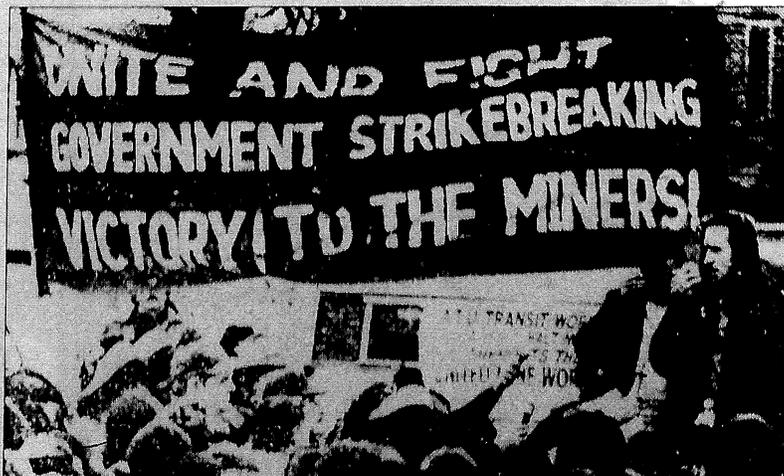


## COAL STRIKE ENDS—

# What Next for the Miners?



March rally in West Virginia to support coal strike. Speaker is grandson of John L. Lewis.

BY PAUL ALDRIDGE

On April 4, five men suffocated in a mine shaft in Bucu, Virginia. The same day, a miner was crushed between two railroad cars in Morgantown, West Virginia. These so-called accidents occurred only 10 days after the leaders of the United Mine Workers (UMW) union signed a new contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

The 111-day miners' strike, the longest in the history of the union, is officially over. But the fact that six men have already been killed in the mines proves that the overriding issue of mine safety has yet to be settled. Militant miners, along with workers across the country, must assess what was gained in the strike and what must be done to prepare for the battles that lie ahead.

The recent strike was the latest in a series of battles that go back to the mid-1960s. Using the wildcat

strike as their main weapon, a powerful rank-and-file miners' movement was built around key issues like mine safety. Despite the miners' struggles, the murderous conditions in the mines remain. Over 140 miners were killed on the job in the last year alone. Stopping this senseless slaughter was one of the miners' chief concerns in the strike.

As the strike began, the prospects for a miners' victory looked grim. The BCOA was dead set on smashing the miners' movement and eliminating the wildcats. The ruling class and the government knew that stopping the strikes was the only way to guarantee an increase in coal production, which is a central part of President Carter's energy program.

But as the strike developed, the rank-and-file miners proved that they could stand up to the threats of the BCOA. Scab mines were closed. Miners fought

(Continued on page 9)

# ZIONISTS OCCUPY SOUTHERN LEBANON

## Defend the Palestinians!

BY PAUL BENJAMIN

On March 14, 10,000 Israeli troops invaded southern Lebanon, systematically wiping out the towns and villages in their path. Over 1,000 civilians were slaughtered by Israeli air and artillery attacks. Over 250,000 people fled their homes to escape the Zionist assault.

The Palestinian liberation fighters in Lebanon were the only Arab force to resist the Israeli army. Outnumbered and outgunned, they put up a heroic resistance. Although 150 to 200 guerrillas were killed in the fighting, most were able to withdraw across the Litani River (see

map on page 16).

Since the invasion, heavy international pressure has forced Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to accept a United Nations peacekeeping force in Lebanon. But Israeli troops still control most of the southern part of the country up to the Litani River. So far Begin has refused to withdraw these troops. He insists on guarantees that will allow the Zionists to maintain effective control over the area.

Begin claims the invasion was a response to the March 11 raid into Israel by guerrillas from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In fact, the invasion had been carefully planned long before the PLO raid. Israeli military engineers had built roads and water lines into southern Lebanon. On March 23, the Israeli army chief of staff, Mordecai Gur, admitted that the Israelis had drawn up plans for an invasion of Lebanon before the PLO raid.

The purpose of the Israeli invasion was to try to wipe out the Palestinian liberation movement. Lebanon has been (Continued on page 16)



# Class Struggle Sharpens in Jamaica

BY CLIFF GORDON

Jamaican capitalism is falling apart. The economy is reeling under the blows of the developing international crisis. The local capitalists, led by the People's National Party (PNP), are stepping up their already vicious attacks on the Jamaican workers and

small farmers. As inflation, unemployment and shortages of essential items slash their living standards, the workers are fighting back. The stage is being set for a massive confrontation between the Jamaican people and the small clique of capitalists who run the country in the interests of imperial-

ism. The clearest sign of the coming fight is the upsurge in the class struggle. A growing revolt is taking shape in the factories, ghettos, and countryside. Many working people still have some illusions in Prime Minister Michael Manley and his PNP. But they are no longer (Continued on page 10)

sección  
en  
español

A member of the Revolutionary Marxist League (Jamaica) will speak in the U.S. on the crisis in Jamaica. For more information on Jamaica and the tour, see pages 10-13.

# our readers write...

Send letters to:  
TORCH, PO Box 562,  
N.Y., N.Y. 10036

## "The ruling class makes the laws"

Dear Torch:

Taking nothing away from America—this is truly the best land in the world. But we all must honestly admit that justice does not exist for the average American—nor is it in any way equally distributed among us. The laws of the land as it is today are not meant to establish peace and harmony between the masses of people but instead to keep the people suppressed and dominated.

Here in 1978 things are hardly any better than the times when there were both black slaves and white—with both being bought and sold. If one doesn't have an awful lot of money, political pull, authority, then they can just forget about any justice whatsoever.

Justice in America is geared to serve money—political power and authority—not the masses of common people nor people as a whole. Justice in America forces the common people to pay the way for crime and corruption—thus meting out stiff sentences and penalties to the common people when they're believed to have broken the law. (In most cases

merely believed to have broken the law—not necessarily proven to have broken the law.)

Common people, who are the bulk of society, don't make any laws—they're only the victims of the law. The ruling class makes the laws that govern this great land—it's their law to satisfy their insecure minds. But it's written up in a way to have the people believe that it's in the best of their interest. Watergate, Koreagate and the Morrison situation shouldn't in any way dismay the people—nor anything that occurs in government?

The American government is based clearly on a friendly basis—and if all amounts to who you know and what can you contribute to their cause. The Carter Administration clearly exhibits the above daily. The people's votes are virtually worthless—for government puts into office, who they want. The voting aspect is a hyped-up popularity contest to get a pulse beat from the people on how they may feel about a certain candidate. It's also to deceive the people into thinking that they're actually

picking the person of their choice for office.

Should it be amazing that the Wilmington Ten were dealt an unfair hand of justice—just as countless numbers of other people in prisons throughout the country as well as those in society? A common person has been found guilty of not abiding by their (the government's) laws that they made up—and then he or she either has a mental problem or they're sent to prison. Why couldn't something be wrong with the law instead of that person? Is the law created to fit the whole of society or a segment—or is man created to fit their laws?

You must not defend yourself for fear of being arrested for defending yourself—Bull! If convicted of a crime the common folk must go to prison and await years on appeal. While on that very same hand—the rich and superrich (like Patty Hearst) can be allowed an appeal bail and continue to walk the streets. Is this justice? Bull! Why isn't appeal bail instituted for all?—'cause the laws are not meant to distribute justice equally.

People in the prison houses and of society can no longer depend on receiving justice in America—you must demand justice according to the circumstances in which it is warranted. The only law and order is your law and order and the right to protect yourself, family and belongings.

IA  
Trenton State Prison

Reply:

We agree with almost everything in your letter except your first sentence. You said: "Taking nothing away from America—this is truly the best land in the world." But your second sentence reads: "... we all must admit that justice does not exist for the average American..."

If there's no justice you must take something away from America. We believe you must take it over! Until poor and working people control society, there will never be justice. And your letter explained some reasons why, but there's more.

The U.S. is the most brutal imperialist country in the world today. The U.S. ruling class rips off and oppresses people all over the world. This is where the "extras" that seem to make things better come from. Why was the U.S. in Vietnam or Chile? How come the U.S. supports Israel in the Middle East? Why does the U.S. have millions invested in racist South Africa? And think how the U.S. ruling class exploits and oppresses its own "other peoples," that is, all the Blacks, Latins, Asians and undocumented workers.

The point is the main reason the capitalists have been able to grant any concessions here is because they have plundered so much from the people of the world. This doesn't make America the "best land" for working and oppressed people.

We can't accept its blood-sucking racist/imperialist policies. We have to tear the whole system down—and then we'll have justice. □

## More on Malcolm X

Dear Torch/La Antorcha:

In Cairo, Egypt, in July 1964, I was introduced to Malcolm X by a friend, a student from Namibia. The three of us talked for an hour. Malcolm X's words on this occasion remain vivid in my memory and may add something to the picture of him in Wayne Gordon's speech printed last month.

Malcolm X was in Cairo to attend a meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). He presented a resolution to the OAU to condemn the U.S. government for shooting and killing Black people in the Harlem rebellion, which was going on at that very moment.

As Malcolm X told the story: "I presented that resolution and they put it on the very bottom of the basket. I mean, underneath the catering bills. And at 2 a.m., when all the reporters were in bed, they took it out and passed it and buried it again." Whatever Malcolm X said in public, the fake-militant African leaders did not fool him a bit.

The rebellion was one of the main things Malcolm X talked about. He was full of admiration for the struggle unarmed Black people were waging against the cops—but the main lesson he drew was that the masses would have to arm themselves. He called for organizing firearm clubs block by block through Harlem and other communities for this purpose. He summed up: "Remember, there are always more people than cops. So if you can arm the people, they're going to win."

At that time President Johnson was pushing the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Malcolm X had one word for that bill—"Crap." I remember that his eyes flashed with scorn as he snapped out this word. He said: "That bill is nothing but a hoax. It's meant just to get people off the street. But that bill wouldn't be up before Congress in the first place if people weren't in the street. That bill is nothing but crap."

What impressed me most about Malcolm X was the revolutionary fire that burned in him. This was not conveyed in any one word or idea, but in his whole bearing. He had nothing but contempt for President Johnson, the liberals in Congress and the civil rights leaders

like Martin Luther King who were playing their game. He scorned the OAU leaders who feared offending the mighty U.S. He knew that the Black masses would gain nothing except through mass struggle and that they must not flinch at violence. And he had complete confidence that if the Black masses could get around leaders like King and learn from their own struggles, they would learn the lessons necessary to win.  
Chris Hudson  
New York

## "Why I joined the RSL"

The following is excerpted from a letter written by a former member of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP). He explains his reasons for resigning from the SLP and joining the Revolutionary Socialist League. We welcome the comrade into our ranks.

Dear SLP members and sympathizers:

Why I joined the RSL. Revolutionaries must be prepared to devote their whole lives mainly to the working class and others oppressed by capitalism. This means spending many hours each week doing consistent propaganda and agitational work, educating and organizing the oppressed people to fight the bosses, their state and their criminal system.

Revolutionaries are the

most dedicated, fearless and self-sacrificing people in the working class. They teach the masses the truth about capitalism, fight all reactionaries and the perfidious influence of all reactionary ideology (i.e., mysticism, anti-communism, pacifism, facism, sexism) in theory and practice. They lead the masses in struggle against the exploiting class....

To oppose the capitalist owners effectively, i.e., in an organized way, the working people need class struggle industrial and political organization based firmly in Marxist principles. We need a fighting vanguard party, steeped in class battle as the general staff of a fighting working class. The party is steeped in the collective experience of class struggle

based on Marxist teachings in history, political economy, and philosophy reinforced and developed through the contemporary class battles. There can be no slackers, "parlor Marxists," dilettantes or careerists in the revolutionary vanguard.

Because the Socialist Labor Party has shown for the last 55 years that it is utterly incapable of providing impetus to any class struggle and hence winning the workers' confidence and because its present "leaders" have cynically tried to cover over their own abysmal failures with cheap empty paper reforms to dupe the membership, I hereby resign from the SLP to continue in struggle with a real revolutionary group, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL).

NC  
Leaflet Captain  
Los Angeles section  
(Endorsed by FP and CMV, ex-SLP members and now supporters of the RSL.)

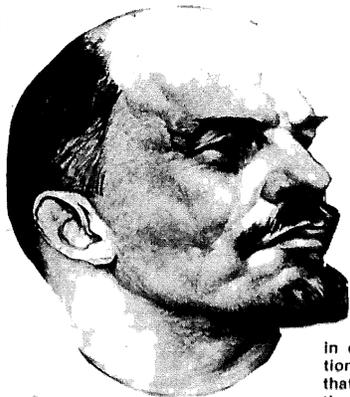
## In this issue...

- 3 Lerin on May Day  
Blacks: 10 years after the rebellions
- 4 S-1437: police-state bill  
Smash the Nazis!
- 5 Right-wingers attack abortion clinic  
Who pays for health care cutbacks?  
100 gays busted in Boston
- 6 Stop the execution of Iman!!  
More on Torch ban
- 7 Gay oppression serves prison keepers  
Free Sami Esmail  
August 8th Brigade fights harassment
- 8 Transit workers oppose sellout
- 10 'Fight Man-ile and his bag of tricks'
- 11 Revolutionary answer to crime  
SL: racists in revolutionary clothes
- 12 For workers' unity: statement by RML

- 14 Russian dissidents face repression
- Philippine elections spark mass struggle
- 15 Nicaragua: no reliance on capitalists

### FEATURES

- 2 our readers write
- 6 Break the Chains  
Sid Welsh... Jeanne & Siba Baum...  
Mecklenburg prisoners
- 8 Labor in Struggle  
Stevens' organizing... Puerto Rico  
strikes... undocumented workers
- 14 World in Revolution  
Japan... European unemployment...  
Italy



## LENIN ON MAY DAY: DECLARE WAR ON MONEYBAGS AND EXPLOITERS

May 1 is May Day—the holiday of the international working class. It started in 1886, when hundreds of thousands of workers in the United States went out in a general strike to demand the eight-hour day. Ever since that time, May 1 has been set aside by revolutionary workers all over the world to honor and commemorate working people's struggles against the tyranny of capitalism.

This year, the Revolutionary Socialist League is celebrating May Day by sponsoring a speaking tour by John Thomas, a leading member of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica (a fraternal organization of the RSL). The tour is a step

in our struggle to build a revolutionary workers' international party that can lead the working class in the fight for socialist revolution.

Below are excerpts of a May Day leaflet written in 1904 by V.I. Lenin, founder of the Bolshevik Party and leader of the Russian Revolution of 1917:

Comrade workers! May Day is coming, the day when the workers of all lands celebrate their awakening to a class-conscious life, their solidarity in the struggle against all coercion and oppression of man by man, the struggle to free the tolling millions from hunger, poverty, and humiliation. Two worlds stand facing each other in this great struggle; the world of capital and the world of labor, the world of exploitation and slavery and the world of

brotherhood and freedom.

On one side stand the handful of rich blood-suckers. They have seized the factories and mills, the tools and machinery, have turned millions of acres of land and mountains of money into their private property. They have made the government and the army their servants, faithful watchdogs of the wealth they have amassed.

On the other side stand the millions of the disinherited. They are forced to beg the moneybags for permission to work for them. By their labor they create all wealth; yet all their lives long they have to struggle for a crust of bread, beg for work as for charity, sap their strength and health by back-breaking toil, and starve in hovels in the villages or in the collars and garrets of the big cities.

But now these disinherited toilers have declared war on the moneybags and exploiters. The workers of all lands are fighting to free labor from wage slavery, from poverty and want. They are fighting for a system of society where the wealth created by the common labor will go to benefit, not a handful of rich men, but all those who work. They want to make the land and the factories, mills, and machines the common property of all toilers. They want to do away with the division into rich and poor, want the fruits of labor to go to the laborers themselves, and all the achievements of the human mind, all improvements in ways of working, to improve the lot of the man who works, and not serve as a means of oppressing him.

The great struggle of labor against capital has cost the workers of all countries immense sacrifices. They have shed rivers of blood in behalf of their right to a better life and real freedom. Those who fight for the workers' cause are subjected by the governments to untold persecution. But in spite of all persecution the solidarity of the workers of the world is growing and gaining in strength.

Let the celebration of May Day win thousands of new fighters to our cause and swell our forces in the great struggle for the freedom of all the people, for the liberation of all who toil from the yoke of capital!

## Black People in the U.S.—

# Ten Years After the Rebellions

BY SUSAN EDMUNDS

During the long hot summers of 1965, 1966 and 1967, thousands of Black people took to the streets of the major cities across the U.S. From Harlem to Watts, in Detroit, Newark and Washington, D.C., Black people rebelled against the system that locked them into the dirtiest jobs, the worst housing, the most run-down neighborhoods—facing discrimination and racism at every turn.

The ruling class, terrified that the rebellions would turn into an organized movement against the system, made all sorts of promises. Supposedly the barriers to Blacks' getting better jobs, housing and education were going to be removed. Discrimination was going to be outlawed in every area. Money was going to be spent on training programs, housing, education, and cleaning up the cities. At least these were the 1967 recommendations of the Kerner Commission, which was set up by the government to investigate the causes of the rebellions.

Early this year, the Nation-

al Urban League and the New York Times published studies comparing conditions for Black people in 1967 with what they are now. What they found was that things had changed—but for the masses of Black people things had changed for the worse.

In 1967, 7.4 percent of Black people were unemployed; in 1977, 13.2 percent had no job. For Black youth, the jobless rate jumped from 26.5 percent to 38.6 percent. (Note: These statistics and those that follow are government figures, which are always much lower than the real number of unemployed people.) Today, in many cities, the vast majority of young Black men and women can find no jobs at all. In New York only one in four had a job in 1977, and in Detroit only one in every five.

For Black women, the job picture is also bleak. In 1967, official figures put unemployment for adult Black women at 7.1 percent. By last year, that figure had increased to 11.8 percent. When you add to this that Black women are some of the lowest-paid workers, and that over one-third of all



Black people taunt troops during Newark rebellion, 1967.

Black households are headed by women, it's very clear that many Black families are just trying to survive. And for adult Black men, the jobless rate more than doubled in the last 10 years—up from 4.3 percent in 1967 to 10.1 percent last year.

The studies also show that other conditions of life for Black people have gotten worse. The poorer neighborhoods in the big cities are more bombed-out now than they were 10 years ago. Urban renewal projects razed a lot of old housing, but put few new buildings in their place, leaving rubble-strewn lots through many neighborhoods. Schools in poor Black neighborhoods are a joke—almost no one even pretends any more that what goes on is "education."

At the same time, medical care in many Black neighborhoods is terrible. Black people, on average, die younger than whites. And the infant

mortality rate for Black newborn babies is double that for white babies. In Harlem, for example, the incidence of diseases like diabetes, high blood pressure, pneumonia, and malnutrition (just to name a few) is much higher than in other parts of New York City.

### Black middle class grows

But while almost all Black people were in the lowest-income brackets in 1967, the recent studies show that there has been a substantial increase in the size of the Black middle class. For example, there are more Black families than ever before with incomes over \$15,000, a figure used by the government as an indicator of social position.

Enrollment by Black people in universities has in-

creased between 1967 and 1977 from 4.6 percent to 10.7 percent of all students. There are more Black people holding elective offices than there were 10 years ago. And there are more Black lawyers, doctors, corporate managers and other professionals than ever before.

When you put these two sets of statistics together, a very different picture of "Black America" emerges than the one of 1967.

First, there is now a large and growing gap between the conditions of life for working and poor Black people on the one hand, and middle-class Blacks on the other. U.S. capitalism was forced to open the door into the middle class for some Black people. These people are becoming more well-to-do, with opportunities in jobs, housing and education. But for most Black people, these opportunities are no

(Continued on page 17)

# S-1437: Senate OKs Police State Bill

BY ADELE LOHMAN

On January 30, the Senate passed (by a vote of 72-15) the so-called Criminal Justice Reform Bill, S-1437. S-1437 is just a modified version of S-1, Nixon's police-state bill. It's one of a long series of bills designed by the ruling class to codify the most vicious repression, to make it "legal." It's an all-out attack on the right of the working class to organize and fight back.

S-1437 is now in the House of Representatives as HR-6869, and the Administration wants it passed in a hurry. Attorney General Bell says: "Nothing is as important as this bill." If it becomes law, it could outlaw strikes, demonstrations and most political opposition. The government probably wouldn't invoke this law in every instance, just as they don't invoke Taft-Hartley in every strike. But the machinery would be there, ready to use whenever they want to.

The bill establishes nine classes of crime, ranging from Class A felonies (maximum sentence, life imprisonment) to infractions (maximum—five days in jail). S-1437 would lengthen jail terms by a system of fixed sentences, so that judges have little leeway in sentencing; by abolishing parole for almost all federal prisoners, and by drastically cutting good time. The bill would establish pre-trial detention by denying bail for specified offenses. It would

**S-1437 is an all-out attack on the right of the working class to organize and fight back.**

allow judges to withhold pre-trial information from the defense in murder, treason and sabotage cases.

The bill is several hundred pages long, so we can only cite a few examples of what it could mean if it became law.

- Under this bill any local offense could be tried as a federal crime if the prosecution claims that the mails or phone were used, or that it interfered with interstate commerce.

- S-1437/HR-6869 defines extortion and/or blackmail as any action that might subject a business to property damage, economic loss, injury to business, etc. Strikes would be a crime under this clause, since they cause economic losses to the capitalists. Through years of struggle, the working class won legislation exempting trade-union activity from extortion and blackmail law. S-1437 would wipe out these gains.

- Anyone picketing or demonstrating near a federal

facility could be charged with obstructing a government function by physical interference. All demonstrations in Washington, D.C., could be illegal under this clause.

- In case of war, the ruling class wants to crush opposition before it grows into a mass movement as it did during the Vietnam War. Under S-1437, anti-war propaganda, draft counseling, or picketing an induction center would be outlawed as obstructing military recruitment and/or impairing military effectiveness. Anyone striking or picketing any company that makes war-related materials could be charged with sabotage.

- Under S-1437, local standards would apply in obscenity cases. That means gay publications and books or periodicals dealing with sexuality or sex education would be banned in many

parts of the country.

Mailing, importing or transporting obscene matter would be a Class D felony—maximum, five years in prison and/or fines. This includes anything written or printed relating to abortion, or any medicine or instrument designed, adapted or intended for producing abortion. Abortion clinics could be hauled into court for mailing a letter confirming an appointment or describing their services.

## Liberal opposition growing

S-1437 was pushed through the Senate by an alliance of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans. Its co-sponsors were Ted Kennedy and Strom Thurmond. Out of 15 Senators who voted against it, 13 were conservatives who

thought the bill "too soft." Only two liberals, Cranston and Reagle, voted against it. But now that S-1437/HR-6869 is in the House of Representatives, liberal opposition to the bill is growing. Coalitions have been formed to fight it. Civil liberties groups and law professors say it's unconstitutional. Liberal legislators and many media people oppose the bill because it curbs freedom of speech and the press, and takes away the right to a fair trial.

These liberals always want to make it seem like this is a free country—so they oppose the bill because it will take away our "precious freedoms." But there's precious few freedoms for working and oppressed people already! The working class doesn't really have freedom of speech or the right to a fair trial. The capitalists control the courts, along with everything else in this society. Workers and youth—Black, Latin and white—are railroaded on phony charges every day, or executed without a trial by killer cops. But meanwhile, there are all these laws that are supposed to make us think we have freedom and democracy. The

liberals want to keep this window dressing, while S-1437 would strip it away. The bill makes the ruling class's repression more explicit.

There's another reason many liberals are opposing S-1437, which makes it 100 percent clear where they're coming from. The pro-bill forces claim S-1437 will cut down on "crime." But those liberals who oppose the bill say it won't stop violent street crime. They want harsher laws, especially against "youth crime." Senator Reagle even concluded his speech against the bill saying: "...our efforts should be directed toward helping the states deal with violent crimes."

Working and oppressed people must oppose S-1437 and do everything we can to fight it. But not for the same reasons as the liberals. The bill is a real threat to our interests. If it becomes law, the ruling class would have an even stronger apparatus to trample on our rights and our struggles.

The ruling class claims they want to get rid of "crime." But the real crime is capitalism. It's up to us, the working class, to get rid of it. □

# Smash the Nazis!

## Coalition Leaders Push Pacifism

DETROIT—On March 11, working people drove the Nazis off the streets of St. Louis with stones and bottles. The next day in Detroit, a resolution applauding this victory was ruled out of order at a meeting of a coalition which is supposedly fighting the Nazis. Paul Boatin, the coalition's leader, explained that the Nazis must be fought through "peaceful means."

The coalition, the Labor-Community-Interfaith Council Against the Nazis, was formed two months after the Nazis opened a headquarters in Detroit. It includes union bureaucrats (Boatin is a bureaucrat from United Auto Workers union, Local 600), religious leaders, businessmen, left groups, and various individuals. It has held several meetings, motorcades past the Nazi headquarters, and is planning a

big rally on April 30. But the strategy of the coalition leaders cannot fight the Nazis—it will actually help them grow in the long run.

The leaders are committed to "peaceful methods." This approach only invites the Nazis to attack. As the Torch reported last month, already one anti-Nazi organizer was stabbed by a Nazi at a coalition meeting. We will suffer greater losses if we don't organize in the working class to build defense guards to fight the Nazis.

The coalition leaders spread political confusion. They confuse our friends with our enemies. History has shown that the capitalist government needs and supports fascism. But Boatin and his cronies are bending over backward to include government forces in the coalition. Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, whose cops pro-

tect the Nazis and harass anti-fascist demonstrators, has been invited as a main speaker at the April 30 rally.

Politicians will gladly make speeches against the Nazis. They want to fool working people into thinking the government and the cops will deal with the Nazis. They want working people to rely on the capitalist government, instead of organizing to smash the Nazis themselves. And bureaucrats like Boatin agree with this 100 percent. Boatin's political approach—the talk of "peaceful means" and reliance on the capitalist government—will only set the workers up for attacks by the Nazis and the government.

interest in fighting the Nazis. But in the coalition they keep silent on these issues. They hope Boatin can build a large movement that they can influence later on.

Some of these phony revolutionaries even argue that a more militant approach will "turn people off" and that we need a "broader unity." Militancy does turn off pacifists and liberals. But in St. Louis, 20 supporters of the RSL and the Black and White Defense Committee led a militant demonstration of hundreds of working people. In Detroit, as the Nazis increase their activities, more workers will want to take them on. These militant workers will be "turned off" by pacifism and liberalism. They won't want to hear speeches by politicians who they know are liars and crooks. They'll want to do more than honk their horns at the Nazis—they'll want to smash them!

These are the people the RSL and Workers Defense Committee in Detroit are beginning to organize. We are taking the first steps in building a movement that can crush the Nazis, and can fight against the capitalists for the needs of all working and oppressed people. □

## Leftists tail bureaucrats

Left-wing groups like Youth Against War and Fascism, the International Socialists, the Communist Labor Party and others do a lot of work for the coalition. They produce and hand out leaflets to build an audience for the public meetings. You would think they know that capitalism is the enemy, that pacifism is suicide, and that capitalist politicians have no

On March 11, a crowd of thousands of working class demonstrators, mostly white, smashed the Nazis' attempt to march in St. Louis. The Black and White Defense Committee and the Revolutionary Socialist League played a leading role in the anti-Nazi demonstration. The ruling class wants to avoid an even bigger defeat for the Nazis in Skokie.

Preparations by anti-Nazi groups to mobilize in force, if the Nazis do get to Skokie, are already under way. The RSL and the Black and White Defense Committee plan to turn out to stop the Nazis in Skokie, and wherever else they try to march. □

## Appeals Court Supports Nazis

CHICAGO—On April 6, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals overturned an injunction which would have stopped the Nazis from marching in Skokie, Illinois, until after May 1. The Nazis had planned to march in this predominantly Jewish community on April 20, Adolf Hitler's birthday.

This ruling is the latest of a series of court actions. The legal maneuvering is complicated, and we cannot predict now just when and if the march will occur. However, the indecision of the courts reflects the reluctance of the ruling class to have a battle in Skokie, especially one in which the Nazis would get clobbered.





Room at the Concerned Women's Clinic in Cleveland after a man firebombed the building.

## Right-Wing Thugs Attack Abortion Clinics

BY JUDY GARSON

On February 11, anti-abortion pickets broke into the Northern Virginia Women's Medical Center. They threw two people to the floor, injured a nurse and stomped on a woman who was over six months pregnant. This was the pickets' seventh attack in the past year.

The courts did nothing about this vicious attack. Just the day before, a judge said that abortion laws were unconstitutional. Then, when these hoodlums were taken to court, another judge said: "They had a good faith belief that their actions were necessary to save lives."

### Abortion clinics firebombed

This is not an isolated series of events. Right-wing, anti-abortion forces have gone on a terror campaign against a woman's right to choose, bombing abortion clinics around the country.

- **St. Paul, Minnesota:** The Planned Parenthood Clinic was almost bombed February 15 but the bomb didn't go off. On February 23, its administrative offices were firebombed and destroyed.

- **Cleveland, Ohio:** The Concerned Women's Clinic was firebombed February 18.

- **Cincinnati, Ohio:** The Women's Center was closed for nine days because of damage caused by a chemical bomb. The Planned Parenthood Clinic suffered \$4,000 worth of damage from

a fire last November. The Margaret Sanger Abortion Clinic has been the target of several attempted firebombings. And the Price Hill Family Planning Clinic has been the scene of daily harassment by anti-abortionists.

- **Columbus, Ohio:** A fire last January 8 caused \$200,000 worth of damage to the Northwest Women's Center.

- **Akron, Ohio:** The Akron Women's Clinic was firebombed March 1—after seven attempts in the last year.

The Ladies Clinic of Omaha, Nebraska, and the Vermont Women's Health Center have also been damaged by arson.

These attacks are not limited to abortion clinics. The apartments of members of the Pro-Choice Coalition in Ohio have been burglarized. In St. Paul, there have been threats to kill or kidnap the children of clinic board members.

The press has given a lot of publicity to these attacks. Many of the criminals involved have been arrested and charged. Yet very few if any of these hoodlums have been brought to trial. And not one has been convicted of any crime.

These attacks are not the work of some isolated right-wing nuts. They are part of an organized, nationwide right-wing campaign against women's right to abortion.

PEACE (People Expressing Concern for Everyone) planned and coordinated

many attacks on abortion clinics on January 6: in New York city; Baltimore, Maryland; Anchorage, Alaska, Omaha, Nebraska and Fairfax, Virginia. Thirty-one people from PEACE were ar-

### Chicago—

## Who Pays for Health Care Cutbacks?

**CHICAGO**—In late March, the Cook County Health and Hospitals Governing Committee cut Cook County Hospital's budget for the year by \$8.2 million. The day before the commission voted, 200 hospital workers demonstrated against the cuts, but were unable to stop them. Commission Director James Haughton claimed: "Our aim has been to do as little violence as possible to services for patients." In fact the cuts are going to kill working-class people and prisoners in Chicago.

Over 550 of the lowest-paid workers, mostly cleaners and nurses' aides, at County, Cermak, and Oak Forest Hospitals will be laid off. County will reduce the drugs it gives to patients by \$1.1 million. It will eliminate transportation to and from the hospital for those who are too sick or too poor to take a bus. The kidney dialysis machines, which sustain people whose kidneys have broken down, will be turned off.

Cermak Hospital, part of the Cook County Jail, is supposed to close. The Governing Commission says the prisoners can be taken to County, but they would only be sent to a special jail ward, which doesn't exist. The law says no building can take place in the hospital, so prisoners had better not get sick until they finish their time. (As of this writing, Cermak Hospital is being kept open by a temporary court order.)

Most of the people in County Hospital and County Jail are Blacks and Latins from the South and West Sides of Chicago. Private hospitals won't take them unless they have state Medicaid cards. Now that capi-

rested nationally. Then there is the National Right to Life Committee, which had a workshop at their June 1976 convention called "How to Disrupt an Abortion Clinic." These are just two of the organizations responsible for thug attacks on abortion clinics. But there are more.

### Anti-abortion laws in the works

The attack on abortion rights doesn't stop at bombing abortion clinics and threatening children. Numerous laws are being passed limiting a woman's right to abortion. The Akron City Council passed a bill containing the following provisions: If a woman is married, her husband must be told she intends to have an abortion. A woman's parents must be told if she is under 18, and they must give written consent if she is under 15 years old. The law requires religious counseling before the abortion which describes the fetus as being alive from the moment of conception. The bill also allows doctors to refuse to perform abortions.

In Maryland, two anti-abortion bills are before the State Legislature. One would

prohibit public funds for abortions. The other would call for an immediate convention to amend the U.S. Constitution to outlaw abortions.

The particularly anti-working-class, anti-Black nature of these two bills can be seen by the fact that there were 6,000 Medicaid abortions in Maryland in 1976. Forty percent were for women under 19 and 74 percent were for Black women.

There are now only 13 states plus Washington D.C. that allow Medicaid abortions.

The U.S. Congress has a bill before it to cut private insurance coverage of abortions for working women.

### Fight fire with fire

Working-class women must take the lead in fighting back against these attacks. The ruling class wants to turn back the clock to the days when there were no legal abortions for working-class and oppressed women.

To the days when the only choice we had was between having an unwanted child and turning our bodies over to be carved up by back alley butchers. In those days, thousands of us were murdered every year by quick abortionists while upper class women could always find a high-priced doctor to perform their abortions.

We cannot rely on the bourgeois courts or police to protect us. We must organize defense squads to protect abortion clinics. We must patiently explain why the attack on abortion is part of the ruling class's attack on the whole working class. We must begin to strike fear into the heart of every right-wing anti-abortion thug. We must fight fire with fire!

## Police Repression Builds: 100 Boston Gays Busted

Over 100 men have been entrapped at the Boston Public Library in the past month as a result of a campaign by the Boston police to harass and intimidate gay men. Last month, Boston's police commissioner Joseph M. Jordan instructed his cops to arrest both men and women suspected of prostitution on an equal basis. What he was really doing was starting an open drive to tell gays that they have no right to be gay.

Since then, gay men in the Boston Public Library have been regularly approached and led on or propositioned by undercover cops and then arrested for prostitution or indecency. In one case an officer approached a man and asked him if he was interested in "hooking around." When the man said no, the officer asked, "But aren't you gay?" When the man replied, "Yes, but I am not interested," the officer arrested him for "open and gross lewdness." In numerous other cases, gay men were approached by the same officer, propositioned and then arrested.

The Boston Police Department is using these entrapment tactics in order to make absolutely certain that gays know that they have no right to exist anywhere except the closet. And that even then, ways will be found to harass them. Obviously some of the cases will be thrown out of court because they are entrapments, but in many cases people will be forced to plead guilty to the charges in order to prevent their bosses, family and friends from finding out they are gay. These people will then have a criminal record—not because they committed a crime but because they are gay.

Workers and oppressed people must fight against these attacks. Gay people have a right to their sexual preferences, and they have the right to be proud of themselves. This means that gays must have the right to look for sexual partners and friends without having to worry about being thrown into jail or being harassed by the cops or anybody else. We must all fight these attacks on our rights and fight to overthrow the system that causes these attacks.

## We Need Your Support!

Last month, the Revolutionary Socialist League launched a drive to raise \$20,000 by June 15. So far, \$9,650 has been raised, nearly half the total.

- We need this money to:
- Continue to improve the Torch/La Antorcha
  - Strengthen our fraternal ties with the Revolutionary Marxist League (Jamaica) and expand other international work.
  - Continue to build the fight against the Nazis and the KKK.
  - Expand work with prisoners, including free subscriptions and providing lit-

erature for Marxist study groups inside the prisons.

- Step up the Solidarity Committee Against Apartheid's organizing in support of the Black workers' revolution in South Africa, and against racism in the U.S.

- Carry on revolutionary organizing in the unions and among undocumented workers.

To reach our goal, we need the help of every reader. Please contribute! Make check or money order payable to the Torch/La Antorcha and send to: **Box 562, New York, NY 10036.** □

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Most of the people in County Hospital and County Jail are Blacks and Latins from the South and West Sides of Chicago. Private hospitals won't take them unless they have state Medicaid cards. Now that capi-

talism no longer has enough fat on it to satisfy all of the ruling class's wants, the capitalist state is doing without "luxuries" like health care for workers and poor people. A workers' government would put our needs before anything else. □

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# Alabama Railroads Black Prisoner Stop the Execution

## Free Sid Welsh!

Sid Welsh, an active member of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the San Francisco Bay Area, is facing a new trial on charges of illegal possession of an explosive device. The first trial took place in Indio, California, in May 1976. Welsh was found guilty as a result of a racist frame-up. The defense asked again and again that the charges against Welsh be dropped for lack of evidence. The explosive device that Welsh supposedly had was never produced in court. The cops claimed it was "lost," but the truth is that it never existed in the first place.

The case against Welsh amounted to convicting him for being a Native American and a member of AIM. The prosecution convinced the jury that since Welsh was a militant, he could have possessed the explosive device. The jury found Welsh guilty and he was sentenced to five years in prison. The court, however, realizing that its case wasn't exactly "airtight," granted a defense motion for a new trial. And now, Welsh faces a second trial on the same frame-up charges.

During subsequent hearings, Welsh has been followed and his car has been ransacked. He was held without charges by the Bureau of Indian Affairs police. As in the cases of Skyhorse and Mohawk and the case of Leonard Peltier, the FBI has made it its business to try to "get something on" Welsh. For years, all the repressive machinery of the state has been used against AIM members. Sid Welsh is another victim of the racist U.S. government.

Letters of support and donations can be sent to: Sid Welsh Defense Fund, c/o Native American Defense Fund, 225 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

## Jeanne and Siba Baum reunited

Victory! Jeanne and Siba Baum won their right to stay together. On March 29, the Suffolk County Family Court of Hauppauge, New York, refused to remove Siba Baum from the custody of Jeanne, her mother. However, the judge didn't reverse a 1978 "child neglect" conviction against Jeanne Baum.

The fight began in September 1975. Siba Baum, a Siksika Blackfoot woman, was a student at Selden Junior High School in New York. One of the teachers there was a racist, who continually told the class all kinds of filthy lies about Native American people. Both Jeanne and Siba Baum protested to the school administrators, who did nothing. So Siba Baum stopped going to school.

The state then backed up the racist, and accused Jeanne Baum of "child neglect"—for not forcing Siba to go and hear a lot of racist lies! The courts threatened to take Siba Baum away from Jeanne.

Because so many people have supported the two Native American women, the courts are now backing down. Jeanne Baum is continuing to fight the "child neglect" charges. She is planning to call together a tribunal of young people of all races to tell the truth about what kind of garbage gets taught in U.S. schools. Victory to Jeanne Baum!

## Prisoners framed-up at Mecklenburg

On March 2, 1978, Jawaad S. Bilal (a.k.a. Vernon Joe) and another prisoner were charged with conspiring to take a guard hostage in protest against conditions at Mecklenburg Correctional Center in Boydton, Virginia. The charge was supposedly based on information received from a "rat." The truth is that Bilal was framed by the racist prison authorities.

The morning on which Bilal was allegedly plotting this action, he was in fact discussing with other prisoners a visit by a Catholic nun on the previous day. At a hearing on March 3 concerning the charges, Bilal was denied the right to a lawyer, the right to call witnesses in his defense and the right to question the informant, who was never named by the keepers. Under these circumstances, he was found guilty and transferred to maximum security. The real reason behind this attack is that Bilal has played an active role in exposing the racist brutality of the guards at Mecklenburg. He currently has nearly 40 grievances pending against various prison officials.

The keepers hope to silence Bilal, but he is not alone. The Torch/La Antorcha has received numerous reports of beatings, mactings, and harassment directed against prisoners by racist guards at Mecklenburg. The frame-up of Bilal is one of the most blatant attempts by the keepers to crush the prisoners' fight against conditions in the prison. Bilal asks that letters protesting the frame-up be sent to: Superintendent Johnson, Mecklenburg Correctional Center, PO Box 500, Boydton, VA 23917.

We encourage our readers to contribute to the Prisoner Literature Fund. This money will be used exclusively to send revolutionary literature to prisoners. Send contributions to: Prisoner Literature Fund, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036.

—PA & FH

Imani (Johnny Harris), a Black militant prison organizer, is slated for execution on March 10. He was framed for the murder of a prison guard during the Atmore prison rebellion in 1974. A 114-year-old Alabama law makes Imani eligible for the death penalty, since he was serving life in prison at the time of the rebellion. He is now on death row in Holman prison in Alabama.

At the time of the 1974 rebellion, Imani was a recognized leader of the prisoners' struggle to win some minimal rights in the Atmore slave-camp. At Atmore, prisoners were forced to work in the sugar cane fields from sun-up to sundown. For this back-breaking labor, they got 25 cents a week. To change this, the prisoners fought for unionization and decent wages.

As part of this struggle, they went on strike. The 1,200 prisoners stopped cutting cane and let it rot in the fields. But the prison bosses refused to accept the prisoners' demands. The prisoners' next step was to go to the courts, to the state legislature and to the media. Still, they got no substantial changes.

The prisoners then formed Inmates for Action (IFA). The IFA was an organization of Black prisoners who were fighting for their rights in the Atmore prison.

As soon as the prison keepers got word that the IFA was formed, they went on a terror campaign. Three hundred organizers were beaten. Then in 1974, the guards provoked a fight with the prisoners. When the prisoners defended themselves by taking several

guards as hostages, the guards began shooting at them. George Dobbins, the IFA chairman, was brutally murdered—stabbed by prison guards on the way to the hospital.

In the rebellion, a prison guard was also killed. This is the man the state accused Imani of killing. Imani was convicted by an all-white jury. And the state is now trying to use an ancient law to murder him. As Imani has said: "We must not let the government kill us off one-by-one. We must not let them destroy our hopes and dreams for ourselves and our people."

Send letters of support to Johnny Harris, Route 2, Box 37, Holman Station, Alabama 36503.

FREE IMANI NOW!

## Prisoner Writes on Struggle Against Torch Ban

Dear Comrades:

In reply to your call for a united effort to stop the seemingly national bannings of the Torch, let notice be served to the functionaries of various penal institutions that the revolutionary spirits, the constant evolving, and moulding of the political consciousness of the inmates concerned cannot be suppressed by the mere banning of political literatures without a fight...

It is obvious from the apex that the functionaries for the capitalist ruling class are hell bent on depriving the class consciousness of the inmates from further development to a point of understanding the theoretical basis of Marxist theory. They (bourgeois-lackeys) know that the politicized elements that lay dormant within the prison environment can be fully realized through the proper format, i.e., Torch, Guardian, Organizer, to name a few and all of which I receive, thus effectuating a vital prisoner movement, on a class conscious basis. This conclusion is coupled with the fact in the words of Lenin: "all law is an application of an equal measure to different people who in fact are not alike, are not equal to one another... law can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned by society."

Then what would serve to deter this development? One would not have to look far to see and understand the psychology of such bannings. Since the job of penal authorities is to discipline the working-class forces, their (authorities) link and tie in services to the ruling class, is to make available "only those publications and books that contain materials which are neutral to or supportive of the desired new attitudes."

The exposés of the Torch

on prison conditions and the comradely spirit in which it carries it out serve not only to establish both a revolutionary and political awareness from within and without the penal environment, but further it ignites the fires of solidarity; it serves to break one more psychiatric technique employed by penal institutions in general, i.e., building a group conviction among the prisoners that they haven't been abandoned by, and totally isolated from, their social order. There can be no doubt that this is one bastion that they (penal au-

thorities) will attempt to preserve at all costs, along with the counter-part the "court system."



thorities) will attempt to preserve at all costs, along with the counter-part the "court system."

The penal system of the U.S. today can very easily be likened to the "Apartheid" that exists in "Africa" today. Why else would mere printed matter invoke such wide suppression? Because one would begin to see no justification in faulting himself, for a system that breeds and perpetuates the exact crimes that he finds himself confined for; a system or society that sees no profit in his rehabilitation; sees no profit in the maintenance of full employment; sees no profit in the care for the old, sick, young and mentally retarded; that finds profit in the subjugation and plunder

of Africa, Asia, and Latin America!!! As noted by my fellow comrade, I too enjoin the Torch to enter in upon a "class action suit" with us in such a way that is to thoroughly utilizing the law correctly to defend the rights of prisoners, not in a reformist way but in a revolutionary way...

Again it must be stated that the law must be thoroughly utilized effectively and correctly to defend the rights of prisoners, not in a reformist way, but in a revolutionary way, i.e., building political strength through a well publicized court action, educating the people on the outside, as well as prisoners (with respect to the class nature of prisons). This will in effect disallow the court system and deprive it of its "policy of extending mere slap-on-the-wrist treatment to its counter-part (penal authorities), and simultaneously force the court to correctly define prisoners' rights and interpret the due process and equal protection clauses of the U.S. Constitution. Being a writ-writer, as I am, I can readily understand my class conscious being and that of the prison environments through my adoption of Marxist theory and my continued self-struggle to grasp revolutionary theory as the main driving force behind all societies—"The mode and means of production—The working class."

Class struggle must be properly recognized as an inaugural component of the overall and ongoing confrontation to overthrow imperialism, only the highest stage of capitalism and build on socialist society.

Keep the fire burning and forward the struggle.

A Luta Continua, WW

Texas Dept. of Corrections Rosharon

BY FRANK HOPKINS

On January 31, Arthur Dubai, a 19-year-old gay prisoner, was raped and murdered. He was imprisoned at the Sumter County Correctional Facility in Bushnell, Florida. The prison keepers knew he was being harassed. Dubai had even been forced to ask for protection. Now he is dead.

This has happened to many gay prisoners. Not a year goes by without a number of gay prisoners being raped, beaten and murdered. Some gay prisoners take their own lives because they don't want to die in the hands of sadists.

The ruling class and the keepers of the prisons pretend that gay prisoners are responsible for rape in the prisons, but this is a lie. Gay prisoners and young prisoners are most often the victims of rape in the prisons. And if it's not rape, it's some other kind of harassment.

### Gay oppression hurts all prisoners

If you are a gay prisoner you are always on the bottom of the social ladder in the prison. Many prisoners treat you no better than if you were a rat for the administrators. You are the one who gets ostracized. You are the one who doesn't have other human beings to share conversation with. You are segregated without being in segregation.

But the rapists and the sadists don't really get over either. They do the dirty work of the prison keepers, but they get theirs whenever the guards get tired of having them around. The guards know who does the raping and the beating inside the prisons. And they turn people in whenever they feel like it.

The straight prisoners who don't oppress gays end up paying for the situation too. It's easy for the prison keepers to set up straight prisoners on rape charges. The prison keepers can frame up anybody they want because they have the outside world believing that what goes on in the prisons



## Gay Oppression Serves Prison Keepers

is the fault of the prisoners themselves.

The prison keepers encourage this situation. They use the oppression of gay prisoners to divide and rule over the entire prison population. Every time the ruling class sets up one of their social ladders, everybody except the ruling class loses. It is the same thing with racial oppression. The rulers get the top rung of the ladder. And they "give" white people the next rung. And then the lower rungs of the ladder are for Black, Latin, Asian and Native American people. The problem with this ladder, however, is that every rung except the top one is made out of rotten wood. So everybody loses, except the people on the very top.

Gay oppression works the same way. No prisoner benefits from the oppression of gay prisoners. Gay oppression in the prisons only serves to strengthen the power of the guards and the prison keepers. It helps them control the lives of all prisoners.

Gay oppression in the prisons is more than a divide-and-rule strategy, however. It is also a part of the general sexual repression in the prisons. In capitalist society everyone's sexuality is restricted and repressed. In the prisons, this gets carried to barbaric extremes.

The prison keepers allow no legal expression of sexual desires.

Sexual misery and frustration is as much a form of behavior modification as drugs like thorazine. It is no big secret that prisoners who rat on each other are often "rewarded" with the opportunity to have sex. Some supposedly progressive prison keepers say that "good" prisoners—those who give in—should get to spend some time with husbands and wives. This is nothing but sexual blackmail—"be good or else." Our own sexuality is manipulated by the prison keepers for their benefit.

The prison keepers find it easy to repress heterosexual expression. They simply segregate men from women. But homosexuality is harder for the keepers to repress. In

order to do this they use all of the prejudices that society teaches about gay people. They make sure straight prisoners accept these lies. The keepers first deny the sexual needs of straight prisoners, and then try to aim the frustration and anger of the straight prisoners at those who are gay. In this way, the keepers of the prisons try to turn the straight prisoners into assistant keepers, to repress the sexuality of their fellow prisoners.

### Build real unity!

The fight against gay oppression in the prisons needs to be carried out in two ways. First, all militant prisoners, gay and straight, must defend individual prisoners from attack. Organiza-

tions of self-defense have to be built in the prisons. Just like prisoners would organize themselves against racists like the Ku Klux Klan, prisoners have to organize themselves against the rapists and sadists.

Second, all prisoners have to fight against the general sexual repression in the prisons. Every prisoner has the right to their sexual expression—homosexual and heterosexual. Prisoners should demand that all prisoners' sexual needs be met. This also means that prisoners must have the economic opportunities to be able to build relationships. Prisoners need money and that means that every prisoner needs a job that pays wages comparable to union jobs in the outside society.

These two tasks are crucial to building real unity among prisoners. The prison keepers will be able to control the lives of prisoners as long as prisoners remain divided. These divisions can only be overcome by understanding the economic and social reasons for them, and by educating ourselves and others about how we can fight the divisions. One of the lessons of the Attica rebellion of 1971 is that the guards and the keepers were scared of the rebellion because the prisoners were united against their common enemy.

Revolutionaries stand for building a real lasting unity against the common enemy—a unity that will tear down the prison walls and the capitalist society as a whole. This unity is in the interests of all who are oppressed and exploited by the capitalist system. ¶

## Free Sami Esmail!

On December 21, Sami Esmail was arrested by the police as he stepped off an airplane in Israel. He had come to visit his dying father, but instead found himself subjected to beatings and torture, and was deprived of sleep for seven days by the police. What they wanted was a signed "confession" that he was a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and had come to Israel to make contact with terrorists.

Sami Esmail is a U.S. citizen of Palestinian descent, born in New York, and a graduate student at Michigan State University. He is an outspoken defender of Palestine's right to self-determination and opposes the Zionist state of Israel.

The National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail, which is sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, has been campaigning for Esmail's release. At the support meeting in Detroit, Aabden Jabara, a legal advisor to the National Committee, laid out the plans of the committee: "We are through with relying on secondary means to gain support (that is, mass demonstrations); it is easy to get the Arabs to come out and demonstrate... what we must do now is build a pressure campaign on the State Department to force them to pressure Israel for Sami's release."



Demonstration to free Sami Esmail, New York, March 13.

The National Committee wants its supporters to build meetings to inform people about the case. They also want to get influential people (Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Noam Chomsky, and the mayor of East Lansing, among others) to put pressure on the State Department.

We cannot rely on the State Department to free Sami Esmail. The U.S. is working overtime to help Israel gain hegemony in the Middle East at the expense of the right of Palestine to exist. It was probably the U.S. government which informed the Israeli police of Esmail's visit. The capitalist governments of Israel and the U.S. work hand in hand.

Sami Esmail must be set

free! Whether he is a member of the PFLP or not does not matter. The Israeli ruling class wants to railroad Esmail to jail or to death as an example that (they hope) will strike fear into the heart of any Arab who speaks out against the brutal Israeli regime.

The Arab community in the Detroit area is 50,000 strong. It is not as "easy" to mobilize a demonstration as Jabara would have it, nor can it be looked at as a "secondary" tactic. The organization and support of the international working class to free Sami Esmail will be decisive if he is to get out of Israeli alive. Mass meetings and demonstrations must be built to free Sami Esmail and to demand self-determination for Palestine.

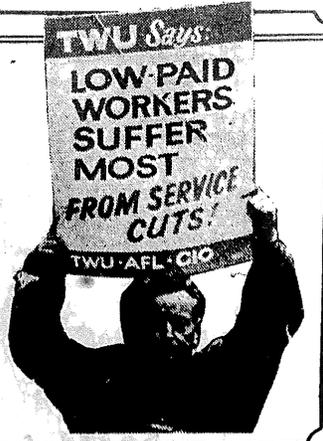
## August 8th Brigade Fights Harassment

On March 31, supporters of the August 8th Brigade Defense Coalition held a picket line at the Federal Courthouse in New York City. Three members of the August 8th Brigade were scheduled to appear at a hearing on a class-action suit they had filed along with other members of the Brigade. The suit charges the prison keepers with violating the brothers' right to receive mail. However, the hearing was postponed.

The August 8th Brigade is an organization of Latin and Black prisoners who are charged with taking part in last summer's rebellion at Eastern Correctional Facility in Napanoch, New York. The prisoners were fighting the racist harassment by guards, many of whom are members of the Ku Klux Klan, at the prison. Ten brothers are currently under indictment on charges stemming from actions allegedly committed during the rebellion.

The prison keepers are doing all they can to stop the August 8th Brigade from building support outside the prisons. We ask readers of the *Torch/La Antorcha* to send donations and letters of support to: *Torch/La Antorcha*, PO Box 562, New York, NY 10036. We will forward them to the Brigade.

# NEW YORK CITY TRANSIT WORKERS OPPOSE CONTRACT SELLOUT



BY NICK MALLOY

On Saturday, April 1, the New York State Transit Authority (TA) reached a tentative settlement with the Transport Workers Union (TWU), avoiding a strike by bus and subway workers that would have shut down New York City. The settlement is a defeat for transit workers. And it is a defeat for all the city workers currently negotiating contracts with the city.

The TWU contract, which traditionally sets the wage pattern for all city workers, provides next to nothing for transit workers. It includes a six percent wage hike over the two years of the con-

tract. This is not going to be enough to even keep up with inflation. The cost-of-living escalator, which is supposed to protect transit workers from inflation, will be paid out of a fund financed by productivity gains. This means that if the city continues its inept management of the transit system, it will be the transit workers who will lose their raises.

The contract also sets the stage for a new attack on transit workers. Part-time workers will be hired for the first time in the transit system. This means that the city can replace full-time employees who retire or leave the workforce with part-timers, who do not get the

benefits and protection of the full-time workers. This will weaken the TWU and make it easier for the TA to win further concessions.

All this is being offered with a "bonus" of \$250 to soothe the transit workers. But in fact it is no bonus at all. Transit workers lost more than that to inflation under the last contract.

## Transit workers oppose contract

Although TWU President Matthew Guinan calls the settlement "just and fair," transit workers aren't being fooled. As a TA clerk put it: "Two years from now, what's

12 or 15 dollars gonna be? I've got a wife and two kids and six percent isn't gonna cover my bills at home." According to interviews taken in the city, sentiment is running two to one against the contract.

This doesn't mean the contract will be voted down. Ratification is by mail vote, and the membership expects fraud. A Times Square clerk said: "They're gonna send us paper ballots, and that's not gonna prove anything. It's going to union headquarters and anyone can count it there."

While the TWU leadership faces a difficult job getting the union's rank and file to accept the contract, Mayor Koch is having a hard time getting the federal government to accept the contract as a basis for further negotiations with the city workers. Senator Proxmire, who is in control of federal loan money for New York, said that it would be "outrageous" if the rest of the city workers got even the minimal amount that the transit workers received.

Mayor Koch is trying to assure the state and federal governments that he has no intention of allowing the rest of the city's 50 unions to get anything close to what the transit workers got. Koch is trying to sell a strategy of undercutting the militancy of city workers by avoiding a transit strike, and then using the quiet situation to get all

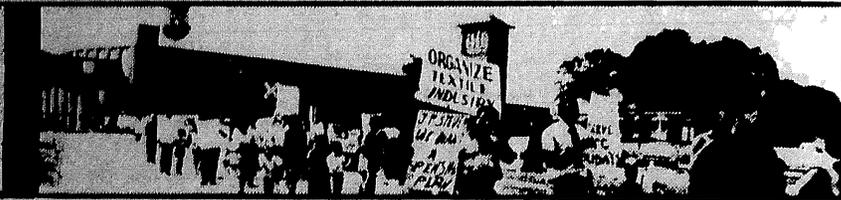
the rest of the city unions to accept a worse contract.

Transit workers, however, are threatening to bust the city's plan wide open. On April 16, 400 transit workers met in Brooklyn to demonstrate against the contract. Union members are dissatisfied at losing 17 percent of their wages to inflation last year and only getting back six percent for the next two years. Clauses allowing part-time workers are also causing discontent with the contract. The executive board of Local 1300 in Queens refused to support the contract in the face of growing dissatisfaction. Union leaders are putting the chances of ratification at 50 percent.

As we go to press, the results of the TWU vote are not in. If transit workers vote "No" on the contract, it will mean an immediate walkout according to the TWU constitution. Coupled with the fact that the rest of the city workers are in negotiations, the potential exists for city workers putting coordinated pressure on the government for a decent contract.

There is no reason why city workers should shoulder the burden of the bosses' financial crisis. And there is no reason why workers living in New York City should face cutbacks in social services because the capitalists have run the city into bankruptcy. A strike by transit workers is the key to forcing the bosses to pay for the growing crisis of their system. □

## LABOR IN STRUGGLE



## ACTWU shifts Stevens drive

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) is shifting the focus of its drive to organize J.P. Stevens and Company to New York's financial district. The union is downplaying efforts to directly organize the workers in the company's 83 plants. Instead, the ACTWU bureaucrats are trying to force recognition of the union by isolating the company from major financial circles.

In March, the union forced the removal of two J.P. Stevens officials from the board of directors of a leading New York bank. Backed by a coalition of unions, churches and community groups, the union threatened Manufacturers Hanover Corporation with over \$1 billion in withdrawals. Based on this success, the union plans to expand the campaign to other banks and corporations with ties to J.P. Stevens.

This is a clever tactic, which could be quite effective if it were part of an organizing drive that were based on a mass mobilization of textile workers. But the ACTWU bureaucracy is using it to avoid such a struggle. It is closely tied to the bureaucrats' strategy of looking to the National Labor Relations Board to rule in their favor.

Even if this strategy wins recognition for the union, the result will not be a strong union based on a militant and organized rank and file. Instead it will mean a weak union brought in through deals at the top.

J.P. Stevens workers must oppose this bureaucratic strategy and fight for control of the organizing drive. Textile workers must build up their organization inside the plants and communities. The union ranks must organize a leadership that is ready to use strikes and other tactics which bring the workers into action and hurt the company's production.

## Puerto Rico: strikers locked out

The colonial government of Puerto Rico is stepping up its drive to crush the three-month-old strikes by electrical workers and bus drivers. On March 19, UTIER workers (Union of Electrical and

Irrigation Workers) rejected the government's latest wage offer of 27 cents an hour. However, they voted to return to work while the wage issue was settled through negotiations.

The government-owned AFF (Water Resources Authority)—which controls electrical power supply) responded by locking out the workers. The government claims this is necessary to prevent sabotage. The real purpose, however, is to smash the union once and for all.

Puerto Rican Governor Romero Barcelo refused to meet with UTIER leaders to discuss the lock-out. He is using the sabotage excuse to move to decertify UTIER as a legal labor organization. He has also cut off food stamps to the union members.

On March 27, the hall of Teamsters Local 901 was bombed. The local was letting UTIER workers use the building as a strike headquarters. This is also part of a government-inspired campaign of terror against the Teamsters.

TUAMA (United Workers of the Metropolitan Bus Authority) is also coming under increasing government attack. On March 22, TUAMA won a union election, defeating a government-sponsored rival by a 6-1 margin. The government responded by withdrawing its latest contract offer in order to lengthen the strike.

Through repression and exhausting the strikers, Barcelo is threatening to get the upper hand.

Unfortunately, the union leaders are not fighting these attacks. For example, when the UTIER offered to return to work, they sacrificed the jobs of dozens of union militants who had been framed on "sabotage" and other charges. As a result, the workers are becoming demoralized.

Rank-and-file militants must take the lead in organizing to defeat Barcelo's union-busting campaign. The first step is winning broader support for the strikes, in order to rebuild the confidence of the striking workers.

## ILGWU organizing in LA

In Los Angeles, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) is taking up the struggle of

undocumented workers. On February 25, the union filed for court action to stop the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from staging illegal raids on undocumented Mexican workers. This is part of a union campaign to organize the 71,000 non-union garment workers in the LA area. Eighty percent of these workers are without legal papers.

The INS operates as an open tool of the sweatshop bosses who run LA's garment industry. The government has no interest in deporting all undocumented workers. With pay rates as low as \$1.00 an hour for a 10 or 12 hour shift, industry profits depend on having a huge number of undocumented Mexican workers to exploit.

The INS mainly attacks militants, union sympathizers, and other people the bosses want out of the way. Often the INS will come to a shop just before a National Labor Relations Board union election is to be held. The INS agents make it clear that if the undocumented workers vote for the union, they will be arrested.

The ILGWU bureaucracy is not fighting this repression out of solidarity with Mexican workers, however. In New York, these chauvinists attack workers in other countries by holding demonstrations to "Buy American." They sign sweetheart contracts chaining Puerto Rican and Black workers, especially women, to sweatshop conditions.

In LA, however, the union's membership is down to only 7,000. To prevent the union from going under, the bureaucrats have been forced to organize undocumented workers.

The ranks of the labor movement must take advantage of this opening created by the ILGWU. A massive drive to organize the millions of undocumented workers must become a key goal of the labor movement in this country. It is also necessary to go past the ILGWU's demand for an end to "illegal" arrests and deportations.

The workers' movement must fight for: An end to all arrests and deportations; full political and legal rights for undocumented workers; free immigration; jobs for all at union wages.

—CG

# What Next for the Miners?



(Continued from page 1) pitched battles with company gun thugs and state troopers. In mid-February, with the strike entering its third month, they forced the UMW bargaining council to reject the coal bosses' first offer by a 33-3 vote. And when the second proposed settlement finally reached the ranks of the UMW in early March, it was defeated by more than a 2-1 margin.

Immediately before this vote was taken, President Carter stepped in to try to break the strike. First, he tried to get the miners to accept the agreement. And when this didn't work, he got the courts to impose a temporary injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act, ordering the miners back to work. But the miners refused overwhelmingly to obey his order. The courts were forced to revoke the injunction and Carter ended up looking like a jackass.

## UMW leaders betray miners

Despite this tremendous display of militancy and sacrifice, the miners were unable to overcome the treachery of the union leaders, who refused to fight for their demands. Most miners were disgusted with the terms of the third proposed settlement reached in mid-March. But they were more disgusted with the UMW leadership. Having already spent nearly four months without a paycheck and without any strike funds, they would have been hard-pressed to continue the strike. And there was no reason to believe that the Miller leadership would fight for real improvements in the agreement. Even so, the contract was only ratified by a six percent margin.

The final settlement was not a clearcut victory for the miners or the BCOA. On the one hand, the miners didn't win their demands for the right to strike over safety grievances, the full restoration of health benefits or the equalization of pensions for UMW retirees. But, on the other hand, they did win a 37 percent increase in wages and benefits. They prevented the BCOA from writing a "no-strike" clause into the

contract. And they defended their movement against the attacks of the BCOA, the union leadership, and the U.S. government. Considering the opposition that the miners faced, the fact that the strike ended in a stalemate was a significant victory.

## Miners' strike sets example

The impact of the strike reached far beyond the coalfields. As the strike wore on, more and more workers took notice of the battle being fought by the miners. The seeds of class consciousness started to develop as workers around the country began to realize that the miners' fight was their fight too. Many workers looked at the actions of the ranks of the UMW as an example of the struggle that must be waged by all workers.

The miners proved that workers have power when they are organized and united. With 160,000 members on strike, the miners had a major impact on much of the eastern half of the country. Plants were closed and electrical power was cut back in several states due to coal shortages created by the strike. As well, the strike showed the rank and file of the union movement that it is possible to fight back despite the betrayals of the sellout union bureaucrats.

## UMW must be rebuilt

Now that the strike is over, the main task facing miners in the UMW is to begin rebuilding their union. The coal bosses will unleash a new series of attacks and miners must be ready to defend themselves. To do this, a strong union is crucial.

At this point, the official union is incapable of building this defense. The union treasury is nearly bankrupt. While coal production is increasing, the percentage of coal mined by the UMW is shrinking. The top leadership of the union is totally incompetent and paralyzed by internal back-biting. The seriousness of the situation was borne out by the fact

that the recent national negotiations nearly disintegrated into district-by-district bargaining.

The rank and file of the union must turn this situation around. The starting point is organizing a mass petition campaign in the ranks to fight for an emergency convention of the whole union. A convention would give militants the chance to discuss the state of the union and what can be done to strengthen it.

The first item on the agenda of the convention must be to dump Miller and all the other bureaucrats involved in the recent negotiations. Miller is in the hip pocket of the coal bosses. Less than six months before negotiations began, he fired most of the people responsible for preparing the union's demands. This was part of a purge directed against radicals working in the union headquarters. Miller then allowed the government to step in and select the key people who actually completed the contract preparations for the union.

At the bargaining table, he accepted the take-away demands of the bosses and then tried to sell them to the ranks. If this wasn't bad

enough, he withheld over \$4 million in relief money before the recent settlement was voted on in the hopes that it would make miners vote with their pocketbooks instead of their heads.

Although Miller may have to retire due to poor health and a recent stroke, miners will be no better off with the current vice-president, Sam Church. Not once did he protest Miller's actions. He is an ex-Boyle supporter and one of Miller's most loyal lieutenants.

However, miners must be careful about who replaces Miller. Among the leaders of the growing anti-Miller forces is Lee Roy Patterson. Patterson and the forces grouped around him are a throw-back to the gangster-style leadership of Tony Boyle. So this faction is no alternative to the Miller gang.

While most miners see through Miller and Patterson, there are many illusions in district presidents like Jack Perry and Ken Dawes. Both emerged as anti-Miller spokesmen during the strike. These men and others like them were added to the union bargaining council to supposedly increase the input of the union ranks. Although it is not completely clear what these leaders represent, not one of them lifted a finger to see that miners were organized to defeat the recent sellout. As far as we can tell, they are all cut from the same cloth as Miller, and are only after his job.

## Bureaucrats defend capitalism

Miller, the old Boyle and Patterson forces, and the new so-called militant bureaucrats all accept the fact that the coal bosses have to make a profit—and that the miners must limit their demands accordingly. The problem is that the coal bosses can't make the mines safe and make the kind of profit they want at the same time. The interests of the miners and the bosses are like the two poles of a magnet. This is the fundamental conflict of the whole capitalist system.

As long as the union is tied to fighting within the

limits acceptable to the capitalist coal bosses, little will be gained. To break out of this, a revolutionary leadership must be built.

## What's really needed

A revolutionary leadership would take immediate steps to defend the miners. It would mobilize a mass organizing drive to strengthen the UMW. It would fight to reopen the contract. And it would fight to make the right to strike, full medical coverage, decent pensions for all retirees, and union control of safety the main demands of the strike. And, over time, a real fight for safe working conditions could be built.

Since coal can't be mined safely as long as the coal bosses are in control, a revolutionary leadership would fight to take this control away. This means fighting to nationalize the coal industry under workers' control. However, this must be part of a broader struggle by the entire working class to nationalize all industry under the control of a workers' government. This is the key to eliminating the danger that miners face on the job.



Masked miners picket defying Taft-Hartley Injunction.

The recent strike has created the possibility for building such a leadership. The anti-communist sentiments of many miners were weakened through increased contact with radical politics and organizations. Through patient organizing and education, miners can be won to supporting a revolutionary leadership.

## Miners need a fighting leadership

However, this struggle will take time and the union needs a fighting leadership immediately. Miners should put forward the militants who were the most active and uncompromising during the strike as the core of a new leadership. Based on their commitment to building the union and beating back the attacks of the coal bosses, miners should vote them in.

This new leadership should include representatives from the Miners' Right to Strike Committee. The committee is supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, a Maoist organization. This group is not revolutionary and is not



Striking miner reads contract under eyes of a state trooper.

(Continued on page 17)

# CLASS STRUGGLE SHARPENS IN JAMAICA

(Continued from page 1)  
willing to hold back from fighting for what they need.

In February, 20,000 field and factory workers staged the biggest sugar strike in Jamaican history. The workers struck for four weeks at the height of the harvest season. The strike cost the capitalists \$8 million and was a heavy blow to Manley's Emergency Production Plan. While their victory was not complete, the militant sugar workers forced the government to grant wage increases and other concessions.

The sugar workers' strike was part of the new wave of class struggle. As the strike ended, workers at Jamaica Omnibus Service (the government-operated city bus system) and at a Kingston paper products factory organized job actions. Workers in other sectors are organizing unions and engaging in strikes.

In response to these struggles, Manley has increased his attacks on the workers and small farmers. He wants them to pay for the decay of Jamaican capitalism. Last summer and fall, he used troops to put down a series of strikes. He followed this



PNP and JLP supporters embrace after signing "ghetto truce." Youth are tired of killing each other to support rival capitalist politicians. But capitalists' truce won't last. Only when workers and youth unite against oppressors will real peace be won.

up by warning that workers had to sacrifice for "national progress."

Ghetto youth are one of the main targets of Manley's

increasing attacks on the working class. Tens of thousands of youth, most of whom have no jobs, are jammed into hell-holes like

Trenchtown and Tivoli. Manley's "democratic socialism" has not brought them jobs. Instead, Manley is giving them the policeman's club in

a vain attempt to keep the ghettos quiet.

Last fall, the economic crisis brought on a "crime wave." Using this as an excuse, the fake-socialist Manley imposed a series of police-state measures. A ban on public political activity, which had been lifted, was put back into effect. In December, Manley filled the streets of Kingston with troops. He also stated his intention to set up an internal passport system.

## Security forces murder youth

To head up the drive against the youth, Manley appointed Dudley Thompson as the new Minister of Security. In a public statement, Thompson denied that poverty and unemployment were the main cause of crime. He claimed that the problem was a "lack of discipline" among the youth. Referring to ghetto youth who find it necessary to go about armed, Thompson told the police and army to kill the "mad dogs."

On January 5, the day Thompson's appointment was announced, Security Forces killed five youths at an army firing range at Green Bay. Although the Security Forces claim they fired in self-defense, no guns were found on the youths' bullet-riddled bodies. The government also claimed that the youths were at Green Bay to meet gun smugglers. But no proof of this has come out. On the other hand, there is evidence that the youths were brought to Green Bay in Red Cross ambulances by army intelligence officers. Everything points to a plot organized by elements in the government to trap the youth and murder them in cold blood.

The Green Bay Massacre has had a big impact on the workers' will to resist. In particular, it strengthened a trend toward unity among the ghetto youth. For years, the ruling class has divided the youth with political "tribalism." Warring street

(Continued on page 11)

## 'Fight Man-ile and His Bags of Tricks'

Hail Comrade Brothers and Sisters:

I have just finished reading the Torch newspaper, where I came across a few letters from those brothers who are incarcerated in the dungeons of the Jamaican prisons; therefore, I hail you all my brothers of the said oppressed class. I do full-



Michael "Man-ile" (Manley).

stand (understand) your problems, nothing has changed under its present regime.

I have already known the humiliations and down-pressure engendered. Michael Man-ile has tricked us; he and his lackeys have deceived the entire masses. Therefore, he must be overthrown! by the peoples of the oppressed class. This is why my revolutionary commitment can't be hindered or stagnated whatsoever; I must constantly keep on denouncing the down-pressors (oppressors). The two political parties, the PNP and the JLP, are representatives of capitalism. That is why they cannot be the leaders of the oppressed. Our undying love for freedom, unity, and leadership must come from with-

in the said rank and file of the oppressed.

The 1972 general election that unanimously put the PNP into power truly convinced us that there must be a revolution, a socialist revolution; by smashing the old political machinery and replacing it with a new and vital one. As I can recall at the time when Man-ile was making his pre-election campaign, he used these words: "HAIL THAT MAN; THE WORD IS LOVE, whip them with the rod of 'CORRECTION.'" These words are root words used by the rastafarian brethren; but on the other hand it was the same rastafarians who rallied with him during his campaign in which he now betrays—not the rastafarians only, but the peoples on a whole.

Shortly after the PNP took power, police brutality was stepped up by shooting down rastafarian brethren; arresting, and sentencing them to indefinite detention. Working mothers and fathers came to realize that this brutality is aimed at one particular class of people; "a systematic drive against poor people."

The reactionary government has used democratic socialism as a pass word. There has never been an establishment of a workers' educational program in order to raise the consciousness of the working class on how to run production. The people on the other hand do not fullstand (understand) what the words "Democratic Socialism" meant.

The notorious reactionary dogs perpetrate their political slogan, and mis-lead the people of the oppressed class causing them to be in a state of confusion. The peo-

ple needed a true political organization that would lead them to power; to hell with mis-leaders of democratic socialism!! Our people need scientific socialism.

The only true political party known respectively to carry out this task is the RML along with international support.

The changing atmosphere among the oppressed has become a reality. It has reached a climax where their lives will be given in return for their freedom, the liberation of their country, sovereignty and dignity; all they needed is a strong political organization to guide them to their freedom, culture, and to recognize their revolutionary zeal. I know for sure that rastafarians will not resist a socialist revolution, besides, they are branded as revolutionaries opposed to political "ism and scism."

I should not be afraid to mention that I left Jamaica because of my social, and economical hardships, and police terrorism!—a system that serves the interest of the middle class. Nevertheless, I must not give in, I must! I must! continue this struggle. This is why it must not be isolated, it must be international.

During my stay here in captivity, I have learned of its racist aggression against my black brothers and sisters, including foreign born who came to this country for economic reasons and have been discriminated against because of the color of their skin.

Another thing that has attracted my attention is those sexist/racist prisons around the country where white supremacy reigns,

black brothers and sisters including oppressed whites are victimized, intimidated by the "beast" terror! in both state and federal prisons. Therefore, I must appeal to all brothers and sisters to unite! Rastafarians of all factions unite, and fight the beast oppression.

Brothers in Jamaican prisons holes "rise with the revolutionary sun," fight Michael Man-ile, and his bags of tricks. Power to the people! Power to all struggling inmates... Release the August 8th Brigade.

Long live the RSL/RML of Jamaica! Build the international workers' party! This is the voice of the oppressed!

A Fraternal embrace,  
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(Continued from page 10)  
gangs terrorized the communities as they competed for favors from PNP and JLP (Jamaica Labour Party) politicians

Today, the youth are becoming disgusted with both capitalist parties and are trying to get past the false divisions set up by the politicians. For the moment, this desire for unity has been steered into a phony "ghetto truce" controlled by the politicians. But the politicians cannot end the change tak-

ing place in the ghettos. The youth are no longer willing to slaughter each other to keep a handful of capitalists in power over them.

### PNP youth rebel

Manley's attacks on the youth have also led to a revolt within his party's own youth organization, the PNP-YO. In November, the PNPYO issued sharp public criticisms of the ban on political

activity and of the police manhunt for a youth known as "Starkey." In retaliation, the PNP leadership removed the PNPYO chairman. Enraged by this act the youth forced a confrontation with the party leadership at the PNP's March conference. The Green Bay Massacre has intensified the split

The PNPYO ranks are getting fed up with Manley's reformist ideas of "socialism." While they are still confused by distortions of the leaders of the PNP left, the youth are more open to revolutionary politics than ever before

### Jamaican capitalism in crisis

Behind the workers' upsurge is the economic crisis hitting the country. In March, industry was at a near standstill. The government banks had run out of foreign exchange reserves and the factories could not buy the imports needed to keep up production. Today the economy is near the point of collapse. To try to save it, Manley is going once again to the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund (IMF) for more loans

The IMF has come down hard on Jamaican working people in the past year. As a condition for earlier loans, the IMF forced Manley to devalue the currency by about 40 percent. This has sent food prices shooting up beyond the reach of poor people. Sometimes the shops even run out of basic items like rice. The devaluations have also led to production cutbacks and large scale layoffs. Unemployment, officially pegged at 30 percent, is actually much higher, and it keeps going

up. The terms for a new IMF loan will be harsher than before. Manley will have to launch even more savage attacks on the masses

### Manley only talks socialism

Within the Jamaican working class, a potential revolutionary vanguard is coming together. There is a growing number of workers who realize that Manley has betrayed them. They see that his "democratic socialism" was never anything more than a trick to cover up capitalist exploitation. One woman factory worker put it this way

"Well, I don't see Manley and Company helping the working class. For instance, they ban demonstrations. They say you mustn't strike so I really don't see them dealing with the situation. Not with this leader at all. Because him only talk socialism, but him don't mean it. You see, socialism is the only answer to workers' problems. But the question is who will lead the fight for socialism? Because you have a lot of people who just speak the name socialism, but they are not socialists. They are true born capitalists." (From an interview in *Forward*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica.)

### Build the RML

This situation is creating tremendous opportunities for the Revolutionary Marxist League. The RML is concentrating its activity on winning the more politically advanced workers. And it is

## Revolutionary Answer to Crime

(A *Forward* reprint.)

The continuing rapes, robberies and gun-killings are of deep concern to all workers and oppressed people. We share this concern. We too want an end to crime and violence. But how will this come about? Who will do it?

Not Dudley Thompson. His talk of "eliminating mad dogs" is a direct threat to ghetto people. It will mean more police and soldiers shooting up the ghetto and brutalizing people.

The only real way to stop crime is for workers and oppressed to organize themselves to smash capitalism. For it is capitalist exploitation that causes crime. Capitalism brutalizes poor people from birth and keeps them in misery. So they end up taking up guns for politicians and falling into other kinds of crime.

Out of pure greed, the capitalists themselves also commit fraud, currency smuggling, profiteering and other vile crimes.

It is workers and oppressed people who have to solve crime. We must demand an end to the Gun Court Act that lets capitalists have guns while the masses are defenseless. We must struggle for this through our unions, citizens' associations and youth clubs. We must get these organizations to set up armed community patrols against gunmen, rapists and police and army attackers. These defense groups will disarm all lumpen youth, killer-police, etc. They will strictly control the use of all the guns in the community.

In this way, violence can be controlled. But to end crime and violence for good, workers and oppressed people have to fight for jobs, houses and a decent life.

To get these we must smash the capitalists and their security forces, and organize a society of equal rights and justice. This is how the problem of crime will finally be solved. □

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE: RACISTS IN REVOLUTIONARY CLOTHES

On April 2, the Los Angeles branch of the Revolutionary Socialist League held a forum on "Undocumented Workers—A Strategy for Liberation." The forum presentation discussed the question of undocumented workers, and how to struggle against their oppression. It focused on the need for international working-class unity, and the types of struggles needed to build it—for an open border policy, for unconditional amnesty for all undocumented workers, to organize the unorganized, and for jobs. A campaign for these goals would unify the workers, documented and undocumented, Mexican and U.S., in a struggle against our common enemy—the capitalist class.

The presentation also emphasized the need to build a revolutionary party, based firmly in the working class, to lead the fight to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism.

The forum was addressed to undocumented workers and other Spanish-speaking workers. As a result, it was held in Spanish, although some translation was provided for the benefit of those in the audience who didn't speak Spanish. The forum attracted several new militants to the politics of the RSL and gave our recently formed LA branch valuable organizational and political experience.

The forum was marred, however, by the repeated disruption of the Spartacist League (SL). The SL, which claims to be Trotskyist, sent 20 of their members to the forum. From the very beginning, these SL supporters complained about the forum being conducted in Spanish. This, they claimed, violated their "democratic rights," and they demanded that a full translation of their remarks be provided.

During the discussion, SL supporters also denounced the RSL's policy of fighting for an open border between the U.S. and Mexico. The SL defends a closed, guarded border! They oppose the right of Mexican workers to cross the capitalist-imposed boundary to look for work and livelihood.

But the SL doesn't just oppose the migration

rights of Mexican workers. They oppose the same rights of the East German workers. As they indicated at the forum, the SL defends the existence of the blood-stained Berlin wall, which the state capitalists use to keep the East German workers in East Germany.

The conduct of the SL supporters at our forum reveals the true nature of the Spartacist League. It is bad enough that Anglo SLers in Los Angeles have not bothered to learn Spanish. But to make up for this, they go around insisting that everybody speak English so they can understand. And, when people either can't speak English or refuse to cater to this demand, the SLers cry that "their" democratic rights are being abused!

The SL's demand that a forum addressed to Spanish-speaking workers be reorganized to make up for the SLers' ignorance is more than bad manners. It is arrogant and racist.

In fact, this crass racism is a typical product of the SL these days. At a March 4 RSL forum in New York, one leading supporter of the SL denounced the RSL for trying to organize among the most oppressed layers of the working class, such as Black and Latin unemployed youth. Such people, claims the SL, are "lumpen." That is, they are hustlers, pimps and people without values. To prove his point, the SL supporter declared that it was no accident that the RSL had fraternal relations with a group (the RML) in a country like Jamaica, which he called "the lumpen capital of the world!"

Despite its rowdy behavior, the SL's presence at the LA forum served a useful purpose. It exposed the middle-class arrogance and racism of the Spartacist League. Whether it means keeping Mexican workers out of the U.S., or East German workers chained to their own ruling class, it's okay with the SL. The SL doesn't give a damn about the most oppressed sections of the international working class. And it has no taste for the difficult, day-to-day work required to build a truly working-class, truly revolutionary party.

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EDITORIAL



**THE JLP IS NO ALTERNATIVE**

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gaining strength among these workers. It is winning them to its banner through telling the Jamaican workers and small farmers the truth that only a socialist revolution in Jamaica and throughout the world can save them from disaster at the hands of capitalism. To win, the workers must organize a Leninist revolutionary party. This is the task of the RML.

### WLL leaders on the defensive

The main obstacle in the way of building this revolutionary party is the Spartacist Workers' Liberation League (WLL). The WLL is the largest group to the political left of the PNP. It spreads illusions that liberation can be won through supporting the PNP regime.

Manley's attacks on the workers' however, are causing the WLL leadership some trouble. These phony revolutionaries are finding it more and more difficult to justify their alliance with the Manley regime. Through exposing their opposition to a real revolutionary struggle, the RML has begun to put the WLL leadership on the defensive (see accompanying article).

The RML alone has a way out of the crisis in Jamaica. Its program is to put all power into the hands of the Jamaican workers and small farmers. Without this, there can be no liberation for working people. Manley's "democratic socialism" is a screen to protect the Jamaican capitalists from the socialist revolution which they dread. To build a society which they control and run, working people must sweep this phony "socialism" out of the way.

# FOR WORKERS' UNIT

The following is a partial reprint of a statement by the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica (RML). It was written in response to an attack on the RML by the Workers Liberation League (WLL) in its newspaper "Struggle."

The WLL is a pro-Russian Stalinist organization. Among other slanders, the WLL article called the RML "anti-communist," because the RML doesn't support the rulers of the state-capitalist countries (Russia, Cuba, etc.). The "Struggle" article also compared the RML to the CIA.

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Being threatened by the supposedly communist Workers Liberation League (WLL) is not a new experience to many RML members. What is new is that the WLL has now come out openly and broadened its unprincipled attacks to include another left-wing organization—the Youth Forces for National Liberation (YFNL).

The WLL's latest attack came in a recent article in its newspaper Struggle.

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gle. This article is a bag of lies, slanders and misrepresentations, unsupported by a single scrap of political evidence. It is calculated to sow disunity and strife within the working-class movement.

The article begins with mention of RML's publication of an "expensive" newspaper. This statement is clearly intended to question the RML's ability to regularly publish a newspaper of such a high standard as the last two issues of Forward.

But the WLL should remember that before the Daily News started printing Struggle it was printed as "expensively" as they say Forward now is. It was printed on the same type of paper as Forward and looked somewhat like it.

We are only able to afford Forward because of generous donations from workers and other Forward readers, members' dues, paper sales, subscriptions and money from fund raising. Perhaps the WLL covers the costs of printing Struggle in much the same way?

We would only remind the WLL that the Daily News is part-owned by ITT (International Telephone and Telegraph), one of the giant imperialist corporations that, along with the CIA, paid for the fascist slaughter of the Chilean masses in September 1973. We are only proud that Forward is printed elsewhere.

## WLL and YFNL support Stalinism

From the start of the Struggle article, the RML is lumped together with the YFNL. Yet it is the Workers Liberation League itself that shares a common political outlook with the YFNL. Both organizations call for a capitalist revolution in Jamaica, support state capitalism and defend Stalinist class-collaboration.

In order to make the RML's position

## A Reply to the Slanders of the Workers Liberation League by the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica.

clear, and set it against these positions, we must briefly examine the rise of state capitalism and the Stalinist defeat of the Russian Revolution.

In October 1917, the Russian working class, supported by the small farmers, seized power. At their head stood the Bolshevik Party, led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. The young workers' state was immediately faced with conditions of isolation, backwardness and destruction.

Taking advantage of this situation, pro-capitalist forces, led by Joseph Stalin, one of the Bolshevik leaders, were able to first strengthen themselves and later destroy the workers' power.

Between 1928 and 1933, these reactionary forces (the Stalinist bureaucracy) turned viciously on the Russian workers. Wages were slashed in half and the working hours increased to over 10 hours per day. Countless small farmers were forced off the land into the towns, and the rest were herded onto government-owned farms.

Internationally, the Stalinist bureaucracy followed a policy of class-collaboration. According to this policy, it was more important for workers to unite with the liberal capitalists than to fight for their liberation by making the socialist revolution. Through their control of the Communist International (the international revolutionary workers' party formed by Lenin), the Stalinists were able to sell out workers' risings in China (1927), Spain (1938) and elsewhere. The bloody defeat of the Chilean masses in 1973 is also the fruit of this reactionary policy of tying workers and the oppressed to their exploiters.

## Trotsky fights Stalin

The march of the Stalinist counter-revolution did not go unchallenged. A revolutionary opposition, grouped around Leon Trotsky, courageously fought to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution and uphold the outlook of Marxism-Leninism. Trotsky fought to spread the revolution internationally. At the same time he struggled to industrialize Russia, raise the workers' living standards and maintain democracy within the soviets (revolutionary workers' councils) and other workers' organizations, as well as the Bolshevik Party.

In the end, the Stalinists managed to defeat the Trotskyist Opposition. Their triumph was sealed in blood in the Great Purges (1936-38) when over 10 million workers—including the Bolshevik Party's most experienced militants and leaders—were killed, jailed, or sent to prison camps. In this way, the soviets, factory committees and the Bolshevik Party itself were smashed, and the bureaucracy chopped away its few remaining ties with the working class.

Though the nationalized property remained, the destruction of the party and other workers' organizations stripped the working class of their control over the state. As a result, the

workers also lost control of all the means of production. From then the Russian working class again became wage-slaves exploited by a ruling class that controlled the means of production through its control of the state. The world's first and only socialist state had been smashed. State capitalism had been established. For as Lenin stressed:

**"Socialism is inconceivable unless the proletariat is the ruler of the state."** (From: "Left-Wing" Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality.)

## State capitalism spreads

Since 1917, there have been no successful socialist revolutions. Following World War II, the Russian ruling class used the Red Army and the Stalinist parties in Eastern Europe to set up state capitalism in those countries (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, etc.).

And in colonial and neo-colonial countries like China, Cuba, Mozambique, and Vietnam, radical middle-class leaders like Mao, Castro and Machel have led the masses in successful national liberation struggles. But they have blocked the development of these into socialist revolutions. They have chained the working class by killing all its attempts to organize Bolshevik-type workers' parties that would push the national liberation

struggles through to socialist revolution.

Thus the victorious anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles of the working masses in oppressed countries have nowhere led to the direct political rule of the workers through soviets and other such workers' organizations. But it is the ABC of Marxism that "the first step in the revolution by the working class (i.e., the socialist revolution) is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class, to win the battle of democracy." (Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party.)

Instead of overthrowing capitalism and establishing workers' states, the masses in many underdeveloped countries have been maneuvered by radical middle-class leaderships into overthrowing regular capitalism and establishing state-capitalist societies.

## We defend national liberation struggles

We fully support all genuine struggles for national liberation and self-determination. We call upon the international working class to defend the victories of all such struggles against every imperialist attack. But at the same time we say that such victories can only be secured when the workers, supported by the small farmers and led by a revolutionary workers' party, totally smash capitalism and establish

# JAMAICA IN CRISIS

## Which Way Forward?

Tour Schedule	
<b>NEW YORK:</b>	Friday, April 28, Martin Luther King, Jr., Labor Center, 310 W. 43 St., 7:30 pm (212-869-9239).
<b>DETROIT:</b>	Sunday, April 30, Central Methodist Church (Corner, Woodward and Adams), 7:00 pm, (313-341-1250).
<b>LOS ANGELES:</b>	Sunday, May 7, People's College of Law, 712 S. Grandview, 7:00 pm, (213-661-5135).
<b>CHICAGO:</b>	Saturday, May 13, 160 N. Halsted, 7:30 pm, (312-226-5915).



John Thomas of the REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEAGUE will talk on the political situation in Jamaica today and the facing the revolutionary workers' movement.

# UNITY!

## Workers Revolutionary Party

the working class as the ruling class.

We also say that the working people in all ex-colonial territories such as Vietnam, Cuba, Mozambique, etc., must build a part of an international revolutionary workers' party in their country to make the socialist revolution and smash their fake-socialist, state-capitalist rulers.

That is the clear revolutionary communist policy that we follow. That is the policy which the WLL tries to twist and distort to mean that we are opposed to national liberation.

Like the WLL, the Youth Forces for National Liberation supports the counter-revolutionary policies followed by Stalin in Russia and internationally. If today they come out against Russian state capitalism, they do so only because they defend the rival state-capitalist regime in China. This is a government which befriends the Chilean fascists, the bloody Iranian dictatorship, the CIA-puppet group FNLA in Angola, the imperialists' defense organization NATO, and other such reactionary forces. To support such a government is to support the brutalization of the world's working people. We do not defend the state-capitalist rulers of China, past or present. We say that the Chinese workers and small farmers have to smash the state-capitalist government.

The exploitation of the masses in the state-capitalist countries is as real as it is in the regular capitalist nations.

Similarly, the workers in the state-capitalist countries have fought back just as bravely and militantly as workers anywhere else. As far back as 1956, the Hungarian workers carried out a revolution which had to be crushed by Russian tanks. And only last August, 35,000 Rumanian miners struck for better working and living conditions.

We support all these struggles and together with our fraternal organization, the Revolutionary Socialist League (U.S.), tirelessly fight for the rebuilding of an international revolutionary workers' party that can coordi-



RML cartoon shows WLL leader Trevor Munroe (rt.) pleading with workers to support Manley's capitalist regime.

to socialist revolu-

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## National Struggles

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nate and organize them into a single tidal wave that will clean out the capitalist rulers and their supporters from every country on the face of the globe. As such we defend and continue the revolutionary communist internationalism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the leaders of the proletariat.

## WLL holds back struggle for socialism

The WLL accuses the RML of being anti-communist, but it is they who, by their support of various capitalist forces, try to hold back the struggle for the total liberation of the world's workers and oppressed—the struggle for socialism.

It is the WLL that defends the exploitation of the workers in the state-capitalist countries under the cloak of defending the so-called world socialist system and the leaders of the "communist" movement. Leaders like Brezhnev, who collects foreign racing cars, owns racehorses, yachts and country houses, while the Russian masses lack adequate housing and basic consumer goods.

It is the WLL that defends Castro when he presents CIA stooge Forbes Burnham of Guyana with Cuba's highest award and aids the massacre of tens of thousands of Ethiopian workers and oppressed by that country's brutal military dictatorship.

Or maybe the WLL can explain the socialist content of the following actions of the Cuban state-capitalist rulers:

- The enforcement after 1973 of the labor law of 1965 which made absenteeism, lateness, negligence and lack of respect to supervisors punishable by loss of pay, disqualification from certain positions, postponement of vacations, suspension and firing.
- The announcement at the 1976 Party Congress that workers would be forced to work harder by paying them in line with the amount of profits made by the enterprises they work for.
- To us and many Cuban workers, these measures are nothing but examples of plain old vicious capitalist exploitation dressed up in socialist clothes.

## WLL backs PNP's attacks on workers

For the Workers Liberation League, workers' unity in the fight against imperialism is of minor importance. The WLL is more interested in maintaining its fervent support for the liberal-capitalist People's National Party (PNP) Government, even as that government's collaboration with U.S. im-

perialism becomes more naked.

Last year the WLL tried to quiet the working people's anger and resistance to the layoffs, price increases and other hardships caused by the capitalists' Production Plan, the International Monetary Fund loan and devaluation. It demanded more sacrifice from the already hard-pressed working people. And it tried to pass off the plan as being not a "sellout" by Manley and Company, but a "serious mistake" which the masses should "struggle to correct" (Editorial, *Struggle*, May 19, 1977).

Unfortunately for the WLL's apologies, the PNP, including the so-called "lefts" (Small, Duncan, etc.) was soon to make even more "serious mistakes." On January 13 this year, they slapped the working people across their faces with yet another devaluation of the Jamaican dollar.

The WLL was forced to cover its tracks. In the *Struggle* of January 19, 1978, they labelled the latest devaluation as "a too big compromise with the imperialists and with the capitalists" and sadly admitted that Manley and the government put "Vance, Rosalynn Carter and Andrew Young (i.e., U.S. imperialism) first."

**The truth is that Manley and the liberal capitalists behind the PNP have always put U.S. imperialism first. What is new is that since the visits of Rosalynn Carter and Andrew Young, the PNP's partnership with U.S. imperialism has become obvious for all who have eyes to see.**

During Manley's visit to Washington last December the U.S. government announced an aid package of \$63.3 million and Carter declared that he was not worried about Manley's "socialist" views or his friendship with Cuba, but stood ready to help him buttress Jamaica's "democratic system" and cope with its acute economic problems.

The WLL's determined support of the PNP and its campaign of lies and slander against the RML are in keeping with the traditions of international Stalinism. It cannot afford to have the truth about the capitalist PNP and the link-up between this capitalist party and U.S. imperialism exposed or its own essentially anti-working class position will also be plainly revealed. This is why the WLL is now attempting to silence the RML. But it will not succeed. We will continue to shout out loud against the WLL's betrayals of the struggles of the working class. And these betrayals are numerous.

One of the sharpest and most recent of these was the WLL's failure to lead the University and Allied Workers' Union (UAWU) in a serious fight against the liberal-capitalist PNP's \$10 wage guidelines. The go-slow carried

out by the workers at the University of the West Indies Mona campus late last year in a direct challenge to the \$10 guidelines was made ineffective by the WLL leadership. The WLL leadership of the UAWU failed to struggle to bring UAWU workers at other workplaces out in supportive industrial action. It also failed to challenge the insincere opposition to the guidelines expressed by union misleaders such as Shearer and Dunkley. This could have been done by demanding that Shearer and Dunkley build active support for the UAWU workers' struggle among the workers in their own unions. Because of these failures, the go-slow remained limited and isolated and was soon called off by the WLL leadership.

## WLL sells out workers

The WLL leaders failed to mount a militant fight against the wage guidelines because this would have meant confronting the PNP. Besides, the WLL doesn't really oppose the PNP's wage guidelines. On the contrary, it wholeheartedly supports them. Thus in an editorial in the latest issue of *Struggle* (February 16), it quotes with approval Manley's statement to government workers at Ward Theatre last year: "Restraint on wages; full steam ahead on fringe benefits." This shows that for the WLL the galloping cost of living and its effects in chopping workers' buying power and living standards is "no big thing." Accordingly, the WLL leadership intended the go-slow as nothing more than a face-saving exercise.

The WLL has also sought to run the union just as undemocratically as the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, National Workers Union, etc. This showed up in questionable incidents during last year's Congress and election of officers. It is also reflected in Trevor Munroe's position as Lecturer, Union President and General Secretary of the WLL all at once. This means that he cannot dedicate the necessary time to running the union. It is the same kind of love of position that Bustamante showed in naming the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union after himself. This shows the "seriousness" with which Munroe treats workers' business.

## For real workers' unity

In the past we have attacked the WLL and its leadership for these things. We have done so entirely in the interest of

(Continued on page 17)

# IN CRISIS

## Which Way Forward?



RY MARXIST LEAGUE of Jamaica in Jamaica today and the tasks y workers' movement.



# Russian Dissidents Face Growing Repression

BY LEE RAMIE

## Airport closed by Japanese militants

On March 26, 6,000 demonstrators shut down Tokyo's new international airport. As a result, Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda was forced to postpone the opening of the airport for at least two months.

The Japanese government massed 14,000 cops in its attempt to prevent protesters from closing the airport. They fired tear gas at point-blank range at the demonstrators; over 200 people were thrown in jail. But 350 militants broke through police lines, and wrecked the airport control tower.

The airport has been a target of protests for over 12 years. In 1966 the government announced plans for a new airport at Narita, 46 miles from Tokyo. It confiscated land from farmers whose families had lived on the land for generations. The outraged farmers joined up with leftist student groups to form the Anti-Airport League. They have organized 56 major demonstrations in the last 10 years.

The airport takeover was a major embarrassment for Prime Minister Fukuda. He had staked the prestige of his government on crushing the protests and opening the airport on schedule.

The government plans to re-open the airport on May 20. But at a victory rally on April 2, protest leaders vowed to keep up their struggle until the airport is closed for good. One farmer declared: "We will keep up our struggle forever. We will never stop fighting."

## European workers hit unemployment

On April 5, millions of workers throughout Europe joined in an international labor protest against unemployment. The protest was organized by the European Trade Union Federation. A total of 31 unions representing 40 million workers in 18 countries took part.

The workers were rebelling against the growing capitalist crisis in Western Europe. Over seven million Western European workers are unemployed. About 40 percent of these workers are under 25 years of age.

Working-class women have been among the first victims of the capitalist offensive. In France they make up over half of the 1.2 million unemployed. In Britain, the unemployment rate for women is four times that of men.

The trade union leaders are pretending to lead a fight for jobs. But in fact they support the capitalist attacks. Luciano Lama, head of the General Confederation of Italian Labor, declared that: "firms, in a state of economic crisis, should have the right to fire workers." In France, union leaders discouraged women workers who wanted to fight against sexist layoffs. Throughout Western Europe, the labor bureaucrats have blamed immigrant workers for "stealing" jobs and lowering wages.

The April 5 demonstration was a step towards uniting European workers against their common enemy—capitalism.

## Italy: Red Brigades kidnap Moro

On March 16, members of the Red Brigades kidnapped Aldo Moro, a long-time leader of the ruling Christian Democratic Party in Italy, and five-time premier of Italy. The Red Brigades, a leftist urban guerrilla organization, is demanding the release of 15 of its members who are on trial in Torino.

The Italian ruling class is using the kidnapping as an excuse to attack leftist groups throughout Italy. The government has given the police a free hand to order telephone taps, round up "suspects" and question them without the presence of a lawyer. Over 100 people have been arrested so far. Most are being held without charges.

Most left groups in Italy have supported the ruling-class crusade against the Red Brigades. The Italian Communist Party has called for reinforcing the Italian political police and "hunting down" militants who oppose its own policy of allying with the capitalist ruling class.

Revolutionaries must defend the Red Brigades against the Italian ruling class. The capitalists are responsible for the injuries, death, poverty and oppression of millions of people. These blood-thirsty hypocrites have no right to try revolutionaries fighting to free Italy from capitalist rule. But revolutionaries must also reject the terrorism of the Red Brigades. This tactic gives the ruling class the excuse to crack down on the left, while it confuses and frightens the people.

Killing a few capitalists and capitalist flunkies will not free the Italian people. The Italian people will win their freedom when they rise in a massive revolution, led by the working class. For this to happen, revolutionaries must devote themselves to the hard, day-to-day work of organizing among the working class and other oppressed people. Only the workers themselves, led by a revolutionary party, can lead the fight to smash the capitalist state and build a new socialist society.

—PB

The Russian ruling class has recently stepped up its repression against the growing number of dissidents. Last month Pyotr Grigorenko, a former major-general in the Russian army, was exiled after being found guilty of "behavior (that) damages the prestige of the USSR." Mstislav Rostropovich, a cellist and conductor, was stripped of his citizenship after he ignored an order to return home from abroad.

Inside Russia, four well-known dissidents face police harassment and trials. Andrei Sakharov, a physicist who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975, was recently threatened with arrest following a demonstration protesting Russian support to the Palestine Liberation Organization. Anatoly Shcharansky stands accused of being a U.S. spy. And in the Ukraine, where national sentiment against Russian domination is strong and there is a long history of struggle, two Ukrainian nationalists, Miroslav Marinovich and Mykola Matusevich, are on trial for "anti-Soviet activity."

In addition, members of the "Helsinki group" were arrested for "treason" following a series of meetings with

Western journalists. The group was formed to "monitor" Russian adherence to the Helsinki "human rights" accords of 1976.

These people are basically middle-class intellectuals,

workers' movement.

On December 2, 1977, a group of workers, led by coal miner Vladimir Klebanov, met with Western journalists to expose the conditions of life for workers throughout



Members of "Helsinki group" meet in Moscow-apartment.

and represent the dominant wing of the dissident movement. But theirs is not the only struggle against the Stalinist regime. There is also a small but growing

Russia. One worker described taking his demand for a raise to the local Communist Party headquarters, only to be told that he had "apparently forgotten that his destiny in life was to eat from a pig's trough." This group wrote an open letter on December 30, 1977, stating that "we are a vast army of Soviet unemployed" who lost their jobs "for attempting to exercise the right to complain."

Klebanov was arrested on December 19, released in January, and has since gone underground. Five other founders of the group, called the Trade Union for Defense of Workers, were arrested on February 7. They remain in custody.

The masses of people in Russia suffer constant repression, and are denied the most basic democratic rights. Freedom of speech, press, movement and assembly are denied. Trade unions are banned. Workers are not allowed to strike. However, this is not because Russia is socialist (as Jimmy Carter is trying to put across with his "human rights" campaign), but because Russia is capitalist.

(Continued on page 15)

## Philippine Elections Spark Mass Struggle

Filipino workers are rebelling against the dictatorship of President Ferdinand Marcos. On April 4, 20,000 workers took to the streets of Manila, the national capital, shouting: "Down with martial law!" and "Marcos, Hitler, dictator!" On April 6, hundreds of thousands of people in Manila demonstrated against the government.

The workers were protesting against Marcos's attempt to disguise his rule by holding elections for a fake "national assembly." This assembly would have no power to remove Marcos from his positions as president and prime minister of the Philippines. It would be unable to end martial law in the Philippines. And it would have no right to repeal or modify any of the laws Marcos passed during five years of martial law.

Most opponents of the regime refused to give any support to this farce by running in the elections. But Benigno Aquino, a capitalist politician who has been sentenced to death for opposing corruption in the government, joined with several other reformists to run a protest campaign in Manila. Aquino claims Marcos has done "good things" for the Philippines, and has sworn to support a new Filipino constitution designed to keep Marcos in power. But his Laban (People's Power) Party's campaign in Manila provided a focus for popular resistance to the government.

The elections themselves, held on April 7, exposed the maneuvers of the Marcos government. Witnesses at the polls in Manila saw vote-counters writing up results without bothering to open the ballot boxes. The government has announced that none of the Laban candidates won seats in the national assembly. But so far it has refused to announce the exact results of the voting in Manila.

Marcos held the elections under heavy pressure from the U.S. ruling class. The U.S. provides the Marcos government with over \$600 million a year in economic aid. It also maintains two military bases in the Philippines to protect U.S. imperialist interests in the Far East. But U.S. support for Marcos has weakened the effectiveness of Carter's "human rights" campaign. So he wants Marcos to clean up his government by setting up a phony "democracy" in the Philippines.

In fact the election campaign succeeded only in bringing the mass opposition to Marcos out in the open. The workers and farmers of the Philippines will win their freedom by smashing the Marcos dictatorship and driving U.S. imperialism out of their homeland.



Andrei Sakharov.



Mass grave of 10,000 Ukrainian nationalists slaughtered by Stalin in 1936-38 counter-revolution.

(Continued from page 14)

In the 1930s, the Stalinist bureaucracy systematically destroyed the Russian workers' state. The workers were squeezed out of any control over the state or the ruling party. All opposition was smashed, while the workers' living standards were cut in

half. Out of the ashes of the workers' state came a new state-capitalist ruling class. The Russian economy was built up through the harshest forms of exploitation and labor discipline. To enforce this, the rulers stripped away the basic democratic rights of the working

class. And to ensure the regimentation of Russian society, Stalin and the state-capitalist rulers following him had to deny democratic rights in all spheres of society as well. So, for example, the rights of national minorities (Ukrainians, Jews, Tatars and many

others) have been systematically denied. Intellectuals, writers and artists are only free to think, print or paint what the state-capitalist rulers think is acceptable.

### Defend the dissidents

The new wave of dissent grows out of the repressive nature of the state-capitalist regime itself. But, by and large, the dissident movement is middle-class and does not challenge state-capitalist rule. It has a reformist program, based on the struggle for democratic rights.

Though some dissidents consider themselves Marxists, most are basically liberals while some, like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, are very right-wing and support Western imperialism.

Despite this it is in the interests of the working class in Russia and around the world to fight for an end to the repression against the

dissidents. Any victories for the dissidents would be in the interests of the working class. It would not mean the end of capitalist exploitation, but it would help clear a little elbow room for the workers to fight for and hold on to democratic rights of their own.

The denial of democratic rights is a major barrier to the working class being able to understand, organize and struggle against state-capitalist rule. The Russian workers should defend the dissidents. But they should not rely on the middle-class reformists for leadership. In order to win real freedom, the workers will have to take up the difficult task of building a working-class revolutionary party to struggle for democratic rights and the overthrow of capitalist oppression in Russia.

**STOP THE REPRESSION OF THE RUSSIAN DISSIDENTS! FOR WORKERS' REVOLUTION!**

## NICARAGUA

# No Reliance on the Liberal Capitalists!

BY ALBERTO SUAREZ

The end of the general strike in Nicaragua at the beginning of February has by no means meant the end of the struggle against the pro-imperialist Somoza dictatorship. Violent demonstra-

Somozas have enriched themselves in the government. When there are elections everybody knows that the Somozas and their lackeys will win, for they rig the elections, censor the press, outlaw the opposition parties and prohibit trade unionism.

The country has been under the yoke of imperialism both directly and indirectly. U.S. Marines were sent to Nicaragua in 1912 and in 1926. The economy is tied to U.S. control through a network of loans. The U.S. has backed the Somozas and given the military equipment to make the climate "safe for investment."

Nicaragua serves U.S. military interests as well. For it was here where the invasion force to overthrow Guatemala's left-liberal President Jacobo Arbenz was launched in 1954, and it was here that the CIA mercenary army was trained for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

Opposing the Somoza dictatorship is the Union Democratica de Liberacion (UDEL—Democratic Union of Liberation, also known as the Democratic Liberal Union). It is the organization of the liberal capitalists, which wants to get rid of Somoza to head off the workers' struggle that threatens Nicaraguan capitalism and the domination of U.S. imperialism. The UDEL is composed of the following: the Superior Council of Free Enterprise, the Conservative Party, a pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Nicaragua, which is a Stalinist party, and two labor union federations, as well as other organizations. It was UDEL which controlled the strike at the beginning of February. It has been calling for a civic-military junta to replace Anastasio Somoza, which would be led, of all things, by an officer of Som-

oza's National Guard! Somoza has promised some concessions to this opposition.

### FSLN splits into three factions

The other major opposition, the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional (FSLN—Sandinista National Liberation Front) has been fighting the Somoza dictatorship, arms in hand, since 1962. Lately it has gained a lot of support, so that now even many conservative politicians approve of it. It is divided into three public factions. One is called Guerra Popular Prolongada (GPP—Prolonged People's



Managua, Nicaragua, Jan. 30: Women protesting government brutality are attacked by National Guard hurling tear gas.

War), which has its base among the peasantry and has a guerrillaist perspective. Then there is the Terceristas, who have struck a deal with the anti-Somoza bourgeois opposition. The Terceristas appear to be the majority of the FSLN. The other faction considers that they should go back to the cities and build a revolu-

tionary party, based in the working class, and on Marxist-Leninist principles. While the political perspectives of this group are not yet clear, this faction seems to be the only grouping in Nicaragua which has not caved in to the liberal capitalists.

### Workers need revolutionary party

In short, Nicaragua is one of the few countries where the liberals are actively fighting against a repressive dictatorship. And they seem to have captured the leadership of this struggle despite the brave struggle of the peasants, workers and the oppressed, whose real interests lie in socialist revolution. What is needed is the revolutionary party, which must be built inside the working class and among the peasantry. Revolutionaries should fight alongside the liberals but only insofar as they are waging the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. The revolutionary forces must have an independent organization, with an independent revolutionary program. The workers and peasants must be organized for the final goal—socialism.



Nicaraguan dictator Somoza.

tions and confrontations have continued. The most bitter fighting occurred in the town of Masaya, east of Managua (the capital of Nicaragua). Thirty people were killed and scores injured. And the resistance here was made by brave but poorly armed Indians against the tanks and helicopters of the U.S.-supplied National Guard. Demonstrations of this type occurred in other cities of Nicaragua, such as Leon, the second city, and in Managua itself.

Nicaragua has been ruled by the Somoza family since 1936. It is one of the most brutal dictatorships in Latin America. The property of this family includes the air and shipping lines of Nicaragua, a newspaper, a television station, mines, banks, farms and many other companies. In other words, the

## League Pamphlets



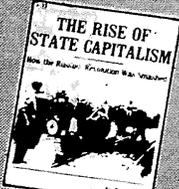
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# Zionists Occupy Southern Lebanon

(Continued from page 1)

come the last refuge for Palestinians fighting to recover their homeland, which the Zionists conquered in 1948. It is the only area in which the PLO has been able to maintain bases for carrying on the armed struggle against Zionism.

The Israeli ruling class knows that its conquest of Palestine will not be secure so long as the Palestinians are able to struggle against the Zionist state. Begin hoped to eliminate this threat by crushing the PLO's last sanctuaries in Lebanon.

The invasion also gave Begin the opportunity to show off the efficiency of the Zionist war machine. It was a warning to the U.S. and the Arab rulers that Begin would not be forced into making concessions to the Palestinians in the Middle East peace talks, which began last November. When Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat visited Jerusalem on November 19, he became the first Arab ruler to recognize the Zionist conquest of Palestine. In return for this betrayal, Sadat begged Begin to agree to a Palestinian "homeland" on the West Bank territory, which Israel conquered in 1967. Begin, however, refused, and the Middle East peace talks broke down.

Begin refused Sadat's request because he wants to keep the West Bank as a permanent Zionist colony. He insists that the Palestinians must renounce their rights as a nation and accept Israeli or Jordanian citizenship. He has also authorized Zionist settlements to take over the area. And he has declared that United Nations Resolution 242, which calls for Israeli withdrawal from all territory conquered in 1967, does not apply to the West Bank.

## Begin faces opposition

For several months the U.S. has been critical of Begin's position. Like Begin, the U.S. opposes the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank. But the U.S. imperialists want an imperialist peace in the Middle East. To get it, they have to provide Sadat and the other Arab rulers with a cover for selling out the Palestinians. So they have proposed setting up a defenseless Palestinian mini-state under Israeli control. They had hoped to convince the Zionist ruling class that this plan would allow the Arab rulers to abandon the Palestinians and make peace with Israel.

In fact, many Israelis are willing to make concessions on the West Bank in exchange for Arab recognition of the Zionist conquest of Palestine. As a result, Begin faced increasing opposition to his hard-line policy inside Israel itself. Two cabinet ministers threatened to resign unless Begin put a freeze on new Zionist settlements on the West Bank. The Democratic Movement for Change, which is part of Begin's coalition government, was discussing withdrawing support for his regime. And 300 army reservists signed an open letter criticizing Begin's policies.

The PLO raid, however, got Begin off the hook... temporarily. It briefly silenced the opposition inside Israel to his government. It enabled him to take a hard line against any concessions to the Palestinians. And it allowed him to invade Lebanon and wreck the peace talks which were dividing his government.

## Israeli invasion backfires

But it is already clear that the invasion has backfired on the Zionist ruling class. First, the invasion has isolated Israel diplomatically. It showed that



# DEFEND THE PALESTINIANS!

the Zionists are willing to drown the Middle East in blood in order to smash the Palestinians. As a result, the whole world condemned the invasion.

The invasion has also raised the prestige of the PLO. Before the invasion, Israel, Egypt and the U.S. all rejected the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Now, after the invasion, the imperialists must negotiate with the PLO if they are to prevent a new outbreak of fighting in Lebanon. This can only strengthen the PLO's claim to participate in any future Middle East settlement.

The invasion has also led to renewed protests against Begin's West Bank policy. The government did manage to survive a vote of confidence in the Israeli Knesset (parliament). But on April 1, 25,000 Israelis demonstrated against Begin's regime.

Israeli workers have launched a struggle against the Zionist ruling class. They don't want to die in a war to keep the West Bank. They are also tired of paying the costs of the Zionist military machine. Israeli workers pay some of the highest taxes in the world, and their wages are eaten away by skyrocketing prices. Now workers are demanding 15 percent wage hikes and a freeze on prices and taxes.

Finally, the invasion has led to a serious rift between Israel and the U.S. ruling class. The U.S. capitalists now regard Begin as a major obstacle to their maneuvers in the Middle East. They realize that the Arab rulers can't afford to make peace with Israel while the Zionists occupy southern Lebanon. By invading Lebanon, Begin has put a monkey wrench in U.S. imperialism's plans.

But the Zionist ruling class knows it could not survive a week without U.S. support. The Zionists depend on U.S. arms to maintain their conquest of Palestine, and on U.S. aid to prop up their economy. If Begin refuses to bow to U.S. pressure for a Middle East settlement, the Zionist ruling class may decide to throw him out and set up a new government.

While Israel needs U.S. support, U.S. imperialism also needs the Zionist state. It relies on the Zionist army to crush the Arab masses and protect U.S. economic interests in the Middle East. Therefore, the Zionists may gamble that the U.S. will support them if they can win a quick victory in a new

Middle East war, and will protect them if they are in danger of defeat. Now that the peace talks have broken down, they may decide to launch a new attack on the Arab states.

## Arab rulers betray Palestinians

The Arab rulers have no desire for a Middle East war. Although all condemned the Israeli invasion, none sent troops or substantial supplies into Lebanon. The Syrian army, which occupies northern Lebanon, did not lift a finger to aid the PLO. Instead, as soon as a cease-fire was announced, the Syrian government cut off the PLO's military supplies. In Jordan, King Hussein called out troops to suppress demonstrations against the invasion.

The response of the Arab rulers to the Israeli invasion has helped the Palestinian people to see which side these rulers are really on. A Palestinian woman living on the West Bank declared:

"All of them have disgusted us. Not only did they watch passively while Israel attacked a sovereign Arab country, but they even suppressed demonstrations by their own people against the invasion."

She also stated: "The role of the Syrians in Lebanon, where they have fought our Palestinian brothers, makes

it abundantly clear to us that the present Arab governments are afraid of a strong Palestinian movement because it would threaten their own regimes, which are undemocratic and oppress their own people."

But while the Arab rulers have exposed themselves in the eyes of many Palestinians, illusions still exist about the nature of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Although the PLO leaders have organized much of the armed struggle, they will not build a truly revolutionary struggle against the Zionist state. They have no intention of leading a fight against capitalist rule. They are nationalist politicians who want to become rulers of their own state. They are willing to recognize the Zionist conquest of Palestine in return for control of a Palestinian mini-state. And they rely on the Arab rulers to work out a deal with the imperialists which will satisfy their demands.

## Solution to crisis: socialist revolution

The Zionist invasion of Lebanon has created a political crisis throughout the Middle East. The Arab and Israeli ruling classes, with the help of U.S. imperialism, must either try to patch together some solution to this crisis, or else there will be a new war. But any war that does not end in the destruction of the Zionist state, or any solution imposed by the imperialists, will only mean increased exploitation and misery for the working and oppressed people throughout the Middle East.

The real interests of the working masses—Arab and Israeli alike—lie in socialist revolution. This means smashing the ruling classes, Arab and Israeli, kicking out imperialism, and establishing a socialist federation of workers' and small farmers' governments in the Middle East. A successful socialist revolution is the key to achieving real freedom for all workers and oppressed people. And it is the key to the Palestinian people's struggle to reclaim their land, which was stolen from them by the Zionists.

If such a revolution is to win, revolutionary parties—in the Arab countries and in Israel—must be built. These parties must: 1) Organize firm bases among the Arab workers and the most oppressed layers of the Arab masses. 2) Support the PLO's military struggle against Israel. 3) Strive to unite the struggles of the Arab workers and peasants against their reactionary rulers with the Palestinian struggle to smash the Zionist state. 4) Work to split sections of the Israeli workers from the Zionist ruling class.

In other words, revolutionary parties must organize to build a mass, united movement against capitalism and imperialism throughout the Middle East. To build such parties will be a difficult task. But the fate of all working and oppressed people in the Middle East hangs in the balance. □

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Revolutionary Socialist

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Address all correspondence to:  
Torch/La Antorcha  
New York, NY 10036

Subscription rates:  
(U.S., Canada, Mexico)

Individuals: Free  
6 issues (introductory) \$1.00  
12 issues (one year) \$3.00  
Supporting (one year) \$5.00  
Libraries and institutions \$5.00

(Foreign)  
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# For Workers' Unity!

(Continued from page 13)

achieving the strongest and clearest unity of the working class.

It is crucial to understand that one main way in which the capitalist exploiters keep the workers and oppressed in check is through their control of influential working-class leaders. The local labor lieutenants of capital—the Shearers, Cavens and Dunkleys—render sterling service to their bosses by bottling-up and side-tracking the anger and militancy of thousands of organized workers on a daily basis.

The WLL has been distinguishing itself as a reformist influence within the working-class movement, holding back the struggle of the workers and oppressed for the sake of supporting a

liberal-capitalist government simply because it pretends to be socialist, progressive and anti-imperialist.

In times of "normal" class struggle the effects of the WLL's activities may seem unimportant. But on the occasions when the volcano of class warfare blows up, reformist politics of the WLL type has many times proven fatal to the oppressed masses.

When the Russian workers smashed the Tsar in February 1917, the power was theirs except that their radical middle-class Menshevik leaders treacherously handed it to the liberal capitalists. It was only when, after months of political struggle, the revolutionary Bolsheviks established themselves as the leaders of the Russian workers and small farmers that the

smashing of the liberal-capitalist Provisional Government and the workers' seizure of power could take place in October of the same year.

Far more tragically in Chile, the refusal of Salvador Allende and the Communist and Socialist parties to break with the capitalists, their legal system and security forces led to the September 1973 bloodbath from which the Chilean masses have yet to recover.

In order that the working class and oppressed do not again pay the cost of failure to learn from these bitter experiences of their class, it is vital that revolutionaries and revolutionary organizations struggle to expose and weed-out all reformists and misleaders of the working class. The RML will not draw back from this task.

For as Lenin said:

**"Unity cannot be decreed, it cannot be brought about by a decision, say of a meeting of representatives; it must be worked for. In the first place, it is necessary to work for solid ideological**

unity... before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation. Otherwise, our unity will be purely fictitious, it will conceal the prevailing confusion and hinder its radical elimination." (From: Declaration of the Editorial Board of Iskra.)

The RML will continue to fearlessly expose the imperialists, the liberal-capitalist PNP, the reactionary-capitalist Jamaica Labour Party and its supporters at the Gleaner. And we will also continue to expose the trade union misleaders, the WLL and all other forces who help to maintain the exploitation of the Jamaican masses. This is a vital part of our struggle to forge the firmest unity of the workers and oppressed in struggle against all their exploiters. In this way a base will be laid for the organization of the most class-conscious workers into the advance-guard of the revolutionary mass movement: the Jamaican section of an international revolutionary workers' party.

## Black People in the U.S.

(Continued from page 3)

more open to them than becoming King of England. The majority of Black people remain on the bottom, more and more impoverished every year.

The Times and Urban League studies have noted this increasing income difference among Blacks. When the Kerner Commission reported in 1967, it said that the U.S. was moving toward "two societies, one Black and one white." But the New York Times series argues that the reality today is that "it's probably more accurate to say that America is divided into two classes, one comfortable and one not." James Compton, executive director of the Urban League, has said that if the "Black underclass" rises up again, "their rising will be against class as well as race."

Or to put it a different way, what used to be a sharp line between the conditions of life for Black people as opposed to whites is becoming a class line.

Second, the growing class separation among Black people has become a physical separation as well. In the past, the small layer of Black middle-class people were very much part of the Black

working-class neighborhoods. The Black preachers, doctors, lawyers and small businessmen operated out of the Black communities. In addition, most of them lived in the communities, sent their children to the same schools as everybody else, and so on.

Today, however, more and more of the Black middle-class is fleeing the "ghettos" into middle-class neighborhoods, both Black and integrated. They are looking for better housing, better schools, different social circles away from the working-class and poor Black neighborhoods.

This is having a significant impact on the Black communities. In the past, people from the Black middle class were the leaders of the Black communities, largely because they had middle-class skills and were "successful" and "respectable." This position made it possible for them to act as brokers between the Black community and the rest of society. Overwhelmingly, these people used their leadership to keep militancy among Black people down, to hold struggles in check.

They talked about going through channels, and using

peaceful, non-violent tactics. They accepted the capitalist system, and wanted to be out in on the action. They accepted the right of the capitalist class to exploit and oppress people, but wanted to make sure that this was done "equally." These were the people who led the moderate wing of the civil rights movement, and denounced the ghetto rebellions of the '60s. The ruling

### Black "leaders" commented on how little control they had when lights went out.

class relied on these middle-class "leaders" to keep the majority of Black people "in line." In return, these Blacks got a few crusts from the capitalists' table.

Today, however, as the Black middle class flees the working-class neighborhoods, a power vacuum is developing inside these communities. The middle class is losing touch with the majority of Black people. As a result, the middle-class leaderships have lost control over large sections of the Black urban communities. This is particularly true among Black youth, who pay little attention to the established leaderships—the middle-class organizations, the church, the schools, etc.

This became crystal clear with the Blackout rebellion in New York City last sum-

mer. When the lights went out, thousands of people, many of whom were Black, went out and took some of the things that this system never lets them have. While the looting wasn't an organized, political act in and of itself, it showed that, more and more, Black and other working people couldn't give a good goddamn about the capitalists' laws, about the small businessmen, including Blacks, who make money off the community and then run back to their nice houses in the suburbs. They didn't listen to the Black "leaders" who told them to obey the law and go home.

At the same time, the Black middle-class "leaders" commented on how little control they had when the lights went out. These people are becoming more aware that Black working people aren't going to follow their safe, pro-capitalist leadership.

James Compton warned his fellow middle-class leaders: "If the Black poor take to the streets again, and burn and loot because too few people have too much, and too many too little, there will be no safe place on either side of the barricades for middle-class Blacks."

### United struggle

In the 1960s, with the post-war prosperity, most white workers were conservative and supported U.S. imperialism. Black people were fighting for their rights and freedom, but the majority were tied to and held back by the middle-class reformist Black leaders. The result was that the ruling class was able to cripple the Black liberation movement and temporarily re-establish its

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control over the masses.

Today, as U.S. capitalism heads for a deep crisis, the reformist grip of the Black middle class on the Black masses is considerably loosened. At the same time, the white workers are getting squeezed by the ruling class. There are signs that this is shaking many white workers out of their conservatism. In St. Louis, for example, it was thousands of white workers who drove the Nazis off the streets when they tried to march on March 11.

This situation creates new openings for revolutionaries. It gives us the opportunity to win Black workers, particularly Black youth, to the understanding that the root of racism, exploitation and all oppression is the capitalist system itself. At the same time, it opens up the possibility that white workers can be broken from their racism, and be made to see that they should unite with all oppressed workers. If these things are done, the potential is there for a united class struggle capable of smashing capitalism and establishing a socialist society. □

## Miners . . .

(Continued from page 9)

really fighting for socialism. However, they have played a militant role in spreading wildcats and in the recent strike. Miners should critically support them, but with the understanding that a truly revolutionary leadership must still be built. In the meantime, a new militant leadership can begin to pull the union together and rebuild its strength.

### Organize the unorganized

In order to strengthen the union, miners must wage an aggressive drive to organize the unorganized miners in the eastern and western coal states. The new contract will make this organizing cam-

paign more difficult, but UMW members must convince unorganized miners that joining the union is the only way to protect what they already have. If the UMW is broken, there will be no reason for the scab mines to pay high wages and benefits. The only way to ensure that this doesn't happen is to make sure that every ton of coal mined in the U.S. is union coal.

These are the central tasks now facing the miners. The recent strike demonstrated the miners' determination to fight the coal bosses, but many important battles are still to come. The outcome of these struggles will depend on the ability of the rank and file to take control of the national union and make it a united fighting organization. □

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