Day demonstration in New York City. The central focus of the march was building international solidarity between workers in this country and the Black workers in South Africa who are fighting to destroy the apartheid system.

About 80 people took part in the march, which went through a mainly Latin working class neighborhood in New York. The march reflected the international character of May Day, uniting Black, Latin, West Indian, African and white workers and youth.

Members and supporters of the RSL and SCAA carried signs and red banners saying: "Workers of the World Unite! Fight for the Socialist Revolution," "Death to Apartheid," "U.S. Imperialism Out of Africa" and other slogans. The chants, in both Spanish and English, centered on these slogans and took up the additional demand: "No. Deportations! Stop the Attacks on Foreign Workers." The march was well received by working people in the community, who shouted their encouragement to the demonstrators. A number of young workers from the neighborhood joined the march.

The march ended with a rally, where speakers from the RSL and SCAA addressed the crowd. A member of Chicago SCAA brought revolutionary greetings and reported on the anti-apartheid struggle in that area. A message of solidarity from the Spanish-speaking section of SCAA stated that the Black workers of South Africa are in the front lines of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. This struggle will seriously weaken U.S. imperialism and directly aid the workers and peasants of Latin America and the Caribbean who are fighting for liberation against the same enemy.

The Walla Walla Brothers, a group of revolutionary prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary, attempted to send a solidarity message to the march. But that message was seized by prison guards as part of the stepped-up attacks on the prisoners at Walla Walla. A spokesperson for the RSL described these events and the struggles of the Walla Walla Brothers. A supporter of the "General Defense Committee," whose members joined the march, spoke on that group's work in defending undocumented workers.

The speaker for New York SCAA talked about the ties between workers

in the U.S. and the Black workers in South Africa: "We do not accept any separation between the struggle in South Africa and the struggle here. Black workers in South Africa and working people in this country face the same enemy: the U.S. ruling class and international capitalism. And we share the aims of the Black workers and youth in South Africa: down with capitalism! Victory to the international socialist revolution!"

Following the rally, the RSL held an open house. Cliff Gordon of the RSL spoke on the importance of building a revolutionary anti-apartheid movement in this country. Gordon discussed why South Africa is now the center of the world revolution. He called for building Leninist vanguard parties in South Africa and the United States. Gordon explained that this is part of the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International—the world party of socialist revolution. The people at the open house spent the rest of the afternoon in informal discussions of the tasks ahead of us.

May Day in New York was a success. The militant march made it clear that a growing number of working people in this country are standing with the Black workers of South Africa in the struggle to smash apartheid and overthrow capitalism. □

Drive the Krugerrand Out of Detroit!

DETROIT—On April 30, as part of a weekend of May Day activities, Detroit SCAA supporters picketed the Manufacturers National Bank in downtown Detroit. The picket and rally began the SCAA campaign to drive the Krugerrand out of Detroit.

The Krugerrand is a one ounce gold coin sold by the racist white government of South Africa. This winter 350,000 Krugerrands a month were sold for a total of \$50 million a month. This money is used to buy tanks, guns and planes to maintain the racist regime and enforce the terrible oppression of the Black working class.

Gold mining in South Africa produces super-profits because of the brutal working conditions and the starvation wages (\$49 per month) paid to the African miners. Three Black miners have died for every shift worked in the last 40 years. Miners are forced to live in concrete barracks away from their families.

The only way that the South African government can sell the

Krugerrand here in the U.S. is to get U.S. stores and banks to sell it for them. Manufacturers National Bank, by selling the Krugerrand, is sending thousands of dollars to aid apartheid.

The April 30 demonstration was just one action in an ongoing campaign to expose the bank's role in supporting racist apartheid. SCAA supporters handed out leaflets at Manufacturers' branches for several weeks before the demonstration, and SCAA will continue its activities in the weeks and months ahead. Right now, SCAA's activities include organizing workers with accounts at Manufacturers to boycott the bank for as long as it sells the Krugerrand.

The campaign against the Krugerrand, by focusing on a concrete target, will bring more workers from the plants and more working class youth into SCAA's activities. Many workers sympathetic to the struggle in South Africa have seen no way to express their support. By focusing on a concrete target, the campaign against

the Krugerrand will reach out to these workers and involve them in SCAA's activities.

The campaign also provides a way to educate workers about U.S. capitalism's real role in South Africa. At present, U.S. bank loans to South Africa total roughly \$2 billion. Without a constant stream of loans from U.S. banks, the economy of the South African settler state would collapse. The banks, in turn, make huge profits off these loans—thanks to the super-exploitation of Black labor under the apartheid system.

Thus, the Krugerrand campaign is a vital part of a revolutionary movement to build solidarity with the South African struggle. It educates people about U.S. imperialism while it brings workers into active struggle against South African apartheid. In this way, we will let the South African working class know we are their allies in international working class struggle. □

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SOUTH AFRICA: BLACK WORKERS

Past articles in the Torch have shown how South African capitalism makes huge profits by denying the Black workers all rights and driving them to the edge of starvation. The racist South African capitalist system is an integral part of world capitalism. The United States and other Western imperialist countries have huge investments and strategic interests in South Africa. They support the South African racists in order to safeguard these interests. The U.S. rulers have made the white capitalists of South Africa junior partners in their worldwide system of imperialist plunder.

This article will show what the stake of U.S. and Western imperial-

Part 3 of a series

ism in South Africa is. It will show how the imperialists depend on cheap Black labor and the total suppression of the Black people of South Africa. It will therefore show why the U.S. rulers are the deadly enemies of the Black people of South Africa.

By Darryl Clark

Imperialism has vast stakes in South Africa's racist apartheid system. The United States, Britain and other imperialist countries have billions of dollars invested in South Africa. They depend on South Africa to supply vital minerals. They rely on South Africa to help them control southern Africa and the South Atlantic and Indian oceans.

Low wages and high profits have brought a continually rising flood of capitalist investments to South Africa ever since gold was discovered in the 1880s. In the last 40 years, in particular, the South African economy has been transformed. Modern industry has been built up in a boom that has lasted since the 1930s. Today, half the industry in the entire African continent lies in South Africa, a country of 26 million people.

The industrial boom has been built on a huge flow of foreign investments. Today, 500 U.S. companies have direct investments in South Africa, worth nearly \$2 billion. The Big Three auto companies, Mobil, Texaco, Tenneco and other oil companies, the Big Four rubber firms, GE, General Foods, IBM, Honeywell, Union Carbide—nearly every giant U.S. corporation is getting rich off South African apartheid. U.S. investments and loans have grown by 30 percent in the last two years alone. Britain and West Germany also have billions invested in South Africa. Japan's stake is growing fast.

The big rush of Western money into South Africa began after the Nationalist Party took power in 1948 and began its campaign to destroy the remaining vestiges of Black rights. Big U.S. investments began in 1957, when the U.S. financier Charles W. Engelhard began to buy into South African mining. Engelhard set up the South African Investment Corporation, and funds from many different U.S. banks and corporations began to flow into South Africa. In the '60s, the U.S. stake in South Africa grew even more. U.S. companies had \$500 million invested in South Africa in 1965. By 1975 this had grown to \$1.5 billion. Direct U.S. investments in South

U.S. Imperialism's Stake in South Africa

Africa are only part of the story. U.S. companies have billions more invested indirectly, since they own big chunks of European companies that invest in South Africa. And U.S. banks have \$2 billion in outstanding loans to South African companies and the South African government. In the first nine months of 1976, U.S. banks loaned \$777 million to South Africa.

The U.S., British and other capitalists make huge profits in South Africa that they cannot make in other foreign countries or at home. From 1960 to 1970, U.S. companies made an average profit of 18.6 percent a year in South Africa, compared to 11 percent for all foreign investment and even less than that in the United States. South African profits of hundreds of millions of dollars per year help prop up Britain's tottering economy.

Vital Minerals

In addition to investments in industry, the U.S. and other Western imperialists have billions more sunk in South African gold and other minerals. Three-fourths of the gold production of Western imperialism comes from South Africa. South Africa (along with white-ruled Rhodesia) produces most of the world's chrome ore. South Africa and its colony, Namibia, are main sources of diamonds, uranium, copper, titanium and other minerals. South Africa lacks only one essential raw material, oil.

U.S. companies like Kennecott Copper, Newmont Mining, American Metal Climax and others are up to their necks in South African mining. Their investments are not just valuable because of the profits they yield. South Africa's minerals are vital to many kinds of industrial production and its gold keeps the world monetary system afloat.

This huge system of plunder is totally dependent on South Africa's apartheid system. Without the dictatorship of South Africa's whites over the Black masses, without the near-zero wages and total lack of rights for workers that this dictatorship means, the giant profits of the imperialist firms would melt away overnight.

In 1972, the average wage for Black workers in manufacturing was less than \$85 a month! Black autoworkers at GM's South African plants made \$154 per month, according to GM's own figures. This was one of the highest wages paid Blacks in South Africa, yet it was hardly higher than the minimum family income necessary for bare survival—\$140-150 per month for a family of six. The earnings of the vast majority of Africans fall below this line.

These starvation wages are what makes South African capitalism as profitable and attractive to foreign investors as it is. Take mining, for example. South Africa's gold is not high-grade ore—a large amount of rock must be mined to yield each ton of gold. Many of the mines have been operating for many years and are

running thin. Without starvation wages for the Black miners—the vast majority of miners—South Africa's gold mines would be unprofitable. It has been calculated, for instance, that if Black miners' wages were made equal to those of whites, half of South Africa's mines would be bankrupted.

Or take the auto industry. Since 1964, more and more auto companies have elbowed their way into South Africa. Yet the South African market is very small. Basically it is no larger than South Africa's white population (only one car out of every 1,000 is sold to a Black person). Ordinarily, such a small market would not attract all the world's major auto producers. The only thing that does attract them to South Africa is the enormous rate of profit that can be made there.

In sum, South Africa today functions in the world economy as a huge pool of cheap labor, a rich source of superprofits far higher than the profits available to the imperialists in their own countries. This is the magnet that has pulled capitalists from all over the world to South Africa.

The capitalists themselves are sometimes quite frank about what they see in South Africa. J.J. Palmer, the representative of a group of U.S. investors in South Africa, put it this way: "Every businessman wants a strong government to back him up, and South Africa has it."

Profits Rest on Apartheid

What "strong government" means is simply the apartheid dictatorship. The capitalists know that apartheid is what their profits rest on. The big foreign investment boom started soon after the Nationalist Party first took office and began extending apartheid into every sphere of life. It particularly sped forward in the mid-'60s, when the racist government had temporarily smashed the Black resistance of the late '50s and early '60s. Every time the system grows stronger and more brutal, the capitalists respond by pouring in more money.

And every time the racist regime is in trouble, the foreign capitalists begin to tremble. In 1960-61, after the massacre of Black protesters at Sharpeville and the Black struggles that followed, foreign investors pulled \$225 million out of South Africa in one year. It took a special capitalist campaign to stop this outflow.

Last year, too, after the revolts in Soweto and other Black townships all across South Africa, new foreign investment dried up. Bank loans were lower than what South Africa was asking for, and interest rates higher. The U.S., British and other capitalists are getting cold feet. Before making new investments they want to see if

the racists are still firmly in the saddle.

Imperialism's stake in South Africa is bigger than the investments involved, as huge as these are. South Africa is key to the interests of U.S. and Western imperialism in southern Africa as a whole. Without the white regime in South Africa, the Western imperialists' military and political interests would both be in mortal danger.

South Africa controls the shipping lanes around Africa, travelled by thousands of supertankers on their way from the Persian Gulf to the U.S. and Europe. The country's position facing both the Indian and South Atlantic oceans makes it vital in controlling both oceans. South Africa itself has the strongest navy in the region to help control these vital waters. A British-built naval base at Simonstown is used by most of the Western powers, though political embarrassment has forced the U.S. to publicly keep its distance.

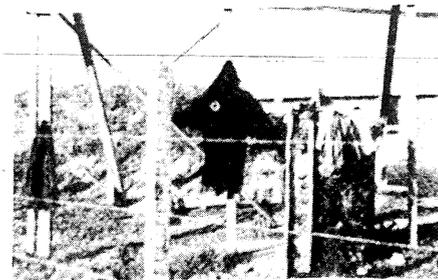
But these military interests are only part of the story. Equally important, South Africa dominates much of southern Africa economically and politically, and helps the U.S. dominate the rest.

Most completely under the U.S. ruler's thumb is Namibia, ruled as part of South Africa by a million Blacks. Almost all the territory grabbed all the mineral resources every acre of fertile land is owned by a million Blacks. Almost all the territory is Lesotho, a tiny colony is Lesotho, a tiny territory surrounded by South Africa. Lesotho is ruled by a puppet who suspends his power in order to stay in power with the white party that South Africa won an election.

But the countries of southern Africa, politically ruled by South Africa as the former British colonies of Swaziland and Botswana, chained to South Africa. All these countries suffer from economic ically by sending hundreds of thousands of Black men to work in the mines and farms.

To the north, Malawi, Mozambique are also ruled by South Africa. Tens of thousands of Black men year seek work in South African Namibian mines. Most of the miners' wages are paid from South Africa. Thus the supposedly

General Motors South African Ltd.

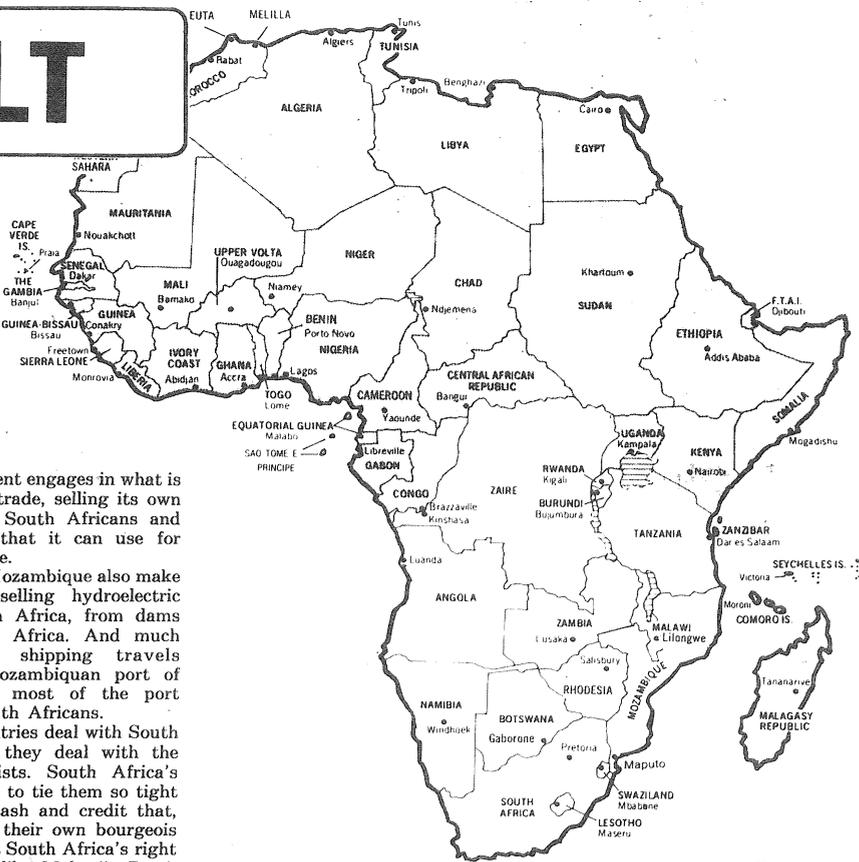


They benefit from apartheid: GM is one of the 500 U.S. companies that invest in South Africa. The list includes nearly every U.S. giant, plus British, West German, French and Japanese firms. Apartheid is what these corporations like: starvation wages, no unions and no political rights for the Black workers. The capitalists know that South Africa's "good business climate" depends on the racist white government and its suppression of the Black workers.

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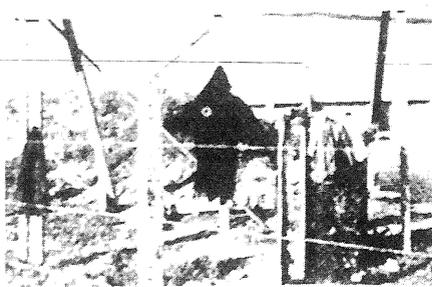
Most completely under South Africa's thumb is Namibia, a colony ruled as part of South Africa. One hundred thousand whites have grabbed all the mines and nearly every acre of fertile land, and rule over a million Blacks. Almost as much of a colony is Lesotho, a former British territory surrounded by South Africa. Lesotho is ruled by a South African puppet who suspended the constitution to stay in power when an African party that South Africa didn't like won an election. But the countries that are not politically ruled by South Africa, such as the former British territories of Swaziland and Botswana, are still chained to South Africa economically. All these countries survive economically by sending half their able-bodied men to work in South African mines and farms. To the north, Malawi, Angola and Mozambique are also tied economically to South Africa. In all three, tens of thousands of workers each year seek work in South African and Namibian mines. Mozambique gets part of the miners' wages as a direct payment from South Africa, in gold. Thus the supposedly socialist FRE-

LIMO government engages in what is almost a slave trade, selling its own workers to the South Africans and receiving gold that it can use for foreign exchange. Angola and Mozambique also make millions from selling hydroelectric power to South Africa, from dams built by South Africa. And much South African shipping travels through the Mozambiquan port of Maputo—where most of the port officials are South Africans. All these countries deal with South Africa, just as they deal with the bigger imperialists. South Africa's rulers are trying to tie them so tight with chains of cash and credit that, sooner or later, their own bourgeois rulers will accept South Africa's right to exist. Some, like Malawi's President H.K. Banda, are already openly in South Africa's camp. Others, like Mozambique's President Machel, still claim to oppose apartheid. But bourgeois rulers, including revolutionary nationalists, will betray the freedom struggle when their relations with the imperialists demand it. The effect of South African apartheid extends even where South Africa doesn't have direct power. Zambia,

Zaire and Angola are all countries with enormous mineral wealth—copper and oil. U.S. corporations are sucking dry these countries' wealth, and Zaire is a virtual puppet state of the U.S. An excellent set-up for the U.S. imperialists! But the U.S. power over these countries depends in great measure on South African apartheid. If the white regime in South Africa

were to be overthrown, the U.S. grip on all of southern Africa would immediately be weakened if not snapped. In sum, South Africa is a junior partner of U.S. imperialism, a vital ally of the U.S. rulers in their attempts to dominate Africa. In some countries, South African influence is all-powerful. Others have more independence. But every country in southern Africa feels the heavy hand of South African power—economic, political and military. No country in southern Africa can be really independent while the apartheid colossus stands. And this means the U.S. imperialists have a vital interest in seeing that the colossus does stand.

General Motors south African Ltd.

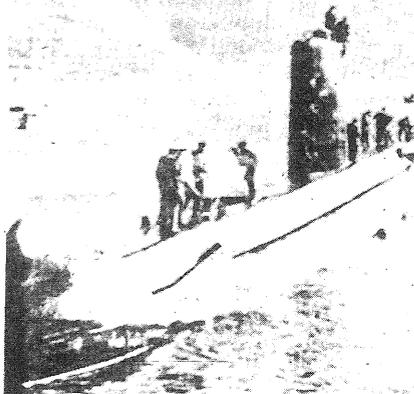


They benefit from apartheid: GM is one of the 500 U.S. companies that invest in South Africa. The list includes nearly every U.S. giant, plus British, West German, French and Japanese firms. Apartheid is what these corporations like: starvation wages, no unions and no political rights for the Black workers. The capitalists know that South Africa's "good business climate" depends on the racist white government and its suppression of the Black workers.

They defend apartheid: a "Daphne"-type submarine anchored at Simonstown naval base. France, ally of the U.S., sold this submarine to South Africa, along with jet fighters, military transport planes, attack helicopters, tanks and armored cars. These weapons are being readied for use against Black freedom fighters. The U.S. pretends to oppose arms sales to South Africa but arranges them through its allies.



They will destroy apartheid: Soweto students cheer after disabling a truck in last summer's rebellion. Black South Africans have struggled against racist apartheid system for 60 years. June 1976 rebellion in Soweto, which spread to dozens of cities, began the mobilization of South Africa's huge Black working class—the class that will destroy apartheid through socialist revolution.



Socialist Revolution

The lesson is clear. The U.S. imperialists will do everything in their power to defend the apartheid system that guarantees their investments and their control of southern Africa and the surrounding oceans. And so will the South African whites do all they can to protect the racist system that grants them wealth and power on the basis of Black starvation.

This means that the African masses can have no trust in the imperialist Carter's promises of "human rights" or "democracy." These are only designed to put them to sleep, make them give up the struggle and set them up for slaughter. The Black workers and peasants can gain their freedom only in revolutionary struggle against South African capitalists and their imperialist backers. And this struggle for socialism in South Africa must be part of a struggle for socialism throughout all southern Africa, backed by a struggle against imperialism and capitalism throughout the world. □

(The final article in this series will discuss the strategy for socialist revolution in South Africa.)



Workers Battle Police on May Day

Once again, the working class around the world has had to fight in the streets for its right to honor May Day, the international day of the proletariat. In Turkey, Spain and many other countries, workers fought with determination against brutal police assaults on May Day celebrations.

In Turkey, 150,000 members of the country's main labor federation gathered in Istanbul's central square on May Day. Without warning, provocateurs began shooting at a contingent of marchers belonging to Maoist organizations. When the shooting stopped, 39 workers and students lay dead. Hundreds were wounded, and hundreds more were arrested. In a clumsy frame-up, the police—and the Western bourgeois press—then claimed that the Maoists had attacked the march!

The Turkish regime's frenzied attack on the workers is a sign of desperation, not strength. With the political system in crisis, it is deathly afraid of a working class upsurge.

In Spain, 100,000 workers in Madrid defied a government ban to march on May Day. Tens of thousands more marched in Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao in the Basque country.

Spain's Prime Minister Suárez, fresh from a U.S. visit where he got Jimmy Carter's blessing for protecting the "human rights" of the Spanish bourgeoisie, ordered his cops to stop the marches. The cops charged rallies with tear gas, clubs, smoke bombs and rubber bullets, which critically wounded at least one person. Trade unions reported 200 marchers injured in Madrid alone.

In Sri Lanka, police wounded about 30 people during May Day marches. In Italy, left-wing offices were fire-bombed. May Day demonstrators also fought cops in the Philippines and Greece.

More than anything, these clashes are another sign that the class struggle throughout the world is heating up.

Civil War Rages in Pakistan

The mass struggle against Pakistani dictator Ali Bhutto is continuing. On the weekend of May 6-8, mass demonstrations were held all over Pakistan in defiance of a ban on marches.

Since Bhutto rigged parliamentary elections in March, the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) has been mobilizing marches and strikes to force Bhutto to resign and call new elections. Late last month, Bhutto played his last card. He declared martial law, banned all demonstrations, and arrested all the top PNA leaders, as well as 50,000 party workers and PNA supporters. Bhutto's riot police have shot hundreds of demonstrators since March, but that has failed to stop the masses in the streets. It now appears likely that the army will step in to oust Bhutto.

This is what the PNA, a coalition of nine ultra-reactionary and religious parties, has been working for. The PNA wants to use the masses' deep hatred of Bhutto's brutal, corrupt regime to force the army to step in and call new elections. There is no guarantee that there will be elections after an army coup. But, in any case, the PNA would prefer an army dictatorship to Bhutto's rule.

W. Germany Sentences Anti-Imperialist Fighters

On April 28, a West German court sentenced the three surviving defendants in the Baader-Meinhof terrorism trial to life in prison.

Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe were members of the Red Army Faction (which the bourgeois press calls the "Baader-Meinhof Gang"). They accepted responsibility for the 1972 bombing of a CIA operations center and a military computer center used to plan U.S. bombing of Vietnam. During the long trial, the defendants boldly justified their attacks on U.S. imperialism, and exposed the false impartiality of the German bourgeois court. To silence them, the government was forced to exclude them from the trial.

Ulrike Meinhof, the leader of the group, was murdered in her jail cell a year ago. The police ruled the death a suicide. Another of the original five defendants died while on a hunger strike.

MAY 10—A general strike called by Protestant reactionaries in Northern Ireland appears to be fizzling out. The strike was called by the ultra-right-wing Reverend Ian Paisley to press two demands on the English military occupation authorities: 1) crush the Irish Republican Army; 2) allow Protestants to rule Northern Ireland without any participation by the Catholic minority.

Paisley relied on the Ulster Volunteer Association, a semi-fascist Protestant militia, to threaten the Protestant workers into staying home. But after a week, Northern Ireland's factories and businesses are operating almost normally.

In 1972, the same right-wing forces succeeded in enforcing a 14-day general strike against an English proposal for joint Protestant-Catholic government. This time, the Protestant workers ignored Paisley's call. This is an important crack in the previously solid line-up of the Protestant workers behind the anti-Catholic reactionaries.

ETHIOPIA

Imperialists Maneuver as Rebellion Rocks Regime

Ethiopia's military rulers are fast losing their grip on the country. There are four rebellions going on in different provinces, and nearly half of Ethiopia is now in rebel hands. There is also an insurrection in the capital and other cities.

The strongest rebel movement is in Eritrea, the former Italian colony that Ethiopia has ruled since 1952. Three rebel armies control most of the Eritrean countryside and four main provincial towns. After a string of victories in March against war-weary Ethiopian troops, the rebels are tightening a ring around Asmara, Eritrea's capital.

On April 23, the Ethiopian rulers told 100 U.S. military and CIA operatives to get out of the country and closed five U.S. offices. Up until last year, the Ethiopian regime had been receiving hundreds of millions of dollars in aid from the U.S. But recently, U.S. imperialism has begun to maneuver for a deal with the Eritreans. As part of its policy, the U.S.

recently stopped military aid to Ethiopia.

Meanwhile the Russian imperialists, who are engaged in a mad race with U.S. imperialism for control of Africa, have been angling for an alliance with Ethiopia. They saw their chance to become the main arms supplier to the military regime. They brought with them a stock of "anti-imperialist," "socialist" and "Marxist-Leninist" labels to apply to the butchers of the Eritrean people.

Since last December Russia has sent Ethiopia \$100 million worth of military aid, and there are reports that Cuban advisers are training Ethiopian troops. Russia's Podgorny and Cuba's Fidel Castro both recently paid visits to Addis Ababa.

The Russians claim to support national liberation. But their aid to the Ethiopian military rulers and their sellout of the Eritreans shows that their only concern is the growth of their imperialist domain. □

SWP Liberalism . . .

(Continued from page 8)

Conner implies that Lenin's objection to the slogan "Down With the War" was simply that it was too radical for the masses. Here Conner is simply lying. The problem Lenin saw with the slogan was that it didn't take on the illusions of the workers who supported World War I for honest reasons. The slogan did not explain how to end the war to working people who believed that it was a matter of "Either we kill the Germans, or the Germans will kill us." Lenin's criticism of the slogan "Down With the War" was that it did not make it clear what the revolutionaries' program was.

A few pages later, in a section called "How Can the War Be Ended," Lenin wrote:

"It is impossible to slip out of the imperialist war and achieve a demo-

cratic, non-coercive peace without overthrowing the power of capital and transferring state power to another class, the proletariat."

In other words, Lenin's objection to "Down With the War" was precisely the same as the RSL-SCAA's objection to "Black Majority Rule"—both slogans fail to make it clear that revolution is the only way for the masses to gain peace and equality.

SWP VS. LENIN

To build a middle class movement, the SWP wants to eliminate revolutionary politics from the movement, woo liberal politicians and hide behind their slogans. To justify this betrayal, the SWP gets its hacks to fish out a quote from Lenin and try to make Lenin look like the opportunists of the SWP. Lenin always wanted to find ways to bring the revolutionary program to the masses, that is, to show them that revolution is necessary. In contrast, the SWP searches for ways to keep the revolutionary program from the masses and to prevent others from telling the workers that revolution is necessary. Heaven protect Lenin from these so-called Leninists.

Lenin and Trotsky said—Tell the truth to the workers! SCAA and the RSL are in favor of Black rule in South Africa and Zimbabwe. But real Black rule is impossible without revolution.

Revolutionaries must hammer away at this again and again. The imperialist plot must be exposed. Explaining what the U.S. is trying to do is the key to building any effective movement to support the Black masses of southern Africa. To try to build a movement on the key slogan of the imperialists will only mislead the U.S. workers and fail to prepare them to fight the imperialists' schemes. It will set the movement up for a crisis at the first significant success in Carter's neo-colonial policy.

Revolution is the only way out for Blacks in South Africa, revolution is what the masses are trying to accomplish and revolution is what we must defend. □

JUST OUT!

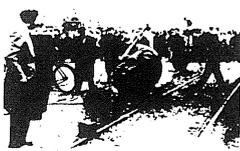
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THE RISE OF
STATE CAPITALISM

How the Russian Revolution Was Smashed



by Ron Taber



Over as Regime

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Zaire troops arrive in Shaba province.

ZAIRE

Reactionary War Continues

The civil war in Zaire's copper-rich Shaba province is in a lull, at least for the moment. Since Zairian dictator Mobutu Sese Seko got French and Moroccan military help, the insurgents have slipped back across the Angolan border. They seem to have decided to avoid conventional engagements with the better-trained and equipped Moroccans, and to limit themselves to guerrilla tactics.

But the important political question raised by the fighting remains. What position should Marxists take toward this civil war?

Who is fighting in Zaire? On one side stands the thoroughly corrupt neo-colonialist regime of Mobutu. The Mobutu regime is the key to U.S. neo-colonialist rule in central Africa. Mobutu came to power in 1965 through a CIA-sponsored coup. Since then he has always served the interests of the United States.

Zaire's role in U.S. African policy was made clear during the 1975-76 civil war in Angola. The U.S.-backed Angolan FNLA was based and supplied in Zaire. The U.S. hoped to use this force to defeat the nationalist MPLA. At one point in the conflict, the U.S. considered sending Zaire's army to seize the Angolan province of Cabinda and secure U.S. oil interests located there.

Opposing Mobutu are about 2,500 armed troops calling themselves the Congolese National Liberation Front (FNLC). Many if not most of these troops are ex-members of the Belgian colonial police. Their history is rotten.

After the Congo (now Zaire) became independent in 1960, they acted as mercenaries for Belgian mining companies. The Belgians were trying to organize a reactionary tribalist movement to split the province of Katanga—now Shaba—from the rest of the Congo. By doing this, they meant to keep control of Katanga's rich copper mines. The Katangan forces which now call themselves the FNLC fought side by side with white South African mercenary units in this imperialist enterprise.

After the Katanga secessionist movement was defeated, these same troops worked for a while for Mobutu. After falling out with Mobutu, they fled into Portuguese Angola. Here, they enlisted in the Portuguese army and fought against the Angolan national liberation movement for the next 10 years. Eventually they switched to the side of the MPLA.

Thus, for many years these people fought to preserve Western imperialist control over Africa. That they are now fighting under a left-wing banner instead of the flag of Western imperialism only demonstrates that their guns are for hire to the highest bidder.

The FNLC is not a genuine national liberation movement. It is nothing more than a band of mercenaries who are long time enemies of the people of Zaire. The fact that they are now in the service of Russia, the weaker imperialist power in Africa, does not alter their thoroughly reactionary character. The workers and peasants must have no illusions in this outfit.

Russian imperialism probably either supported or ordered the invasion of Shaba. Sensing the weakness of Mobutu's position in Zaire, the Russians hoped that an invasion would lead to a crisis in Zaire. Either there would be a revolt in Zaire's officer corps that could end in a coup against Mobutu, or there would be some other split in Mobutu's regime. Either way, the Russians figured, the fall of Mobutu would open up the area to Russian influence.

The invasion has laid bare Mobutu's weak hold over the country. The masses hate his corrupt and brutal regime. The economy is falling apart. The debt to Western banks has reached a staggering \$2.5 billion. Prices are rising nearly 50 percent a

year. The standard of living of Zaire's masses continues to fall, but Mobutu's officials have to be bribed for any service they perform. It's clear that without the backing of Western imperialism Mobutu's regime would collapse.

The U.S. and its Western European allies have been doing everything they can to rescue Mobutu. France, West Germany and Belgium are supplying guns and ammunition for the Zairian army, while the U.S. takes care of everything else. There have also been reports that the CIA is recruiting mercenaries for service in Zaire.

The war in Zaire has permitted the Western imperialists to build up their political and military presence in central Africa. Large quantities of modern military equipment have been turned over to Zaire's army. Units of the French Air Force have been involved in the fighting. The French and Moroccan troops may not be withdrawn after the current campaign ends. This would strengthen Mobutu's hold over the country, and reinforce Zaire's role as a springboard for imperialist intervention in southern Africa.

Since both sides in this conflict are thoroughly reactionary, neither should be supported by revolutionaries. While revolutionaries should warn of the dangerous games of the Russian imperialists, their main task must be to expose the fact that the Western imperialists are using the invasion to beef up their puppet regime and military presence in central Africa. We must also warn that the Western imperialist forces might use the conflict as a cover to threaten or attack Angola. Even though the Angolan regime has allowed itself to be used as a base for the adventures of the reactionary FNLC, it must still be defended against the threats of Western imperialism, which is still the biggest danger on the African continent. □

Soweto Students...

(Continued from page 1)

main source of revenue that the apartheid regime uses to run Soweto.

Clearly the rent increases were only a blatant attempt by the white supremacist government to punish the Black workers of Soweto for their acts of rebellion of last year.

In the protest demonstrations against the rent increases, the Soweto students stormed the offices of the Urban Bantu Council, a Black puppet body of the apartheid regime. In other areas of Soweto, they burned down a beer hall and set fire to several vehicles. They also tried to stop trains and buses leaving Soweto.

Several days later, the protests spread to Eldorado Park Township, where many so-called "Coloreds" (people of mixed race) joined the struggle against government-sponsored rent increases.

The students' bold actions forced the apartheid government to back down. Three days after the demonstrations, a speaker for the white regime announced that the government was shelving the increases "pending study of the issue." This is just a phrase to cover their retreat.

The students are obviously aware of their increased power, and this is giving them renewed confidence and determination. They know that the government's options are limited. With the noose of the Black libera-

tion movement tightening around South Africa's borders; with the masses at home in open rebellion; and with orders from its imperialist masters to cool it, the fascist-like Vorster regime finds it ever more difficult to enforce the brutal repression of the past.

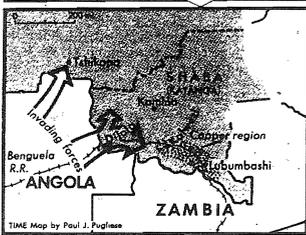
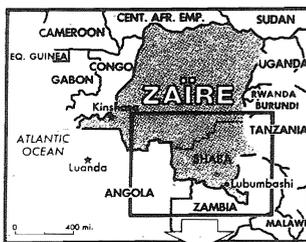
Apartheid's strategic weakness can be gauged from the feebleness of its response. The world's bloodiest monster has been forced to shelve its rifles. Unlike last year, when thousands were killed in similar protests, the cops this time met the students primarily with tear gas. They fired a few pistol shots when the students tried to storm the Bantu Council Building, but there were apparently few and minor injuries. A few days later, they dropped all charges against 49 arrested students and released them in the custody of their parents.

The ruthlessness of the apartheid government should not be underestimated. It still has the military power to act decisively. A long and bitter struggle still lies ahead.

However, today it has been forced to retreat. The militancy of the masses in the previous bloody confrontations has forced the murderous apartheid regime to adopt a policy of "restraint." This lesson will not be lost on the young militants and on the whole Black working class of South Africa. This governmental retreat will further fuel the mass movement. □



Zaire's dictator Mobutu Sese Seko.



Zaire, with detail of Shaba province.

LETTERS

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

Liberals Betrayed Dominican Revolution

Comrades,

Your article on the Dominican revolution in 1965 was a good overall analysis of the event. I am writing to use it to illustrate why a two-stage theory of revolution is an incorrect line.

Those who hold a two-stage theory argue that the working class should first fight for a "democratic" capitalist revolution, and only then begin to fight for socialism. They say that the working class should make an alliance with the liberal capitalists.

The experience of 1965 should show how such an alliance with the liberals

is doomed to defeat. The liberals will always line up with their capitalist class brothers when the chips are down and the masses of people are fighting for a revolution.

This was true in Santo Domingo. When Wessin launched his first attack, the liberal leadership, including Caamaño, Martínez Francisco, the Secretary-General of the PRD (Partido Revolucionario Dominicano, the "Constitutionalist" party supporting former president Juan Bosch—Ed.) and Molina Ureña, the Provisional President, all tried first to make deals with the American embassy to call off the revolution. Molina later fled altogether to the Colombian embassy, and Martínez and much of the PRD leadership took cover in other embassies. At the same time, 85 percent of the Constitutional regular army troops deserted. Bosch himself—for whom

the revolution supposedly was made—made no serious effort to slip out of Puerto Rico to assume the presidency.

Yet Wessin's attack was smashed and his army put on the run. The reason lay in the revolutionary spirit of the armed workers. These same armed workers also took control of radio stations, newspapers, and other key institutions and began to set up fighting committees to run them in the interest of the revolution.

The revolution in Santo Domingo was a revolution made by the workers. The workers did not need the liberals to lead them to a "democratic" stage, these same liberals who tried to cop out to the Americans or who fled altogether.

What the workers did need, as your article points out, was a revolutionary party trained in the Leninist and Trotskyist science of revolution. Such a party enabled the Russian workers to cut through the cesspool of "democratic" two-stage hogwash in 1917 and seize power for themselves. The Dominican working class must set about building such a party now.

Venceremos,
EVL

Carter Uses Young to Co-Opt Blacks

To the Torch:

I want to bring out another point about Andrew Young. The man is running a huge flim-flam operation. While all of the right-wing quotations which appear in the Torch tell the true story, the bourgeoisie, Black and white liberals, and Andrew Young himself are selling a very different image of "Andy" to working and poor people.

At the recent NAACP \$50-a-plate dinner here in Detroit (not that any working or poor people were here, mind you, but the sentiment was typical) Detroit Mayor Coleman Young introduced guest speaker Andrew Young as "... a fresh breath to the art of diplomacy. He's the first diplomat I was able to understand... (laughter)... Andrew Young tells it like it is and lets the chips fall where they may..." The liberals love Andrew Young.

Young has a left face which is very important to his purpose in the Carter administration. Such statements as Cuba bringing "a certain stability to Angola," Britain "almost invented racism," racism being "a greater danger to Black people than Communism," Americans should not get "all paranoid" about "a few Communists, even a few thousand Communists" or the South African government being "illegitimate," and the image of the State Department chasing around the globe "apologizing" for Young's remarks—all this is part of U.S. imperialism's scum-bag "flexibility." The Carter administration through Andrew Young is saying to American Blacks, "Struggle against the United States Government? Hah! We can co-opt it all. You want it? You can find it in the Carter administration!"

Andrew Young plays an insidious role in increasing the cynicism of the American working class at this time. Revolutionaries must fight this poison every day, the effects of both his right and his left face.

Comradely,
JL
Detroit

Chloroform Kills Worker, GM Let off the Hook

Dear Torch:

On April 6, 14 people were hospitalized and one died as a result of the unsafe working conditions at General Motors' Hydramatic Division in Ypsilanti, Michigan. This incident shows what working conditions under capitalism are all about.

The death occurred in a pit directly beneath the area where dies are cleaned. Fumes from methyl chloroform, a deadly chemical used to clean dies, overcame a worker in the pit. Several other workers who went to his aid were also overcome—among them was the worker who died.

This "accident" could have been prevented by the company. Methyl chloroform should only be used in tanks that can contain the fumes. Otherwise, since the chemical is heavier than air, the fumes will sink downward. Because faulty tanks were used on April 6, the fumes sank straight down to the pit and the tragedy resulted.

General Motors has a long record of unsafe use of this chemical in its Ypsilanti plant. In one area, workers had complained for years that the tank they used was leaking fumes. Workers in this area suffered headaches and irritability—both symptoms of overexposure to methyl chloroform. The only response from the company was to have the company safetyman and the company doctor come in, sniff around and say they didn't smell anything. But when a state safety inspector came and measured the fume level, he had to place his measuring meter twice as far from the tank as normal, in order to keep the needle from jumping off the meter. Only after this, and after several more complaints from workers, did the company finally shut down the machine.

The company has tried to keep

the April 6 incident quiet. They removed at least 30 55-gallon drums from the floor so that safety inspectors would not see them. One of management's few comments has been to claim that no rules were broken. If true, this only means that the company has no safe procedures for using hazardous chemicals.

One worker told the Michigan Free Press, a local radical paper: "They (GM) call it an accident, I call it manslaughter." Since this quote was printed, the company has begun harassing this worker.

This is a typical example of GM's attitude toward safety. They cut as many corners as they can, and when some one gets hurt they work like hell to cover it up. Also typically, the courts legalized the company's murder. GM escaped with a \$750 fine for "violating health and safety standards."

A reader of the Torch

Reader Writes On Oppression of Gay Prisoners

Dear Torch:

The article "Gay Prisoners: Oppressed by Brutal System" (Torch, Vol. 4, No. 3—Ed.) was very moving. Whether he is gay or straight, Brother Harp must feel deeply the oppression of his fellow prisoners.

His statement, "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," says something not only about prisoners, but about the courage of all those who risk their lives to fight the ruling class.

Brother Harp's article demonstrates the Torch's commitment to gay liberation more fully than a dozen programs. I wonder how many left papers would have found "excuses" not to print it.

A gay reader,
New York

RSL Launches Fund Drive

On May 15, the Revolutionary Socialist League opens a two-month drive to raise \$15,000. We ask readers of the Torch to contribute to help us reach this goal.

We are in particular need of the money to expand the work of the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid. After the outbreak of massive rebellions in South Africa last year, the RSL launched chapters of SCAA in Detroit, Chicago and New York. SCAA chapters have built pickets and demonstrations, shown the film *Last Grave at Dimbaza*, and organized in the communities, factories and unions.

The need to oppose U.S. intervention in southern Africa and to build solidarity with the struggle to smash apartheid will grow in the coming year. It is crucial that we have the resources to expand this important area of our work.

Make checks payable to the Torch or RSL. Send to: P.O. Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

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By Paul Aldridge

In spite of the fact that I consider Gilmore a totally mad person as well as a fool, it hurts that he is going to die in about twelve hours. Unless something happens to prevent the execution he will be the first person executed in the United States in many years. But he will set off a chain reaction of many other killings, I am sure. It is really too bad that he has been projected into the spotlight like he has. In no way does he give the public any idea of what the average death row resident is like.

—Carl Osborne, Death Row
Lucasville, Ohio

Carl Osborne speaks for the vast majority of the prisoners on death row. To many men like Osborne, Gilmore's death was a setback. Now, the question is whether or not more will die at the hands of the capitalist state.

A large section of the ruling class wants us to believe that the death penalty is necessary for our own safety and protection. Along with the soap opera surrounding the Gilmore execution, we have been bombarded with one justification after another for legalizing the death penalty. Recent Supreme Court decisions have restored the death penalty, and its use will probably be widened in the future. Revolutionaries must decide where they stand on the question of capital punishment.

Marxists oppose capital punishment, the death penalty, under capitalist rule. The death penalty is an additional weapon in the arsenal of the bourgeoisie. It will only be used to further terrorize and oppress the working class and poor—those who are most brutalized and ground down by decaying capitalism.

THE STATE: WEAPON OF RULING CLASS

To understand why Marxists oppose the death penalty under capitalism, we must understand the role of the state in class society. The bourgeoisie would have us believe that the state—the courts, the police, the armed forces, the government bureaucracy and the prisons—is neutral and stands above the different conflicts and antagonisms in society. According to this myth, each individual is supposedly equal in the eyes of the law and the state.

In reality, the "neutrality" and promise of equality for all is a lie. The state is a weapon of the ruling class in its struggle against the working class and all the oppressed. The fundamental purpose of the capitalist state and its armed enforcers is to defend the rule and private property of the bourgeoisie.

From the first division of human society into classes—masters and slaves—there was a need for a form of state power, however crude. Its task was to maintain the master class's domination over the slaves. Since that time, the role of the state has developed and become more complex, but its primary function remains the same.

In the United States, this repressive weapon of the capitalist class is disguised by a maze of "social service" bureaucracies and "democratic" institutions. Liberals and other so-called friends of the working class and oppressed help to hide the iron fist clenched behind the veil of "American democracy." However, we cannot afford to be caught with our guard down. Behind the camouflage are the racist police, courts and armed forces. These are the hired guns which directly ensure the continued rule of the bourgeoisie. They protect the private property of the bosses here and around the world from the

WHY MARXISTS OPPOSE THE DEATH PENALTY

working class.

The death penalty, carried out by the capitalists' state, is another weapon to be used by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. The death penalty will only serve to increase the level of "legal" terror conducted by the bosses as the crisis of capitalism deepens and the workers step up their struggle. The main use of the death penalty will be to force the acceptance of increasing misery and hardship—accept it or pay the ultimate price, your life.

THE REAL CRIMINALS

The supporters of the death penalty would have us believe that it prevents crime. However, most common crime is caused by the terrible poverty and oppression to which capitalism subjects poor and working class people. When millions of people are deprived of decent jobs, housing and education, some of them will turn to crime, whether from desperation or in order to survive. But in the context of rotting capitalism, no death penalty will stop crime. Only ending capitalism will end the crime it breeds.

In addition, the real criminals are the capitalists and their agents. The capitalists are responsible for the murder of millions in the imperialist struggle for trade, investment opportunities and world domination. Thousands of people are killed or injured at the hands of the police and prison officials in their efforts to preserve capitalist "law and order." Despite periodic publicity campaigns, the capitalists work hand in glove with the organized crime syndicates. How many people are murdered or

The death penalty under capitalist rule will only be used to further terrorize and oppress the working class and poor.

maimed at the hands of the "mob," acting on orders from the CIA or other capitalist institutions and individuals? How many people are killed and injured by unsafe and unhealthy working conditions, rotten medical facilities and the capitalist-caused destruction of the environment? And how many millions of dollars do the capitalists steal through cheating, price-fixing and plundering public money? These people, the real criminals, are rarely caught and hardly ever punished. The death penalty won't stop these criminals, since it is designed to protect them.

To see the class character of capital punishment more clearly, one need only look at who the death penalty will be used against. Will this irrevers-

ible penalty be used regardless of class, race or political beliefs? You can bet it won't be.

Former President Richard Nixon, along with his imperialist supporters, was directly responsible for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese people during the Vietnam war. The war was an unjust war of plunder, but neither Nixon nor any of the presidents before him were ever tried for their role in continuing the fighting. Nixon even had his Watergate without setting foot in prison, much less on death row. Instead, he was retired with full pension—\$100,000 a year.

Nelson Rockefeller, most recently vice-president of the U.S., is another outrageous example of the supposed evenhandedness of capitalist justice. While governor of New York in 1971, Rockefeller ordered the assault on Attica prison, which ended the prisoners' strike in an orgy of death and destruction. Thirty-three inmates were killed and over 300 wounded by the 1,000-man force of state troopers, National Guardsmen and prison guards. Rockefeller, the butcher of Attica, was rewarded with the second highest position in the U.S. government three years later.

Still, this is only one side of the picture. On the other side—death row—the nature of the capitalist state and its brand of "justice" stands starkly exposed. So-called justice is only available to those who can afford to pay for it.

WHO IS ON DEATH ROW ?

At the end of 1975, there were 479 persons on death row in the U.S. A majority, 53 percent, were Black. Almost all, over 95 percent, were from poor and working class backgrounds. This is the general rule. It is underlined by statistics on state executions since 1930. Fifty-four percent of the people executed were Black. Three-fifths of all executions were carried out in the South, with 72 percent of those executed being Black. This is how the death penalty has been used in the past.

As the working class and oppressed increase their struggles against the capitalist masters, there will be more individuals sentenced to die for their revolutionary beliefs and deeds. The death penalty will be employed by the bosses to destroy the most revolutionary fighters of the working class, just as it was used in the past to legally murder Joe Hill, Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs. New names will be added to those already executed because they hated capitalism and the bourgeoisie.

As long as the state is controlled by a small minority and used to enforce the exploitation and oppression of the vast majority of society, Marxists will oppose the death penalty.

At the same time, we are not fooled by whether or not the courts declare capital punishment constitutional. The bosses and their agents—the police, CIA, FBI and prison guards—have never shown much respect for the constitution when faced with a

threat to their rule. The brothers at Attica were murdered because they dared to fight for the right to be treated like human beings. George Jackson was gunned down by the San Quentin Prison guards because he had become an uncompromising revolutionary while in prison. Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, members of the Black Panther Party, were riddled with bullets in their sleep because they stood up against the racist pigs of Chicago.

SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY ANSWER

Clearly, it is not enough to oppose the death penalty. While this is necessary, workers must actively oppose the capitalist system it is meant to defend. Only when the working class has overthrown the decadent bourgeoisie and established its own rule will there be the poten-



An execution in Mississippi, 1940.

tial for eliminating crime. This is a part of the fight for a socialist society based on the needs of human beings and not on the profits of the bosses. Socialism will mean the permanent end to the need for prisons and capital punishment.

Yet, in the process of establishing socialism, the working class will need the fullest range of powers to suppress the bourgeoisie and other counter-revolutionaries. In their fight for freedom, the workers cannot afford to have their hands tied. When the question arises under these conditions, revolutionary Marxists will unconditionally support the right of the workers' government to take whatever measures, including executions, are necessary to defend the rule of the proletariat.

This separates Marxists from those who oppose the death penalty on moral grounds. For Marxists, it is not a question of this or that individual case. Nor is it a question of the absolute value placed on human life. It is a question of the class struggle. The main reason Marxists oppose the death penalty is to take a powerful weapon out of the hands of the capitalist class—a weapon which will always be directed against our class. We want to weaken the class enemy, the better to destroy it.

The hypocrisy of the current capitalist offensive to revive the death penalty should only anger class-conscious workers and revolutionaries. The path of American capitalism is strewn with the corpses of those who got in the way of its mad drive for profits and power. Marxists answer the bosses' offensive with redoubled efforts to educate and organize the forces of socialist revolution. □

New York, N.Y., 10036

Reader Writes On Oppression of Gay Prisoners

Dear Torch:

The article "Gay Prisoners: Oppressed by Brutal System" (Torch, Vol. 4, No. 3—Ed.) was very moving. Whether he is gay or straight, Brother Harp must feel deeply the oppression of his fellow prisoners.

His statement, "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," says something not only about prisoners, but about the courage of all those who risk their lives to fight the ruling class.

Brother Harp's article demonstrates the Torch's commitment to gay liberation more fully than a dozen programs. I wonder how many left papers would have found "excuses" not to print it.

A gay reader,
New York

RSL Launches Fund Drive

On May 15, the Revolutionary Socialist League opens a two-month drive to raise \$15,000. We ask readers of the Torch to contribute to help us reach this goal.

We are in particular need of the money to expand the work of the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid. After the outbreak of massive rebellions in South Africa last year, the RSL launched chapters of SCAA in Detroit, Chicago and New York. SCAA chapters have built pickets and demonstrations, shown the film Last Grave at Dimbaza, and organized in the communities, factories and unions.

The need to oppose U.S. intervention in southern Africa and to build solidarity with the struggle to smash apartheid will grow in the coming year. It is crucial that we have the resources to expand this important area of our work.

Make checks payable to the Torch or RSL. Send to: P.O. Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

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Revolutionary Socialist League

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Important Lessons in Historic Battle

MEMORIAL DAY MASSACRE

Forty years ago, on May 30, 1937, 1,500 striking steelworkers and their families marched on the Republic Steel Mill in South Chicago. The police met the demonstration and opened fire without warning, murdering 10 workers and wounding dozens more. This brutal attack, the Memorial Day Massacre, effectively smashed the strike against Republic and a number of other steel corporations, known as Little Steel. The defeat of the Little Steel strike marked the beginning of the decline of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the trade union federation which millions of previously unorganized workers built through struggle in the 1930s. The following article looks at some of the causes of that decline.

The CIO was the result of a mass upsurge in the working class which began in 1934. The CIO did not create the upsurge; rather, the formation of the CIO was the response of a wing of the labor bureaucracy to this mass labor struggle. The bureaucrats



Top: John L. Lewis; bottom: Philip Murray.



stepped in to impose their leadership on the upsurge and to channel it in a pro-capitalist direction.

SIT-DOWN SCARED BOSSES

The most important struggle in the building of the CIO was the 44-day sit-down strike at General Motors in Flint, Michigan, in the beginning of 1937 (see Torch, Vol. 3, No. 12). The victory over GM brought the anti-union giant to its knees and made possible the organization of the whole auto industry.

The GM strikers became a sort of "negotiating committee" for the whole working class, and American capitalism became suddenly fearful. Proof of this was provided in steel. In February, 1937, war preparations in Europe were creating expanded war production in America. Britain was planning massive steel orders from U.S. companies, which depended on "industrial peace."

Myron Taylor, head of U.S. Steel, had seen what the CIO workers were capable of in auto. So, in May of 1937, Taylor concluded secret negotiations with John L. Lewis, head of the CIO. Taylor recognized the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), which was led by Philip Murray, an old Lewis crony. A contract was signed.

The limited nature of this "victory" was soon clear when SWOC faced Little Steel (the combine of Bethlehem, Republic, Inland, Youngstown and Weirton). These companies had no intention of signing. SWOC called a strike. In late May, 75,000 workers went out.

Under the leadership of Tom Girdler, president of Republic Steel and a notorious union-buster, Little Steel had stockpiled millions of dollars worth of arms. Strikers faced brutality throughout the country. Altogether, 18 strikers were killed.

COPS MURDER STRIKERS

The most brutal incident occurred on Memorial Day, 1937, in South Chicago. Fifteen hundred strikers and their families from Republic Steel held a Memorial Day meeting at their strike headquarters, followed by a peaceful march to the mill. As the marchers crossed an empty field near the plant, 200 cops drew up in a line in front of them. Without warning, the cops fired tear gas into the crowd. As the marchers fled, the cops drew their pistols and opened fire, then charged with their clubs. Ten workers were killed and 40 wounded, all shot in the back. Another 100 were injured by clubs, including an eight-year-old child.

The SWOC bureaucrats had not prepared the ranks. The strike was not led by the rank and file, nor were the ranks allowed to develop any initiative. The bureaucracy had expected public pressure and the "help" of President Roosevelt to lead to a quick victory. When the strike met brutal resistance from the Little Steel bosses, the bureaucrats were not prepared for an all-out class struggle against them. In a short time, the strike collapsed.

With the defeat of SWOC, the wave of struggle that had built the CIO began to recede. The CIO had organized 3,700,000 workers from 1935 to 1937. It organized only 400,000 more from 1937 to 1939. The number of strikes fell from 395 in 1937 to 192 in 1939. What are the reasons for this reversal?

The difference between the auto and the steel strikes is critical. The auto strike was a real victory for the rank and file. It was won by the ranks through their own leadership, and because the vast majority of auto-workers were brought into the struggle.

This was not so in steel. The "victory" over Big Steel was won without so much as the threat of a strike. The top-down nature of SWOC meant that steelworkers could not



Cops open fire on steelworkers' march at Republic Steel, May 30, 1937.

develop their own collective leadership through struggle. This is why the Little Steel strike was smashed. The bureaucrats hoped to manipulate another victory and never had the perspective of unleashing the energy and power of the ranks.

This method flowed from the loyalty of SWOC's leadership to capitalism. Lewis and Murray were as anxious as the U.S. Steel boss, Taylor, to avert a major strike. Murray was also intensely loyal to the Democratic Party, particularly Roosevelt. Though the bureaucrats hoped to "influence" FDR through their support, they in fact ended up in his hip pocket.

ROLE OF THE CP

The Communist Party (CP) played an important role in these developments. Many of the best UAW militants and organizers were in or around the CP. More than one-third of the SWOC organizers, too, were CP members or supporters. The CP strategy combined loyalty to FDR (they called him the "people's president") with finding places for themselves in the bureaucracy. This meant that the CP, with its own radical image, covered up the pro-capitalist nature of the bureaucracy. Because of the CP, most of the best militants were lulled into thinking the bureaucrats and the capitalist state would

fight for labor's needs.

The CP thus helped tie the unions to the bourgeois state, and helped set up the attacks against the left both in this period and after the war.

LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

The Memorial Day Massacre did not have to happen. Neither did the defeat of the workers' upsurge. These defeats were set up by bureaucratic misleadership and the strategy of relying on the "friends of labor" in the state to pull the workers through. Knowing that Little Steel did not intend to give in, SWOC should have applied the lessons of Flint. The rank and file should have launched the struggle and decided on strategy and tactics independently of the bureaucrats.

The job of revolutionaries is to fight for the kind of class struggle tactics that won the strike at Flint, and in the process break the ranks' illusions in the pro-capitalist bureaucrats. This is one part of the struggle to convince the workers to fight for socialist revolution.

We honor the memory of those who fought and died on May 30, 1937. As the class struggle builds once again, the lessons of those days must be learned. In this way we can make sure that the defeats are not repeated and that greater victories will be won on the road to socialist revolution. □

Chrysler Workers ...

(Continued from page 5)

contract rejections. Now this harassment has toned down. It's clear to the company that the workers have not knuckled under in the face of its attacks. Also, the union leaders have been pressured into requesting another strike deadline from the International.

But the key question now is to win a victory and begin to consolidate, to organize ourselves. The decision of the union leaders, under our pressure, to request a new strike deadline can be used by us to begin to defend and organize ourselves. We must make sure that the 20-odd brothers and sisters fired by management be returned. If we settle for anything less, our actions of the past months will

add up to a defeat. We must also begin to use our momentum to push for real local gains—not umbrellas for a few picnic tables.

To effectively organize ourselves, we can have no illusions in McCullough. It was right to vote for him as a step against the company and union attacks, but to rely on him for a solution will lead us nowhere. The only solution is to organize ourselves to defend ourselves. We must give no quarter to the company in order to fully meet our needs. As we move to defend ourselves, we must constantly point out that only our control of this society will give us the ability to meet our needs. We must turn our daily fight to survive into a fight with victory in sight. We must fight for socialist revolution. □

Energy

(Continued from page 1)

the working class. Working people own most of the cars and buy most of the gas that's put into those cars. Since the oil and automobile monopolies have made sure that there is no decent mass transportation in the U.S., workers have no other choice: they want to work, shop or eat anywhere.

The working class will also pay the increase in the price of natural gas. It will cost more to heat homes and any additional costs to industry will be passed on in the usual way: higher prices.

It is not hard to imagine how the industries which get penalized by using oil will protect their profits. Higher prices, once again. It is nothing that Carter's program considered inflationary. Workers will wind up paying more for everything that uses oil or natural gas in its production. Thus, the working class pays for the capitalist class's share of the sacrifice too.

DOUBLETALK ON OIL

The tricky part of Carter's deals with U.S. oil production. Carter promised that the oil monopolies not get "windfall profits" from the energy program. In his first press speeches, he claimed that all the money the government collects from raising the price of U.S.-produced oil will go back to the people in the form of tax rebates. This promise is worth as much as all the other Carter promises: a job for every American.

Workers' Solution

Nationalize

Today, all of the energy which society needs is available. The oil is there, the equipment for pumping it out of the ground is there, and the trained workers and technicians who do this are there. Private ownership of energy is the only thing standing in the way of expanding production.

It is up to the working class to rid of this roadblock to energy production. Working and oppressed people must unite around a program which will put an end to the capitalist-made energy crisis. We must win power to:

1) Go through all the books and records of the corporations, interrogate company officials, and use the results of such an investigation to expose the real reason why there is not enough oil and gas: the long and ugly history of secret collaboration between the monopolies and the U.S. government which serves them.

2) Nationalize the entire energy industry of this country and put it under the direct control of the working class.

3) Decide collectively within the working class how energy production is carried out, and what this energy is used for.

Carter will use his energy program to cut back safety and pollution controls in the coal mines, gas wells and on the oil rigs. It will be another way for the capitalists to conserve the energy profits through spending the lives of working people.

The working class must use its energy program for its own benefit. The different branches of the energy industry which are nationalized must be run by the workers who labor in

Energy Plan . . .

(Continued from page 1)

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\$50 tax rebate, etc., etc.

The oil, coal and utility monopolies (which are controlled in large part by the same holding companies and banks) actually stand to make a bonanza off the higher prices and tax breaks they will get from Carter's program. This is true in spite of the initial howl of protest that went up from the energy monopolies when Carter first put forward his energy program.

In the first place, Exxon, Texaco, Gulf and Mobil will pocket all the money from the increased prices of oil pumped in the U.S. from the new fields. In the second place, the tax rebates from a federal tax on what is defined as "old oil" are nothing more than bait to get the American working class to fall for the whole energy program.

In his first statements, Carter made it sound like he was going to get tough with the monopolies. Carter deliberately provoked angry charges from the energy barons that he would "ruin America's energy industry." Carter actually wanted this reaction as a smokescreen to cover up the fact that the real thrust of his attack is against the working class.

Within a week after the TV speeches, the White House started letting the monopolies know that there was plenty of "fine print" in Carter's program that they would find to their liking. Carter quietly said that he would have to be "flexible" and that "not every nickel" would be returned to the people. Carter left it to

James Schlesinger, his energy boss, to make it clear that the whole tax rebate idea was nothing more than a shabby con. Schlesinger said there was a good possibility that the rebates would be abolished within a year or two after the program goes into effect.

ENERGY CRISIS OR CAPITALIST CRISIS?

Carter's energy program will be rammed through with predictions that disaster awaits the American people if it is not implemented. But the real

energy crisis is not a question of how much energy is left, but who controls that energy.

It is the capitalist system of production that has created the energy crisis. The oil, coal and gas are the private property of a handful of capitalists who run the big monopolies. They would rather see people starve and freeze than part with any of their oil. They will keep on blackmailing the working class into accepting bigger prices as the price of survival, so long as energy remains their private property. □

Undocumented . . .

(Continued from page 3)

undocumented workers, is the cause of unemployment, inflation, rotting cities, the energy crisis and the other ills of society. It is capitalism, and the government which serves it, that must be fought.

A FIGHTING PROGRAM

The working class must wage a mass struggle for jobs for all, through a shorter work week with no loss in pay and huge public works projects with union protection and at union wages. The workers must launch an organizing campaign to bring union protection to all workers. This is the only way to prevent management from using unorganized workers to drag down the wages and working conditions of all workers. This campaign should be international, in order to bring union protection to workers in low wage areas where the capital-

ists move their plants in search of higher profits. The working class must also fight to end discrimination against all oppressed workers in all areas of life.

Finally, workers must launch a campaign for full rights for undocumented workers and for open immigration. Right now, if the capitalists want to expand the reserve army, and bring in foreign workers to help hold down wages, they can do this whenever they want. This tool must be taken out of their hands. If immigration is open, the newly arrived workers will be far more able to struggle to improve their wages and working conditions than if they are "illegal." Similarly, if U.S. workers lead the fight to open the borders, foreign workers will be far more willing to unite with them against the capitalists than if U.S. workers are part of the bosses' racist campaign against them.

The question before the working class in the U.S. is whether or not it will offer the undocumented workers the hand of solidarity. Will it understand that the fight for legal rights for the undocumented is also its fight? Or will it turn its back on them, and thus stab itself in the back? This question is the question of revolutionary leadership for the working class in its struggles.

There can be no illusions that the defense of the undocumented will be an easy struggle. The imperialists have powerful agents in the U.S. labor movement. They will fight bitterly to preserve imperialism's right to exploit oppressed sections of the working class. And imperialism—capitalism in its decaying stage—cannot afford to guarantee all workers decent jobs and adequate living standards.

Thus, the ruling class has no intention of giving undocumented workers their legal rights. To really secure legal rights for the undocumented—and all other basic rights of the working class—socialist revolution is needed. This is the goal of the Revolutionary Socialist League. The fight against deportations and for full rights for foreign workers is an important part of this struggle. □

Workers' Solution to Capitalist Crisis:

Nationalize Energy Industry

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The working class must use its energy program for its own benefit. The different branches of the energy industry which are nationalized must be run by the workers who labor in

them. They can guarantee good working conditions, job safety and pollution-free production. This is also the only way to eliminate waste and corruption since, as long as the capitalists can run and control production, they will find ways of sabotaging the efforts of the working class.

Control over production is the key to controlling what the energy gets used for. Workers in the energy industry can refuse to deliver any energy unless it has been approved by energy planning commissions consisting of workers' representatives chosen by the working class as a whole. Through these commissions, the working class will have the power to turn on and shut off energy supplies to different sections of the economy, according to what the working class needs.

To put this energy program into

effect, a struggle must be built to overthrow the capitalist government and set up a government of working and oppressed people. The capitalists will use their control of the government to stop the working class with force if it tries to take over the energy industry: they will use their courts, jails, police and army to try to smash the struggle. Thus, the working class needs its own government to take the energy industry away from the capitalists and overcome their inevitable resistance.

The capitalists will not listen to reason. Human suffering means little to them—apart from being an essential feature of their rule over society. The only arguments these people find persuasive are the arguments of power and force that become available to the working class when it makes the socialist revolution. □

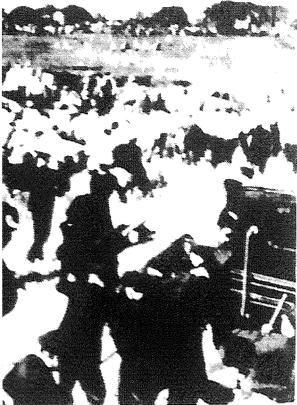
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ACRE



Public Steel, May 30, 1937.

ht for labor's needs.

The CP thus helped tie the unions the bourgeois state, and helped set the attacks against the left both in s period and after the war.

LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

The Memorial Day Massacre did t have to happen. Neither did the feat of the workers' upsurge. These feats were set up by bureaucratic leadership and the strategy of rely- g on the "friends of labor" in the te to pull the workers through. owing that Little Steel did not end to give in. SWOC should have plied the lessons of Flint. The ik and file should have launched the uggle and decided on strategy and ctics independently of the bureau- ts.

The job of revolutionaries is to fight the kind of class struggle tactics it won the strike at Flint, and in the excess break the ranks' illusions in e pro-capitalist bureaucrats. This is e part of the struggle to convince e workers to fight for socialist eolution.

We honor the memory of those who ight and died on May 30, 1937. As e class struggle builds once again, e lessons of those days must e rned. In this way we can make sure at the defeats are not repeated and at greater victories will be won on e road to socialist revolution. □

Workers . . .

id up to a defeat. We must also gin to use our momentum to push e real local gains—not umbrellas for ew picnic tables.

To effectively organize ourselves, e can have no illusions in McCul- gh. It was right to vote for him as a p against the company and union acks, but to rely on him for a ution will lead us nowhere. The ly solution is to organize ourselves defend ourselves. We must give no arter to the company in order to ly meet our needs. As we move to fend ourselves, we must constantly int out that only our control of this ety will give us the ability to meet r needs. We must turn our daily ht to survive into a fight with tory in sight. We must fight for ialist revolution. □