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# TORCH

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of the  
Revolutionary  
Socialist League

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STACK 3 OVERSIZE

## NEW U.S. TRICKS IN AFRICA



Seweto students have made clear that revolution is the road forward in South Africa.

### Young Tries to Sell Pro-Black Image

In the past few months, the foreign policy of the Carter administration toward southern Africa has begun to take shape. Carter is making a mighty effort to hide the U.S. imperialists' intentions toward the area behind a screen of democratic words.

On the surface, it appears as if a drastic shift in U.S. foreign policy has occurred. For years, the U.S. imperial-

ists have more or less openly backed the white-ruled regimes in southern Africa. While the U.S. government occasionally made criticisms of apartheid, it made little effort to hide its real position of unqualified support to these racist regimes.

#### NEW LOOK FOR IMPERIALIST POLICY

Today things look differ-

ent. The U.S. is sounding more and more like it really does oppose apartheid. The U.S. government has denounced apartheid once again, and even appears to be taking some steps to back up its words.

Two months ago, Andrew Young, the U.S. ambassador to the UN, referred to the South African government as "illegitimate." Although the State Department restated that it was U.S. policy to consider the South African government "legitimate," Carter and Mondale strongly endorsed Young. Similar incidents have occurred since then.

Two of the more significant developments were Vice President Mondale's meetings with South African Premier Vorster on May 19-20 in Vienna, Austria, and Young's trip to South Africa on May 20. Both these events appeared to indicate a new anti-apartheid stance of the U.S. government. Mondale met with Vorster, supposedly to try to convince him to eliminate apartheid peacefully. Meanwhile, Young's trip, which was initially feared by the South African whites, was intended to give the Black people of South Africa the impression that the U.S. supports their struggle.

#### U.S. AIMS UNCHANGED

What does this really mean? Has U.S. policy toward southern Africa changed? If so, how much?

One thing must be clear from the start. The basic, long-term goal of U.S. imperialism toward southern Africa—to maintain its control—has not changed. But

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## Longest in U.S. History: Walla Walla Prisoners On Strike

By Frank Hopkins

JUNE 1—The longest prison strike in U.S. history is still underway! Though the general population of the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla went back to work on May 25 after 46 days, prisoners on B and D tiers of the Intensive Security Unit (ISU—segregation) remain on strike.

The strike began on April 10, following three straight days of administrative repression. Guards had stripped, maced and beaten prisoners in the ISU, using as an excuse the explosion of a cigarette lighter in a guard's hand during the trial of two Walla Walla inmates. Many prisoners from the general population were tossed into the ISU and other prisoners faced harassment and intimidation. The prisoners fought back. The prison store and commissary were ripped apart and the

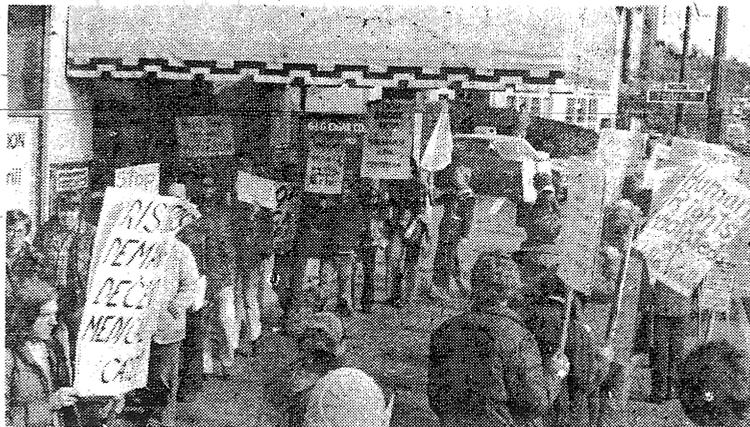
chapel was set on fire. Then 400 of the 1,372 prisoners at Walla Walla shut themselves in their cells—on strike.

The administration's terror campaign was only the

spark that lit the fire. An explosion over conditions at the prison had been building up for months. Walla Walla is a hell-hole—overcrowded, filthy and brutal. Guards regularly and arbitrarily beat prisoners. Racism is institutionalized, with Black and Latin prisoners frequently thrown into the ISU for no reason at all. Anti-gay preju-

dice is rampant and is encouraged by prison officials. Prisoners are thrown into the ISU for their political beliefs. In the "behavior modification" unit, outright torture is practiced. Prisoners are forced to wear diapers and to stay awake for lengthy periods. Often, they are hand-

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Seattle picket supports striking Walla Walla prisoners.

### UMW Elections....see p.3

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## ONE YEAR AFTER SOWETO UPRISING

# SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION GROWS

From the depths of the foulest dungeons of exploitation and misery, they arose in defiant revolt...

One year ago June 16, thousands of Black South African high school students left their classrooms and took to the streets of Soweto. Their demand? To abolish compulsory study in Afrikaans, the official language of the white government.

Police tried to break up the strike by firing point blank into crowds of young demonstrators. Scores of Blacks were killed and hundreds were wounded. The youth of Soweto struck back hard. Soweto burned for three days. Despite the fact that the battle was fought with rifles, revolvers, and tear gas on one side, and sticks, stones and bottles on the other, the militant Black youths killed two government officials and burned down several government buildings—including the West Rand Bantu Administration Board, the government agency which rules Soweto.

At the end of these three days, it was clear that a lot more was being fought over than the study of Afrikaans. In refusing to learn the whites' language of command, the students found that they had unlocked a struggle that challenged the existence of the apartheid system.

As the fighting died down, and the smoke cleared away, the whole world

could see that what began in Soweto between the Black masses and the white South African rulers could not end until one side was completely victorious and the other had been pitilessly crushed.

Revolution in South Africa had looked unlikely on June 15. What chance did Blacks have against apartheid's well-armed and utterly ruthless police and army? But by June 19 the existence of a powerful revolutionary movement among South African Blacks was an established fact.

Through the past year, this movement has grown in strength and reached into almost every corner of South Africa where the Black, so-called "Coloured" and Asian masses work and live:

### June...

The revolts of Black students spread from Soweto and Johannesburg to the Black townships surrounding Pretoria, the seat of the white government. At month's end, 176 Blacks are dead, 1,000 wounded and 1,298 under arrest.

### July...

Over 30 schools are closed by strikes. In the Pageview area of Johannesburg, Indians march in protest of government orders to throw them out of their homes to make room for whites.

### August...

Twenty thousand Blacks fight the police in the streets of Soweto. Similar outbreaks take place in Port Elizabeth, center of South Africa's auto industry. Black workers move as a class for the first time with a three-day general strike that cripples Johannesburg. People in the Bophuthatswana "Bantustan" burn down the "Bantustan" legislative assembly building. On August 12, Cape Town students walk out of their schools and spend the night battling the police.

### September...

Cape Town's "Coloured" masses wage a two-week struggle of demonstrations and street fighting in solidarity with Blacks and to protest the wholesale arrest of "Coloured" community leaders. More than 200,000 Black workers conduct a second three-day general strike in Johannesburg.

### October...

Students are murdered by police while being held in detention. Soweto answers with three riots in the space of one week.

### November...

Late in the month, Cape Town Blacks hold a peaceful demonstration demanding majority rule. Two nights later, nearby Guguletu Township becomes a cauldron as hundreds of

workers and students fight the police for three nights running.

### December...

Six hundred riot police backed up by armored cars seal off Guguletu and arrest hundreds of Blacks in a house to house search. Soweto students organize a boycott of all businesses for the Christmas weekend to commemorate the hundreds who died since June. On Christmas

But through the course of this year's stormy events, urban industrial workers, "Coloured," Indian and migrant workers from the so-called Bantustans have been drawn into the struggle alongside the students by the hundreds of thousands. And since the beginning of 1977, the government has been forced to change its tactics from rifle volleys into the crowds to one combining tear gas with concessions and tactical retreats before the onrush of the masses. The



Soweto in revolt: above, Black youths cheer after smashing government car; below, smoking ruins of government office where apartheid documents were issued.



Day, bloody street fighting erupts in Guguletu and continues for three days, spreading to nearby Langa and Nyanga Townships as well.

### February...

Students demonstrate for end to exams, amnesty for all militants, and the abolition of the separate education system for Blacks. Exam papers are burned in bonfires and thousands take part in mass rallies and marches.

### April...

Protest marches in Soweto are organized against government rent hikes on all Black housing. Government offices are attacked, a government beer hall destroyed, and vehicles are burned in the streets. "Coloureds" take part in these actions in large numbers. Within three days the government backs down on the rent increases.

What is the balance sheet of the past year of struggle? Hundreds of Blacks have died in the fighting, thousands have been injured or arrested. This, on the negative side, is the inevitable cost of any rising against the white butcher regime.

revolutionary potential of South Africa's mighty Black proletariat has been reawakened.

Today, the struggle in South Africa remains in its opening stages. Organization and consciousness lag far behind the bold actions of the Black youth and workers. The first steps that have been made toward uniting the different groups of oppressed people into one struggle against apartheid have not been tied together or consolidated. The Black workers of South Africa need to create a revolutionary vanguard party that can unite, organize and lead the oppressed masses to seize power through a socialist revolution.

The power and potential for successful revolution is there. And the Black workers of South Africa are not alone in their struggle. Throughout the world, revolutionaries and other working class militants are working to aid the victory of the South African revolution.

When the prisoners of one of imperialism's deepest and foulest dungeons of exploitation and misery can raise themselves in defiant revolt, similar outbreaks in other areas under imperialism's heel cannot be far behind. □

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# NO CHOICE FOR MINERS IN UMW ELECTIONS

By Bob Anderson

On June 14, coal miners will vote for new national officers for their union, the United Mine Workers of America (UMW). The UMW bureaucracy is split into three warring factions, each of which is putting forward its own slate of candidates for union president and other top union posts.

For more than 10 years, class struggle has been raging in the nation's coal fields. Last summer, 100,000 miners wildcatted over local grievances and court interference in the union. Since the beginning of 1977, the number of man-hours of production lost to wildcat strikes has increased 69 percent over the same period in 1976. As recently as May, 22,000 miners in Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania were wildcating over a contract violation.

## ALL FACTIONS AGAINST WILDCATS

The UMW bureaucracy is united in its determination to smash the wildcat movement. But who is strong enough to get the job done, and what methods are to be used? These are the issues dividing the factions on the UMW International Executive Board (IEB).

Arnold Miller is the incumbent candidate for president of the union. Miller, and his former allies on the IEB, Harry Patrick and Mike Trbovich, were swept into power in 1972 by the same rank and file miners' movement which threatens them today. Basing themselves on the miners' discontent, Miller, Patrick and Trbovich promised to democratize the UMW and fight for significant improvements in health and safety.

Today, Miller is universally discredited. Coal miners oppose him because he has tried to break every strike that has taken place since he took office. Coal bosses don't like him because he has failed to stop the wildcats and keep the rank and file under control. The other factions on the IEB despise Miller for reasons similar to the coal companies... plus, they want his job.

The second faction running in the election is led by Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer of the UMW since his election on Miller's slate in 1972. Until recently, Patrick was in Miller's camp, and for the past five years he has supported Miller's strikebreaking through thick and thin.

But Patrick decided to abandon Miller when it became clear how inept the current president is. In recent months, Patrick has looked for fights to pick with Miller on the IEB in an attempt to distinguish himself from Miller.

Lee Roy Patterson is the candidate of the third faction. He has the support of Miller's other former ally, vice-president Mike Trbovich, as well as that of the majority of the IEB. Patterson comes out of the old Boyle machine, as did Trbovich before he allied with Miller for the 1972 elections. Among militant coal

miners, Patterson is known as right-wing and pro-company.

None of the three candidates or their factions represent the class interests of coal miners. As one miner put it: "What choice do we have? Patterson was Tony Boyle's hatchet man. Patrick was Miller's 'yes' man—and Arnold can't run the union."

Many militant miners know the rotten records of all three candidates and refuse to support any of them. Realizing that the victor in the elections is likely to be the candidate who can put together the most militant act, Patrick and Patterson are busy attempting to build up a reputation for themselves at Miller's expense.

The May meeting of the IEB took up the question of the wildcat strike then in progress. The strike was over a new absentee control program which the companies were instituting locally in violation of the national contract. A delegation of strikers demanded that the IEB turn this issue into a national grievance and threaten to call a nationwide coal strike if the companies refused to back down. Patrick and Patterson blocked together on the vote and got the IEB to pass a motion making absentee control a national issue.

While this looked militant, its actual effect was to help bring the



Miners face armed cops escorting scabs through picket line at Stearns mine in Kentucky.

strike to an end by holding out a false promise of a national strike. Patrick and Patterson were well aware that Miller would never carry out such a motion. Their votes were nothing but a cheap maneuver to embarrass Miller. When, as expected, Miller announced his refusal to abide by the vote, Patrick and Patterson did nothing. Their purpose in voting for the motion had already been served.

While maneuvers like this may help either Patrick or Patterson squeeze past Miller in the elections, not one of the three candidates is in a strong enough position to unify the union membership behind him. The coal bosses and the U.S. government are aware of this. Not caring which of the three runs the union as long as the ranks are kept in line, they do not yet see any advantage in backing one candidate over the other. The ruling

class's main tactic at this point is to try to get the government to strengthen its foothold in controlling internal union affairs. The door was opened for government interference during Boyle's trial for the murder of Yablonski. Miller's request for the government to supervise the 1972 balloting opened it wider. The government and the bosses want to force it wider still.

## CANDIDATES PLAY GOVERNMENT'S GAME

All wings of the bureaucracy are working to open the gates to increased government interference and control. Patrick and Miller have both asked the government to supervise the elections again. Patterson has gone to federal court to challenge

(Continued on page 17)

# UAW Convention Ignores Workers' Needs

## Fraser Appointed President

The United Auto Workers (UAW) ended its convention in Los Angeles on May 19. The convention did nothing for the 1.4 million workers who are members of the UAW. There were no solutions for the 150,000 autoworkers who are unemployed, for the inhuman speedup and forced overtime inside the plants, for the huge backlog of grievances or for the deteriorating health and safety conditions. Nor, for a union leadership that claims to be concerned with "social" questions, were there any solutions to the problems facing the millions of workers outside the unions, most of

whom are low-paid or unemployed.

The 2,786 convention delegates were mainly local union officials, loyal supporters of Woodcock, Fraser and the rest of the top UAW bureaucrats. Most of the delegates listened quietly and applauded dutifully as the UAW leaders paraded Jimmy Carter, Ted Kennedy, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and other Democratic Party politicians in front of the convention. The delegates rubber-stamped the International Executive Board's decision to make Doug Fraser the new UAW president. Fraser replaces Leonard Woodcock,

who is retiring to become Jimmy Carter's envoy to China.

Two issues caused something of a stir at the convention: direct election of officers and reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO. On both questions, convention delegates, getting some heat from rank and file autoworkers back home, expressed some opposition to the top bureaucrats.

The UAW claims to be the "most democratic union in the world." Yet the top leadership of the union, the International Executive Board, as well as the top officers, are not elected directly by the UAW membership. They are elected by the convention delegates every three years. Many autoworkers are demanding direct election, and this year there was considerable support for this proposal on the floor of the convention. But the top UAW bureaucrats were in control. When the issue came to a vote, they decisively defeated the motion for direct elections.

## REAFFILIATION?

The top UAW leaders are divided over whether to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO. Fraser and his supporters are for reaffiliation, while Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW, and others are opposed.

The real concern of the UAW bureaucrats regarding the question of reaffiliation is not labor unity. It is

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Carter addresses UAW convention in Los Angeles.

## Hospital Workers Need to Strike

# 1199 Tops Attack Militant

By a Member of District 1199

NEW YORK CITY—Hospital workers here are under attack. French Hospital closed down May 13, laying off hundreds of members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. Hundreds more will be laid off when New York City forces Logan Memorial Hospital to close down in the next few months.

Yet instead of fighting these attacks, the leadership of 1199 is fighting the most militant workers in the union.

In early May, seven delegates at Mt. Sinai Hospital brought charges of "anti-union" activity against another delegate, Judy Linfield. They accused Linfield of disrupting union meetings because she spoke "too long," spoke "off the topic" and "wouldn't shut up when 1199 President Leon Davis told her to." A hearing on these absurd charges was held on May 17.

The 1199 Hearings and Appeals Board handed down its decision on May 27. They recommended to suspend Linfield as a delegate for three months. The case was so thin that the Board had to come up with new "charges" to back up their action. Linfield was now guilty of "accusing the negotiating committee of selling out the July 1st, 1976 contract to Management because of accepting binding arbitration" and

"continuously calling for strike votes of which issue has been voted upon after the July 1st, 1976 strike." These charges reveal the real story. Linfield was suspended because



Last year's New York hospital strike.

she attacked the Davis leadership for selling out last summer's hospital strike. Davis forced the ranks to accept a binding arbitration settlement which was guaranteed in advance to be a defeat. (Even Davis now admits the settlement was a "disaster.") Linfield and other 1199 members fought for a militant strike which could win real concessions from management and throw out the binding arbitration settlement. The real meaning of the attack on Linfield is that any hospital worker who opposes the 1199 bureaucrats and stands for fighting instead of surrendering to management can be charged with "anti-union" activity.

Many hospital workers understand this and are helping to build Linfield's defense. Over 150 workers at Mt. Sinai have signed petitions demanding that all charges against Linfield be dropped. Militant workers have circulated hundreds of leaflets saying the same thing. Members and delegates came to Linfield's hearing to demand that the union leadership stop its attacks on militant delegates.

The workers' response has forced the bureaucrats to retreat. At first the union hacks wanted to expel Linfield as a delegate, but instead they backed off and decided on the three-month suspension. The workers at Mt. Sinai are continuing the fight, and the case now goes to the next

higher Board for their decision.

Why did the union bureaucrats choose this particular time to move against Linfield? Since the strike, the League of Voluntary Hospitals—the hospital management association—has laid off workers, cut wages, increased forced transfers and started a massive speedup campaign. And the Davis leadership has done nothing. They claim nothing can be done until the new contract in 1978.

### CONTRACT RE-OPENER

The current contract has a re-opener clause for wages, minimums and benefits in July, 1977. Davis has already submitted the re-opener to binding arbitration. But 1199 members can refuse to accept binding arbitration this time around, and instead strike for a contract that meets their needs.

Recognizing this, Linfield has been fighting for a July strike. The 1199 bureaucrats, on the other hand, are working overtime to make sure that no such thing happens.

The bureaucrats' maneuver has backfired. Support for Linfield has increased since the union tops moved against her. And the official charges against her—calling for strike action and criticizing the bureaucrats—have only further exposed the Davis leadership's plans to sell out the 1199 membership once again.

Linfield and other militants are now working to build a rank and file organization to fight against binding arbitration and the rest of the bureaucrats' sellout program. The fight to force the Davis leadership to drop all charges against Judy Linfield is an important part of this struggle. □

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE



### Post Pressmen Get Jail Terms

On May 20, a Superior Court Judge in the District of Columbia sentenced six Washington Post pressmen to jail terms. The workers, members of Local 6 of the Pressmen's Union, were charged with assault and destruction of property resulting from their bitter strike against the Post. One worker got a year in jail, three got 120 days and two got 60 days.

Kathryn Graham and the other bosses of the Post provoked the strike in October 1975, in order to break the union, blacklist the most militant workers and replace them with previously trained scab labor. Half of the Post pressmen are still actively striking after 19 months. All working people should support their struggle.

### Steelworkers Fight Klan

The Klan, the Nazis and other racist and fascist forces are raising their heads in many parts of the country. Increasingly, working and oppressed people are organizing to drive them back into the sewers.

In May the KKK of Steubenville, Ohio, applied for a permit to hold a motorcade and crossburning on Memorial Day. Militant steelworkers from USWA Local 1190, the largest union in the area, led the fight against the Klan. Local 1190 called on the entire labor movement to take joint action to stop the Klan activities. The Klan was forced to retreat and call off their actions, citing "increased resistance" as the reason.

This is only the most recent example of resistance to the fascist scum. Last November, Black marines at Camp Pendleton in California

organized and took action against KKK attackers on that base. In April, Jewish residents along with other workers in San Francisco armed themselves with rocks and crowbars and destroyed a Nazi bookstore in their community. Right before May Day, hundreds of workers, including RSL supporters, demonstrated in the Chicago suburb of Skokie and stopped the Nazis from marching.

These struggles against the KKK and the Nazis are an important beginning. The fascists aim first at Blacks and Jews, but will go on to attack all working and oppressed people of all races and nationalities. The relatively small size of the fascist forces leads many workers to think they are not a serious problem. This is a mistake. If the Nazis or the KKK are allowed to march and organize openly, they will become a deadly threat to the entire working class. The workers' movement must unite to drive the fascists off the streets and destroy their organizations while they are still weak and isolated.

### General Strike in France

On May 24, the working class in France went on a one-day general strike against the government's economic policies. For the first time since 1964 all French unions officially joined the strike, which paralyzed all of France. At least eight million workers actively took part.

The strike took place at a time when France is heading towards a grave economic crisis. Unemployment is over one million. The ruling class has frozen wage increases at 6.5 percent, while prices in April rose at an annual rate of almost 16 percent. The French bourgeoisie is split. The most liberal wing of the ruling class is

supporting the Communist-Socialist coalition, which took over 70 percent of French cities in elections last March and is likely to be swept to power in next year's parliamentary elections.

At present, many French workers have illusions in this popular front coalition. The workers cannot make lasting gains until they break completely from all wings of the ruling class and march forward independently towards socialist revolution.

### Local UAW Strikes Spread

Autoworkers at Chrysler's Fenton, Missouri, truck plant have been striking for over a month. On June 2, the 3,600 UAW members there rejected the local contract agreement. Rank and file workers at Fenton are determined to continue their fight against forced overtime and speedup.

Nearly 5,000 UAW members at GM's Diesel plant in Detroit also struck over local issues on June 7. These two local strikes, along with local contract rejections at a number of plants and the recent wildcats at GM Fremont and Chrysler Indianapolis, show that autoworkers are beginning to struggle to make up some of what they lost in the national contract defeat last fall.

Since the auto companies can usually wait out isolated local strikes, militant autoworkers are calling for joint strikes wherever possible and for broadening the demands of the local strikes to include national contract issues. While rank and file autoworkers do not have the level of organization necessary to force a reopening of the national contract now, they can begin to build a fighting rank and file organization which will have this strength and more in the future.

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# Ranks Oppose Steel Contract, Strike Movement Grows

Opposition to the new Basic Steel contract is growing among the members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). To date, 18 USWA locals, with over 90,000 members, have voted to condemn the sellout package.

The contract went into effect on April 9, when a majority of local union presidents ratified the Abel-McBride deal. The USWA top bureaucrats thought their troubles were over once they had secured the local presidents' ratification. But major strike action in the steel industry now seems more likely than it has in years.

On May 25, eight USWA local presidents representing all of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube mills refused to sign the agreement. They told company representatives that the 20,000 steelworkers they represent are overwhelmingly opposed to the Abel-McBride settlement.

The votes to condemn the contract and the refusals to sign it, by themselves, cannot block implementation, since steelworkers do not have the right to ratify their own contract. That power rests exclusively with the local USWA presidents. But the growing pressure rank and file steelworkers are exerting has the potential to turn into a strike movement which can dump the contract.

The most immediate focus for the steelworkers' anger is the local contracts, which expire on August 1. As

we go to press, USWA locals all around the country are taking strike votes over local issues. In District 31 (Chicago-Gary area), the largest district in the union, a majority of the locals are considering strike votes.

The rank and file steelworkers who are organizing for local strikes in August hope to make up some of what they lost in the national agreement. But the local actions, if they remain isolated, can win only minimal gains. Steelworkers must coordinate these local strikes and use them to build for a national strike to smash the ENA (the no-strike agreement) and reopen the national contract.

An example of the kind of coordination and solidarity necessary to

build this struggle has come from the locals at the Bethlehem mills in Burns Harbor, Indiana, and Sparrows Point, Maryland. These locals have agreed to strike together and stay out together until both locals win their demands. All the locals in District 31 should make the same agreement—to stay out on strike together until all have settled. If steelworkers can shut down the entire Chicago-Gary area, this would open the way to spreading the strike nationwide, winning a real contract victory.

Standing in the way of this struggle is the USWA bureaucracy. Abel and McBride are already trying to limit the issues in the local strikes

## Contract rejected; Chrysler Fires Militants

# Warren Stamping Workers Fight Back

By a Supporter of the  
Revolutionary  
Autoworkers Committee

DETROIT—At Chrysler's Warren Stamping plant, workers have begun to organize against management harassment, discipline and firings. Management's strategy at Warren has been to punish workers for rejecting two sellout local contracts and electing a leftist as union vice-

president. Over 25 people have lost their jobs in the wake of these events and other forms of management harassment have intensified.

Many of the fired workers recently formed the Committee Against Management Harassment. They issued a leaflet stating their intention to fight and calling on brothers and sisters still working to join with them in the Committee. Sympathy inside the plant was high and a number of inside people joined the Committee.

One of the first steps of the Committee was to prepare for a union meeting scheduled for late May. Motions were written calling for the union to begin to organize to get the fired workers' jobs back, as a first measure in a campaign against management harassment. Another motion called for a union bulletin to inform people of the scope of management's attacks, which were at a peak that very week.

On the day of the meeting, however, President Don Fallon declared there was no quorum at the meeting and declared it cancelled. This was a lie. More than the required number of people were present, and others were still arriving. The union leadership simply wanted to avoid demands by angry rank and file workers to take action.

held an open meeting of steelworkers on May 17 to discuss ways to build for a shutdown of the coke ovens before more people are maimed and killed. The most important point brought up was the necessity for coke oven workers to build a tight organization inside the plant that could put a stop to all work being done under unsafe conditions. Leaflets have been issued calling for mass action to shut down the coke ovens until they are made safe.

U.S. Steel management at Gary Works is feeling the pressure from the RSC campaign. They have been forced to retreat over conditions on batteries No. 2 and No. 3. New work procedures have been introduced which make the battery area somewhat safer.

This is definitely a victory for the RSC campaign. But if the campaign is not taken forward, this small gain will prove temporary. Even as management backed down on the batteries issues, they attempted to speed up production and cut back safety measures in other areas. On May 24, management ordered two workers to charge the ovens even though the "goosenecks" hadn't been cleaned. ("Goosenecks" protect workers from explosive build-ups of gas inside the ovens.) The two workers refused!

This kind of action is what the RSC is working to organize and extend until the workers at Gary Works are strong enough to shut the ovens down completely. □

and will probably refuse to authorize some of them. They have also taken out full page ads in over 40 newspapers in an attempt to sell their miserable contract to the membership and stop the growing rebellion.

Meanwhile, Ed Sadlowski, the militant-sounding bureaucrat who opposed McBride in the recent elections, is telling steelworkers that there is "nothing that can be done." Sadlowski says that protest votes are fine, but the ENA prevents any serious action against the contract. As always, Sadlowski has an excuse for not actually leading any action. He claims that steelworkers will just have to wait until the next contract... or until the next election, when they can vote for him again.

But action can be taken to fight back against the Abel-McBride sellout. The sentiment in the steel mills against the contract is building. The main task for militant steelworkers right now is to organize that sentiment into a movement for local strike action that can build into a coordinated national steel strike. □

Despite the union leadership's attempt to sabotage the struggle, a victory has already been won. On June 7, three of the fired workers were hired back. There are signs that mounting pressure will result in more re-hirings. This is an important initial victory.

The Committee's leaflets and motions have made it clear that those fired were victims of a conscious company attack on the militancy of Warren's workers. The leaflets showed that racism and sexism were key issues in many of the cases involved. The Committee has also made it clear that the only road forward is to actively organize the ranks against these attacks.

The major weakness of the struggle is that the number of workers who actively support the Committee is still small. We can only turn back management's attacks if we unite and organize. The Committee Against Management Harassment will be working to build this kind of unity and struggle in coming weeks and months.

This type of management harassment is not a problem limited to Warren Stamping alone. Other autoworkers should actively support the Warren workers. The struggle at Warren is something to point to and learn from in organizing throughout the industry. □

## Courts Attack Unemployment Benefits

On May 24, a U.S. District Court Judge ruled that it was illegal for the state of New York to pay unemployment benefits to striking workers. Prior to the ruling, workers in New York were able to collect unemployment after striking for seven weeks. The New York Telephone Company originally filed the suit during a seven-month strike by telephone workers in 1971.

Even though Rhode Island is the only other state that has the same kind of law, this ruling will have an impact far beyond New York. In 29 states, striking workers can get unemployment pay when their bosses try to replace them with scabs. And in many states workers can at least get some welfare benefits or food stamps during long strikes.

In a related decision during the same week, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld as constitutional an Ohio law that denies unemployment benefits to workers laid off because of a strike in an industry which supplies their employer. The Supreme Court decision means other states now have a green light to pass similar laws.

Both of these rulings are aimed at further crippling the ability of workers to make use of the strike weapon. Rather than trying to smash the working class head-on through one giant assault, the government hopes to weaken it a bit at a time, while preparing for larger assaults in the future.



## Guards Blamed for 1976 Attica Rebellion

An investigation committee of the New York State Commission on Corrections has reported that the July 11, 1976, rebellion in cellblock D at Attica Correctional Facility was caused by five guards. The guards attacked a Sunni Muslim leader, Yusuf Abdul Alim, also known as Albert McQueen. Alim was hospitalized for eight days because of the assault.

After the beating, prisoners returning from the exercise yard armed themselves with broom handles and other weapons and injured four guards.

The decision of the Commission on Corrections has caused a rift between it and the New York Department of Correctional Services. Benjamin Ward, Commissioner of the Department, has stated that the report of the investigation committee "undermine(s) public confidence" in the prison system. Prison guards refused to testify before the investigation committee.

The five guards who attacked Alim certainly deserve all the punishment they get—and then some. But it is more than five guards who are responsible for the rebellion. Attica, the Department of Correctional Services, and the state that holds all of this up are responsible. A week before the July 11 incident, prisoners sent a list of grievances to prison authorities. The list charged that racism, overcrowding and guard brutality were the rule at the prison. The work stoppage at Attica last August occurred for these reasons, as well as the attack on Alim.

## Women Prisoners Win Fight Against Harassment

Women at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in New York State have won a victory in their fight to end harassment by male guards. In response to their April 1 suit, the New York State Department of Correctional Services has announced new rules. These rules require that no guard of the opposite sex will be "permanently assigned to shower areas in open view of showering inmates." Also, opposite-sex guards cannot exceed one-third of the total number of guards at maximum and medium security prisons.

This victory is only partial. The phrasing of the new rule merely indicates that prison keepers will now have to be more careful in using male guards to humiliate and sexually abuse women prisoners. But women prisoners at Bedford Hills can use this first victory to organize to ensure their right to control their own bodies.

## "Bill of Rights" Proposed for NYC Prisoners

Public hearings were held May 31 and June 1 on a proposal "Bill of Rights" for New York City prisoners.

The proposed guarantees include limits on overcrowding (one person, one cell), more frequent contact visits, translators for Spanish-speaking prisoners, hot and cold water for all cells, frequent changes of clothing and greater access to free telephones. Further, prison administrators would be legally prohibited from reading prisoners' mail.

The liberal "watch-dog" board which is putting forward these changes is doing so in order to head off growing prisoner discontent. Last summer, a number of strikes were carried out by state prisoners—at Attica, Great Meadows and Greenhaven facilities—over overcrowding and rotten conditions. The liberals are worried that this summer will see even larger actions in the City prisons.

The top dogs of the Department of Corrections, however, are opposed to any reforms. Commissioner Benjamin Malcolm has been complaining that the changes would cost "millions" and "create administrative confusion."

In fact, the liberals' promises are nothing but promises. They are trying to create the illusion that some section of the ruling class is "concerned" about conditions in the prisons. They do this in order to channel prisoner organizing efforts into appealing to liberal commissions. While prisoners will welcome any reforms which are put into effect by the "Bill of Rights," real changes in the prisons will only come by the prisoners themselves organizing and struggling—no matter what the state says about the cost.

## Somers Prisoners Fight Racism

Since last September, prisoners at the Connecticut Correctional Institution at Somers have been organizing to fight racism and rotten conditions at the prison. The prisoners demonstrated last September 11 and held a three-day hunger strike in the segregation unit in March. Below, a brother at Somers reports on more recent administrative harassment and the fight of the prisoners at Somers:

"There has been nothing heard from the hunger strike that we had in segregation. But in the past month or so a lot of prisoners got together down there and threw out all kinds of garbage onto the tier floor. They then, at least six prisoners, began throwing their trays at the guards. These same six were thrown into the hole and then placed in strip cells. Whereupon, in the strip cells, two prisoners a day slashed their wrists. This was all done to protest the conditions."

Meanwhile, two prisoners have filed suits against the administration's policy of withholding newspapers and confiscating other written material.

# Wilmington Ten Denied New Trial



The Wilmington Ten before they were imprisoned in 1976.

On May 20, after 11 days of hearings, Judge George Fountain ruled against a new trial for the Wilmington Ten. The judge claimed that the constitutional rights of the Ten were not violated during the course of their 1972 trial. The Ten were convicted of arson and sentenced to a total of 282 years in prison—up to 34 years each. They have been seeking a new trial on the basis of new evidence that proves they were framed.

The 1972 railroad came as a result of racist white mob attacks on the Black community in Wilmington, North Carolina. In the course of the mob violence, Black people's homes were shot up and a white-owned store, Mike's Grocery, was set on fire.

The local authorities decided to use the arson to imprison as many Black community leaders and civil rights activists as they could. To do this, the state had to buy phony testimony and keep the truth out of the courtroom.

This was proved through the course of the recent hearing. The testimony proved that:

- Eric Junious, a prosecution witness who was 13 at the time of the 1972 trial, was promised a minibike in return for testimony against the Ten.

- Another witness, Allen Hall, faced up to 12 years in prison at the time of the trial. He was told by the prosecutor, Jay Stroud, that he would be out of prison in six months to two years, if he said what the state wanted said in court.

- A third prosecution witness, Jerome Mitchell, was up on charges of armed robbery and second-degree murder. He was promised a parole in six or seven months.

- When Hall and Mitchell agreed to do what the state wanted, they were kept at a beach cottage rented by Tex Gross, head of the New Hanover Ku Klux Klan. Stroud came to the beach along with a Wilmington police detective, an agent of the Federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau and Klansman Gross, and coached the two in what to say at the trial.

- At the same time, many of the Wilmington Ten's supporters in the community feared that if they testified in their behalf they would be murdered by white racists. So, many stayed away from the trial.

During the hearing the state Assistant Attorney General Richard League tried to discredit the new testimony. He claimed Hall and Mitchell recanted because they were harassed by fellow prisoners. While other prisoners were not about to congratulate these two for turning brothers and sisters over to the pigs, this story is another lie. Four prison

inmates proved this when they testified that Hall and Mitchell told them, back in 1972, that they had lied at the trial.

Further, since he recanted Hall now finds razor blades in his food.

The case against the Wilmington Ten was built on lies. It has been proven that the Ten were victims of a conspiracy by the state and the Klan to railroad militant defenders of the Black community. It has been proven that the trial was a frame-up from start to finish. Yet Judge Fountain says constitutional rights were "not violated!"

Fountain is well aware of the real significance of upholding the Wilmington Ten frame-up. He wants to ensure that the decisions of the Klan and their good friends in the government reign supreme in North Carolina.

But this racist attack—whether dressed in a Klansman's robe or a judge's robe—will be fought. On May 8, the day before the hearings began, 1,000 people marched in Wilmington, demanding freedom for the Ten. This support will grow and the struggle will continue until the Wilmington Ten are freed. □

## 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.)



# WALLA WALLA PRISONERS ON STRIKE...

(Continued from page 1)

cuffed to their beds for days and weeks at a time.

The striking prisoners are demanding an end to all this. They are demanding adequate living and eating facilities, decent medical and dental care, and an end to guard brutality and racism. The strikers are calling for the firing of Assistant Superintendent James Harvey—known as "Mad Dog." The striking prisoners are also demanding improvement in ISU conditions and an end to the administration's policy of arbitrarily throwing prisoners into segregation.

## COVER-UP

Walla Walla authorities at first pretended there was no strike underway. They initially claimed that prisoners were "deadlocked"—confined to their cells 24 hours a day by administrative order. But the striking prisoners were able to send out messages stating the facts, and the keepers' cover was blown. The strike was "officially recognized."

Unable to end the strike by ignoring it, the administration took a different approach. Washington Governor Dixy Lee Ray set up a committee of corporate and government officials to "investigate conditions and negotiate with the prisoners."

On April 27, this committee made its investigation. It lasted all of two hours. The committee refused to negotiate with ISU prisoners and even refused to hear their testimony.

On May 6, a report was issued. The report ignored the prisoners' main demands. Instead, it called for minor and vague reforms, including a second dentist and "improved sanitation inspections." The report also promised to transfer Assistant Superintendent Harvey.

On May 12, the Walla Walla Brothers, a group of prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary, released a report charging that Harlan McNutt (Director of State Prisons and head of the investigating committee) had negotiated in bad faith. The Walla Walla Brothers labelled the investigation a sham. The striking prisoners saw that the committee was just trying to buy them off with vague promises and no real changes. The strike went on.

Meanwhile, support for the strike outside the prison was growing. On May 3, 45 people picketed the Washington State Parole Offices in Seattle. The demonstration was organized by the Washington State Prisoners' Rights Committee.

On May 12, two banks near Seattle were bombed. A communique, reportedly issued by the George Jackson Brigade (GJB), claimed that the Brigade had carried out the bombings in support of the Walla Walla strike. The communique stated that the banks were bombed because of their links to the Seattle Times, a bourgeois paper that had denounced the strike.

With support outside building and the unity strong on the inside, the prisoners forced the state into another round of negotiations. This time, the state promised an end to overcrowding, an acceleration of parole, an investigation of segregation practices and adequate hospital facilities. Based on this, the general population went back to work on May 25.

But prisoners in segregation on B and D tiers continued the strike. These prisoners have stated that no real concessions have been made. (See accompanying letter.) The state has only made promises, not taken

other round of negotiations. This time, the state promised an end to overcrowding, an acceleration of parole, an investigation of segregation practices and adequate hospital facilities. Based on this, the general population went back to work on May 25.



Overcrowded prison in Alabama.

action. "Mad Dog" Harvey has not yet been moved out and nothing has been done about segregation. The racist treatment of Black and Latin prisoners continues.

## PRISONS: TOOL OF THE RULING CLASS

The strikers, like the great majority of people in prisons throughout the country, are victims of the capitalist system. Many have committed crimes of economic necessity. Others have been imprisoned for political activity. Still others were framed for crimes they knew nothing about.

Whatever the specific charges, the ruling class regularly imprisons working and oppressed people in order to preserve the rule of the capitalists. Prisons, like the cops and courts, are tools of the ruling class. The rulers decide who is a threat to their system, and therefore who gets sent to prison. This is why the great majority of prisoners are working people. And this is why such a disproportionately large percentage of peo-

ple in prison are from oppressed groups victimized by capitalism's racism and sexism. The prisons are built for anyone who threatens the capitalist system in any way.

Many prisoners know this. Many are highly politically conscious and among those who hate capitalism the most. Many know they are imprisoned because of the class nature of this society and have dedicated their lives to revolution.

The Walla Walla Brothers, active in the current strike at the Washington State Penitentiary, are an example. The Brothers devote much time to reading left literature and studying revolutionary politics.

At the same time, they have been active fighters against conditions at Walla Walla. The Brothers exposed the use of behavior modification at the prison, fought the racist and sexist abuse that prisoners face and built a petition campaign against the administration's misuse of the ISU.

The Revolutionary Socialist League works to aid the revolutionary development of prisoner groups. The Torch-La Antorcha is read by many prisoners across the country. The RSL also regularly corresponds with revolutionary prisoners and collectives throughout the country. This flows from an understanding that the prisons are one of the places in society where revolutionaries are made. Many revolutionary leaders like Malcolm X and George Jackson became political while they were in prison. The prisons will produce an important layer of cadre for the revolutionary party.

The RSL also fights to build outside support for the struggles of brothers and sisters in the prisons. Without outside support, prisoners face an uphill battle to win even the most minimal gains. Prisoners lack leverage and face an enormous repressive apparatus. Revolutionaries must win the workers' movement to support prisoners' struggles with mass demonstrations and strikes.

The heroic struggle of the Walla Walla prisoners is an example to all working and oppressed people. It is important for all class conscious workers to support the striking brothers at Walla Walla prison. The Torch-La Antorcha appeals to its readers to send messages of solidarity to the striking prisoners and letters of protest to Governor Dixy Lee Ray.

(Send letters of protest to: Governor Ray, Governor's Office, Legislative Building, Olympia, Washington 98504. Send messages of solidarity and requests for further information to: Torch-La Antorcha, P.O. Box 562, New York 10036.)

## Walla Walla Brother Writes: "Our Demands Must Be Met"

Dear Comrades,

The population gave up on Wednesday May 25, 1977, but the ISU prisoners are still down—dead-locked 24 hours a day on D and B tiers for refusing to sweep the tier. When the pigs come to sweep D tier we now whistle the national anthem for them. Unity on B and D is 100 percent and we have faith in our supporters.

The 24th we ran Assistant Warden "Mad Dog" Harvey off the tier. The 25th, while Warden B.J. Rhay tried to get us off strike, they beat Evans on A-side for not cleaning his cell. They hosed it out and put him back in while it was wet.

News from outside is hard to get in here—but it appears good—we all send our love and solidarity to all. The Irish Republican Army prisoners have sent us greetings and solidarity.

We have heard the pigs mention the Torch!!! Apparently you are all busy. We appreciate that, and hope you know we need you. If it weren't for all our outside people they'd kill some of us.

We have B.J. Rhay and won't let go—some class collaboration went on to bring population off of strike but we have refused to come up. Out to win with politics.

The effort here Comrades is to make them deal with the ISU. They have us like the Palestine Liberation Organization but we refuse to accept that. Our demands must be met.

Arizona rioted we hear. And we send love to Marion (Federal Penitentiary in Illinois—Ed.) and all in the prisons and camps around Amerika and the world.

Little to say but what I have—Total Struggle. To win we must have your help. We can only catch little bits of news and in it we have heard the Torch mentioned. We have faith and the truth on our side. We are winning.

Everyone is well and sends greetings. Write us soon.

Victory!  
A Walla Walla Brother

P.S. The floor is black and the whole tier REEKS—all they do is sweep, won't let us clean our cell, haven't for two months.

## Gary Tyler Case:

# Supreme Court Denies Appeal

On May 16, the United States Supreme Court refused to hear Gary Tyler's appeal of his 1975 conviction.

Tyler was found guilty of the murder of a white youth, who was part of a mob of white racists. The mob, armed with guns and rocks, attacked a school bus of Black students in Destrehan, Louisiana.

Only one witness, Natalie Blanks, testified that Tyler had fired a gun. She has since recanted, saying that the prosecution forced her to lie.

Despite the obvious racist frame-up tactics of the prosecution, the Supreme Court will not hear the Tyler case. Further, the Court did not even give reasons for its refusal.

Gary Tyler will now file a motion for a new trial. Working class militants must continue to support the struggle to free Gary Tyler. □



Gary Tyler.

## Chicago SCAA Pickets Krugerrand

CHICAGO—The Chicago chapter of SCAA has begun informational picketing at Carson's, a local department store chain, which sells the Krugerrand. SCAA is determined to stop sales of the Krugerrand, which plays a major role in financially supporting the South African government. Stopping Krugerrand sales will directly aid the Black workers' fight for revolution in South Africa. It will also help build a movement against U.S. imperialism.

Chicago SCAA has chosen Carson's as its first target. SCAA is asking all workers to boycott Carson's until it stops sales of the Krugerrand. SCAA members are collecting signatures on petitions against Krugerrand sales.

As a part of learning how to fight all aspects of imperialism, SCAA members recently viewed a film on the Nazis' rise to power in Germany. The film was followed by a discussion of the ongoing Nazi activity in the Chicago area and the revolutionary solution—political and military combat to smash the Nazis. South Africa's rulers and the Nazis are the same—they both must be crushed.

On May 28, Chicago SCAA participated in a march in defense of gay rights (see story on page 9). All struggles against oppression, from Stonewall to Soweto, have the same enemy and must unite in the fight for socialist revolution. □

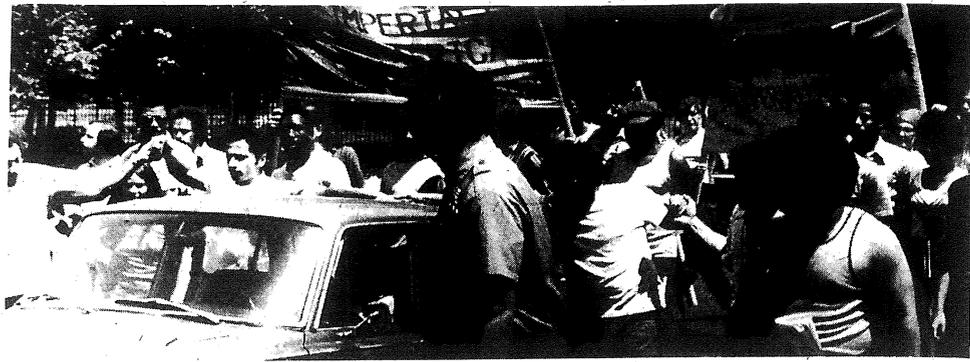
## "Drive Krugerrands Out of Detroit!"

DETROIT—"Workers join us, take a stand—Death to the Krugerrand!" was one of the chants at the May 27 picket organized by the Detroit Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid. The small, but militant, picket was part of an ongoing campaign to drive the Krugerrand (a South African gold piece being sold in the U.S.) out of Detroit. Manufacturers National Bank has been singled out as the first target of the campaign.

During the picket, leaflets were distributed and many copies of the Torch-La Antorcha were sold. Most of the workers who stopped to talk to the leafleters did not know Manufacturers Bank was selling the Krugerrand, but were interested in learning more about the campaign and the struggle in South Africa. The Solidarity Committee will be trying to win these workers and others like them to actively supporting the campaign.

The leaflet for the picket pointed out: "Manufacturers and its backers at Ford Motor are up to their necks in supporting the racist, anti-working class attacks coming down in Detroit just like they do in South Africa."

This is the key to the organizing work being done by Detroit SCAA. By building support for the South African revolution through the campaign, SCAA is beginning to organize the forces to struggle against racism, unemployment and the other forms that capitalist oppression takes here in Detroit. The enemy of the workers in South Africa and Detroit is one and the same. In the coming weeks



SCAA-RSL contingent at African Liberation Day march defies force-out attempt by BISSAL marshals (linked hands, foreground).

## African Liberation Day:

# Nationalists Split NY March

NEW YORK—A revolutionary contingent representing the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid and the Revolutionary Socialist League was barred from a May 28 march through Harlem marking African Liberation Day. The exclusion, arranged by leaders of BISSAL (Blacks in Solidarity with Southern African Liberation, the organization that sponsored the march), is a setback in the struggle to build a revolutionary solidarity movement and a unified anti-imperialist fight.

The SCAA-RSL group came to the march hoping to unite with other

groups in a show of strength against U.S. imperialism. But even though the turnout for the march was much smaller than last year—only about 150 people showed up compared to 500 a year ago—BISSAL leaders discouraged SCAA-RSL participation from the start. First, BISSAL leaders urged SCAA-RSL to go to a march in midtown Manhattan for supposed "white groups." When the SCAA-RSL contingent refused to go, BISSAL representatives announced that the revolutionary contingent could not join the main body of the demonstration, but had to march separately behind it. BISSAL recruited a goon squad and asked the cops for cooperation to enforce this policy.

For more than half an hour, SCAA and RSL supporters, blocked from the demonstration by the goons and a BISSAL truck, marched behind the main body of marchers. Then, by slowing down the truck, the BISSAL goons tried to force SCAA-RSL out of the march completely. As SCAA-RSL surged forward to join the main march, the BISSAL goon squad attacked. But the SCAA-RSL contingent successfully defended itself and prevented the attackers from forcing it off the march. Some time after the fight, when the BISSAL goons blocked off the line of march, the SCAA-RSL contingent left the march and held a brief rally, rather than

forcing an all-out brawl.

Why was BISSAL willing to limit its forces in order to keep SCAA and the RSL out? Not because the SCAA-RSL contingent was a "white group"—nearly half the contingent was made up of Blacks and Latins.

BISSAL excluded the SCAA-RSL contingent because it is revolutionary and Marxist. SCAA and the RSL emphasize the class nature of the struggle going on in the world today. In contrast, the politics of BISSAL are middle-class. They see the anti-imperialist struggle in middle-class nationalist terms. In particular, they view organizing the way the capitalist politicians do. Each separate group—Blacks, Latins, whites—should organize separately, with the Blacks and Latins uniting by arrangement with their respective leaders. Rather than building working class solidarity and unity, this strategy ties the movement to middle-class leaders who are more anxious to protect their "turf" than to build a fighting movement.

BISSAL's tactics at the march were precisely the tactics of the capitalists: divide the working class, attack the revolutionaries. Not surprisingly, BISSAL relies heavily on endorsement from Black Democratic politicians as drawing cards for its demonstrations. In other cities, the ties between the official sponsors of African Liberation Day and the capitalists are even more blatant. In Detroit, for example, Mayor Coleman Young made African Liberation Day an official city holiday—but not because he sympathizes with revolutionary forces in southern Africa and the United States. Young, like BISSAL, works to channel Blacks' anger at U.S. imperialism into support for capitalist neo-colonial strategies.

As a representative for the Revolutionary Socialist League pointed out at the SCAA-RSL rally: "These middle-class groups are afraid to fight unless they're fighting for the Man. Then, like they did today, they do the bosses' work for them. Like the imperialists, they are afraid of the working class and strive to keep it divided. They attack revolutionaries and oppose the revolution."

A few BISSAL leaders and some rank and file marchers did appear to be upset by SCAA's and the RSL's exclusion. Unlike the rest of the BISSAL leaders, they may be more interested in fighting apartheid and imperialism than in fighting to divide the movement. The RSL urges these people to work with SCAA and the RSL to build a united fight against the bosses and their stooges in the U.S. and South Africa. □

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# Florida Gay Rights Vote Loses

## Mass Protests Nationwide

NEW YORK, June 9—Nearly 10,000 supporters of gay rights marched two and one-half miles last night to protest the anti-gay victory in Dade County, Florida. The march was one of the largest actions built by the gay movement in years.

The marchers took over the street, chanting "Gay Rights Now!" and "Dade County We Say No! Anita Bryant's Got to Go!" It was the second New York demonstration in as many nights, following the repeal by a two to one margin of Dade County's recently enacted gay rights law.

On the previous night, 2,000 angry gay people marched through the Greenwich Village area as soon as they heard the news of the vote. One marcher said: "No one really put this thing together. We just got the news from Miami, and we all piled out onto

the streets." The protesters started on West Street, where many gay bars are located, and marched through the streets for over two hours.

The New York demonstrations are only the first of a series of demonstrations and rallies being organized in many cities across the U.S.

National attention was focused on the test of strength in Florida. The big anti-gay vote there was mobilized by a hate campaign led by Anita Bryant, the pop singer and "Miss Florida Orange Juice" of television commercials. When the gay rights ordinance first passed, Bryant formed a group called "Save Our Children, Inc." to work for repeal of the law. Bryant identified gay rights with child molesting and branded homosexuality a "crime against God." As the campaign went on, her appeals to anti-homosexual hatred became more and more blatant. She wistfully recalled that many societies have punished homosexuality with death.

In this atmosphere of hate, bumper stickers appeared all over Florida that read: "Kill a Queer for Christ." Two Miami activists had their cars firebombed during the campaign. A third, subjected to intense pressure by his parents and others, killed himself—legally a suicide, but actually a victim of Anita Bryant's hate campaign.

Bryant got the support of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Miami. She also got a big boost from Florida's Democratic governor Reubin Askew, usually considered a liberal. Askew announced that he would not want "a known homosexual teaching my children," and urged repeal of the Dade County Ordinance. Just before the referen-

dum, the Florida legislature voted overwhelmingly to ban marriages between homosexuals and to forbid homosexuals to adopt children.

The anti-gay victory in Miami will spread these right-wing efforts nationwide. All over the country there will be efforts to prevent or roll back gay rights laws, as well as a rise in gang and cop attacks against gays. The workers' movement must actively organize against these attacks.

The demonstrations that greeted

the Miami vote were an important beginning in fighting back. They showed a will to fight that must now be organized. In particular, the Gay Pride Week demonstrations scheduled for the end of June in many cities must be made as massive and militant as possible. In the past, Gay Pride Week has often been dominated by conservative gay groups that have turned the marches into non-political "celebrations of gay life." This must not happen this year.

Gay people are ready for a fight. Militants must intervene to make sure that Gay Pride Week begins this fight—a new struggle for gay rights that will extend into every corner of the United States. □

## Chicago Tribune Launches Attack on Gay Community

CHICAGO, June 1—The bourgeois press here, led by the reactionary Chicago Tribune, has launched an assault on the gay community. For days on end, the Tribune has run scream headlines with lurid tales of child pornography, child abuse and male prostitution rings.

This is just a thinly disguised attack on all homosexuals. The purpose of the Tribune series is to stir up reactionary hatred against gays.

The Tribune has focused almost exclusively on charges of abuse of boys by gay men. Yet 89 percent of reported cases of child molestation involve assaults by straight men on girls. The Tribune leaves out this fact. Incidents of pornography using young women are also downplayed.

The articles in the Tribune also fail to make any distinction between actual child molestation, involving force, and consenting sexual relations between gay teenagers and adults. All this shows that the Tribune's charges are just anti-gay propaganda.

The Tribune series has led to stepped-up harassment of homosexuals by cops. Within two days of the first article, 26 arrests were made. Since then, the cops have been arbitrarily arresting as "prostitutes" any young gay males in two near-North Side areas where many gay bars are located. The cops have beaten up many of the young men they have arrested.

The increased police harassment and the Tribune articles have also given the green light to thugs to harass gays. Already the Gay Horizon Center, a gay counseling and social center, has been the scene of harassment by youth gangs.

It is no accident that the Chicago attacks are taking place now. Anita Bryant is mobilizing right-wing sentiment in Miami in the effort to begin a national campaign against gay rights. The Tribune is deliberately feeding Bryant's anti-gay hysteria with its

(Continued on page 16)

## GAY PRIDE WEEK

# We Must Build the Gay Liberation Struggle

By Chris Hudson

Eight years ago, on June 28, 1969, Gay Pride Week was born in struggle. When New York City vice cops raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village, hundreds of angry gay men and women massed outside to fight back. Hurling coins and then bottles, they forced the cops back into the bar, then smashed the windows and broke down the door with an uprooted parking meter. The police had to bring in reinforcements to rescue the cops trapped in the bar.

The next night, Saturday, an even larger crowd gathered in the same area. This time the gay people took over the streets. They blocked traffic and fought the cops, chanting "Gay power, gay power!" One witness reported: "The cops were scared shitless and the massive crowds of angry protesters chased them...."

The following week a huge protest

march took place and the Gay Liberation Front was formed. This was the first of thousands of radical gay organizations that sprang up across the United States and Europe in the next several years.

At Stonewall, one of the most

despised and feared groups in capitalist society, homosexuals, militantly fought back against their oppressors. The immediate result of this struggle was a concession by the ruling class. While New York's cops have not stopped arresting and brutalizing gays, since 1969 they have seldom dared to make the raids on the bars that used to be routine.

Stonewall, and the gay movement which grew out of it, won a number of legal reforms over the next several years. Laws legalizing sex between consenting adults and anti-discrimination laws were passed in some cities and states. But these reforms

were limited; they did not eliminate discrimination and harassment of gays and they did not touch the underlying anti-homosexual hate bred by capitalism. Nonetheless, they were an improvement.

The biggest impact of Stonewall, however, was in how gay people looked at themselves. Daring to fight back brought about an explosion of self-respect and pride, expressed in slogans like "Gay is Good" and "Say It Loud—I'm Gay and I'm Proud." In particular, the gay movement resolved to come out of the "closet"—the prison of hiding and self-hatred that gay people are forced into by the oppression they meet everywhere in capitalist society. The gay liberation movement did not just ask for civil rights—it claimed the right for gay people to be openly gay, proudly gay, anywhere and any time.

Lastly, the gay movement challenged the ideas of homosexuality as a "sin" or "sickness" that the ruling class uses to keep gay people oppressed. The gay movement taught people that homosexuality is a part of normal human sexuality. It said that people have the right to determine their own sexuality. And it said that the capitalist ruling class, which has committed untold crimes, has no business determining what is "right" or "moral."

The middle-class radical gay move-

(Continued on page 16)



May 21 march in Washington protested Supreme Court's anti-gay ruling a year ago.



The concluding parts of this series on the developing South African revolution are excerpted from a resolution on South Africa adopted at a recent meeting of the RSL Central Committee. Part Four discusses the impossibility of abolishing apartheid through reforms and explains why only a socialist revolution, led by the Black working class, can secure full democratic rights for the entire Black population of South Africa. Part Five will discuss important aspects of the strategy and tactics for the South African revolution.

## Part 4 of a series

In order to determine the tasks of revolutionaries in regard to the South African struggle, we must come to grips with the underlying dynamic of the developing struggle there.

Is it possible to reform apartheid, to bring about democratic rights for the Black masses through means that leave private property intact? The answer is a resounding No.

Why? Because South African capitalism depends completely on apartheid. Without apartheid in its various forms, the South African settler society could never have developed an industrial economy.

And today, South African capitalism is only profitable because of the super-exploitation of the Black workers. Under the apartheid system, Blacks are paid on the average around one-sixth as much as white workers in industry. In mining, the wages of Black workers are as little as one-seventeenth of the wages of whites. At all levels, capitalist expenditure that goes to the Black workers (both directly, as wages, and indirectly, as social expenditures) is pressed as close as possible to the level of biological subsistence. Often it is even less than this.

This is illustrated by the fact that

roughly one-half of all Black children die before the age of five. This low expenditure for wages and social services, plus long hours of work, make for a tremendous rate of exploitation and exorbitant profits for the capitalists.

It is these huge profits that enable South African capitalism to compete on the world market; to attract the foreign investment essential for its survival; and to buy off the white workers. The real basis for the fabulous wealth of South African capitalism is not the mineral wealth in the ground, but the huge pool of super-exploited Black labor. Were the wage levels of the Blacks to rise to any significant degree, South African capitalism would almost immediately be thrown into a devastating economic crisis.

The economic crisis of the last year clearly shows this. As a result of the strike wave in 1973-74, the wages of the Black workers rose somewhat. This last year, the world price of gold fell sharply. The higher wages, combined with lower gold prices, made gold production in South Africa non-profitable. Gold production is the chief earner of the foreign exchange which the South African capitalists need in order to import industrial machinery and other goods from the imperialist powers. When gold production became non-profitable, South Africa went into a balance of payments deficit which in turn sent the whole economy reeling. If this is what a slight increase in Black workers' wages can lead to, what would a drastic increase mean?

It is the system of apartheid that makes the super-exploitation of the Black workers possible. Deprived of virtually all political rights, and subject to the ever-present harassment of the police state, the Blacks have no legal means and few illegal means to organize themselves to improve their conditions. This complete denial of any means to unite to struggle for better conditions, even the most minimal, keeps the Black workers almost completely subject to the whims of

# SOUTH AFRICA: BLACK

## Fight for Socialist Revolution!

the capitalist class. The capitalists can keep wages at starvation levels and hours horribly long; they can impose speedup and other forms of productivity drives with hardly any possibility of meeting resistance.

### White Workers Tied to Capitalists

There is another aspect of apartheid that is crucial to the survival of South African capitalism. This is its social side. Apartheid binds the white workers completely to the South African capitalists. The South African capitalists have given the white workers a virtual monopoly on skilled work, near-guaranteed employment, a very high standard of living, and the tremendous privileges—both political and social—that go with a white skin. By doing this, the capitalists have turned the white workers into a labor aristocracy far more privileged than any other in the world.

By various calculations, the white workers in South Africa are not even exploited (i.e., they are paid more in wages than they produce). Their wages are paid out of the huge pool of surplus value created by the Black workers. They are parasites in the true sense of the word.

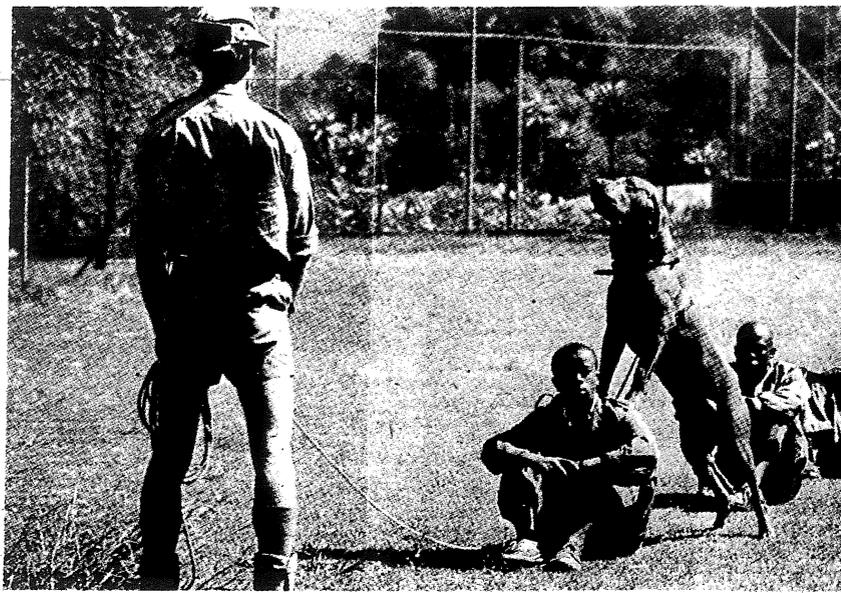
In fact, the white workers are an integral part of a political bloc (alliance) of all South African whites, led by the South African capitalist class. This bloc, which also includes the white farmers, is the social basis of South African capitalism. It is a club over the Black masses. Through this bloc,

the South African capitalists, who are a tiny minority of the population, have built themselves a social base large enough and powerful enough to defend them from the Black masses and let them bargain successfully with international capitalism.

This is why apartheid and South African capitalism cannot be separated. If, by some miracle, apartheid were peacefully eliminated, South African capitalism would enter a profound crisis, from which it could not emerge as a powerful capitalist country. From a relatively advanced industrial country, which it is today, South Africa would take its place among the semi-developed countries struggling to stay above water in the world economy.

But there is more than this. If apartheid were abolished, this would eliminate the social basis for the rule of the South African capitalists. To put this more concretely, any efforts to peacefully eliminate apartheid would cost the capitalists the support of the white workers and farmers, whose privileges would be on the chopping block. The white workers and farmers would move even further to the right. This would lead to the upsurge of a mass South African fascist movement. In other words, any attempt to eliminate apartheid through reforms would rip apart the political and social coalition that maintains capitalist rule and lead to a civil war among the whites. There is no section of the capitalist class in South Africa that will permit this to happen.

As the above discussion shows, there can be no thought of eliminating apartheid through reforms. The capitalist class, the white farmers and white workers will defend it with every weapon they have. The U.S. imperialists might like to see some moderate reform of apartheid as a sop to



South African cop uses Black prisoners as human bait while training killer dog to attack Blacks.

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# A: BLACK WORKERS REVOLT

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buy off the mass struggle. But they are not prepared to see a split among the whites, which would weaken the capitalist class in the face of the Black masses.

There is only one conclusion to draw from all of this: **Apartheid can only be eliminated through revolution.** Apartheid and the whole economic, political and social structure that goes with it must be smashed by the armed might of the South African Black masses. The racist coalition of capitalists, white workers and farmers must be utterly destroyed.

### What Kind of Revolution in South Africa?

But what kind of revolution will be necessary to win freedom for the Black masses? One way to approach this is to see which classes could conceivably lead a revolutionary struggle against apartheid.

What about the capitalist class? This class is tied lock, stock and barrel to apartheid. It can certainly not be expected to lead an anti-apartheid revolution. Even the English-speaking capitalists, who are for certain minor reforms of apartheid, will scarcely consider major surgery on apartheid, let alone a revolution. They know full well that their class interests are tied to those of South African capitalism as a whole.

To the Maoists and others who accept the theory of a distinct "national capitalist" class, as opposed to "comprador capitalists," we must ask: Is there such a class in South Africa, and can it lead the anti-apartheid revolution? Strangely enough, there is a class—or rather a section of a class—that is analogous to the so-called "national bourgeoisie." This is the Afrikaner section of the capitalist class; including the wealthier white farmers. But do the interests of these people really diverge from those of the English-speaking capitalists and international capitalism? If so, it is toward the right, toward strengthening apartheid—not toward weakening it, let alone reforming it, let alone

leading a revolution against it.

There is no Black capitalist class to speak of. The few Black businessmen are basically petty bourgeois and will be discussed later.

What about the urban middle classes? The white middle classes are completely tied to the apartheid system. Their very livelihoods, wealth and status are inseparable from it. And like all the South African whites, they are scared to death of Black people. They would see any efforts even to reform apartheid as opening the gates to revolution, which they call a "race war."

There may be some elements of the white professional layers who are sympathetic to the struggle of the Black masses. For the most part, however, even they are committed to changes that don't go beyond bourgeois democracy. In other words, they would like to see South African capitalism reformed rather than overthrown. They too are afraid of what would happen in a mass uprising of Black people against the system.

There are a few white radicals who do support a Black revolution. As far as we know, these people can be counted on the fingers of one hand, and they are still caught in the Stalinist-Maoist myths of the two-stage revolution. In other words, they want a so-called democratic revolution, to reform South African capitalism. Whatever the subjective leanings of these people, they will probably be proponents of a state capitalist revolution in South Africa.

### Black Middle Class

The Black middle class is tiny and without any real leverage in society. It, too, is subject to the apartheid laws. Some parts of this class (such as the "mayors" of Soweto and other Black ghettos) are direct agents of the government. Other sectors, such as professionals, have some potential leverage as leaders of the Black masses. Like the white radicals, they can be divided into two groups: those who are frightened of the Black masses and would prefer reform to revolution; and those who may support revolution, but only an elitist, state-capitalist revolution. However, there may be elements from among this latter group who can be won to a truly revolutionary program and party in South Africa.

What about the South African farmers? The white farmers, like the white middle classes, are an integral part of the white coalition. Most of these employ Black labor and are therefore in fact capitalists, whether large-scale or small. As such, they have the same relationship to the means of production as do the industrial capitalists. They too are dependent upon the apartheid system for their entire class position, wealth, power and privileges.

The Black peasants, who are almost all confined to the so-called "homelands," are poorer and more oppressed than the Black workers. They scratch barren plots without the resources that would allow bare survival. They certainly have an interest in an anti-apartheid revolution, but they lack the political and economic leverage, the concentration and organization, and the ideological equipment to play a leading role in

the struggle.

This is also true of the millions of Black agricultural laborers on the white farms and plantations. These are an intermediate layer between the peasants of the Bantustans and the urban workers. But politically and socially, they are in many ways closer to the peasants. They are atomized and scattered, and without a long history of class organization. Most are migrant workers. Their lack of specialized skills weakens them in the face of apartheid. They can easily be replaced from the millions of unemployed.

Finally, we get to the working class. We have already discussed the white workers. These workers represent a thoroughly corrupted labor aristocracy. They are one of the key bases of support for the right wing of the capitalist class and have no class consciousness whatever. In their overwhelming majority they represent potential shock troops for a fascist movement. With the possible exception of a handful of individuals, it is a fantasy to look to these workers as a potential part of the revolutionary anti-apartheid forces. And this fantasy can only sow tremendous illusions



South African Black strikers in mass march during 1973 strike wave.

among the Black masses and weaken their unity and their determination to fight to the end for freedom.

The Black workers, in contrast, have all the ingredients of a truly revolutionary class. Brutally exploited and oppressed by the South African capitalists, they literally have nothing to lose but their chains. The Black working class has grown enormously in the post-war period, particularly in the economic boom of the '60s. It has a tremendous social weight. The influx of millions of Black people into the major cities and industries has also increased the Black workers' economic leverage and their potential control over the industrial apparatus of South Africa. Today, an organized, politically conscious Black proletariat could paralyze the entire economy of South Africa.

Moreover, the Black workers are extraordinarily conscious of their oppression, and they desire the destruction of apartheid. All they lack is organization, particularly a revolutionary party with a political strategy to overthrow apartheid.

The Black proletariat is obviously the leading class in the revolutionary struggle. It is the only class capable of leading all the oppressed to freedom. The conclusion is plain: The anti-apartheid revolution can only be

a Black workers' revolution.

The only path for the Black workers' revolution in South Africa is the path of the Permanent Revolution. Apartheid is no mere remnant of an older pre-capitalist society. True, some of its political and social techniques for maintaining and intensifying the exploitation of Black workers can be traced to the period of primitive capitalist accumulation in past centuries. However, apartheid itself developed fully within modern South African capitalism and cannot be separated from it. To eliminate apartheid, to win democracy for the Black masses, the working class must take the leadership of all the oppressed masses and seize state power through armed insurrection.

### Permanent Revolution

But once having seized state power and established its own government, the Black proletariat cannot stay within the boundaries of capitalism. To secure its power it must destroy the ability of the South African capitalists and their flunkies to fight back. It must smash the entire state apparatus of the capitalists, annihilate the police and the army. And it must eliminate the source of the power of the South African capitalists—their control over the means of production—by seizing the banks, the industry and the farms from their white owners.

In other words, the workers must

proceed to establish the dictatorship of the Black working class, supported by the oppressed semi-proletarian and peasant masses. This is the only way to ensure the permanent destruction of apartheid and freedom for the South African people.

From the above discussion—though it is just a sketch—we can see that any two-stage theory of the South African revolution (which has been put forward by some South African political tendencies) is a deadly trap for the South African workers. This theory, behind a "Marxist-Leninist" disguise, represents the political dominance of non-proletarian classes over the proletariat. The slogan of a two-stage revolution means that there can be some sort of democratic capitalism in South Africa. This slogan sows illusions among the workers and all the oppressed about what is necessary to win in South Africa. If it gains acceptance, the slogan of a two-stage revolution will prevent the working class from taking the lead in the anti-apartheid struggle. It will block the revolutionary movement from taking the measures necessary to smash apartheid. □

*In the concluding part of this series, we will discuss strategy and tactics for the South African revolution.*



White man bait while training killer dog to attack Blacks.

# World in Revolution



## Coup Attempt Crushed in Angola

In the early hours of May 27, dissident MPLA forces launched a coup in Luanda, Angola's capital. The rebels were supporters of Nito Alves and José Van Dunem, two top leaders of the MPLA. Alves and Van Dunem had been arrested by the Neto government because they opposed the MPLA's efforts to draw closer to U.S. imperialism.

The coup was quickly crushed, with considerable bloodshed. Freed from prison by the coup, however, Alves and Van Dunem went underground. This may signal further anti-government actions in the future.

The rebels had strong backing in at least one proletarian district, the Sabizanga suburb. The nature of this struggle is unclear. There were reports in the Western press that Alves and Van Dunem were acting on behalf of the Russians. The coup may have been an attempt to bind Angola more tightly to Russian imperialism. Or it may have been a response by left-wing forces in the ruling clique to working class opposition to Neto's capitalist government, which last year carried on a propaganda campaign against strikes and rounded up many leftists.

## Rhodesia Invades Mozambique

On May 29, Rhodesian troops invaded Mozambique, to search out and destroy bases of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). They occupied the town of Mapai, 60 miles from the border. On June 2 the Rhodesians withdrew, under intense international pressure. The mission, which they advertised as a great success, was a dismal failure. Guerrilla casualties were few, and the arms captured were insignificant.

The show of strength was meant to prove that the Smith government would never negotiate with ZIPA's parent body, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). It was also intended to prove that Rhodesian whites have strength enough to win the war against the ZIPA guerrillas. However, the Smith regime's weak showing in the campaign is a further sign that its days are numbered.

## Suppression of Russian Dissidents Continues

Russian authorities have charged a leading Jewish dissident, Anatoly Shcharansky, with treason. He is accused of working with the CIA. Conviction carries a minimum sentence of 10 years, and a maximum of death. Shcharansky is a member of a committee to oversee adherence to the Helsinki accords. Nine of this committee's founders are now behind bars.

This threat of death is the most serious provocation against Soviet oppositionists since Stalin's days. By tarring Soviet dissidents with the CIA brush, Brezhnev hopes to counteract U.S. imperialism's "human rights" campaign, which is a big embarrassment for Russian imperialism. And by stepping up the attack on dissidents, Brezhnev wants to intimidate them and keep them from making use of the Western bourgeois press to gain support.

## South Moluccans Take Hostages in Netherlands

FLASH, June 11—Early this morning, Dutch troops and jet fighter planes attacked the school and train where South Moluccans were holding hostages. Initial reports indicate that a number of South Moluccan commandos were killed. There are also reports that a number of hostages have died in the massive government assault.

Since May 23, two groups of armed South Moluccans have taken over a train and a school in the Netherlands. At first they held 167 hostages, 106 of them children. The children were released when some became ill. The commandos wanted the release of Moluccan prisoners taken in a similar action two years ago. They also want the Dutch government to pressure Indonesia to give independence to the South Moluccan Islands.

There are 40,000 South Moluccans who live in the Netherlands. The Dutch enlisted many South Moluccans to fight for them against the Indonesian national liberation movement in the 1940s. When Indonesia became independent in 1949, it seized the newly-formed South Moluccan republic. Many South Moluccans fled to the Netherlands.

The South Moluccans' desperate commando action cannot lead anywhere. The Dutch have no power over Indonesia, which today has its own stranglehold over the islands. Even if they could, the Dutch imperialists would never intervene to advance the democratic rights of the South Moluccan population. All the same, revolutionaries must defend the commandos from the Dutch government. We should make clear that the Dutch imperialists are responsible for any casualties which may result. And we must demand independence and self-determination for the South Moluccans.

Today, 13 million South Moluccans live under the brutal dictatorship of Indonesia's Suharto. The Indonesians systematically plunder the islands of their resources and agriculture. And the Indonesian army rules the islands with an iron hand.

# U.S. Tricks...

(Continued from page 1)

The U.S. now realizes that to maintain control, it needs a new approach. The old strategy of openly opposing national liberation struggles is bankrupt, at least temporarily. The U.S. tried this in Vietnam and failed. A new Vietnam-type adventure in southern Africa can only be a bigger disaster for the U.S. imperialists. The majority of the world's people would oppose it. The U.S. population, particularly Blacks, wouldn't tolerate it. And U.S. imperialism could only come out of such a venture weakened and completely discredited. Instead, the U.S. rulers are trying to make it look like they support the struggle of oppressed people for national liberation and democracy. They want to make it seem as if they really are against racism and imperialism.

There are two closely related sides to this new strategy. The first is a barrage of anti-racist, pro-democratic propaganda. Young calls the South African government "illegitimate," and speaks "bluntly" about racism; Carter comes out for "Black Majority Rule," denounces the Russians for violating human rights, etc.

This part of the policy is easy; talk is cheap. But the other side of the new U.S. policy is more difficult to implement. Since the South African people have stepped up their struggle for freedom, the U.S. has to do more than talk about eliminating apartheid if it is to derail the developing revolution. It must appear to be doing something to eliminate apartheid.

## TOKEN REFORMS

In particular, the U.S. wants to convince the South African whites to allow "progress towards majority rule." It wants reforms which will restore some of the democratic rights of the Africans, but which will not challenge white capitalist control of the society. These reforms seem to suggest the eventual end of apartheid, but in fact they leave the apartheid system intact. The purpose of these reforms is to convince the African people that they should give up the idea of revolution and work for reforms within the system instead.

A careful look at Mondale's and

Young's trips shows this. In Vienna, Mondale tried to convince Vorster to adopt the U.S. strategy. Vorster, however, refused to budge. He knows how hard it will be to convince his white racist political base of this approach. He knows that the white workers and middle classes may desert him and orient to forces further to the right if he appears to be retreating on the question of white rule. Today, Vorster wants to stall for time in the hopes of forcing the U.S. to go back to the old strategy of direct opposition to liberation struggles.

## YOUNG MEETS SOUTH AFRICAN CAPITALISTS

If words will not convince Vorster, the U.S. is hoping that a little pressure will do the trick. Along with beefing up the U.S.'s anti-apartheid image, this was one of the purposes of Young's trip to South Africa. Although Young made some gestures to Africans, such as giving some Black workers the Black Power handshake, he really went to South Africa to meet with the liberal capitalists and their allies in the Black middle class. Like the U.S. rulers, these capitalists understand the need to grant certain concessions to the masses in order to defend the system as a whole. Young hopes that giving these forces some encouragement, and the blessings of the U.S., will give them the political muscle to force Vorster to make the necessary reforms.

It is crucial that working class militants not be taken in by slight shifts and changes in the ruling class's tactics. Behind the barrage of democratic-sounding phrases, the basic essentials of U.S. policy toward southern Africa remain the same. The imperialists still aim to maintain domination over as many of the world's people as they can, to preserve as much of the world as possible as their private plundering ground. Today, they are working hard to hold back the tide of revolution in South Africa, in order to continue their exploitation of the Black masses. All that has changed is the methods. □

"Businessmen who went to hear a man who had been billed as a wild radical found instead a moderate who took their breath away. They discovered that Mr. Young actually spoke their own language—in terms of the free enterprise system to which he is totally committed."

—The white supremacist Rand Daily Mail.



Menahem Begin



"I wish to appeal to South African industry to ward off a bloody revolution by making our people feel that they have something to lose if anything went wrong in South Africa. A few million Rand (South African money unit—Ed.) set aside now to meet the aspirations and needs of Black workers is a big investment in the long run. It's better to lose a few million Rand now than everything later."

—Gatsha Buthelesi, government-installed leader of South Africa's 4.8 million Zulus.

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Despite its Likud does not take a hard lin victory was d the Labor Par creased vote fo Many Labor switched their the Democrat Change (DMC) complexion ver Party. It ran primarily on policy but on

# Rightists Win Election

By Tony Curzo

On May 17, the Israeli Labor Party was defeated in the country's elections. This represents an important turning point in the history of the Zionist state; the Labor Party has ruled Israel from its very inception. In the May elections, the Labor Party lost 18 of its 51 seats in the Knesset (Israeli parliament), dropped out of first place in the voting and lost its chance to form another government.

## RIGHT-WING COALITION

The victor was the Likud (Unity) coalition, which came out of the elections as the single largest force in parliament (with roughly one-third of the seats). The Likud, a coalition of six right-wing parties, is headed by the right-winger Menahem Begin.

The central platform that unites the Likud forces is their hard-line foreign policy against the Arabs. In particular, the Likud is opposed to any settlement with the Palestinians, whose land the Zionists stole to create (and enlarge) the state of Israel.

The immediate cause of the Labor Party's defeat was a series of corruption scandals involving several of the Party's leaders, including former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. But behind these scandals, minor in themselves, lies an economic crisis which the Labor Party government has been unable to control. This is the real source of the surprisingly large anti-Labor Party vote. The costs of



Menahem Begin.

running the Zionist war machine forced the Labor Party to attack the living standards of the Israeli population. Israel, for example, has an inflation rate of 40 percent and one of the highest tax rates in the world. The public debt is staggering, and the government is practically bankrupt.

In recent months, Israeli workers, such as the dock workers in Tel Aviv, have struck to try to hold their ground. These are the factors which brought down the Labor government.

Despite its election victory the Likud does not have a mandate to take a hard line on foreign policy. Its victory was due to a vote against the Labor Party rather than an increased vote for Begin and company. Many Labor Party supporters switched their vote to a new party, the Democratic Movement for Change (DMC). The DMC has a complexion very much like the Labor Party. It ran its campaign not primarily on questions of foreign policy but on a platform of ending



Palestinian demonstrators protest Israeli occupation of West Bank.

corruption and making the economy work. Of the 18 seats lost by Labor in parliament, this new group won 15. The Likud gained only five seats. Therefore, the election cannot be considered a definitive turn to the right towards the Likud, but rather a repudiation of the Labor Party.

## U.S. PLANS THREATENED

The victory of the Likud has serious international implications. It throws a monkey wrench into the U.S. plans for imposing an imperialist settlement in the Middle East.

Since the last Arab-Israeli war in 1973, the U.S. has been maneuvering to impose a settlement on the Arab states and Israel. There are two main reasons for this. In the first place, U.S. imperialism wants to put an end to the Palestinians' armed struggle for their homeland. So long as this armed struggle against Zionism continues, U.S. control of the Middle East is threatened.

The second reason for U.S. policy is that the U.S. wants to appease its oil-rich allies in the Arabian Peninsula. Afraid of revolution in the Middle East, the reactionary Saudi Arabian rulers also want to end the Palestinian struggle. But they want this done in a manner that looks like a victory for the Arab cause. To back up their demands, they have a powerful weapon—oil.

In 1973, right after the Arab-Israeli war, the Saudi Arabians imposed an oil boycott on the U.S. to press for a settlement. Since then the U.S. has agreed to cut them in on its plans for the Middle East.

The heart of the U.S. plan for an Arab-Israeli settlement is the creation of a Palestinian mini-state out of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip—the Palestinian territories stolen by Israel most recently, in 1967. This mini-state is the crumb the U.S. is offering to the Palestinian people to get them to give up the armed struggle to liberate their country. This state would occupy only a fraction of the original Palestine, and it would be almost completely surrounded by Israel. It would therefore be totally unable to stand up to the Zionists. Moreover, in return for this captive state, the U.S. is demanding that the Palestinians end their armed struggle to liberate all of Palestine.

kud lacks a majority in parliament, it needs to form a coalition government with other right-wing parties. If such a coalition is patched together it will be highly unstable. Any issue that alienates even a small group in the coalition can bring the government down. Whatever the U.S. may get the Likud government to agree to, a future government may reject. Finally, Begin's lack of a solid majority denies him the flexibility needed to move from his hard position if he decides to. Such a move would almost certainly bring down the right-wing coalition in parliament and drive the Likud from power.

## U.S. BLACKMAIL

U.S. imperialism is not without possibilities. The most important is Israel's complete dependence on the U.S. for its military hardware and its economic survival. It gets \$1.8 billion a year from the U.S. (more than any other country in the world). The U.S. can apply pressure by threatening to cut this lifeline. The U.S. will use this weapon to try to strongarm Israel into a settlement. Under these circumstances, it is highly likely that sooner or later (under Likud or another party) the Israeli government will have to resign itself to the creation of a Palestinian mini-state.

Nevertheless, it is certain that for the immediate future the U.S. imperialist settlement has received an important setback through these elections. This setback strengthens those Arab forces which are opposed to the mini-state, and weakens those who have worked for this U.S. strategy. In particular, it means a strengthening of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) at the expense of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which has been moving towards the U.S. deal. All this is almost certain to heat up the class struggle in the Middle East, and in particular, the Palestinian struggle for liberation. □

## Begin's Bloody Record

Long before his party's election victory, Menahem Begin earned the undying hatred of the Palestinian masses. As head of the Irgun, a semi-fascist Zionist terrorist army, Begin was the most cold-blooded butcher in the 1948 war of aggression against the rightful owners of the land, the Palestinians.

Begin and the Irgun committed unspeakable atrocities against the Palestinians. These atrocities had a point: to make clear to the Palestinian people that nothing would satisfy the Irgun short of the total expulsion of all the Palestinians from their homeland. The proof of this is what occurred at Deir Yassin.

Deir Yassin was a small Palestinian village located on territory the Zionists claimed for their state of Israel. Unlike many other Palestinian communities, Deir Yassin was known for its friendliness towards the Zionist side.

In April 1948, the Irgun struck Deir Yassin. Make no mistake, they carefully selected it because of its pro-Zionist attitude: Begin and his gang chose this way to tell all Arabs to get out of "Israel." They made their point in blood.

The Irgun entered Deir Yassin without warning. Over 200 men, women and children were butchered. More than 150 bodies were thrown down a well. To make sure the point was clear, 90 bodies were scattered around the town. Bodies were mutilated; many of the women were raped before they were killed.

All of this was done to friendly Palestinians. All Palestinians, friendly and otherwise, got the point. After Deir Yassin, they fled their land when the Zionist troops neared. The Zionists in turn claimed the land for themselves and would not let the Palestinians return. In this way, the Zionists literally seized the Palestinians' land from them and set up their state. And upon their ownership of this land rests much of the case they now make for Israel's legitimacy.

Today, nearly 30 years after Deir Yassin, Begin and the Zionists would like the world to forget. Begin claims, "We did whatever was humanly possible to avoid civilian casualties, sometimes at the risk of our own fighting men. We used to warn away any and every civilian, whether Jew, Briton or Arab, from the zone of danger in advance."

Begin lies. Deir Yassin is the face of Zionism unmasked: the face of bloodthirsty racist aggression. Whether or not Begin tries to conceal it, the face was his then and it remains Zionism's face today.

# LETTERS

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

## Prisons Are Tool of Capitalist Class

Dear Torch-La Antorcha:

I have something I have written that I would like to have published in the Torch-La Antorcha, if at all possible. It is what I see prisons as.

My eyes see prisons as the ills of man, and society. Since my incarceration, I've seen and witnessed the effects of rigidity, power, and the blind ignorance and stupidity of attempting to mass produce obedient robots. But if you were to observe the prison system you'd also see a huge business with profits, and capital gains to those who keep building prisons.

Since we are living in a capitalistic system which produces products that only last so long before they wear out or break down, and then must be repaired or replaced, due to the fact that if these products last forever the factory's or industry's profits would be in much trouble, there is a steady flow of poorly made products to keep up the huge profits. This applies also with the prison system. There must be a steady flow of crime to keep their multi-million dollar racket continuously going. So the prison system, prison officials, don't give a damn if an individual becomes rehabilitated (as the pigs call it) or leaves or comes back to prison. I believe that the prison system wants more people to go to prison and keep them in prison as long as possible for the benefit of maintaining their profits. It is clearly shown to be exactly that.

Murder, kidnappings, bombings, robberies, drug abuses, etc., are not the core of society's problems. They are reactions or results based on causes.

As human beings grow in age in this country, they learn to want. We are taught in this society the value of property, money, power, etc. Men learn to hold up their women as attractive pieces of property to be owned or used, we are taught to desire this and that, yet we are not provided equal means to obtain such things. So really the whole foundation of crime is created by this.

The rape or destruction of nature, people, freedom, justice, truth, is indeed, a fact and reality of the present society. Why? In most cases it is what the capitalistic leaders of this country call "PROGRESS." Look at the Indians, the original inhabitants of this country, stepped on, forced out of their homes, robbed of their homeland, even killed as a price we must all pay for "progress," (so says the one in high office in this capitalistic government). I see it as murder in the first degree.

How does an individual justify the bombings of cities or countries full of innocent men, women, and children? Then a segment of that society is excused for the wars while the same society throws a fit when a person uses those very same lessons against the society that taught it to begin with.

Ever since I can remember, anyone who speaks out against the FBI, CIA, the government and their

agencies or declares that these agencies were the ones committing illegal acts, they are labeled as "insane," "revolutionists," "communists," "rebels," "trouble makers," "a threat to the society," by the government. Yet, these people's thoughts and beliefs have been proven true in the majority against the government and its agencies. But who is punished for all this?? Surely not the ones in high

## Bosses Use Racism To Divide Workers

Dear Torch-La Antorcha:

On Friday, March 25, two workers at Warren Chrysler Tank plant got into a fight over a place in line at the teller window, during lunch hour. The workers, one a Black worker named Shelton McCrainey and the other a white worker named John Couzens, were just two of the many workers who every Friday scramble to the bank to cash their checks. Just getting to the bank and back to work in 30 minutes in the crowd makes it hard on everyone waiting to cash their checks. Nerves get strained constantly.

In the ensuing battle, Shelton had to defend himself, which resulted in John getting cut. While the argument was only superficial in starting the fight, the real underlying reasons which pit workers against each other must be looked at more clearly.

After the fight, rumors were started in the plant which said the fight between Shelton and John was racist. This isn't true. John started the fight, but the oppression and misery workers face under capitalism is what laid the basis for this conflict. John isn't known as a racist in the plant, both among Black and white workers.

Those workers in the plant who say the fight was racist are only trying to divide the ranks along racial lines. They have been using this incident as a slander against all Black workers, spreading prejudicial attitudes among other white workers that you can't trust Blacks. These workers are only doing what the Bosses want—to create racial divisions within the ranks of our union. They would rather side with the company rather than with Black workers to fight for jobs and the needs of all workers.

Besides the racial, sexist, and other prejudicial attitudes that the Bosses perpetrate in the workers' movement (through TV media, newspapers, institutions) the lack of struggle to unite all workers' interests in the plants also divides us all.

This goes on because our present leadership won't fight against this to unite us around our common needs. So long as there isn't a revolutionary united struggle to defend us against the Bosses, workers will be alienated

government offices, or their agencies, even when found guilty, look at Nixon, Watergate, and the illegal actions of the FBI and CIA.

What's legal for a government or power to do is illegal for an individual to do.

The profits must be taken out of the judicial and prison system, and it must be made more profitable to rehabilitate or turn out an individual's good characteristics that will last indefinitely and add to the good for society. Only then will we be on the road of truth and a brighter future for all, not for the rich and powerful.

With Revolutionary Love,  
To All Brothers and Sisters,  
Blaine H. Malone  
19243-101

by the Bosses' racist, sexist and other divisive tactics.

The speedup, harassment and worsening working conditions in the plants have been dealt by the company with no response by our leadership. With these conditions plus the firings and increased unemployment, workers have been steadily weakened and divided in the union. This leaves much anger and frustration building up. Revolutionaries, militants and all concerned workers must fight to unite us all, and direct this anger and frustration where it belongs—back at the Bosses. They're responsible for the violence in society and among workers.

Workers in beginning the fight against racism, sexism and other prejudicial attitudes in the union will begin the unity needed for all workers. To fight for jobs for all and the shorter work week, will start bringing about better living conditions and relations for all workers. In fighting for these demands and those in the needs of all workers, workers' anger and frustration will finally be directed in a more constructive manner. Instead of us fighting each other over the conditions the Bosses force us to put up with, we must unite and throw it back where it belongs.

A Revolutionary autoworker,  
Detroit

## More on Fighting Sexism in Workplace

Dear Torch-La Antorcha:

I'm glad the Chrysler worker continued the discussion on fighting sexism at the workplace. She improved the limited understanding that male workers like myself have.

At the same time, she misunderstood my earlier letter on the same subject. My letter clearly does not imply that the fight for a working class program (jobs for all who need them, equal pay, and free child care) "is of secondary importance," as the Chrysler worker wrote.

All I was doing was simply saying: Look—the oppression and exploitation of women workers is more than the numbers and percentages of wage differentials. Individual workers and the workers' organizations must try to deal with the personally sexist abuse women workers get from supervisors and co-workers.

I didn't imply that this is more important or less important than the fight for jobs for all. But if you don't give more coverage to the struggle against the personal aspects of women's oppression, someone just might get the idea that this aspect of the oppression of women can be ignored.

In her letter, the Chrysler worker says, "It is only in the process of a revolutionary struggle that attitudes will begin to change." This is a misleading statement.

In a revolutionary struggle, our attitudes change more quickly, and more people's attitudes will change. But we do not (and should not) have to wait until we're involved in "revolutionary struggle," before we fight against the sexist—or racist—behavior of co-workers towards one another. First, every time someone gets away with blatantly sexist behavior, he reinforces the divisions within our class. Second, some people's attitudes will change today. As the Chrysler worker says, we must "patiently explain" where sexist attitudes "come from and why they are wrong and divisive."

In struggle,  
A Ford worker (UAW)

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# Carter's Record: Lies, Attacks on Working Class

By Cliff Gordon

Jimmy Carter came into office with a carefully engineered image as a liberal Democrat close in touch with the needs and feelings of the "common people." Throughout his election campaign, Carter led the masses to believe that he would work for them. He claimed he would create jobs, hold down prices, fight monopolies, and do other things in the interests of the people.

But in five months as President, Carter has pursued domestic policies which are basically a continuation of the policies of the Ford administration. Where Carter differs from Ford is in his super-slick public relations campaign, which claims that the same old capitalist garbage is a new and radical break from the past.

Ford made few bones about basing himself on the interests of the big monopolies (the Big Three in auto, the Big Four in oil, etc.). His answer to the economic crisis of the 1970s was simple and straightforward: take from the workers and poor, give to the capitalists, and sooner or later the capitalists will find it profitable to expand production, create jobs and improve the conditions of the people.

## CARTER'S CAMPAIGN TALK

Against Ford's "suffer and wait" message to the masses, Carter claimed to stand on the traditional liberal planks of the Democratic Party. He claimed to be for tax and wage reforms to raise the purchasing power of the masses, government-financed public works projects to reduce unemployment, reductions in the defense budget to release funds for social reform, and government regulation of business to hold down prices and protect the environment. These were the measures working people had in mind when they backed Carter.

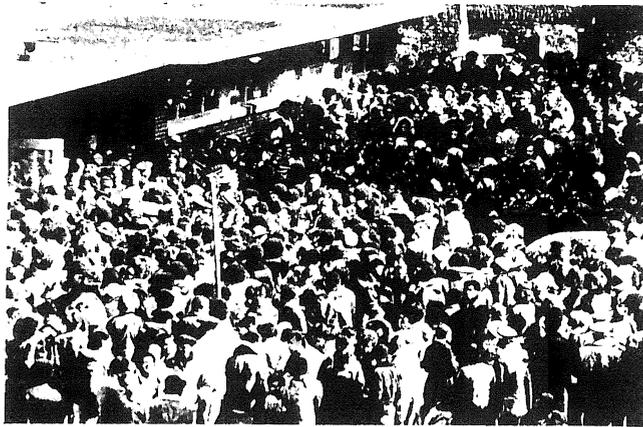
Capitalist politicians never deliver what they promise in their election campaigns. But Carter is extreme in the extent to which he has betrayed these promises. He intends to give the masses absolutely nothing, while using the powers of the government to intervene in the economy to raise the profits of the big corporations.

At the same time, Carter has been very successful in hiding the real content of his policies from the people he is attacking. He is relying on his well-developed ability to deceive people in order to disguise the fact that he is really following hard-line Republican policies.

## THE ENERGY SHELL GAME

The way in which Carter introduced his energy program was a good example of the deception Carter uses to keep his liberal image intact. When Carter first announced his program, he talked as if it would include price controls, trust-busting and other steps to curb the energy giants. The oil, coal and natural gas companies got scared and began denouncing the program as one that would damage the energy industry and the whole economy. This is the response Carter wanted. The anger of the energy barons seemed to confirm Carter's promise to get tough with the price-gouging monopolists.

But once this impression was created through massive TV, radio and press coverage, Carter quickly turned around to the energy corporations and explained the real content



New York City teenagers line up for federal jobs. Only one in 10 will get work.

of his program. This turned out to be: higher profits for the oil companies in return for developing oil fields in the U.S.; higher profits for the coal companies as industry is led to switch back to coal; and most of the costs of higher-priced energy to be paid for by the working class.

Carter was elected in large part through the all-out efforts of Black politicians in the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy to mobilize votes for him. These people expected Carter to give them a series of minor reforms, which they could take back to their supporters as proof that things would get better under Carter. But Carter has shown no concern for the images of these loyal lieutenants of capitalism.

The Black Caucus of the Democratic Party had been led to believe that Carter would give them at least a couple of minor Cabinet posts. Instead, the only major appointment given to a Black person was that of Andrew Young as UN ambassador.

This is not a policy-making post.

Carter rejected the AFL-CIO's legislative proposals as a whole. The AFL-CIO had asked Carter to raise the minimum wage, which affects 10 million workers, from \$2.30 per hour to \$3 per hour. Carter wants it kept at \$2.50. Carter also allowed the common situs bill to be defeated in Congress. He brushed off the AFL-CIO proposal for repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

In his campaign, Carter promised "a job for every American." Now Carter says he will reduce official unemployment from 7 percent to 5 percent by 1981. This means it will take him into his next term of office to lower unemployment by a mere 2 percent!

Carter is only pretending to take steps to end unemployment. But at the same time, he is pressing various schemes to eliminate federally funded welfare and unemployment benefits.

Carter justifies his cuts in federal services as necessary to balance the

federal budget. Carter says children must go hungry, the jobless must lose government benefits, and federally financed health care is impossible because the budget must be balanced. But the federal debt hasn't stopped Jimmy Carter from backing an increase of \$11 billion in the arms budget for the coming fiscal year.

## BUREAUCRATS, LIBERALS WON'T FIGHT CARTER

It is unlikely that the uneasiness within the Democratic Party will develop into serious opposition to Carter. The labor bureaucrats are stung by Carter's refusal to give them anything, but they are afraid to take any action that might give shape and focus to the discontent of the union rank and file. The liberal politicians in the Democratic Party have so far confined themselves to verbal protests over the way in which Carter has abandoned the party's platform. Even if these forces organize themselves for political battle against Carter, they will aim at nothing more than a compromise with Carter—some meager reforms which the politicians and labor bureaucrats can use to try to pacify the masses.

The illusions that the U.S. workers and oppressed people have in Carter are a significant factor behind the continued lull in the class struggle. There is growing unrest inside the working class. Working and oppressed people are feeling the effects of Carter's policies and they suspect that things will not get better, but worse.

But they have not yet realized what is going on. They do not see that the reason their living conditions are getting worse is that they are being attacked by the capitalists. And they don't realize that Carter is organizing and leading the capitalists in these attacks.

If the capitalist attacks are to be fought successfully, the workers must understand what is happening and who is the enemy. One of the chief tasks of revolutionary workers is to explain to their co-workers what Carter is really about—to break the illusions people have in him, so they can prepare to fight back. □

## Mass PBB Poisoning in Michigan

Hamburger poisoned by the chemical PBB is still sold today in Michigan supermarkets. Three full years have passed since the "discovery" that PBB contaminated Michigan cattle. During these three years, the meat and milk from these cattle has caused at least one death of a newborn child and many ailments among farmers' children. PBB-contaminated meat and milk have also caused farmers to suffer memory loss, loss of balance, arthritic conditions and fatigue.

Fifty percent of the people in Michigan now have half as much PBB in their bodies as it takes to quarantine a cow under present rules of the Michigan Department of Agriculture. Nine million people in all have been poisoned with PBB. For these people, the final toll of suffering and loss will not be known for decades to come.

Who is to blame for this misery? The capitalist politicians and government bureaucrats blame the PBB catastrophe on a mistaken shipment of 700 pounds of PBB to Farm Bureau Services, Inc., in place of a shipment of feed supplement in 1973. By September of that year, PBB had

been mixed with cattle feed and distributed to Michigan farms.

As a result, dairy herds began aborting and giving birth to malformed calves. Milk production dropped and some cattle died. Farm Bureau Services ignored farmers' complaints and continued to sell the poisoned feed until December 1973. The company lied to farmers, telling them that the contaminated feed had been destroyed. In other words, Farm Bureau Services knowingly made farmers, their cattle herds and the people of Michigan victims of the company's mistake.

While the mistaken shipment and its cover-up by the feed company caused the immediate suffering of thousands of people, it is only the surface of the problem. PBB should never have been distributed in the first place. Every year, thousands of new chemicals and drugs are developed and thrown on the market. The capitalist owners of the companies that produce these chemicals may not have the faintest idea of the possible long-term dangers of these chemicals—and they couldn't care less.

Why are chemicals like PBB

produced? Why are we being poisoned? For profits! Monsanto, a major producer of PCB (a chemical related to PBB) grosses \$25 million a year from sales of this chemical alone. True to form, the capitalists put profits ahead of workers' safety and health.

The "mistake" in Michigan drives home an important lesson: PBB and PCB, like DDT and PVC, are part of the cost that the working class and the rest of society pays to allow the capitalists to make their profits. The continued poisoning of our environment with harmful chemicals gives added urgency to the need of the working class to organize itself to take control of production and overthrow the profit-mongering capitalist class.

Under socialism, where production is planned according to the needs of the working class, there will be no question about producing chemicals which poison the environment and all mankind. Workers, through their direct control of industry, will ensure that nothing is produced until it is guaranteed safe. The struggle for workers' control of industry is a question of life and death for all humanity. □

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## Cops Attack Puerto Rican Day Picnic

# REBELLION IN CHICAGO



Puerto Rican youths rock car during Chicago rebellion.

CHICAGO—On June 4, Chicago cops attacked a Puerto Rican Day celebration in the Humboldt Park area of the city. Cops charged into the park at about 6 p.m., swinging clubs and attacking picnickers, including families with children.

The Puerto Rican community responded to these racist assaults with

six hours of street fighting. People armed themselves with bricks, bottles, stones, sticks and anything else they could use to defend themselves. Thirty-eight cops were injured. During the rebellion, stores that did not display the Puerto Rican flag were ripped apart.

Cops were responsible for the

deaths of two community members. The cops also injured 32 people and arrested 119. The rebellion, which mainly went on in a four-block area on Division Street, continued through the next day. Though the open fighting with cops had come to an end, community residents continued attacks on stores.

According to the Chicago Police Department, the cops provoked nothing. The cops, according to the official story, were merely "serving and protecting" the community, trying to break up a gang fight. The bourgeois press picked up this line and the rebellion is being attributed to gang warfare.

Blaming the rebellion on gang warfare is a racist and anti-youth lie. On the face of it, the "explanation" is absurd. A whole community took to the streets to defend itself from vicious cop attacks—can anyone doubt that labelling this a simple gang fight is a deliberate lie?

The Chicago Police Department and the bourgeois press are using this lie for two reasons. First, it gets the cops off the hook. The Chicago Police Department and their bosses are not

about to admit that the Department is full of racist thugs. The cops are paid to harass and terrorize working and oppressed people. The capitalists are not about to punish their own agents for doing the filthy work they are paid for. But the capitalists have to blame someone for the rebellion—so Puerto Rican youth will become the scapegoats.

Second, this lie is used to get capitalism itself off the hook. For the Puerto Rican people in this country, and for youth in particular, capitalism provides nothing but misery—high unemployment, ghetto housing, racist harassment and police brutality. Capitalism cannot improve these conditions. So the capitalists ignore them. The real problem, say the capitalist media, is "the youth gangs." And the bosses of Chicago will now charge scores of Puerto Rican youths with the "crime" of fighting back.

The truth is far different. The real problem is capitalism, and the fight against its exploitation and racist oppression is just. Each and every one of the 38 injured pigs got exactly what he deserved.

Chicago's Puerto Rican community rose up for two days against everything that is brutal and rotten about the society we live in. Every participant in this rebellion must be defended. And if Puerto Rican youth played a leading role in this fight—then the future of struggles against oppression is bright. □

## Gay Pride. . .

(Continued from page 9)

ment born out of Stonewall has since declined. Until the last few months, there has been little mass gay struggle for several years.

### REACTIONARIES ATTACK

In this situation, reactionaries have seized the initiative and launched a counterattack against the few rights that gay people have won by their struggles. Anita Bryant's hate and fear campaign in Miami is only the most blatant example of this counterattack. Eleven states have recently passed or are likely to pass bills attacking gay rights. Beatings and murders of gays by thugs and youth gangs are on the rise. Moreover, the people who commit these crimes usually go free even if they are caught.

These attacks are a warning of the future. The U.S. ruling class is attacking workers and oppressed people all across the board, with limitations on union rights, welfare cuts, attacks on women's right to abortion, and physical assaults on Black and Latino people. Gay people will not escape the capitalist onslaught. Capitalism has already shown what it can and will do to gay people—in Brazil and Argentina, where gays are routinely tortured and murdered, and in Nazi Germany, where hundreds of thousands of gay people were sent to death camps.

### FIGHT FOR GAY RIGHTS

The struggle for gay rights must be part of the fight against the capitalist attack. The Anita Bryants, the Chicago Tribunes, the judges who free the murderers of gays, must be stopped. A broad fight must be organized—for the right to a job, to housing, to legal and social equality for homosexuals and for the right to be openly gay without harassment or discrimination.

The workers' movement must fight

for gay rights. To overthrow capitalism, the working class must unite all oppressed people under its leadership. To do this, it must champion the special needs of all oppressed groups, including gays.

Moreover, the workers' movement must work to root out anti-gay prejudice and the hatred and fear that goes with it. Such prejudice is just one part of an entire ideology fostered by

the ruling class—hatred of Blacks, Latins and Asians, male chauvinism, religion, etc.—that fools workers, keeps them divided, and prevents a united fight against the capitalists.

### FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

Gay liberation is not possible within capitalist society. Capitalism may grant limited rights as a concession to struggle. But it will never grant real equality to gay people, or freedom of sexual expression. It is not capable of granting these things, because it needs the

bourgeois family and sexual oppression as a means to control and oppress the working class.

Real gay liberation means a society free of exploitation, free of sexual brutality, free of the oppression of women and free of the fear of homosexuality that is bred by capitalism. To bring this about, capitalism must be overthrown. The vast majority of the world's people, who are now oppressed by capitalism, must free themselves through socialist revolution.

Gay Liberation  
Through Socialist Revolution!

## Tribune Attacks. . .

(Continued from page 9)

tales of "child molesting."

To fight this mounting attack on gay people, the Committee for Gay Rights has been formed. The Committee is based on the demands: "Stop Police Harassment of the Gay Community" and "Stop the Media Attacks on the Gay Community." About 30 men and women attended the first meeting, including members of the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Gay Socialists.

On May 24, the Committee held its first public action, a picket in front of City Hall, where hearings on the supposed gay "threat" to community morals were being held. One hundred people came to the demonstration. About 70 went inside to the hearing rooms. When they were sealed off behind a glass wall that prevented them from intervening, a supporter of the Revolutionary Socialist League led a walkout of about half the demonstrators in protest. The disruption stopped the hearings and focused attention by the press on the demonstrators.

In a rally held outside, the leader of the walkout told the crowd: "The hearings prove we cannot rely on the bourgeois politicians to fight for gay

rights; rather, we as gays must rely on our own strength and the strength of the working class and other oppressed groups."

The struggle to defend Chicago's gay community is growing and gaining support. The Gay Rights Committee has passed out leaflets, which were enthusiastically received, at gay bars. On May 28, the Committee sponsored a second demonstration, attended by over 150 people, including supporters of the RSL, the Gay Socialists, the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid and the Young Militants Against Apartheid. The demonstration was the largest gay rights action in Chicago in several years.

The Gay Rights Committee is planning further actions to combat the growing reactionary climate. On June 14, the Committee plans a demonstration to protest a speaking engagement by Anita Bryant. Bryant's Chicago speech is an opening gun in her crusade to launch a national campaign against gay rights. Bryant must be stopped. It is important for all working class militants to join the struggle against the Tribunes, the Bryants and the other peddlers of reactionary anti-working class sexism. □

### RSL Fund Drive at Midway Point

June 15 marks the midway point in the RSL's drive to raise \$15,000. Generous contributions by RSL supporters and Torch-La Antorch readers have raised \$9,226. This is 62 percent of the goal. To meet the final goal of \$15,000, the Torch-La Antorch urges readers who have not yet contributed to the fund drive to make a pledge.

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-La Antorch or RSL. Send to: P.O. Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

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# Striking Miners in Kentucky Continue Bitter Struggle

For 11 months, 160 miners at the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky, have been striking to force company recognition of their union, the United Mine Workers (UMW). Blue Diamond Coal Company, which owns the Justus mine, also owns the Scotia mine, where 26 workers were killed in 1976. Safety conditions are as bad at Justus as at Scotia, and the strikers are determined to see that there is no repeat of the Scotia disaster.

The Blue Diamond owners have

hired dozens of gun thugs in an attempt to break the strike. They keep 30 of these “security guards” living at the mine at all times. Every night these thugs fire hundreds of rounds into the miners’ picket line. On the night of April 13, some of the strikers picked up three of these gun thugs and drove them around the area for a while. They later released the strikebreakers, minus their guns and their pants. In response, a local judge has charged 27 of the strikers with kidnapping, assault and robbery. Each of the miners faces up to 20 years in jail if convicted. This is an obvious attempt to break the strike.

The Stearns strikers are still standing firm—not one miner has returned to work. The wives of the miners are organized and have been active on the picket lines and in numerous demonstrations against Blue Diamond. Miners and their families from the Brookside mine in nearby Harlan County and from other union mines are also actively supporting the Stearns strikers.

The Brookside miners fought a bitter 13-month strike for union recognition in 1973-74. Victory was won when coal miners struck nationwide for five days in the summer of 1974. If the UMW would strike nationwide again, it could bring a quick victory for the fighting Stearns strikers. But none of the candidates for president of the UMW have called for any such action. This is further proof that all three are the sworn enemies of rank and file miners.

## BUILD RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

The fight to organize the unorganized mines is becoming a life or death question for the UMW. In 1972, UMW members mined 74 percent of the coal produced in this country; today that percentage has fallen to 54 percent. The UMW is losing ground in the Appalachian fields and barely has a toehold in the Western strip mines, which now account for 20 percent of total coal production. The mineowners have weakened the UMW in past years, and they will try to hit the union even harder in the next period. The only road forward for the UMW is to launch a militant, nationwide organizing drive. To do that, rank and file miners must take full control of their union. □

## UAW...

(Continued from page 3)

how to increase the weight of the more liberal labor bureaucrats inside the Democratic Party. With changes in the leadership of certain AFL-CIO unions, the liberal wing of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is increasing its influence. Fraser wants to rejoin the AFL-CIO to strengthen these forces against those of George Meany. The opponents of reaffiliation among the UAW tops feel that they can do more to beef up the liberal labor bureaucrats from a position outside the AFL-CIO.

While revolutionaries in general support proposals for uniting the trade unions, reaffiliation today will do nothing to increase the power of the rank and file workers. So there is no basis for supporting it.

At the convention, there was widespread opposition to reaffiliation, and the bureaucrats decided not to bring it to a vote. Instead they voted themselves the power to call a special convention at any time in the next six months to decide the issue. In doing this, the bureaucrats made it clear that no issue of any substance would be debated at the special convention. Everything is to be decided in the back rooms, as far away from the membership as possible.

What were the actual results of the UAW convention? The UAW leadership reaffirmed its support for the Democratic Party and Jimmy Carter. The bureaucrats showed that they will never break from the capitalist politicians to fight for the interests of autoworkers. And Doug Fraser proved that he will run the UAW more or less as Leonard Woodcock has run it—in the interests of the union bureaucrats, the politicians and the auto companies.

At the end of the circus they call a convention, one delegate had this to say about Fraser: “Not only wouldn’t he be elected if the membership could vote, he’d have a hard time just walking through my plant.” He’s not the only autoworker who feels this way. The task now is to direct this kind of sentiment into organizing rank and file autoworkers nationwide to dump the current bureaucratic leadership. Autoworkers must replace the Woodcock-Fraser gang with a revolutionary leadership that will make the UAW a union which fights for autoworkers, the rest of the working class and all oppressed people. □



Striking miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

## UMW...

(Continued from page 3)

Miller’s conduct of his campaign. Government intervention will only hurt the rank and file miners.

If there is a national coal strike when the contract expires in December—and this appears almost certain—Carter may try to break it with injunctions and troops, claiming he is “protecting the national interest.” His job is being made all the easier by today’s invitations to intervene in the elections. He will find it much easier to justify his intervention in a strike if he can paint the internal life of the UMW as so corrupt, chaotic and irresponsible that the union itself was forced to ask him to step in and

FLASH, June 10—The close ties between Lee Roy Patterson and top bureaucrats in the United Steelworkers of America have become a major issue in the closing days of the UMW election campaign. Top USWA leaders have made substantial contributions to Patterson’s campaign, and Patterson’s campaign manager, Chuck Baker, is a long time Abel man.

On May 4, Patterson told reporters that he would “definitely consider” merging the UMW into the USWA. Steelworkers do not have the right to ratify their contracts, and they are kept in a straitjacket by the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which takes away their right to strike.

Abel and McBride want to take over the UMW because the numerous wildcat strikes in the coal fields interrupt steel production, which relies on coal. This upsets the productivity deals made between the USWA bureaucrats and the steel bosses.

Patterson’s ties to the USWA tops and his openness to merger have exposed him in the eyes of militant miners and may lead to his defeat.

preserve order during the elections.

Rank and file coal miners will continue to strike over local issues in the next months. If the coal companies keep trying to fire miners for absenteeism, this will almost certainly result in more wildcats. The miners should organize to make these wildcats national and force the issue to become a national one.

But nationwide coal strikes that win lasting victories from the coal companies are not easy to achieve. This takes sharp struggle and tight organization. While there has been no lack of struggle by miners in recent years, what has been missing is a militant national rank and file organization. As long as the UMW bureaucracy remains divided and no one bureaucratic faction is able to consolidate its control over the union, rank and file coal miners are in a strong position to build such an organization. Miners can begin this struggle by organizing for a militant national strike when the contract expires in December. If militant coal miners organize a network of rank and file strike committees to lead the contract fight, they can win victory.

With such organization, rank and file miners will be able to continue the strike until they get a contract which meets some of their basic needs—the right to strike over local grievances, an end to company harassment and firings over absenteeism, and substantial gains on wages, benefits, pensions and, most importantly, health and safety.

Rank and file strike committees are only one part of the answer. Militant miners must use their organization to fight for control of the UMW itself. It is a sign of the weakness of the ranks’ organization today that they can put forward no candidate independent of the bureaucracy.

A nationwide union caucus, made up of rank and file miners, must be built. These miners must aim to capture the leadership of key locals and intervene at UMW Conventions and other national and regional meetings. The goal must be to destroy the hold which the bureaucracy has over the union, sweep the misleaders out of the way, and put in new leaders committed to serving the class interests of the miners. □

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